TASHME, BRITISH COLUMBIA AN EXISTING NON-ENTITY

DISCRIMINATION PATTERNS WITH CHANGE IN POPULATION SIZE OF URBAN CENTERS: A CASE STUDY OF INDIANS IN SOUTHWESTERN BRITISH COLUMBIA
TASHME, BRITISH COLUMBIA
AN EXISTING NON-ENTITY

by

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ABSTRACT

The entrance of the Japanese into World War II signalled a wave of pressure by various segments of the population on local, provincial, and federal governments which resulted in the March 4th, 1942, Order in Council P.C. 1665 and brought into being the British Columbia Security Commission. The duties of this body were to plan, supervise and direct the evacuation from the protected areas of British Columbia all persons of Japanese race. Thus, 22,000 Canadian-Japanese were evacuated from the west coast of the province to eight relocation centres established in the interior. The purpose of this paper is to trace the events leading to the creation of one of the eight centres: Tashme. The purpose was accomplished by combining an analysis of the available historical documentation and a series of in-depth interviews with Canadian-Japanese who had encountered the Tashme experience. In this way, Tashme, which does not presently exist in physical space, was recreated.
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READERS NOTE

All quotations in this study without footnote documentation are from personal interviews.

As the circumstances of this essay concern themselves with extremely serious and sensitive matters of recent history, certain documented quotations have been utilized with the sole intention of portraying specific viewpoints for the time period under investigation. In no sense are such quotations intended to implicate persons mentioned as to their present day opinions.
INTRODUCTION

The sun arose that morning, as is its custom, in the east - it was no surprise. The Rising Sun also arose, as was its custom, in the east - it was a surprise. With this second Sun came rain and cool winds transforming tranquility into tumultuous turbulence: this storm was, directly or indirectly, experienced in most parts of the world - heavy weather indeed.

Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Nevada, Arizona and California were in sunlight, but not for long - the thunder hurried slowly east. Continental United States while in the light, was in the dark.

Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Nevada, Arizona and California were snug in their moorings that morning - mourning had not yet commenced. Quiet waves lapped aimlessly at their hulls: a gentle rain caressed their bridge and deck - this was a part of the pride of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. The dimness of dawn was bright compared to the light of darkness that was to engulf them.

Most storms give warning; this one was no exception. At 3:50 AM a periscope was sighted. At 7:02 AM the eye of the storm was observed on the quiet green glare of the radar screen. The tornado was advancing from three degrees east of true north. (Hoehling, pp.182-183) It is still wise to prepare for a storm - it is wiser still to avoid it. In this
instance, material preparation was perhaps adequate, but those in command were not prepared. The result? "Within less than two hours our military and naval forces suffered 3,435 casualties and the loss of or severe damage to 188 planes, 8 battleships, 3 light cruisers and 4 other fleet vessels." (Hoehling, p.196) The flagship Pennsylvania was witness to the holocaust: this mother could do nothing to save her pride. Pearl Harbour, December 7, 1941, was history.

The Rising Sun was soon, in relative time, to set. A war of half a decade is but a footnote to total history. But, for those involved, the footnote can be an eternity; and, one not need be there to feel its immediate effects. Pearl Harbour-Vancouver = 2,400 plus miles. Canada's reaction?

Proclamation
8th December, 1941

"George the Sixth, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India:
To all to whom these Presents shall come or whom the same may in anywise concern, GREETINGS:
A PROCLAMATION----
----Now, therefore, We do hereby declare and pro-
claim that a State of War with Japan exists and has existed in Canada as and from the 7th day of December, 1941. Of all which Our Loving Subjects and all other whom these Presents may concern are hereby required to take notice and to govern them-
selves accordingly."----

The words from Ottawa were clear enough. The reaction of the west coast press?
CITIZENS, BE CALM!

Canada is at war with Japan for the first time in our history, and for the last - because when this conflict is ended, Japan will be put in her proper sphere as an Oriental power, and democratic China will be re-established.

Here in British Columbia we have an entirely domestic problem, and it can be met and solved instantly, if we keep our heads. We have in this province nearly 25,000 Japanese many of them Canadian-born. These latter, and the overwhelmingly majority of the former, are intensely loyal to Canada. They have nothing to do with the policies of imperial Japan; they are not in sympathy with those policies and if our regulations allowed it their young men would be in uniform against the Axis to which Japan belongs.

If there be any among the Japan-born aliens with us who are not in sympathy with Canada, rest assured that the Mounted Police and the military officers have them tabbed, and they will be appropriately dealt with.

Let us leave that task to the authorities. We should not subject anyone to indignity nor to harsh condemnation. Be alert! If you have definite suspicions, make them known to the police.

Above all, let us KEEP OUR HEADS. This is no time for folly, panic or prejudice."

Sound words of advice from the Vancouver Sun. It certainly was no time for "folly, panic, or prejudice"; it was a time to "keep our heads" and to make life as comfortably reassuring as possible for "Our Loving Subjects". Unfortunately, there appeared to be a great discrepancy with regards to the treatment extended to some of "Our Loving Subjects" and others whom, it must be assumed, were not so loving. The Canadian-
Japanese of British Columbia were condemned to the category of the latter.

Order in Council
P.C. 9591
December 7, 1941.

On this date the following becomes law:----
"Whereas the Acting Minister of Justice reports that he has been advised by the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police that more information is obtained from persons of the Japanese race upon their registration with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police than that obtained upon the registration of enemy aliens under the provisions of the Defence of Canada Regulations----" The registration of persons of the Japanese race is now in effect. "----For the purposes of these regulations 'person of the Japanese race' shall include a person not wholly of the Japanese race if his father or mother is of the Japanese race----"

The meaning of "Japanese race" is given wide scope. In nine days more explicit orders are passed by Ottawa.

Order in Council
P.C. 9760
December 16, 1941.

----"Every person of the Japanese race who resides in Canada, who has attained his sixteenth birthday on or before a day to be fixed by the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and who has not heretofore registered with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police by completing the form contained in schedule A to this order shall so register on or before the day fixed pursuant to this section----"

If there had been any misinterpretation or doubt on behalf of
the Japanese, regardless if they had been born in Canada and could not speak Japanese, as to whether or not they were to register with the Canadian government via the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, this extract from Order in Council, P.C. 9760, made their position abundantly clear. Ottawa, on that same day, passes the following legislation:

Order in Council
P.C. 9761
December 16, 1941.

"Whereas the Minister of Justice reports that owing to the war with Japan it is considered desirable that provision should be made to control vessels used or operated by persons of the Japanese race."

1. No person of the Japanese race shall use or operate any vessel within water adjacent to the west coast of Canada without the authority in writing of the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, or other officer designated by him for the purpose.
2. Where any person of the Japanese race uses or operates a vessel without the authority of the aforesaid, such vessel may be seized and detained on behalf of His Majesty

Fishing, as an occupation, comes to a rather abrupt halt for the Canadian-Japanese. What next?

Order in Council
P.C. 288
January 31, 1942.

"That some 1,100 boats and their equipment, having a value of between $2,000,000 and
$3,000,000, are involved, of which about 950 are impounded near New Westminster and the remainder at Prince Rupert and other points; therefore a way should be found of putting these vessels back into production in hands other than those of Japanese origin, and otherwise consistent with the needs of national defence and security, as well as with due regard to the equity of the Japanese Canadian owners;--"

The vessels, therefore, with some exceptions, were sold: the viability of fair market value is highly questionable. (see Broadfoot, p.14) The Japanese people have, or are in, the process of being registered. The vessels owned by the Canadian-Japanese have been, or are in the process of being, seized and sold.

Order in Council
P.C. 1665
March 4, 1942.

An organization known as the "British Columbia Security Commission is established. Section 10, Subsection (1) of the Order in Council makes clear one of the duties that this group will perform.

----"It shall be the duty of the Commission to plan, supervise and direct the evacuation from the protected areas of British Columbia of all persons of Japanese race." Further, Section 12, Subsection (1) reads as follows: "As a protective measure only, all property situated in any protected area of British Columbia belonging to any person of the Japanese race resident in such area (except fishing vessels subject to Order in Council, P.C. 288, of the 13th day of January, 1942, and deposits of money, shares of stock, debentures, bonds or other securities), delivered
up to any person by the owner pursuant to the Order of the Minister of Justice dated February 26, 1942, or which is turned over to the Custodian by the owner, or which the owner, on being evacuated, is unable to take with him, shall be vested in and subject to the control and management of the Custodian as defined in the Regulations respecting Trading with the Enemy, 1939: provided, however, that no commission shall be charged by the Custodian in respect of such control and management"---

To this point, we have registration of persons of the Japanese race, vessel seizure, vessel sale, evacuation of Japanese persons from protected areas, and seizure of Japanese goods and property. "Protected area" is, roughly, an area including the offshore islands of British Columbia and inland to a line drawn parallel approximately one hundred miles from the coast. A "Custodian" has been appointed who is vested with the appropriate powers to administer the goods and property of those being evacuated. Goods and property, in most instances, take the same route as did fishing vessels.

Order in Council
P.C. 469
January 19, 1943.

----"The Custodian has been vested with the power and responsibility of controlling and managing any property of persons of the Japanese race evacuated from the protected areas, such power and responsibility shall be deemed to include and to have included from the date of the vesting of such property in the Custodian, the power to liquidate, sell, or otherwise dispose of such property;----"
The Japanese residing in Canada, and in particular those on the west coast, felt the full force of that December 7, 1941, Pacific storm. Two thousand, four hundred miles is indeed a very short distance. The Sun that arose that morning was for many a sun of mourning.
METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

Canadian history texts*, and course offerings, are often conspicuously devoid of mention of the expulsion of the Canadian-Japanese from the west coast of Canada during the Second World War. It is perhaps obvious as to why it is seldom mentioned, however it should be understood.

The writer, prior to undertaking the research, was unfamiliar with the details of this aspect of west coast Canadia. Hence, preconceived notions were at a minimum, with one important exception. It was anticipated that in view of the speed with which the evacuation occurred, and the large number of people involved, there would be, in all probability, distinct landscape features that could be identified as being a product of this particular period and series of events. Therefore, the purpose of the research was to trace the residual landscape of the Japanese relocation centers in the interior of British Columbia. An examination of the present, it was anticipated, would, in part, reveal the past. It was not a case of setting out to prove; rather, it was an attempt to discover.


Initially, the methodological approach was one of field observations, as will be later explained in more detail. However, it soon became apparent that an investigation of all eight relocation centers would prove too formidable a task in light of the time and financial limitations imposed. It was finally determined that a specific center, Tashme, would be studied in detail. Research to this end was conducted during the period from July 1970 to February 1971.

When the evacuation of the Canadian-Japanese population from the west coast occurred in 1942, eight major relocation centers were established at the following locations in interior British Columbia: Greenwood, Slocan City, New Denver, Roseberry, Sandon, Kaslo, Lemon Creek and Tashme.

The first stage of the fieldwork was to visit these various centers. Proceeding east from Vancouver the first camp visited was Tashme, some fourteen miles east of Hope, British Columbia. At this site there was no evidence whatsoever to indicate that approximately 3,000 people had spent upwards of five years living at this location as little as twenty-five years ago. The further east one progressed the more evident became impressions of past and present Oriental occupation. Such indicators were simply Oriental people in or contiguous to the towns; Oriental names on the windows or doors of small business establishments; carefully cultivated flower gardens (also flower boxes) immediately surrounding the homes; and, in some instances, house trim being painted in very vivid colours - vivid, that is,
CAMP LOCATIONS

1. TASHME
2. GREENWOOD
3. SLOCAN
4. LEMON CREEK
5. NEW DENVER
6. ROSEBERRY
7. SANDON
8. KASLO

Scale: 1" = 100 Miles (approximate)
in contrast to Occidental homes nearby.

Initially, therefore, to the untutored eye, there were few landscape symbols evident that would indicate Oriental occupation, with New Denver an exception. At this location there is a small, but distinct, grouping of Japanese people within a very confined geographic area. However, as one became more intimately acquainted with the landscape, evidence became apparent at the other sites as well: Tashme was the exception.

At Tashme, which is now called Sunshine Valley and is being developed into a year-round recreation area, there are a large barn, a few outbuildings, a small sawmill, and a ski chalet in the process of being constructed.* The absence of anything objective on the physical landscape immediately suggested the question as to whether or not those who occupied the center during the war period had a subjective mental landscape of this now non-existing entity. Further, if they did have a mental landscape, would they be willing to share this image with an Occidental. Tashme was, therefore, selected as the relocation center to be examined in more detail, for the reason that nothing was there at the present to indicate the past.

---

*When walking over the area that had once been the relocation center, with one of the present owners, certain landscape manifestations were pointed out to the writer as indicators of the former Japanese occupation of the site. Such items as an old, small building that had once served as a morgue for the camp, and a few buildings that had served as bathhouses. However, unless one had been told of their origin and function, one would simply assume that such buildings were nothing more than old farm structures no longer being utilized.
The site having been selected, it was then decided that the aim of the research would be to present a mental collage based upon the recollections of some of those who had encountered the Tashme experience. This aim, it was hoped, could, in part, be accomplished by in-depth interviews.

The procedure was then one of locating people who would be willing to share their camp experience. The writer, at this juncture, was not equipped with a detailed knowledge of the events that precipitated the construction of Tashme. It was decided to proceed "backwards" in this regard. That is, talk with as many people as possible who had been involved, and then search the records to discover the events that had occurred prior to that time. This, perhaps rather unorthodox approach, was utilized for one primary reason. The desire was to learn first-hand of the personal geography as perceived by those who underwent the experience, and not reinforce or dissolve opinions previously gathered from secondary sources.

Huxley contends "that there is an inside to experience as well as an outside". (Huxley, p.14) It was this "inside" the researcher wanted to visit prior to discovering the "outside". It was felt that by being intimate with the "outside" would hinder entrance to the "inside", because in discovering the "outside" arms one, unless he or she is an exceptional person, with pre-conceived notions, opinions, feelings and emotions as to what the "inside" should be like. When doing research we already carry too many biased opinions with us, and in this specific instance
the researcher was convinced that ignorance was in fact an asset, and that a detailed pre-knowledge would have been a detriment. In essence, it was felt that had the writer been setting out to "find something", in all probability this would have been accomplished. To reiterate, the purpose was to discover an uncharted landscape; uncharted because it's secrets were to be located primarily in the memories of a group of people.

Of the eight sites, one had now been selected for the abovementioned reasons, and the method of inquiry had been justified in the mind of the writer as being the approach most appropriate. It was then a matter of tracing and locating Canadian-Japanese people who would be willing to share their past experiences and present mental images of Tashme. Following this, Occidentals who were either in or located contiguous to the camp were interviewed. Next, people who were intimately aware of the legal aspects as to why the relocation camps had come into being were sought out. Finally, the researcher made himself aware of the events, and feelings towards the Canadian-Japanese that existed prior to the war.

In all cases, those who were contacted were willing to give considerably of their time in order to assist the researcher. Photographs and other documents were readily lent for the purposes of being reproduced. All detailed interviews, which constituted the bulk of the research were, with the permission of those being interviewed, tape recorded so that the writer could listen to them in detail at his own leisure. The basic technique
employed was to interview a person, analyze the tape recording, and then do a second or third interview to clarify certain points and/or gain additional information. Interviews lasted from one to five hours.

The research was both extremely interesting and gratifying. In all instances those who were interviewed gave names of others who might be interested in assisting the researcher. Many borrowed photographs and other documented evidence from friends and relatives so that it could be made available for the project. The research would have been impossible had it not been for the courtesy, time and openness that was extended to the writer.

Prior to examining the personal geography of those who lived at Tashme, I would first like to briefly discuss the milieu within which the Canadian-Japanese existed on Canada's Pacific coast prior to World War II - it is to this that I will now turn.
JAPANESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: PRE WORLD WAR TWO

Canada's Pacific Province had exhibited an anti-Oriental bias from as early as the late nineteenth century. World War two and the concomitant mass expulsion of one segment of the Oriental population was but another manifestation of such discrimination. However, in order to understand why this anti-Oriental climate existed in this western Province, one should first briefly examine the arrival of Oriental people in Canada.

The Chinese had preceeded the Japanese as immigrants to British Columbia. In 1792 a small colony of Cantonese settled at Nootka Sound, but it was not until the Barkerville era that any appreciable numbers located in mainland Canada. "In 1881 the Canadian Census reported 4,383 Chinese in Canada. Twenty years later the numbers of Chinese in Canada had increased four-fold." (Lyman, Lecture 2) This rapid increase was primarily because of the need for a large and cheap labour source for the construction of the trans-continental railway.

It is interesting to realize that while a small group of financiers benefited enormously from this influx of cheap labour, segments of the working class were witnessing employment competition. The voice of organized labour, in the not too distant future, was to be clearly heard.

Even by the early date of 1878, anti-Oriental legislation was in evidence in British Columbia in the form of a "special licensing provision which required that every Chinese over 12
years of age take out a license every three months at the cost of ten dollars." (Lyman, Lecture 4, p.4) The reason for this type of legislation, it would appear, was because the Orientals exhibited more of the virtues of the "protestant work-ethic" and less of the vices than did their frontier Occidental counterparts. In 1884 the Chief Justice of British Columbia, Sir Mathew Begbie, succinctly summed up the feelings of the day:

"Industry, economy, sobriety and law abidingness are exactly the four prominent qualities of Chinamen as asserted both by their advocates, and their adversaries. Lazy, drunken, extravagant, and turbulent; this is, by the voices of their friends and foes, exactly what a Chinaman is not. This is, on the whole, I think, the real cause of their unpopularity. If Chinamen would only be less industrious and economical, if they would but occasionally get drunk, they would no longer be the formidable competitors with the white man which they prove to be in the labour market." (Lyman, Lecture 4, p.5)

Dominion Legislation of 1886 levied a "head-tax" or "poll-tax" of $50.00 upon each incoming Chinese immigrant - this tax was raised to $100.00 in 1901, and further increased to $500.00 in 1904. (Roueck, part 1.) A California-based organization, the Knights of Labour, spread north into British Columbia and became active in Vancouver the same year as the "head-tax" came into existence. "Joined by the press, Vancouver's mayor, several aldermen, and business men, the Knights and their allies engaged in violence or threats of violence to prevent Chinese from landing in Vancouver and to drive resident Chinese out of the city. A riotous attack on Chinese at False Creek and the Brickmaker's
Claim on February 23, 1887, drove all but five Chinese Laundry-men out of the city." (Lyman, Lecture 3, p.3) Similar, but more inflammatory riots occurred again in Vancouver in 1907. This action of mob and legal discrimination culminated with the Chinese Expulsion Act of 1923 "whereby all but an insignificant number of Chinese were excluded from the Dominion." (Innis,(ed.), p.14)

At the time of the initial anti-Chinese legislation, there were very few people of the Japanese race in British Columbia. "The first Japanese settler in Canada was Manzo Nagano, who arrived at New Westminster in 1877 at the age of 19." (Roucek, part 1.) Shortly after 1880, he sailed back to the Orient only to return to New Westminster in 1884 "where he found seven or eight Japanese engaged in fishing." (Innis,(ed.), p.7) Prior to 1885 Japanese migration had been predominately a movement to Manchuria, China and Korea. However, "in the two decades after that year (1885) over half a million Japanese left their homeland. Of these, more than 70,000 came to the United States and 1,000 to Canada." (Lyman, Lecture 7, p.2) Therefore, by 1896 there were fewer than 1,000 Japanese in Canada, and most of these were fishermen on the west coast. (Innis,(ed.) p.6) At the turn of the century, the 1901 "Canadian census reported over 4,700 Japanese in the country." (Lyman, Lecture 7,p.6) of which 97 percent resided in British Columbia. (Innis,(ed.), p.6)

British Columbia's attempts to repeat, for the Japanese, the restrictive legislation governing Chinese immigration was
complicated by Imperial and Japanese relations as embodied in the 1894 Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. The 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, to which Canada was a party, further hindered any expulsion of the Japanese from British Columbia. Attempts had been made in the British Columbia legislature as early as 1891 to extend the "head-tax" to include persons of the Japanese race. (Innis, (ed.), p.7) However, because of the aforementioned Anglo-Japanese agreements, the Dominion Government disallowed such legislation. Due to the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese conflict, very few Japanese immigrated to Canada until the latter months of 1905, but from September of 1905 to March of 1907 over 4,000 Japanese entered Canada. (Innis, (ed.), p.8) In 1907 the U.S. Government instituted regulations prohibiting the entry of Japanese from Hawaii. "---immigrants then on these Islands turned to British Columbia as an alternative. Ships were chartered by Japanese agencies in Hawaii to transport immigrants to Canada", resulting in "the arrival of over 7,000 in the year ending March 31, 1908" (Innis, (ed.), p.9) In response to this tremendous influx, the Anti-Asiatic League was formed, and anti-Oriental rioting occurred in Vancouver in 1907. "And, as with the Chinese before them, voices of protest rose to denounce their presence. By 1900 anti-Japanese laws were beginning to appear in American and Canadian legislative assemblies. Rumblings of violence were heard. Racial prejudice again reared its ugly head, and the people of the Pacific Coast embarked on what was to be a half-century of abuse, injustice and intolerance." (Lyman, Lecture 7, p.6)
The riots of 1907 resulted in Dominion Labour Minister Lemieux being sent to Japan to negotiate what was to become the first of a series of "Gentleman's Agreements" between Canada and Japan. These agreements were similar to those negotiated by the U.S. and Japan the previous year. By this agreement, only certain classes of Japanese were allowed to enter Canada. "(1) settled agriculturalists; (2) parents, wives and children of resident Japanese; and (3) Those coming back to Canada to resume their resident or business." (Roueck, part 1) However, the "Gentleman's Agreement" failed to accomplish their stated purpose. (Innis,(ed.), p.11) While anti-Japanese feeling continued to run high in British Columbia, World War One broke out with Japan being an ally of Canada. "The citizens of British Columbia especially were indeed grateful, in the uncertain days of August and September 1914, for the Japanese warships on the Pacific which, stationed at Esquimalt, afforded practically the only protection from the raiding German cruisers." (Norris, pp.22-23) This helped to ease the situation somewhat as, in addition to Japan being an axis ally, British Columbia was experiencing a labour shortage.

After the war with scarce employment, anti-Japanese public opinion was again heard. "To the soldiers returning from the "Front" and expecting speedy placement in their old jobs or in new and better ones, British Columbia presented the spectacle of a Province overrun by immigrants from the Orient." (Innis,(ed.), p.13) Further modification of the "Gentleman's Agreement" occurred until in 1928 Japanese immigration into Canada was
limited to 150 persons per year. However, this figure of 150 was never realized and "from 1933 to 1940 the average number of new immigrants was less than 80 in each year." (Shoyama, p.5) By 1921, 15,006 Japanese resided in Canada of whom 94.6% were concentrated in British Columbia, and the 1925 estimated British Columbia Canadian-Japanese population was 19,455. (Report on Oriental Activities Within The Province, 1927, p.5)

In addition to the increase of the Canadian-Japanese populace, an important demographic aspect of that population was the change from an almost totally male composition to one of a more balanced male-female ratio. "In 1901 the census reported 4,700 Japanese in Canada, all of whom were male; in 1921 there were 10,500 males and 5,300 females and of the total number, 4,300 were children born in Canada. By 1931, these figures had changed to 13,000 males and 9,200 females, including Canadian born children. (Shoyama, p.5) This change was a reflection of the economic advancement being made by this immigrant group. The early arrivals were primarily unskilled workers performing whatever labouring jobs were available. As they became more settled socially, and particularly economically, they tended to move away from such employment and invest accumulated capital in personally owned ventures such as farming, fishing and small businesses. "For those who remained in the wage-earning group, there was a strong tendency to shift from the extractive and mobile stages of industry, such as logging camps or railway section gangs, to more fixed and stable employment opportunities, such as in the
pulp or paper mills or the sawmills in larger centers with wider employment opportunities, where normal homes could be established and school facilities for children obtained." (Shoyama, p.6)

By 1941 the occupational distribution of the approximately 21,000 Canadian-Japanese was profoundly different than it had been at the turn of the century when most had been employed in unskilled labouring occupations.

**Occupational Distribution of Japanese Canadians in B.C., 1941**

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<th>Percentage of all Japanese-Canadians</th>
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<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labouring</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbering</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; Communication</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinical</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Occupations 100.0 2.8

(Source: Shoyama, p.7)

In 1920-21 a quota system was introduced to restrict the Canadian-Japanese in obtaining a British Columbia commercial fishing license. "Its effects on the industry itself show that there has been a reduction of approximately 28 per cent in the number of licences issued to the Japanese between 1922 and
"The gradual elimination of the Orientals from the fisheries of the Province is primarily for the purpose of providing greater encouragement to white men and Canadian Indians to take up fishing for a living." Further, "The Department's policy of eliminating the Oriental from the fisheries of the Province with a view to placing the entire industry in the hands of white British subjects and Canadian Indians appears to be working out well,---" (Report on Oriental Activities Within The Province, 1927, pp.18-19)

Those engaged in the lumbering industry faced similar difficulties. "Operators on provincial lands were threatened with the loss of their licences if they employed the Japanese, and Japanese operators, of which there were a considerable number, were unable to retain their licences or to get new ones." (Innis,(ed.), p.48) The Minimum Wage Law of 1925 set the minimum wage at $.40 per hour and was a deliberate design to limit further Oriental employment in the lumber industry. "It seemed reasonable to expect that, if an employer found himself obliged to pay his Oriental workers 40 cents an hour, he would be willing to pay his white worker more, or, alternatively, that a large additional number of whites would be introduced into the industry." (Innis,(ed.), p.49) But, it was not long before lumber operation owners complained about their loss of cheap labour, and the Act was amended to allow 25% of employees to be paid $.25 per hour, and that this 25% might include Orientals. This differential wage scale still existed when World War II
occurred as is evident by the Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers Union that allowed $0.56 per hour for white workers and $0.48 per hour for Japanese. (Jamieson, p. 147)

This type of discrimination can be, in part, explained by the fear of many Canadians who were concerned that what was occurring was "peaceful penetration". "Canadians who have used the phrase with respect to Japanese in Canada are expressing their belief that all activities of the Japanese in this country have been part of a carefully planned scheme of the Imperial Government of Japan to gain control of the North American continent. Thus Japanese fishing, lumbering and farming were more than just ways of earning a living; they were pursuits interpreted by observers as conscious efforts to attain strategic locations for eventual military operations" (LaViolette, 1948, p. 96)

The voice of organized labour and industry was all too clear. What did our legislators think? A report on Oriental Activities Within British Columbia prepared for the Legislative Assembly in 1927 gives evidence of the feelings of the Provincial House at Victoria. The following extract is from the introduction of that report.

"The opinion of the people of British Columbia upon the whole subject of Oriental immigration, land-holding, and competition in trade has been affirmed and reaffirmed several times over a long period of years by the voice of their representatives in the Legislative Assembly. The last
occasion upon which this considered declaration was made by the people of the Province which suffers most from the evils of Oriental penetration was December 17th, 1924, when the following resolution was supported from all parts of the House, and was adopted unanimously:

Whereas there were in British Columbia, according to the last Dominion census, 23,532 Chinese and 15,006 Japanese.

And whereas statistics show that there is a very large natural increase of Orientals in British Columbia, multiplying each year to an alarming extent:

And whereas the standard of living of the average Oriental is far below that of the white man, thus enabling him to live comfortably on a much lower wage than our white man:

And whereas the Orientals have invaded fields of industrial and commercial activities to the serious detriment of our white citizens:

And whereas considerable unemployment always exists in British Columbia, partly due to the fact that large number of Orientals are filling situations in our industrial and commercial life which could be filled by our white citizens.

And whereas the Orientals are fast invading the commercial areas of many municipalities and districts of British Columbia, carrying on commercial and industrial pursuits:

And whereas many of our white merchants are being forced out of business by such commercial and industrial invasion:

Therefore be it Resolved, That this House go on record as being utterly opposed to the further influx of Orientals into this Province; and, further, that this House places itself on record as being in favour of the enactment of such amendment to The 'Immigration Act of Canada' as is necessary to completely prohibit Asiatic immigration into Canada.---"

(Report on Oriental Activities Within The Province, 1927, pp.3-4)

This same economic and immigration deprivation was also exhibited in efforts to deny Canadian-Japanese full citizenship rights in the Province of British Columbia. This specific type of anti-Oriental restriction dates as far back as 1875 when the Qualification and Registration of Voter Act No.2 was passed. This Act stated that both Chinese and Indians who were listed
on the voters' list were to be excluded from casting the ballot.

An amendment in 1895 to that same Act included the Japanese.

(who at that time numbered about 1,500. (Norris, p.5))

"No other Province in Canada has similar legislation restricting the right of British subjects of the Japanese race to vote so that in British Columbia alone this disqualification in respect of the franchise in Provincial elections and by reference in respect of the franchise in Dominion elections exists. The result is that for any Dominion election naturalized or British born Japanese are prevented from being registered and voting in British Columbia while at the same time in the adjoining Province of Alberta and in all the other Provinces of Canada other naturalized or British born Japanese possessing no greater qualifications than the British Columbia Japanese are permitted to be registered and, for the same election, to exercise the franchise." (Norris, p.3)

In addition to having been denied the franchise, Canadian-Japanese residing in British Columbia were also greatly restricted in other areas as well. They were not allowed to be:-

"(1) elected to the Provincial Legislature
(2) elected to Municipal office
(3) elected as school trustee
(4) selected for jury duty
(5) lawyers
(6) druggists
(7) Land loggers
(8) employed in the public service save as specialists
(9) employed in public works
(10) employed by any buyer of crown timber for logging such timber." (Norris, p.15)
Regarding items (8) and (9), these restrictions go further:

"The Deputy Minister of Public Works reports that in so far as public works are concerned no Oriental labour is permitted, either directly, or indirectly, on any contract or day-labour work on roads, bridges, buildings, or any public works whatever."

Clause 45 in the Department's form of contract agreement reads as follows, in specific language:-

"The contractor shall not, directly or indirectly, employ any Asiatic upon, about, or in connection with the works; and in the event of his doing so the Minister may declare forfeited to His Majesty all moneys due or to accrue due the contractor.----No goods for use in the Department of Public Works are purchased from Oriental firms. Once in a while small purchases have been made by new or subordinate officials who were ignorant of this rule, but generally speaking this restrictive regulation is rigidly enforced." (Report on Oriental Activities Within The Province, 1927, p.23)

It is obvious that such restrictive regulations were imposed to eliminate the Canadian-Japanese from becoming full citizens either socially, economically, or politically.

"The use of the race classification to define fitness for the franchise - useful enough though it may have been in 1875 when the persons of the race affected were all unfitted according to proper tests of fitness - can no longer be justified in the light
of the fact that the reasons for the definition are no longer applicable. Yet the classification is stubbornly maintained in the face of all considerations of reason and justice. It has become a weapon of industrial expediency and an instrument of race oppression." (Norris, p.9)

Because of anti-Japanese labour laws, the Canadian-Japanese attempted to channel their endeavours into other employment opportunities such as farming and small business ventures. This partially satisfied the labour sector of the British Columbia economy, but at the same time it resulted in a new group of antagonists rearing their heads. Groups such as the White Canada Association came into being: the Executive Committee of this association consisted of "----members of the Retailer's Association, the Fishermen's Protective Association, The Cloverdale Farmers' Association, and a farm engineer and dealer in real estate." (Innis,(ed.), p.124)

The Liberal party in the 1935 Federal election had, as one plank of its British Columbia party platform, the promise of continuing the disenfranchisement of Orientals. (Angus, p.511) Certain Vancouver politicians were in apparent agreement with their Provincial counterparts. Halford Wilson and Harry DeGraves, both at that time (1938) Aldermen of the City of Vancouver, were particularly concerned about the education of Japanese students. Many young Canadian-Japanese attended a Japanese language school that commenced after the close of the regular public school. In this regard Wilson and DeGraves
felt: "It is our belief that these schools are a menace to Canadian national life, and are an indication of an unwillingness to assist in the assimilation of these nationals into our citizenship" (Wilson, p.13) "Though these schools did not differ from similar institutions utilized by Chinese, Jews and other immigrant peoples for perpetrating their native language and culture, they were widely believed to disseminate Japanese propaganda and support for Japanese Imperialism" (Lyman, Lecture 9, p.5) With regards to the total number of Japanese in British Columbia (approximately 3% of the total British Columbian population), Wilson and DeGraves expressed the following viewpoint: "---These figures clearly portray the menace faced by the white population unless immediate and effective action is taken to control the percentage ratio of Orientals in the Dominion, and more particularly in this Western Province in view of the facts herein advanced." (Wilson, p.15)

Population statistics for the year 1941 reveal the "menace" being faced by the non Asiatic Canadian populace.

Total Canadian population, 1941, 11,506,655

Asiatic Canadian population, 1941,
Chinese 34,627 (.30%)
Japanese 23,149 (.20%)
Other 16,288 (.14%)
Total 74,064 (.64%)

British Columbia population, 1941, 817,861

Asiatic population in British Columbia, 1941
Chinese 18,619 (2.28%)
Japanese 22,096 (2.71%)
Other 1,757 (.21%)
Total 42,472 (5.19%)

(Source: Canada Year Book, 1943-44.)
"Peaceful penetration", "inassimilability" and "economic threat"* appear to be three key variables that, in part, explain why the Japanese were treated as they were. "A well-used theme, in anti-Japanese speeches in many sessions of various Canadian Legislative assemblies, has been that of the inassimilability of the Japanese. It has been used as an argument to support cessation of immigration; it has been used as an argument that all Japanese in Canada should be sent to Japan as quickly as possible. It has, furthermore, been tied in with the argument about the poor standard of living, since such conditions were interpreted as positive evidence of inassimilability. Finally, it has been argued that their peaceful penetration and inassimilibility are self-evident, and hence the need for deportation, because the Japanese in Canada have been living in rather self-sufficient communities. Such specific items as the Japanese-language schools, the Buddhist Temples, and the low rate of inter-marriage are declared to be definite proof that people from Japan as well as their Canadian-born children cannot be assimilated into Canadian society." (LaViolette, 1948, p.8)

The anti-Japanese faction vigorously propounded the concept that assimilation of the Canadian-Japanese into mainstream Canadians was impossible. This claim was the result of the

*"The immigration to Canada of Orientals is fundamentally an economic rather than racial problem, affecting most of all those parts of the country that are nearest to the Orient and the classes that feel their economic position threatened." (Canada Year Book, 1941, p.121)
Japanese "keeping to themselves", combined with the view that they were an employment threat to certain segments of the economic community. Further, there was the fear of peaceful penetration, and the projected possible outcome of such penetration. Legal restrictions had already been placed upon these people, and what assimilation had occurred was inadequate to soften the reaction of the larger society when Pearl Harbour occurred. Let us now examine the events that occurred immediately following December 7, 1941.
EVACUATION ORDERS

Japanese in British Columbia By Sex and Nativity, June 2, 1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Male Number</th>
<th>Male Percent</th>
<th>Female Number</th>
<th>Female Percent</th>
<th>Total Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>3,370</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>1,878</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>9,056</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>7,792</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>76.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12,426</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>9,660</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: LaViolette, 1948, p.77)

It has been exhibited that: "Thus two laws existed in Canada, one for non-Japanese citizens and the other for Japanese-Canadians, and it became evident that citizens could be deprived by law of certain legal rights on grounds of race." (Walhouse, p.282)

The events of December 7, 1941, further solidified the views already held by many white British Columbians.

"The attack on Pearl Harbour could only result in strengthening such basic notions as the belief, rather well distributed and firmly held in British Columbia, that the Japanese were a threat to the standard of living, that they could not be assimilated, and that they were all actively engaged in promoting the welfare of Japanese imperialistic ambitions.----When the blow fell, it became clear that the Japanese group in Canada, both foreign and native-born, was helpless and entirely dependant upon the wishes of the Canadian people and their government." (LaViolette, 1948, pp.27-28)
The suggestions as to "what to do" with this "menace" that numbered 22,000, all centered around one key theme - namely, evacuation. Who were the people and organizations that demanded the removal of the Canadian-Japanese from the west coast of Canada?

A wide variety of groups and individuals took up the "evacuation cry". The Provincial wings of both the Liberal and Conservative parties were active in this regard. It should be noted that the C.C.F. party had attempted to assist the Japanese and were not among those who favoured their removal. Several service organizations lent their vocal support to evacuation. They included the Kinsmen Association, Gyro Club, the Canadian Lady Foresters, the Canadian Legion, the United Commercial Travellers Association, and one extremely important group calling themselves the Citizens Defense Committee. (LaViolette, 1948, p.42) This latter association, the Citizens Defense Committee, did not come into being until February 23, 1942, but proved to be of critical importance.

"The avowed purpose of this group was twofold: to have the army remove enemy aliens immediately from strategic areas, and to have all Japanese removed. The reason for the importance of the Committee lies in the fact that it did not come into existence until relatively late, and that it was made up of the most prominent citizens of British Columbia, particularly of Vancouver, who felt that immediate action should be taken, as the general situation was getting out of hand. Because of the prestige of its members, it was possible for the Committee to make a deep impression upon Ottawa. It constituted the focal point of organized pressure and assumed the role of the guardian of British Columbia defences and civilian
morale and safety. Mr. Austin Taylor was a member of this Committee and later became chairman of the British Columbia Security Commission." (LaViolette, 1948, p.42)

At the local level, Alderman Wilson who, as has been pointed out, was deeply concerned with Japanese language schools, had, prior to the outbreak of war, "proposed that the Japanese be segregated into ghettos" (LaViolette, 1948, p.27) Further, he demanded of the Vancouver City Council that the Canadian-Japanese be removed from the coast as quickly as possible. The Mayor of Vancouver who, it would appear, was not anti-Japanese earlier in his career, joined this already loud chorus. On February 16, 1942, he "----wired to Ottawa, asking for speed in dispersal of the Japanese" (LaViolette, 1948, p.40)

At the Federal level, a similar situation was in progress.

"As a result of the crisis, the political organizations were drawn tighter and pressure was put upon local representatives who, in turn, stated their claim to the Prime Minister and other officials. Such moderate attitudes as might have existed throughout the Province were hardly ever expressed as far as we know, thereby leaving the issue to be propounded in the most emphatic terms by such Member of Parliament as the Hon. Ian Mackenzie, Mr. A.W. Neill, Mr. Thomas Reid, and Mr. Howard C. Green." (LaViolette, 1948, p.38)

It has been suggested to the writer that many of the present day "lumber barons" of this Province were actively, behind the
scenes, promoting the wholesale removal of the Canadian-Japanese. Their purpose was two-fold: first, a very simple and effective method to eliminate competition; second, the prospect of acquiring, at "moderate cost," the holdings of such Japanese owned operations. It was further suggested that several real estate companies shared similar feelings for the same basic reasons. For many, it would appear as if the concern was with profit, not people. No evidence was discovered to substantiate such claims; nor was any evidence uncovered to clearly indicate that several "high up" Provincial politicians were members of the Klu Klux Klan as had also been suggested to the writer.

Therefore, pressure being exerted from various directions on the local, provincial and federal governments resulted in the March 4, 1942, Order in Council, P.C. 1665, bringing into being the British Columbia Security Commission who were "----to plan, supervise and direct the evacuation from the protected areas of British Columbia of all persons of Japanese race.----" (P.C. 1665, Section 10, Subsection 1.) Thus, for the 22,000 Canadian-Japanese residing in our Pacific Province "----The entire population approximately 75 per cent of whom were Canadian citizens and 61 per cent were born in Canada, were removed to the interior of the province." (Walhouse, p.282)

To view Pearl Harbour as the cause of the evacuation is false: it was only the catalyst. The attitudes towards the Canadian-Japanese in British Columbia had been established long before the outbreak of World War Two, and the expulsion of these
people from the coast was but another footnote to the long history of discriminatory action against them. We can now turn to an examination of the feelings and reactions of the Canadian-Japanese who were faced with this dilemma.
REACTION

While Pearl Harbour had been a surprise, the war itself was not. This feeling was related to the writer from both the Canadian-Japanese and non-Japanese Canadians who were interviewed. From their memories, emotions and opinions such as the following were recorded:

"In the Japanese newspapers I got from Japan, it was said that there would be a war because of an overlap of interests in the Pacific. Stories like this were being written as early as 1937."

"I was not surprised that the war occurred. Japan wanted to expand, and war was the logical way to do it."

"I had been living in Japan at the outbreak of the war. Ottawa had told us three times that there was likely to be a war and to get out of Japan. The first warning Ottawa gave us was a year prior to the war actually starting."

"To think that the buildup for the war started in the late 30's is a mistake. There were clear signs in the early 1920's of what would ultimately occur."

"I spent a few months in Japan in 1923. At that time school children were being marched to and from school. They were being trained at an

* refer to Appendix "A" regarding optional relocation possibilities for the Canadian-Japanese.
early age. The war was no surprise at all."

When the Canadian-Japanese were told of their evacuation plight, most were shocked. Those who were interviewed did not believe such a thing could, or would be allowed to occur in "the free country of our birth." "It must be a mistake" - "They would not do this to us" - "Why not ship the Germans and Italians to camps too?" - "We will have to register only; after that they will let us return home" - "its not because Japan was at War with Canada, it was because we were a different colour."

Would the war last long, and who would win? "It was going to be a short war - most of us felt that Japan could not win." "If Japan could do enough damage at the start she just might have been able to make it - if it was a long war she had no chance because of lack of resources." "When the Repulse and Prince of Wales got it, I thought that Japan would win within a year." (H.M.S. Repulse and H.M.S. Prince of Wales sunk on December 10, 1941.)

"Although we do not have any evidence as to how the sinking of the H.M.S. Prince of Wales and H.M.S. Repulse on December 10, affected the rest of Canada, it seems that as far as British Columbia was concerned, the loss of these two ships from the British Navy served as a 'second Pearl Harbour'----" (LaViolette, 1948, p.37)

"It didn't make any difference who was going to win. If Japan
won, Canadians would be antagonistic towards us forever. If Japan lost, Canadians would say 'look at those Japs'."

What was the reaction of your Community when you were informed that you would have to evacuate? "Our people were mixed up when told we would have to go." LaViolette speaks of "suspended-animation" as being the feeling of the Canadian-Japanese. (LaViolette, 1948, p.53) "There was nothing that we really could do - no sense in bucking the law." "I wrote to the government several times about the whole thing, but I never got an answer." "Some good white people and certain United Church members tried to help, but they couldn't get anywhere." "Only the United Church and a few Anglicans tried to assist us - no service clubs would do anything for us." "We didn't know who to turn to for help - no one really seemed to care about us Japs."

How were you told that you had to leave your homes, and what happened immediately afterwards? "The information reached our, and most other communities, in the Japanese Newspaper, The New Canadian and The Continental News."* "They sure didn't give us much time to get packed; I had less than three days to make all the necessary arrangements."

"The first evacuees, for example those living in

* The Continental News was written in Japanese only - The New Canadian was written half in Japanese and half in English.
remote places along the west coast of Vancouver Island, received as little as twenty-four hours' notice, and less in extreme cases, to leave their homes. This, of course, was due to faulty communications, and resulted in R.C.M.P. officers having to enter homes at all hours of the night and day, giving people only a few hours to move. Consequently these people departed with only the barest necessities and could make no arrangements for the care of property or household goods." (LaViolette, 1948, p.65)

It would appear as if the length of time a person was given to evacuate depended upon their geographic location within the protected areas. Some persons on Vancouver Island were given less than 24 hours to move, while others in the Lower Mainland had several months.

"We had to go to the Marine Building in Vancouver. There we were photographed, finger printed, and given an identification card and number. The R.C.M.P. handled all of this at the Marine Building along with a few other Civil Servants. Some R.C.M.P. spoke fluent Japanese - a real high-class Japanese - they must have been educated in Japan to speak it so well: this made me wonder just how long Canada had been planning to get us out of here."* "We were handled quite courteously at the registration

* Other informants also mentioned this fact of "a few R.C.M.P." being able to speak "high-class Japanese" fluently. However, it was later suggested to the writer that it was not the case that certain R.C.M.Police officers had been educated in Japan. Rather, the United States military, being well aware of the possibility of a war with Japan, had instituted Japanese language classes for senior intelligence officers, and that perhaps the Canadian Government had made arrangements to have certain R.C.M.Police officers educated at such U.S. Military Schools.
and none of us that I know of were pushed around by the police. Most of us were too shocked to do much of anything except what we were told to do."

"Things were so mixed up. Sure they appointed an executor (custodian) for our goods, but he was of no use at all. All these executors did was make a lot of money for themselves." "Up on the Skeena we had friends who had no sooner left their homes when the Indians broke in and took everything they owned. When they found out they wrote to the custodian, but nothing ever got done about it." "I was to leave on April 11th for Vancouver. By this time I had sold everything in the house, so on the 11th I sold a few things that were left such as groceries. It turned out that we didn't go on the 11th so I had to buy my groceries back. Do you know what? The man I sold the groceries to wanted almost double the price to buy them back again!" "Sure you could sell your goods before leaving for the camps, but with so much stuff on the market, you only got a fraction of what it was worth. We had to sell our beautiful piano for $50.00." "It was really bad around Vancouver. The second-hand people knew we were going and really took advantage of us. I remember a second-hand dealer coming to the house: all he did was look up all the Japanese names in the phone book - it was no trick finding us. He came in the morning and offered me $100.00 for the stove, fridge, piano and some good dining-room furniture. I said o.k. but he never came back. In the afternoon, another one came and offered $80.00. Finally, the third one gave me $35.00 for the lot."
You see, these three were working together. They knew we had to sell, so they would work as a team to make sure they could buy our stuff for as little as possible."

Stories such as the foregoing appear to be the rule, not the exception. Frequently, neighbours would break into a Japanese home when the people had left and take whatever remained: some even employed moving vans for the task. One person even went so far as to steal a small art object from one of the evacuated homes; she then proceeded to Tashme to determine what its meaning was. When asked by a staff member at Tashme if she really thought it proper to steal something that perhaps had great sentimental value to the owner, the reply was that the "Japanese homes were open to anyone" and she did not regard her action as being theft. One person, who commuted regularly between Tashme and Vancouver, was frequently asked by the evacuees to bring articles of winter clothing from their homes. It was rare when such items could be located: most had been stolen. However, there was one happy exception related to the writer. A Japanese family had moved to an interior relocation center, and the next-door neighbour entered the house and removed everything that was there from stove to books. When the war terminated this person contacted the Japanese family involved and returned, intact, all of their possessions.

Hence, the reaction to the news of evacuation was generally one of shock, disbelief, and anger. The Canadian-Japanese soon realized that nothing could be done except to follow the directions
of the Commission. The financial loss* resulting from direct theft or the selling of material possession at a fraction of their value added to the pain of disbelief. Further, it was impossible for many to make any arrangements regarding the protection or selling of their property because of the short notice given them to evacuate their homes.

To add further to the confusion and hurt was the fact that the interior relocation camps were not yet established. For many, there was an intermediate stop-over at Hastings Park in Vancouver: this location will now be briefly examined.

*refer to Appendix "B"
HASTINGS PARK

The evacuation of the Canadian-Japanese from the coastal area commenced within ten days of the British Columbia Security Commissions's establishment and required nine months (February 1942 - October 1942) to complete. As the interior centers, during the early stages of evacuation, were not prepared (in fact Tashme had not yet been built) a stop-over location was required to house and feed the Japanese until they could be transported to the interior. The British Columbia Security Commission acquired the Hastings Park Exhibition Grounds for this purpose. (also referred to as the "Manning Pool" or "Hastings Pool" - this location is now the Pacific National Exhibition Park in the east end of Vancouver.) However, not all Canadian-Japanese passed through Hastings Park. Vancouver and area residents were permitted to remain in their own homes until the relocation centers were made ready. "I was from New Westminster and therefore did not have to go to Hastings Park. This way the Security Commission did not have to feed or house us. It was cheaper for them to leave us where we were."

"The supervision of all movements of the Japanese was directly under the R.C.M.P. apart from the assistance rendered by the Canadian Army with respect to those first evacuated from the strategic areas. The first evacuees entered the Park on March 16, and by March 25 the R.C.M.P. had moved 1,593 evacuees there for temporary shelter. This number increased steadily until at the peak of its population
on September 1, there were 3,866 in the Park. Each day a number of people left the Park for interior points, but it was not until September that large numbers were evacuated daily and the manning pool depopulated rather quickly."

(LaViolette, 1948, p.64.)

 "I was from Port Alice and was one of the first to go to Hastings Park. When we left Port Alice we were not told where we were going other than to Vancouver. It was not until later that I really knew of the interior camps. There were facilities at Hastings Park, but no staff to run things - there was no cook or janitor or anything like that. About 100 of us came from Port Alice including children. Things soon were organized at the Park, and we could get passes to go out for the day. But it was not very good because we were not very welcome on the streetcars. I used to like to go to Stanley Park and just walk around, but no one would talk to us. People would just stare. Hastings Park was o.k., but it depended upon where you had to sleep at night."

 "I arrived at Hastings Park on April 21st. It was bad because so many had to sleep in the cattle stalls which were always cold and damp, because they were made of concrete. We never had enough blankets at night; there was a lot of sickness because it was so damp on the concrete."

 "It was some weeks after the first evacuees had arrived before the Park was better fitted for human habitation. Even in a war crisis it was shocking for both Japanese and Occidentals to think of women and children being housed in a former livestock building without adequate preparation." (LaViolette, 1948, p.65)

 "We left Woodfibre in March and went directly to
Hastings Pool. They made me a cook at the Pool, and I stayed almost until it closed. Living conditions were very, very poor for those who had to live in the stables. For others it was o.k. if they had a better building. Some United Church and Anglican people visited us at the Pool and tried to help out. Also some lawyers helped us as well. A Civil Liberties group* I remember clearly, managed to sneak into the Pool early one morning about 6 AM. They wanted to know what was occurring; if we were being treated o.k.; and, if they could help. Really the only thing to do was make the best of the situation."

"I was told that they wanted volunteers to build this place called Tashme. They said that if the men volunteered they would be joined with their families quicker - this was a lie but we didn't know it at the time. I was a millright and so I volunteered to go. Anyway, I had had enough of Hastings Park."

* The name of this group was not mentioned to the writer.
Arrival

The name Tashme was a derivative of the first two initials of TAylor, SHirras and MEad. These three men constituted the commis­sioners of the British Columbia Security Commission. Mr. Austin Taylor was a well known Vancouver businessman; Mr. John Shirras was the Assistant Commissioner of the British Columbia Provincial Police; and, Mr. F.J. Mead was Assistant Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

As mentioned, the Tashme site was located fourteen miles east of Hope, British Columbia. The reason for selecting this location for one of the relocation centers appears to be two-fold. First, the site was just beyond the 100 mile "protected area"; secondly, there existed at that location a farm owned by a Mr. A.B. Trites. (this farm was also referred to as "Trites Ranch", "Hope Ranch", or "14-Mile Ranch") There were no political reasons, the writer was informed, for the site selection. Mr. A.B. Trites "did not support the political party in power at the time, and had he not leased the land to the government, the government would probably have commandeered it."

The history of the farm dates to the early 1930's when Mr. A.B. Trites, formerly of New Brunswick, purchased this pro­perty. He was a wealthy man, heavily involved in mining ventures in the Kootenay District of British Columbia, and the farm "was more of a hobby to him than anything else." Some hay was grown
on the farm, and there was a small herd of Hereford cattle, but the cattle were removed before the Japanese arrived.

When the government acquired the land on a lease basis there existed two very large and very well constructed barns (it was frequently related to the writer that these were "the two best barns in southern British Columbia"), a small sawmill, and other lesser buildings. There was no road, as such, from Hope to the farm, and it required four hours by truck to travel the fourteen mile one-lane trail. The present day southern Trans-Provincial Highway follows approximately, but not exactly, this former trail. A section of this former farm lies buried beneath the Hope Slide.

What are some of the recollections of those who travelled to, and finally arrived, at their new homes?

"The first of us to arrive at Tashme were single men and some married men - but no women or children. Our job was to build the homes. When we got there, there was nothing there at all other than the barns and a few buildings. Most of the lumber had to be brought in from the outside because the sawmill there could not make enough. It was one inch planking. All the Japanese houses were of one inch planks, with a tar-paper covering, and lots of air spaces because the wood was still green."

"All we were allowed to take with us to Tashme was what we could carry or roll up and pack easily. If you could not roll it up you could not take it. Well, I certainly could not carry much. In all, I guess I had about one-hundred pounds of clothing, blankets and other stuff, maybe a little less."
"We went on the CNR train to Hope, and then to Tashme on a truck. It seemed to take us forever to get to the camp. I had never been out of Vancouver before, and I thought that no one would live this far out in the wilds. It was really a bumpy truck ride and there was only seats for the women to sit on along the side. I thought we would never get there."

"I was single, so I got a room in the barn. The barn had been divided into rooms - fifteen on each floor (2 floors). There were four of us to a room, with bunk beds. They gave each of us a really thin straw mattress, and a kerosene lamp for the four of us in the room. The mattress was so thin. We had one wood stove for cooking for eight people."

"When I got there it was night. It was cold compared to Vancouver. I was too tired to eat, and went right to sleep. The first thing that struck me in the morning were so many Japanese people in one place. I had never seen so many Japanese before. All of them must have been there."

"That summer of 1942 was not too bad but there was a lot of confusion. But we were really busy getting the houses ready. By late summer the first families started to arrive. That first winter was a bad one, boy was it bad. There we were out in the bush in a tar-paper shack, and it was so cold, and so much snow. The wood was green and wouldn't burn properly. The inside of the shacks were covered with ice. It was really bad."

According to Constable W.R. Cooper, R.C.M. Police, Tashme Department: "Tashme, most isolated and most complete of these projects, is situated in a valley 2,300 feet above sea level on the site of old 14 Mile Ranch so named because it was 14 miles from Hope, B.C. Giant mountain barriers hem the place in and invest it with an aloof beauty and mystical aura of a Shangri-La." (Cooper, p.224)
Basic Tashme Facilities

Tashme was home for over 2,300 Canadian-Japanese for the period 1942-1946. There were ten avenues at the settlement with approximately thirty tar-paper houses per avenue. The avenues were numbered one to ten, but there were no individual house numbers. Each house sheltered one large family or two smaller ones, with the average number of persons per house being about eight. Sleeping areas (bunk-bed style) occupied either end of the house (4 persons per room), with a communal center room serving as a cooking and dining area. This dining area contained one wood stove shared by two families, plus a crude table and bench seats. The floor dimensions of each house was 26'(long) by 18'(wide) (the common eating area 10'x18': each sleeping area being 6½x18' for four persons). Toilet facilities were located outside the house with one communal toilet shared between two households. The houses had neither running water nor electricity. A water pipe ran the length of each avenue with one water outlet at intervals of four houses. In addition to the houses, one large barn had been divided into apartment-like cells for single people. There were three communal bath-houses to serve the Japanese population of the camp.

In addition to the housing, there was a hospital* that

* one informant said that the B.C. Security Commission had approached the town of Hope and offered to build a hospital there if, in return, it could be used by the Japanese people: this request was denied by the town council.
could accommodate about 50 patients; a store, post office,* morgue,** and a school (the second barn had been converted into a school). Cameras were allowed at the camp, but neither radios nor firearms were permitted.

Each family was allowed to have a small plot of land (approximately 25' x 25') for a garden if they so desired. The manufacture of soya sauce, on a small scale, was carried on under the supervision of the Department of Labour, with a Japanese work staff. It was of interest to the writer that of those interviewed, only one person mentioned this operation.

The Occidental staff who were at Tashme for administrative purposes numbered about thirty. There was an Occidental doctor in charge of the hospital with a Japanese doctor as his assistant: three registered nurses resided at the camp, one of whom was Japanese. The camp dentist was a Canadian-Japanese.

The basic facilities to sustain life were thus in evidence at Tashme; however, more important than the facilities per se, are the attitudes of those who had to utilize them. The memories of those interviewed resulted in a patterned mosaic of camplife being presented; certain details "stood out" more clearly than others on this recollection canvas. The importance of an event(s) or specific aspect(s) of life at the camp

* All mail, both incoming and outgoing, was censored.

** The dead were cremated "because it decreased the possibility of disease, and our people did not want friends or relatives buried at a place like that."
varied greatly from one individual to another. This perceived world of the past has been substantially altered by subsequent experiences.

Likewise, the perception of the camp would have been influenced by prior experience, individual personality, and individual and group needs. In essence, the mind that recalls the past is not the mind that perceives the present. It is from the memories of those who underwent the Tashme experience that the following mosaic is presented.
Recollections of a Tashme Childhood

"I took grades three, four and five at Tashme. There was about thirty of us to a class. When I went outside to school at the end, there were no special problems or anything to adjust to. For us girls, there was organized sport, like softball. Same for the boys too. I didn't play outside much in the winter. We had movies at the camp once a week."

"I can't remember anything about the food except that I used to collect berries sometimes at the edge of the camp and take them home. My parents had a small garden, I think. The trees were really big, but there was lots of open space to play. In the summer holidays, we had outdoor Bible classes."

"I had a rabbit for a pet. A lot of the children had pet rabbits. Our family was just about the last to leave Tashme, and I always remember all the pets that were left behind. Later, I would wonder what happened to all those pets; I still wonder about it."

"I was at the camp for grades one, two, three and four. It was just like any other school. We used to read the Bible in school. Once a month candy was sent in and we had to line up for it with our ration tickets: I can still remember that clearly. Also, we never had much butter at our house. There were a few gardens, I think, but not many."

"Lots of sports at the camp, but there was not enough equipment to go around. In winter we would clear the snow off the ice and play hockey all day long. But we could not get hockey sticks. I remember playing hockey with a stick cut from a tree. Besides sports, there were movies once a month that cost a nickle to see. Most of the movies were silent Japanese ones, and the man who ran the projector would read the script out loud. He was pretty good at changing his voice."
"Most of us had chores to do like bringing in fire wood. Oil (kerosene) for the lamps was supplied for free. We would leave a container outside our door, like a milk bottle, and the man would come along and fill it. He had a big oil drum on something like a wheelbarrow only with a big wheel on each side. I can remember seeing him coming down the street and filling the bottles outside the doors."

"School was closed for the summer and we had lots of fun playing in the mountains. Sometimes we would fish in the stream with a stick and some string and a bent pin. Sometimes we would catch little fish."

"Us boys used to play on our own street with our own gang. We never played with boys two blocks or so over even though we went to school with them. There was quite a lot of friction between the gangs, but nothing really serious. You could not just go and join the boys from another street. It was funny that way because at school we all played together, but not once school was over."

"There were lots of dogs and cats and rabbits for pets, which I guess were left there when the camp broke up. I don't think we ever ate the rabbits. I don't know why not except that I don't know of any Japanese that do."

"We went to New Denver afterwards and at school I went to the next grade: I didn't have to do any grade over again. In fact, my brother skipped a grade when he went to the regular school. There were lots of Japanese students at the New Denver school, so it was not much different than Tashme except there was more organized sports between the towns. Tashme was too isolated to have that.

"We had no hardships. Perhaps if I had been older I would have realized what was happening, but us children didn't know any better then. But, I have never seen so many Japanese people at one place since Tashme."
"We never missed anything at Tashme. For us girls, it was the same as any place else. We just played a lot and went to school. My girlfriends were from all over the camp. The summers were just more time to play outside. Sometimes, I would help weed the garden. It was just like any other place except for a lot of snow in winter."

It would appear as if life at Tashme imposed no immediate hardships for the very young. None that were interviewed mentioned any serious deprivation. The scope of a child's perspective is limited due to the lack of prior life experiences. Tashme, for the young, appears to be no more than a place of vague memory uncertainties combined with sparks of vivid recall.

For the adults a far different and broader perspective prevailed: they knew what life was before, and were concerned with what it was at present, as well as what it might hold for the future. The depth of their concern varied from one to another as did the events outstanding in their memories.
"That first winter (1942) was really terrible. I don't know why half of us didn't die. First of all, the shacks were made of green wood. The firewood was green too. So, when you lit the fire, it would hardly burn. After you got it going - if you were lucky enough to get it going - all the water in the green timber would start to run down the walls because of the heat. The fire would go out sometime in the night and the walls would freeze. By morning they would be covered with ice. We didn't have enough blankets to keep warm, and most of us didn't have enough warm clothing because we were not allowed to bring it with us. So, we wrote to the Custodian and asked to have our trunks with clothes and other things sent to us. Some of us never even got the trunks. Others got the trunk O.K., but everything inside had been stolen. I got my trunk; it was filled with picture frames; nothing else, just empty picture frames. Those Custodians had just helped themselves to everything."

"It was worse for those from Vancouver. The Skeena people were used to snow and cold, but most of us hadn't lived through a winter like this. We were used to the rain in Vancouver.

"We worked mainly in the bush cutting firewood for the camp. Also, there was garbage to be collected, firemen needed - we never had a fire: it was a miracle, because the camp would have burned in a minute - nurses aides, teachers, storekeepers, and others. There was lots to do that first winter making the camp easier to live in. If there was not enough work, they would think some up for us - I didn't like that because there was no satisfaction of having finished something. However, we got through that first winter and the warmer weather made things better. At least you don't freeze in the summer. I am surprised, now, that serious trouble didn't break out that winter because conditions were so bad."

* On this particular point, all of the adults who were interviewed expressed the same feeling.
"We were paid for the work we did. How much you got depended upon what you did. I got $.25 an hour, but other men got more, I think. Some of the working women got a flat rate of $65.00 a month and others got $45.00 a month. It depended on what they did. But, no matter what job you had you didn't make very much."

"The worst thing about the camp was being unable to save any money. While the whites outside were making lots of money because of the labour shortage during the war, here we were stuck inside the camp. The whites outside could have had plenty saved up by the end of the war. But, for us, we came out of the camps with no savings. I was a truck driver at Tashme and since the truck was owned by an outside operator, I was to get the minimum wage. I talked to the owner at the end of the war and he said that he paid the minimum wage to the Commission. All I ever got was $.45 an hour. Where did the difference go? Someone in the Commission just put the extra money in his pocket. If we had been making outside incomes in the camp, we would have been alright at the end of the war. Those who would have been making their maximum income outside were making nothing in the camps."

"The best off in the camp were the children because they didn't know what was happening. The worst off were those who had lost their businesses or fishing boats. These people were very bitter about what had happened. Next, I guess, were the young people from about eighteen to twenty-five who had been pulled out of school or their first jobs; I felt sorry for them because I didn't know how to tell them what discrimination was all about. The old people were confused but seemed to adjust o.k. But thinking about it, I suppose the person who had a small house was hardest hit. He lost everything. At least the fishermen and farmer and businessmen got a little bit back.

"Of the families, the best off were those with small children because everything was provided for them free. There was lots of time to
play with the children, and the children had plenty
of space to play in. If the man had a poor job be-
fore the war, then the camp was not too bad."

"The food in the camp was the same as we had
had outside except that it was rationed. But, it
was rationed outside too. There was a kind of
general store and a butcher shop. Some people
had gardens, but the growing season was so short
it was difficult to grow very much. You could
also buy things from the mail-order catalogue if
you had the money to do so. I had a pass to go
to Chilliwack once and the food stores had about
the same things as was at Tashme. The food we
ate was just the same as we had had outside."

"There was a major diet change for our people.
I used to have rice two or three times a day out-
side, but you were lucky if you could get it once
a day at the camp. There was not very much fish
available either. No time was available, that
first fall, to get a garden ready and we had very
few greens that first bad winter. We would dry
alfalfa and make a kind of tea from it, and also
would boil the root of a thistle as a vegetable."

"There was never any trouble at Tashme.
Only four R.C.M.P. and a few special constables
were there. The special constables were kind of
pushy. The R.C.M.P. never had to stop any fights
or anything like that. I guess some people made
beer, but I didn't know any personally. I did
know that you could have liquor bootlegged in if
you wanted, but I didn't drink so I was not inter-
ested in that kind of thing. The R.C.M.P. were
always courteous. They never bothered us or came
into our homes."

"It was not always quiet at the camp. I can
remember one knifing incident, but luckily it
wasn't serious. Some of our people would act as translators for the Mounted Police and help them out in other ways. This resulted in some ill feelings among a few Japanese."

"Home brew? It's a good thing the Mounted Police never went into the homes: there was brew everywhere made from anything. Often used canned fruit as a base, or would use rice if we could get a little extra. There was even a still or two in operation. It's a wonder people didn't get sick from some of it because it was so raw. A lot of it was aged for less than a week. You could get all the booze from outside you wanted if you had the money. The guards or the truck drivers would smuggle it in for you. One man on a road-camp nearby spent $18.00 once to get a mickey of Rye: he only made $22.00 a month.

"The truck drivers did alright for themselves. They bootlegged both ways. They would throw off a sack of flour or something like that on the way in from Hope and pick it up on the way out. They would have no trouble selling it because of the war rationing. At the same time, they would make a big profit smuggling liquor into the camp. I think that the Mounted Police knew all about the home brew and bootlegging, but just looked the other way."

"One day we had a drive to collect money to buy baseball equipment. In one day we collected 400 dozen empty beer bottles. Not bad considering we didn't have any liquor in the camp."

"Life was pretty quiet at the camp. Work in the bush most of the day. We would be back quite early and have supper and play with the children for an hour or so. Perhaps fix something up in the house or spend some time in the garden. There were no food shortages but the garden really helped out; particularly in the springtime. So camp life was much like life outside in a lot of ways; quite quiet."

* This particular episode was related to the writer more than once.
"Camp life was great. I indulged in the booze, played ball, and had one grand and glorious time. I was out every night having a few drinks or playing cards. I didn't even think of the future. They took care of everything for us so why worry?"

It is quite apparent that life at Tashme was viewed very differently from one person to another. Each surveyed it from his own particular vantage point; this observation platform rested on a foundation of previously accumulated experiences, as do the present memories of Tashme.

The children, it would appear, were least affected at that time by the event. However, it is impossible to determine the total significance of the event for the individual child. Those who were then children recalled those aspects of life that were most enjoyable such as sport, motion pictures, playing out-of-doors, the arrival of candy and the like. These were the "treats" of camp life: if there were hardships they have been mentally submerged. The concern over animal pets prompted a question mark, not an indelible scar. The camp is just a fading image of neutral recollections, neither good nor bad.

For the adults a different composition is viewed. If they had suffered property loss of substantial value such as real estate, fishing vessel, or homes, Tashme appears to represent a turning point in their lives. At this place they could either brood and grow bitter because of what had happened; or, try to forget and deal with the problems immediately at hand and plan
for the future. For some, life was much as it had been on the outside: for others, Tashme meant four years of relatively unrestricted enjoyment and no responsibilities. Others viewed it neither negatively nor positively - it was an event that happened, no more, no less.

It could perhaps be expected that very close interpersonal ties would have developed because of the close association with so many who were also undergoing this shared experience. However, an experience is never truly shared. "I cannot experience your experience. You cannot experience my experience. We are both invisible men. All men are invisible to one another." (Laing, p.16) "We live together, we act on, and react to, one another; but always and in all circumstances we are by ourselves. The martyrs go hand in hand into the arena; they are crucified alone.----We can pool information about experiences, but never the experiences themselves." (Huxley, p.13) In essence, while they shared the same geographic place, they did not share the same experience.

"I lived in the barn, not the community."

"I didn't know people other than those on our avenue."

"I had the same friends when I came out as when I went in."

"Friendships were made before the camp, not during our time there."
Statements such as these were common. From those inter-
viewed it would appear as if the concept of a close-knit com-
munity is an erroneous one.

There was one incident of group solidarity related to the
writer. It was illegal to fish at Tashme, but frequently it was
done. One individual was apprehended by the R.C.M.P.Police and
apparently threatened with arrest. The following day between
300 and 400 of the camp population went to the stream to fish:
the incident ended with a warning, but no arrest.

No mention was made to the writer of any secret organiza-
tions or underground press, nor does it appear as if there was a
camp spokesman. Very few could not speak English, and if an in-
dividual had a specific request he simply went to the camp super-
intendent to make it. For the older Canadian-Japanese who had
difficulty with English, they had a close friend or relative
speak on their behalf, if need be.

It was not surprising to the writer to discover that certain
"illegal" commodities such as alcohol, radios (or radio parts),
and other such items were quite readily purchasable at the camp.
Several expressed feelings of suspicion regarding the R.C.M.Police
in that they felt the police were fluent in Japanese, and could
therefore understand what was being said. It was further sug-
gested that the reason for locating the public telephone outside
the R.C.M.Police office was "so that they could keep an eye on
anyone using it." Others, however, felt that the R.C.M.Police
spent most of their time "looking the other way."

The first winter, by all accounts, was the most difficult for several reasons. First, there was the basic problem of heat: the tar-paper houses combined with green fire-wood made life extremely uncomfortable. Second, the confusion and disbelief over what had been, and was, occurring to them had not yet settled. Third, there were very few camp organizations in full operation, a situation that quickly rectified itself once Tashme life became more routinized and regular. "After that first winter there were no great hardships at the camp, Associations and friendships had been formed, and the camp atmosphere was much better." By the winter of 1943 many organizations had become formally established such as the following: Tashme Stars (like Girl Guides), Wolf Cubs, Boy Scouts, Judo Club, Parent-Teacher Association, Glee Club, Handicraft Club, and several others.

Of all the organizations that were founded, it was the early establishment of a primary and secondary school that was the most significant. The school acted as a focal point for the community in that it provided leadership, direction and a sense of belonging not only for the students, but for the adults as well. The writer secured insight into the educational process at Tashme from two articulate persons, one Oriental and one Occidental, both of whom, besides being fluent in both languages, were intimately involved with education at the camp.
Education was, and is, highly regarded by the Canadian-Japanese. It was mandatory, in their eyes, that the school system should not be interrupted regardless of the evacuation. Since the evacuation proceedings occurred prior to the termination of the school term, there were difficulties from the start.

Those pupils enrolled at public schools in the greater Vancouver area continued with their classes until their families moved out of the defence area. This group were least affected as it was often the case that they were the last to leave the protected area and therefore could finish the school term. But, it was not infrequent that by the time they did leave, the school term (September, 1942) had commenced. Further, it was the ruling of the B.C. Security Commission that since they would shortly be leaving, the children were not permitted to re-enroll at any Vancouver area schools.

Those first to be evacuated were those living in the more "strategic locations" within the protected area such as Prince Rupert, Port Alice, Port Alberni, Courtenay, and others. It was these people who bided their time at Hastings Park while the interior camps were being made ready, or in the case of Tashme, being constructed. At Hastings Park volunteers established classes for these, the earliest evacuees. Such temporary measures, it was felt initially by the Canadian-Japanese,
would cease once they arrived at their final destinations in the interior. Further, they assumed that educational facilities would be immediately available at such locations. This was not the case.

Differences in the interpretation of educational responsibilities appear, at least partly, responsible for delays and inadequate arrangements for schooling. British Columbia contended that since the evacuation orders originated at the federal level, it was therefore Ottawa's responsibility to provide educational facilities. Ottawa felt that education is clearly, under the terms of the British North American Act, a provincial matter and hence British Columbia had the duty to provide for it. Mr. Angus MacInnis, M.P., C.C.F. Party stated: "Whatever may be the future of these people, it will not be helpful, either to them or to us, for them to be left in ignorance. The hope of building a better world depends, in large measure, on the extension of education to all peoples. Our Canadian Japanese are no exception." (quoted in LaViolette, 1948, p.110)

Eventually it was determined that the British Columbia Security Commission would be responsible for education from grades one to eight inclusive. Pre-schooling (kindergarten) and/or post grade eight education would have to be supplied by others: the United, Anglican and Roman Catholic Church filled this critical gap. However, due to the decision making delay, combined with inadequate facilities, the first school year at Tashme (1942-43) was most difficult for both staff
and student. "With respect to buildings, considerable variation exists among the projects, the ones at Tashme being the most inadequate during the first year. The lateness of school openings and congestion created considerable confusion among the children at first." (LaViolette, 1948, p.110)

Since, previous to the war, Canadian-Japanese found it difficult to secure employment as school teachers in British Columbia, there were only two qualified teachers among the Canadian-Japanese. Further, it was difficult to attract non-Japanese Canadians to the camps, apparently because of low wages. "As a matter of fact, some members of the Commission thought that all teaching work could be done on a voluntary basis as at Hastings Park. When salaries were paid, they started at $30 per month, but this was later increased so that most of the teachers were paid between $45 and $50. As a result of the low salary, the lack of trained teachers, the community pressure from time to time, and the interest of the teachers in resettlement, there was a rather high rate of turnover in the teaching staff." (LaViolette, 1948, p.14)

The final responsibility for teaching ultimately fell upon the residents of Tashme. In essence, the Canadian-Japanese provided educational instruction for grades one to eight inclusive, and the United Church (with the assistance of the Anglican Church) operated the secondary school from grades nine to twelve inclusive.
"School started in the fall of 1942, but it was a very difficult first year. Because the Japanese were not allowed to teach in British Columbia, with two exceptions, teacher qualifications were nonexistent. We were fortunate to have one of the qualified Japanese teachers at Tashme. For the rest of us, teaching was a new experience: none of us had taught in our lives before."

"There were no government facilities at Tashme that first year. But, we had to have education; it is a way of life with us. Those of us who had a higher education got involved in teaching the children. We learned how to teach as we went along. It was not very good, but it was better than nothing at all."

"Eventually the benches and desks from the Japanese language school in Vancouver were brought in and that was a help. The Security Commission finally decided to help out by training those of us who had been teaching. In the summer of '44 and again in '45 a small group of teachers from the Vancouver Normal School held classes for us at New Denver. The New Denver summer school was not just for us from Tashme. Teachers from all the camps went to it, because education was a problem at all of them. This training certainly helped a lot. It was too bad they did not do it earlier."

"So the first winter teaching was very difficult because of lack of facilities, and the fact that we were not trained as teachers. Then the desks came and that helped. In the second year (1943-44) the Security Commission supplied us with text books. The first year there were no school books at all. We made the best of what we had."

"The school was very important, perhaps the most important thing at the camp. It gave the children something to do, and it started to make life more regular and like it had been outside for the parents. It was important that the children
not be set back at school when the camps ended. We wanted them to carry on at the next grade and not be put back even a year. If a child loses a year or two at the primary level, it is very difficult for him later on, because he is in a class with children a lot younger than himself and that can lead to a lot of problems."

"We also wanted them to know of the regular celebrations at an outside school so that when they went to them they would not be surprised. So we had things like May Day Celebrations, Halloween, school concerts, plays, organized sports and just about all the things you would have outside. By doing this when the camps ended there was not too much of a change for the children, because nothing outside was really new to them."

"The parents also got involved. Many things had to be built for the classrooms, and we needed help getting the playing fields ready. So they got involved too. Also, there was a Parent-Teachers Organization. The parents came to see the school plays and music concerts and sports, and just to look at the work that the children were doing.

"So, the school made things more like outside, and the older people kind of forgot the problem of why we were at Tashme to begin with. The school did a lot for the whole camp and not just for the children."

Secondary Education

As explained, secondary school education came under the jurisdiction of various church organizations. It would appear that had certain persons (and groups) not pressured the government, or had not certain others been sympathetic towards this critical issue of education, then secondary schooling at the camps would not have come into existence. Further, those service clubs and organizations who, today, are frequently issuing profound statements of educational insight were conspicuous by their absence.
The United, Anglican and Roman Catholic Church did their utmost to ensure that the educational process continued at the camp. This is not to suggest that all members of these churches were in favour of such participation; rather, there was a vocal minority of the church community that allowed, and provided for, the requisite secondary school programme to commence.

Due to the confusion of relocation combined with bureaucratic inaction, the secondary school at Tashme did not get underway until January, 1943.

"The church first had to secure permission from the British Columbia Security Commission to establish a high school at Tashme. The Commission did not want to grant such permission but finally it did. Originally, three Anglican and two United Church people were at the camp; by September of 1943 this had increased to four United Church and three Anglican teachers."

"The Japanese viewed the school with mixed emotions. They were happy to see us arrive because they wanted education for their children. Education is of great importance to the Japanese, and for this reason we were welcomed. But, at the same time, there were some in the camp who felt that as a Christian nation, Canada had acted very badly. Christianity had let them down. Therefore, we represented a Christianity that had failed them when they needed help the most. So, there were some at the camp who previously had never been associated with Buddhism had now turned to it. I did not blame this group from feeling the way they did because in fact what they had claimed was true: we had failed them. But this was the feelings of only some of the camp people, not all of them. There were still those who attended the church and did not feel this way."

"We had to prove ourselves, and prove that
we were there because we cared and were concerned, and not just there to make converts. After having been there a few months we felt more welcomed by the Japanese."

"The administration, with a few exceptions, never really welcomed us. Even after the school was operating on a regular basis they were skeptical. I think that the administrators felt that we, the teachers, were 'for' the Japanese rather than being 'for' the administration. They never really bothered us, but it would have been better if they had welcomed us. But, like I say, there were a few of them that helped out greatly."

"We did not live with the administrative staff. We had the same housing as did the Japanese. That first winter five of us teachers shared one of the huts. I was happy that we had the same living conditions as the Japanese and also that we were not part of the administration: had we been so, it could have jeopardized our position with the people. The Japanese were aware that we had to put up with the same living conditions as did they."

"Because of lack of space and facilities, the high school programme operated in the evening. The primary school used the same building all day, and we held classes from 4:30 to 5:30 and then from 6:30 to 9:30 five days a week. We also held classes on Saturday morning. In the summer we had regular holidays as would any school outside. During the vacation period there was a lot of organized sports, some overnite camping trips, and the like. Several of the older boys would work in the bush all summer."

"From September (1942) until we arrived in January there was nothing for this group who normally would have been attending school outside. They had nothing to do, and were really without direction. With school commencing, things improved greatly irrespective of all the difficulties involved. The lessons and examinations were of the correspondence type marked at Victoria. We did not have nearly enough text books and students had to 'double-up' with them. Doing homework was very difficult because of the crowded conditions of the houses, and also the fact that the school was occupied during
the day by the primary school precluded use of the building. The church people and certain administrators, however, would allow the students to use their homes during the day. Another problem was the fact that several of the boys worked in the bush all day and attended school at night: it was very difficult for these students."

"There was no open rebellion on behalf of the students, but at times you could detect undercurrents of hostility. A clear case of this was that the piano at the camp had been carved into with a knife. This type of action is certainly not a part of Japanese culture and indicated to me latent hostility. There were no secret meetings or organizations among the students as far as I was aware."

"The students were confused and many were bitter over what had happened to them. But, at the first meeting of the correspondence classes I asked how they would like the meeting to start. They wanted to start by singing O Canada - this set me back somewhat. These students had had a great injustice done to them yet they still regarded themselves as Canadians and had pride in Canada in spite of what had occurred."

At Tashme there was a high school yearbook called The Nisei Lycée Annual published three consecutive years commencing in 1944. This publication gives insight into the feeling of the secondary school students, some of whom were bitter, yet at the same time, determined to advance as Canadian citizens. Two short essays from the 1945 The Nisei Lycée Annual are reproduced here in their entirety.
The day of our graduation has come.

During the past two years at Tashme High School, we have acquired a formidable weapon with which to fight ignorance, intolerance, injustice and hatred; a torch with which to blaze our path of life - secondary education.

Our education, however, had to be fought for; we had to overcome all obstacles that at times, though not for long, held us back in our pursuit for knowledge and understanding; we had to study under trying and abnormal conditions. When we first evacuated to Tashme, there was no high school; there were no means of furthering education. But our diplomas shall prove that our struggle for higher education was by no means futile.

To Miss Greenbank, Miss McLachlan, Miss McBride, Mr. Best, and the commercial teachers, we are greatly indebted for leading us to graduation, for guiding us along the highroad of learning. To them, our kind teachers, and especially to Reverend W. McWilliams, the founder of Tashme High School, we extend our heartfelt thanks and appreciation for their assistance in our struggles and problems.

While attending Tashme High School, not only have we laid our foundation for our world to come, but also we have, at the Music Appreciation Hour, enjoyed fine music and learned to find depth and beauty in the masterpieces of great musicians; we have participated in sports activities and have learned to win nobly and lose gracefully; we have forgotten dull moments at socials, and have taken part in other extra-curricular activities. These have made school life a most pleasant and enjoyable one and have helped in no small degree to chase away those interior-town evils, Monotony and Loneliness. Through activities, we have learned the full value of co-operation, unity, teamwork, sportsmanship and etiquette, the essentials for success.

Time shall come when we will realize that our fight for secondary education was well worth the struggle, when we will truly appreciate what Tashme High School had done for us in our preparation towards facing the world realistically and in the earning of our daily bread. The school motto, "Constantia Omnia Vincit" will be our motto in our march along life's broad highway.

It is with reluctance that we bid farewell to our beloved school.

Charles Yoshida
"God created all men equal," but what vast territory lies between the white and the coloured man! A territory so vast, that in it is built a barrier so wide and so high, that few men have ever struggled across that barrier to live freely on both sides. Racial prejudice, which springs from this barrier, unlike it, has no barriers and obeys no boundaries - certainly not geographical boundaries, for it is found in crowded metropolises, as well as in spreading plains of the prairies; in small fishing hamlets, as well as in rude lumber camps - certainly it knows no social barriers, for it dwells in the heart of the proud aristocrat as well as in the heart of the lowly peasant; it eats the soul of the opera singer and the farmer, the capitalist and the proletarian - certainly it has no time boundaries, for it was there in the Greek and Roman Empires, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, the First World War and it is also in this war. Racial prejudice has fanned the fires of every war, past and present - and future(?) - certainly it has no age barriers, for it is there in the jeering taunts of the five year old's "Aw, you Chink!"; in the prejudicial remarks of the twenty year old's "the ol' Japs!"; in the querulous words of the ninety year old's "houmph, a Jew eh?"

What is racial prejudice or racial intolerance? It is the judgment without due examination of the abilities or customs of other races, and the refusal of the power races to pass on to the minority races what rights or gains they possess, fused together with petty jealousies and rivalries in the business and economic fields. It is wrong to blame the White man for all the racial prejudices. We, the coloured folks, the Negroes, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Indians must take our share of the blame, for we too, have sheltered race prejudice in our hearts. I often think that perhaps one of our faults was that we didn't cry out loud enough when they bled us through various Bills and Acts; we didn't cry out - we only wept in silence. The politician began to think that we weren't like him and his brothers, who would shout and squeal at the slightest pinch; he thought that we didn't suffer the same dismal depths of despair, the same heights of joy, the same flood of love and the same grief of death. The politician began to regard us like a machine the capitalist owns, something out of which to make money, something to which demands could be made but given only food enough to work on, something to be employed but only to his advantage.
Need Race be a Barrier? Indeed not, most people will answer when asked this question. Then why is it? I can quite easily remember the embarrassment I used to suffer when asked by a white friend or teacher, "What do you want to be?" What do I want to be? Lawyer? Doctor? President? Prime Minister? - oh, what heights! Or perhaps as the question should have been asked, "What can you be?" Store clerk? farmer? fisherman? proprietor of a grocery store? What accounts for this difference in the dreams of youth? You have only to look at his face - it is not white is it? It may be yellow or red or black, but it is not white. Why must people be condemned because of race? Why, like the lepers in Jesus' day, are they forced to shout "We are unclean! We are unclean! with their faces; with their skins? Why must race hang like a dreaded disease on them? Why? Is it right? No! O, what vast territory, what real opportunities, what rich talents, what gigantic powers, what deep loves and friendships lie lost in racial prejudice!

Where can be found the cure to the headaches and the heartaches caused by racial prejudice? Here I repeat the old proverb, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Therefore, let us seek the prevention by erasing any racial prejudices, however small, however harmless it may seem, that might be lurking in our hearts, so that when we leave Tashme, we can go up to the brown boy from the plains of Araby, the yellow girl from the shores of the Yangtse River, the white boy from the highlands of Scotland or the wheat fields of the Ukraine, the black girl from darkest Africa and say, "Brother, Friend, Fellow-Citizen!"

Josie Yano

From the foregoing, it is obvious that the school offered more than formal education. "Education was more of a total experience of life and living rather than just the three R's. The students, because of the situation, were attempting to find answers to questions that were far broader than the scope of normal education. We had regular teaching sessions as does any school, but we also had many seminar discussion groups.
The working of the school gave the student encouragement: it also gave the parents hope that things would be better."

"The school gave direction and meaning to the students. In turn, the parents were likewise encouraged. Education was not just the students going to school: it was a sense of involvement for both student and parent. The parents became involved either directly, or indirectly, by watching plays, sports, and other social functions; or, by actively helping us with all the things that had to get done. The school, at both the primary and secondary level, was one of the key social institutions of Tashme."

"Key social institutions" really sums up the educational aspect of Tashme life. This is not to suggest that it was only the school that made life more bearable at Tashme; rather, without it, far less meaning or sense of involvement would have prevailed. The school offered positive values that were lacking in many other aspects of camp life: many of the "tasks" that had to be performed at Tashme appear to have been either meaningless or negative in value for those having to perform them. Often there was no sense of accomplishment when the job was finished: this was not the case with education, which provided an ongoing stimulus both directly in the classroom, and indirectly by the myriad of associated activities that accompanied the educational process. Further, its effects were felt at practically all levels of camp life and therefore did not serve as functional for only one group.

In addition to the purely academic aspects of education,
the school provided a means of self-expression for the students. They were encouraged to elucidate their points of view both verbally in the classroom, and in writing in Nisei Lycée. Hence the educational process served as a partial release for latent emotions (organized sport played a similar role). Further, the celebration of various events, such as May Day, made the transition back into the larger society less painful. The student did not leave Tashme as a complete alien in his own land, for as many "outside" functions as possible had been incorporated into the curriculum. Therefore, the school was in many ways a reduction valve for culture shock.

Hence, the educational process, in its broadest sense, was both functional and integrating in scope. It is perhaps safe to speculate and conclude that the school was the most important social organization at Tashme: its worth cannot truly be measured.
CONCLUSION

The scope of this paper was limited to Tashme and the events leading to its creation. No attempt will be made to discuss the aftermath of dissolution, with one exception. That exception is a very brief account of the impression given to the writer regarding the long term effects of evacuation.

It was most frequently the case that those interviewed regarded the evacuation, and Tashme, in a positive manner. However, this attitude seems to have arisen after, rather than during, life at Tashme. In retrospect, those interviewed generally concluded that while it was often bad for the individual, it was good for the Canadian-Japanese culture as a whole. There appeared to be two basic reasons for this feeling.

First, the previous solidarity of the Japanese community had been broken, not so much by the evacuation, but by the events that followed the termination of the camps. However, this "in-group" solidarity, was replaced by what was considered, in their eyes, a far more important form of interaction. The loosening, and at times complete breaking, of former ties forced a greater involvement in the larger society. Their peripheral position in respect to the larger society came, in a great many cases, to an end.
"Before Tashme we kept pretty well to ourselves. It made us realize that what we had been doing was not a good thing for our people, and particularly for our children. Now we are active in all walks of Canadian life." It was felt by some Canadian-Japanese that had the Japanese community been active in occupations other than those of a primary or extractive nature, the evacuation would not have occurred. Others suggested that because of discriminatory legislation it had, in fact, been impossible for them to become involved either economically, socially, or politically in Canadian life.

"Because of our nature we accepted wage differentials and other such things. We should have fought harder for our rights in B.C., and if we were then refused we should have gone elsewhere in Canada. However, we are now involved in all occupations, and that really resulted from what happened to us during and after the war." Hence, many regard the combined events of before, during and after Tashme as being the catalyst for involvement in the total Canadian community.

The second point suggested relates to their population distribution in Canada. "Before all this happened just about all of us were in British Columbia. Now we are in every province of Canada and this is a good thing." "After the camps, our people spread throughout Canada. We should have done this before, but we stayed on the coast so that we could be with our own kind." They viewed this new distribution in a positive manner and generally contended that had not the evacuation
events occurred, their people in all probability would still be concentrated along the west coast. They further felt that this spreading of their people was of great benefit because it allowed for far greater occupational and social involvement. "People in all parts of Canada now see us as being hard working Canadians. Before Tashme, they didn't know about us other than what they read in the papers."

Hence, population and occupational distribution combined with a far greater involvement in the larger community are viewed as resulting from the totality of evacuation. However, it should be made quite clear that all do not share this point of view. It was suggested that, given time, all of the "benefits" would have occurred in any event. Further, the permanent dissolution of many families offset any positive good indirectly caused by evacuation. In essence, the cost which cannot be measured in monetary terms, was too high.

Tashme is indeed an existing non-entity. It does not presently exist in physical space: it does exist in mental space, time and emotion. The recollections of this space varies greatly, as would be expected, from one individual to another; no two persons have ever shared the same experience.

* "One thing about the evacuation and imprisonment, nobody can measure the psychological damage it did." - Dr. David Suzuki: quoted in Ross, A.
Accumulated life experiences accounts for the different memory mosaics. The mind is a continually changing composite; the Tashme of today will not be the Tashme of tomorrow.

It is not enough to see the outside; one must try to experience the inside. Tashme had an outside that is no longer there: it does not exist except for the mechanical memory of the photograph and written record. Tashme does have an inside that exists in mental space.

"When the word Tashme is mentioned, what do you see?"

"It is an isolated place and a busy place.
It was also a beautiful and cold place."

"It was a quiet place."

"It was a bad dream that we had to go through and share alone."

"I see a place of warmth and injustice."

"It was a special place that gave a very precious and meaningful experience."

For the writer, it too was a very precious and meaningful experience to glimpse, in part, the inside of a particular reality: Tashme, British Columbia.
It should be pointed out that the Canadian-Japanese did not in fact have to relocate at one of the evacuation centers.* They were free to locate anywhere outside of the "protected areas" of British Columbia. Several thousand of them did go to other areas. When the complete evacuation of the Japanese from the protected areas was completed, their distribution was as follows:

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### Distribution of Japanese-Canadians after Evacuation - October 31, 1942

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Road camp projects</td>
<td>986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar beet projects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>2,585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>1,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario (male only)</td>
<td>350</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interior housing</td>
<td>11,694</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-supporting projects</td>
<td>1,161</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent and Industrial projects</td>
<td>431</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special permits</td>
<td>1,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repatriation to Japan</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evacuation voluntarily prior to March, 1942</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internment camps</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In detention, Vancouver</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings Park Hospital</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,079</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: LaViolette, 1948, p.96)

---

*Japanese who were married to Occidentals were allowed to remain in the protected areas. This, I was informed, was of benefit only in the case of a female Japanese married to a male Occidental. If it were a male Japanese married to a female Occidental he would be faced, in all probability, with the prospect of being unable to acquire employment because of the fact that he was Japanese. However, of those interviewed, only one person could recall such a situation, and in that case the male Japanese realizing his position moved his family to Alberta to work on one of the sugar-beet projects.
While it is, therefore, true that the people involved did not have to relocate at one of the interior centers, it is equally true that many did not perceive of any other option available to them. Those whom this writer interviewed gave the following reasons as to why the relocation centers were in fact the only available option.

The war, some felt, would not last very long, and they wanted to remain as close as possible to their former homes so that upon the termination of hostilities, it would be easier for the children and themselves to "take up" their former life. Many did not want to move to a completely "unknown" area of Canada and thus sever close friendships. "It's not easy to select a place in Canada and just go there and start all over again." They were also concerned about employment and accommodation. "If they felt this way about us in B.C., how were we to know that they didn't feel any differently in another place. If they did feel the same way we certainly would not get work or housing." Further, "If we couldn't get work in another place, what savings we had would soon be spent." Others felt that what had occurred was "all a mistake" and that Canada being "a free country of our birth" would realize the error and "fix it up very quickly."

Therefore, while it is true that an option existed, many did not perceive it as such.
APPENDIX "B"

It is perhaps of contextual interest to note the following.
By Order-in-Council, P.C. 1665, March 4, 1942, the British Columbia Security Commission came into being. Section 12, Sub-section (1), of this Act details the vesting to the control of the Custodian the property of those to be evacuated. It reads as follows:

"----all property situated in any protected area of British Columbia belonging to any person of the Japanese race resident in such area----delivered up to any person by the owner pursuant to the Order of the Minister of Justice dated February 26, 1942, or which is turned over to the Custodian by the owner, or which the owner, on being evacuated, is unable to take with him, shall be vested in and subject to the control and management of the Custodian----"*

Order-in-Council, P.C. 469, of January 19, 1943, in part, reads as follows:

"----the Custodian has been vested with the power and responsibility of controlling and managing any property of persons of the Japanese race evacuated from the protected areas, such power and responsibility shall be deemed to include and to have included from the date of the vesting of such property in the Custodian, the power to liquidate, sell, or otherwise dispose of such property----"*

This point is further elucidated in the Honourable Mr. Justice Henry Irving Bird Report (1950).

* underlining by the writer
"That by Order-in-Council P.C. 469 of January 19, 1943, it was provided that whenever the Custodian had been vested with the power and responsibility of controlling and managing any property of persons of the Japanese race evacuated from the said protected areas such power and responsibility should be deemed to include and to have included from the date of the vesting of such property in the Custodian, the power to liquidate, sell or otherwise dispose of such property."* (Bird, p.2)

As a layman in legal matters, the writer was struck with this difference in wording. It is not to suggest that the later P.C. 469 of January 19, 1943, had been amended so as to have allowed the Custodian to have sold the goods or property of those evacuated under the P.C. 1665, March 4, 1942, Order-in-Council: rather, it was curious that this power to sell or otherwise dispose of the property had not been mentioned in the earlier Order-in-Council. However, as the scope of this paper excludes the untangling of such minute matters, it can perhaps be concluded that all was in order. Or can it?

* underlining by the writer
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DISCRIMINATION PATTERNS WITH CHANGE IN POPULATION SIZE OF URBAN CENTERS: A CASE STUDY OF INDIANS IN SOUTHWESTERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

Ian Douglas Anderson

B.A. (Honours), McMaster University, 1969

AN EXTENDED ESSAY SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Geography

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

April 1971
APPROVAL

Name: Ian Douglas Anderson
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of extended essay: Discrimination Patterns With Change In Population size of Urban Centers: A Case Study of Indians In Southwestern British Columbia

Examining Committee:

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Senior Supervisor

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Examining Committee

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Date Approved: 28 April 1971
This is a case study of persons who considered themselves Indians living in small, medium and large urban centres in Southwestern British Columbia. The study examines the postulate that discrimination, as perceived by those affected, may vary with the size of population clusters. Discrimination is defined as "the differential treatment of individuals considered to belong to a particular social group". Specific attention was given to discrimination as illustrated in political attitudes, education, employment, and public space.

Within the context of this case study discrimination was not uniform from one size of population cluster to another. Similarly, attitudes of the Indians, such as "world view", changed. Key variables associated with these changes included differences in primary-secondary interpersonal ties, work availability, required employment skills, isolation, educational requirements, and personal awareness. The variation in perceived discrimination and attitudes of the Indian persons increased as the size of centres increased.
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In addition to the approximately two hundred persons who gave of their time so that this paper could become a reality, two individuals warrant special mention.

Mr. George Whitman, who at the time of research was with the Community Development Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Vancouver, was more than helpful. He suggested numerous people, both Indian and non-Indian who proved of great assistance. In the giving of his time and personal insight, he was extremely generous.

Mr. R. J. Francis, Instructor of Geography, Simon Fraser University, was always available for constructive criticism from the inception of fieldwork. He allowed for the development of the writer's thoughts without imposing a stringent methodology, other than demanding an inquisitive mind.
INTRODUCTION

During the summer months (May-August) of 1969, preliminary field investigations were undertaken to examine the man-land-mind milieu of Indian peoples residing in southwestern British Columbia. One sub-hypothesis of that research was that there may be a correlation between population size and discrimination. Hence, it is postulated that the type of discrimination, as perceived by those affected, may vary as did the size of the population cluster; a relationship which will be examined in this paper.
DISCRIMINATION DEFINED

The definition of discrimination, as stated by Simpson and Yinger in *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, will be used in this paper. It is, however, considered important to clearly distinguish the difference between discrimination and prejudice.

"...we shall define prejudice as an emotional, rigid attitude (a predisposition to respond to a certain stimulus in a certain way) toward a group of people. Prejudices are thus attitudes, but not all attitudes are prejudices."

"...Prejudice is an attitude, a tendency to respond or a symbolic response. It may never involve overt action toward members of the minority group,..."

"...thus prejudice must not be equated with discrimination. Yet they are closely related. Discrimination is the differential treatment of individuals considered to belong to a particular social group. One might discriminate against a member of a minority group without feeling any prejudice." (Simpson and Yinger, pp. 10-13)

This study will examine "the differential treatment of individuals considered to belong to a particular social group" rather than attempting to determine the underlying attitudes which motivated differential treatment.
METHODODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

During the research period, approximately 200 persons, both Indian and non-Indian, were informally interviewed. The majority of interviewees were Indian. The term "Indian" was not restricted to the legal definition as supplied by the Indian Act*. Rather, Indian was used in a broad context and included those persons who defined themselves as being Indian. Such Indians lived both on and off Indian reservations.

Interviews were conducted as informally as possible. No tape recordings or other forms of mechanical documentation were employed at the actual time of interviewing. No formal questionnaire was employed. The researcher was of the opinion, garnered from previous experience**, that such methods would hinder rather than assist interpersonal communication. This opinion was further reinforced while conducting the field research. However, field notes were written as soon as possible after interviews were concluded.

In lieu of a rigid questioning schema, interviews were guided within the broad confines of the following: perceived discrimination; future expectations; past and present participation in political, social and economic activities; Indian-white relations; and the role the individual saw themselves as playing in both the local and larger community ('larger',

*Refer to Appendix "A".

**Prior personal experience at the Six Nations Reservation, Brantford, Ontario; Thunder Bay District, Ontario; Whitehorse, Yukon Territory; Mackenzie Delta, Northwest Territories.
referring to the provincial or national level).

It was quickly discovered that as more interviews were conducted, the amount of new information received by the writer steadily decreased. Interviewees with year-round employment were most easily broached on the subject of discrimination. This same observation holds true for those individuals who had educational training beyond the secondary school level. As the research was intended to be of a preliminary nature, precise records were not made of occupations, the ratio of male to female interviewees, specific ages, and the like. Rather, emphasis was placed on recording new or somewhat different attitudes exhibited by the interviewees. Interviews lasted from one-half to six hours. Hence, the research was conducted in the same basic manner as that of a participant observer, but because of the time limitation the writer could only participate at a 'low' level.

The following urban centers were visited during the research period: Tofino, Ucluelet, Port Alberni, Parksville, Nanaimo, Vancouver, Squamish, Pemberton, Mission City, Hope, Princeton, Penticton, Lytton, Lillooet, Ashcroft, Clinton, 100 Mile House, Williams Lake, and Quesnel.* Indians and non-Indians living in or contiguous to these centers were questioned. The number of communities visited was limited by time and finances; all finances were from personal funds.

For the purposes of the hypothesis, the forementioned centers were divided into one of three urban sizes; large, medium, and small. Vancouver was considered to be the only center to qualify as being 'large.' Port

*For population statistics of these centers refer to Appendix "B". See map on page 4A for location.
LOCATION MAP

1. TOFINO
2. UCLUELET
3. PORT ALBERNI
4. PARKSVILLE
5. NANAIMO
6. VANCOUVER
7. SQUAMISH
8. PEMBERTON
9. MISSION CITY
10. HOPE
11. PRINCETON
12. PENTICTON
13. LYTTON
14. LILLOOET
15. ASHCROFT
16. CLINTON
17. 100 MILE HOUSE
18. WILLIAMS LAKE
19. QUESNEL

SCALE: 1" = 100 MILES (approximate)
Alberni, Nanaimo, Penticton, Williams Lake and Quesnel were considered 'medium-sized'; and, the remainder were classified as 'small.'
The attitudes of Indians interviewed will be presented within the context of political attitudes, education, employment, and public space. These specific topics were frequently considered important in terms of discrimination by the interviewees. Further, these four themes will be discussed in relation to the categories of small, middle-sized, and large urban settings.

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

The purpose of this introductory section entitled 'political attitudes' is to present a general overview of certain attitudes and opinions held by Indian people, and is hence intended to familiarize the reader with aspects germane to the overall topic.

SMALL URBAN SETTINGS

The 'world view' (Redfield, pp.81-95) of Indians residing in or contiguous to these smaller communities was, most frequently, quite narrow in scope. In addition, most were 'conservative' in their thinking. (Jenness, p.54) In this regard, most females were more 'conservative' than their male counterparts of the same age range. The majority thought in regional rather

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No direct quotations from other authors have been used, but reference to the research findings of others has been cited in footnote form where it is felt appropriate. The use of double quotation marks (ie; " ") indicates direct quotations from interviewees. Single quotation marks (ie; ' ') have been employed by the writer to emphasize certain terminology or colloquial expressions deemed important.
than village terms; that is, when asked where they lived they would often refer to a district (e.g., Okanagan, Cariboo, or The Island) rather than to a specific village or reserve. Most had not travelled more than one or two hundred miles from their place of birth, and the 'outside' world was anything beyond this range of travel. However, this common travel area varied greatly in size from one section of the province to another. For example, in the Cariboo District, Indian people would frequently travel extensively within this large region; whereas, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, those Indians residing at Tofino or Ucluelet considered Port Alberni as being on the 'fringe' of their area. Therefore, the geographic area that was considered 'home territory' was not the same size for all sections of the province visited; but, within each district the majority of Indians expressed similar views as to the outer limits of their particular district.

Individuals often referred to "the trip" that had been undertaken to Vancouver several years ago*. Even the younger members of the community (approximately 17 to 30 years of age) had spent most of their lives within the confines of the immediate area. Most Indians did not see themselves in relation to a larger geographic unit such as British Columbia or the whole of Canada. With rare exception, issues of a national or an international nature were absent from their 'world view.'

Both the Indian Act and the Department of Indian Affairs were somewhat of a mystery; most Indians were certainly aware of their existence, but did not really comprehend either. However, there were some notable except-

*Many of those interviewed were within 200 miles of Vancouver, but considered Vancouver as being quite remote.
ions to this including a few quite articulate band council members. Generally, there was little political involvement, and an understanding of the machinery of politics was, in most instances, very limited. (see Indians and the Law, p.17.; Hawthorn, et al, p.473)

The older (over 55 years of age) and middle-aged (approximately 30 to 55 years of age) people, did not think that they could do much to change existing conditions. The younger people did not appear to be very concerned. The general attitude was to leave it up to someone else. Hence, political awareness and involvement, at these small urban centers, was quite restricted.

MIDDLE-SIZED URBAN SETTINGS

As the population size increased so, it appeared, did the general degree of political awareness. As with the smaller communities, a 'conservative' attitude was apparent at all age levels, but this 'conservative' outlook was not as consistent nor as strongly adhered to by as many.

The feelings and attitudes of the older Indians were somewhat the same as those of their 'small town' peers. They did not really understand the Indian Act or the Department of Indian Affairs. They viewed politics as something quite remote, and in which they were not directly involved. Some commented on the fact that they were unsure of the meaning of Red Power* and what the younger Indians were trying to accomplish. The 'generation gap' was clearly evident. (Ervin, p.9) Collectively, however, this older group seemed somewhat more aware than their 'small town'

*The Native Alliance for Red Power is commonly referred to as Red Power, and will thus be named throughout this paper.
Young Indians were substantially more aware of political and social happenings than their peers in the smaller communities. Many had heard of the Red Power organization. (It was often the case that Red Power had had a representative in these middle-sized communities for a few days.) However, most were uncertain as to the objectives of Red Power**. When questioned about the Department of Indian Affairs, it was generally concluded that it was a "pile of red tape." The Indian Act was not an unfamiliar document to them, but very few exhibited anything more than a superficial knowledge of its contents. A small portion of the young were very bitter about their state of affairs, and while unable to clearly elucidate these views, their general feeling of unrest was readily communicated.

There was a small group of permanently employed who were very articulate. This group consisted of professional and managerial personnel such as nurses and office managers***. In political and social terms, this professional group was most active. They said that they had about equal social contact with non-Indians and Indians. (Hawthorn, (ed.), Vol.1., pp.105-126) They were politically aware of what was occurring not only in British Columbia but within Canada as a whole. The Indian Act was a familiar document to them. Their feelings towards the Department of Indian Affairs was one of exasperation. They felt that only a small percentage of people working for Indian Affairs were really concerned with Indians.

** No mention was made of Red Power, by any age level, at the small centers.

*** Will hereinafter be referred to as professional Indians.
They felt most civil servants viewed Indian Affairs as a safe, simple, secure occupation. However, they were critical of their fellow Indians as well. They pointed out that Indians must become involved in the larger society, and that this could not be accomplished merely by condemning the Department of Indian Affairs. They were not in favour of the Red Power movement, and explained that this type of "confrontation" approach would not solve the problem. However, they did think that Red Power was at least making some Indians aware, although in a rather biased manner, of existing conditions, and this they felt was a good thing.

LARGE URBAN SETTING

As mentioned, Vancouver was the only urban center to be classified as 'large.' The older Indians were not as conservative as their counterparts in either the small or middle-sized communities. Further, they appeared to be far more aware of the political happenings of the day. The middle-aged permanently employed, like the older people, were not as 'conservative' as their peers elsewhere. Most were quite highly involved in the larger society (Hawthorn, et al, pp.67-68), and viewed Indian problems as not being something unique to the Vancouver area. Many were aware of the difficulties being faced by band councils in other regions of the province (this awareness did not manifest itself in the smaller communities). Most were familiar with the Indian Act and the Department of Indian Affairs.

There were two groupings in Vancouver that did not have counterparts elsewhere. As their views cannot be readily divided into categories regarding discrimination, their attitudes will be included in this section.
The first is the Native Alliance for Red Power. Those members of Red Power who were interviewed were quite young, approximately 17 to 30 years of age. In academic achievement this group consisted of a wide cross-section of individuals ranging from high school drop-outs to a few university students. Many, who had left school for a variety of reasons, were pursuing their education informally by making use of existing facilities in the Vancouver area (e.g., libraries and guest speakers). Further, members often gave talks at educational institutions (e.g., University of British Columbia and Vancouver City College). Generally the group was very anti-establishment, and professed a desire to change the existing social order so that Indian people and other minority groups could take their rightful place in society. Some, it appeared, had recently enlarged their vocabulary with a few key words such as Marx, Lenin, Mao, Castro, and Che Guevara. It did not appear, however, that they were very familiar with the concepts professed by these people.

While the Red Power organization had an eight point program for social change*, several that were interviewed appeared confused as to its meaning. A further lack of clear objectives was revealed when the Federal government's 1969 Indian Policy paper was released**. In this instance, certain members of Red Power interviewed in Vancouver expressed general agreement with the proposal. These same individuals reversed this stand when, a few days later, it became clear that other Indian leaders in Canada condemned the policy statement.

*Refer to Appendix "C".

**Refer to Appendix "D".
Red Power members felt that discrimination was rampant in practically all areas of life such as schooling, housing, employment and politics. However, they did not see their "fight" as being against white society. Rather, they informed the writer, they were concerned with "oppressed peoples" from all racial and ethnic backgrounds who were being "put down" by the "capitalists." While generally opposed to open rebellion, they added that perhaps the solution for the "oppressed minorities" could only be achieved by such means.

The general impression received by the writer was that while those members of Red Power who were questioned were certainly sincere in their desire to change the existing social order, they were, at the same time, rather unsure of how to do it.

A second group, apparent only in Vancouver, were those young Indians who were deeply involved in the affairs of the Indian bands. This group, it is felt, probably had a clearer and deeper understanding of the problems being faced by Indian people than did any other group questioned, except for the permanently employed professional class. Some were full-time university students, and others were working full or part-time and attending night school.

They wanted to preserve what was left of Indian culture but at the same time felt that Indians could not remain as an isolated group. They felt that involvement at all levels with the larger society was the solution. By becoming involved, they thought their people would more clearly grasp an understanding of white society. At the same time, the whites would see the dilemma being faced by the Indians. Some had worked part-time for the
Department of Indian Affairs, and this they said had helped them greatly in gaining insight into the workings of white culture. The bureaucracy of Indian Affairs was no longer a mystery.

While not content with existing conditions, they felt that what had taken decades to produce could not be solved overnight. Their main point of contention was that the Indian was never really consulted when changes were made that would ultimately affect their lives. (Hawthorn, et al, p.491) Unlike many other Indians who were questioned, this group could give specific examples of sections of the Indian Act that should be changed. They viewed reservations in their present form as no more than rural ghettos. Nevertheless, they felt that properly managed reserves could become a genuine asset to their people.

When discussing discrimination this group voiced concern roughly analogous to that of Red Power, except that they were not as dogmatic adherents to a specific viewpoint. Further, unlike Red Power, they could clearly elucidate their views. Discrimination, they felt, was much broader than Indian versus white. Minority groups in all areas of the world were undergoing parallel difficulties. They said that the real problem was one of adjustment or retreat. The white society dominated this part of the globe, and the Indian people had the choice of either adjusting to it, or retreating from it. Retreat, they felt, meant going back to the reserves and remaining in a peripheral position. This they did not want.

They wanted integration with the larger society, while at the same retaining those features of their own culture that were unique, such as
language and art. This they felt could be accomplished, but would require both the white society and their own to be more flexible. They further explained that white society stereotyped the Indian and did not see individuals as such, but categorized them as belonging to a specific race. (Parsons, pp.29,32,40.; Hawthorn, (ed.), Vol.1.,pp.55-56) This was deemed unfortunate, but they felt it could be overcome by education of each by the other.

It appeared that their insight stemmed, as did their articulation of ideas, from three main sources. First, they were or were becoming well educated even by white standards. Secondly, they were in constant contact with both cultures; in attempting to find a middle road between the two, their awareness of each was greatly enlarged. Third, they were being looked upon as leaders by their own people, and at the same time regarded as Indian spokesmen by the white society. Thus they were being forced to be aware of, and critically evaluate, the existing contingencies. Their task is one of great difficulty.

Discrimination, to be certain, existed in their eyes. But, it was not so much a case of being discriminated against because one was an Indian; rather, it occurred because one was a member of a minority group. They felt that the primary causes of discrimination were economic and educational, and that both causes were closely linked. (Jenness, p.56) Further, both could be overcome.
SUMMARY

As one moves from small to medium to large sized population clusters, the 'conservative' attitudes exhibited by most Indian people becomes less pronounced; conversely, their 'world view' appears to widen in breadth. In essence, overall awareness of Indians changed as did the population size of the urban center; that is, they appeared to be more cognizant of political, social and economic forces as the population size increased. The views expressed in the small communities were evident in all other sized urban settings, but many of the views held by Vancouver Indians were not apparent elsewhere.

Let us now examine specific attitudes regarding discrimination in employment, education, and public space.
SMALL URBAN SETTINGS

Most Indians in the smaller centers felt that discrimination was evident within the school system. Teachers were thought to "favour" non-Indian students. This attitude could be one factor, many felt, contributing to the high Indian 'drop-out' rate. The more articulate Indians disagreed and suggested that the ease of acquiring employment in primary activities (e.g., fishing and logging), if only part-time, was an incentive for the young male to leave school early. Secondly, they felt that high drop-out rates existed not so much due to discrimination in the schools as the fact that most Indian pupils were not on equal footing with non-Indians on entering the school system. Specifically, an inadequate knowledge of English was cited as a severe handicap. Many felt that this disadvantage could be partially overcome by initiating pre-schooling for such pupils. They stated that the marked difference in the home environment between Indian and non-Indian was also a major factor contributing to the high percentage of Indians not completing secondary school (see Morec, p.14).

Therefore, it appears that the lack of white cultural skills, rather than discrimination, was a critical variable in explaining the non-completion of education. It is not the case that the Indian pupil is less intelligent than his non-Indian peer. (Mulvihill, p.2.) Rather, it is the fact that it will often take an Indian pupil two or three years to adjust to the school system (Hawthorn, (ed.), Vol.2.,p.36) Hence, by the time the Indian child is fourteen or fifteen years of age, he or she will
frequently be in classes with non-Indian students two or three years younger. This age discrepancy, combined with discouragement and a home environment that was not generally conducive to the establishment of regular study habits, often resulted in the Indian pupil leaving the school system.

The teaching staff were generally aware of the difficulties being experienced by the Indian student. At the same time, many teachers appeared to the writer to be extremely naive as to the causes of the problem or the workings of Indian culture. (Jenness, pp.15,57.; Gordeau, p.371.; Shimpo and Williamson, pp.164-167.; Wolcott, pp.129-131.; Hawthorn, et al, pp.299-303, pp.307-314) However, they were in avid support of pre-schooling as one method of alleviating the situation. (Laing, p.2) Several teachers spoke of what could be termed as 'unintended discrimination.' They pointed out that Indian pupils were given books, health examinations, and other similar services by the Department of Indian Affairs; in doing so, the Indian pupil was singled out. This made the pupil feel even more ill at ease, and acted as a constant reminder that in fact they were different. Many teachers felt that the maintaining of 'special status' further widened the gulf that the Indian students was being asked to bridge.

The school administrators were generally very 'conservative' in their outlook. Their main concern, it would appear, was in having their staff complete the course outline, whether or not the pupils really comprehended the material. It further appeared that the administrators were greatly preoccupied with attendance records, being on time, lining up at fountains, and the like. (King, pp.48,80.; Wolcott, p.92.; Hawthorn, (ed.), Vol.2.,p.83) Education seemed secondary to efficiency; the correct behaviour more important than learning.
The professional Indians in these middle-sized urban centers were very vocal regarding education. Pre-schooling was, in their eyes, an absolute necessity. (Gordeau, p.370) They, like their small town peers, felt that the reason for Indian children doing poorly in school was not because they lacked the mental attributes, but simply because they were competing in a system that was completely foreign to them. (Hawthorn, et al, pp.287-288.; Norec, p.15) They felt that Indian history and culture should be taught in all Canadian schools. (Laing, p.13) This group was very much against 'special status' which resulted in differential treatment for Indian students.

They felt that the teaching of Indian languages in the schools was an impossibility because of the great variety of dialects that existed within relatively small geographic areas. Language should be taught in the home, but school boards should encourage Indian students to speak in their native tongue as often as possible. They wanted to see one provincial school system for all students, and felt that separate school boards were a detriment to integration. (Hawthorn, (ed.), Vol.2.,pp.153-154) Religious affiliation with schools should be ended as quickly as possible. They also thought that pre-schooling should exist, wherever possible, in the Indian community so that Indian children would not feel so out of place. By having pre-schools within these areas, they felt that the teachers would grasp the problems of the Indian community and gear their teaching accordingly.

On the other hand, the older Indians viewed the educational system
as something rather remote. They generally felt that education was of positive benefit for the younger people, and did not really know if discrimination existed in the system. (Wolcott, pp. 81-84)

The younger people, and particularly the students, felt that more important than discrimination was an attitude of "not caring" exhibited by many teachers. Many had been discouraged by low grades and poor counselling, and had left secondary school before completion. However, because of the increased employment competition they were often without work. Many drifted back to the reserve bitter and disillusioned. (Hawthorn, (ed.), Vol. 2., pp. 116-118)

LARGE URBAN SETTING

In Vancouver, the older Indians viewed education as a necessity for the young and generally did not think that any undue discrimination existed in the school system. They did want to see certain changes made in education to allow Indian students more opportunity to compete with their white peers. For example, they wanted better counselling for Indian students so that he or she would more fully comprehend the advantages of a higher education. They felt that Indian students were often "confused" as to the internal workings of the school system (ie; course selection, optional subjects, and the like), and were frequently uncertain as to what school would best suit their needs (e.g., Vancouver City College as compared to the British Columbia Institute of Technology).

The permanently employed middle-aged Indians, like their peers
elsewhere, gave specific comments regarding education. Pre-schooling, again, was one aspect of education that they advocated. However, they also felt that the various bands, either collectively or individually, should take steps to initiate pre-schooling, and not just complain to the Department of Indian Affairs. They wanted to see their young people attain a university education if at all possible. Further, the 'remoteness' of the college or university that was very much in evidence in the small and middle-sized communities did not exist here to such a noticeable degree.

Generally, they did not think that discrimination existed in the school system. Further, the major problem for the young Indians and particularly those raised in a reserve environment, was one of adjusting to a different set of cultural norms. Some pointed out that teachers often discriminated in favour of the Indian student. Teachers would often "go out of their way" to help a student simply because he or she was an Indian. They generally concluded that problems of adjustment, rather than discrimination per se, were the cause of Indian students leaving the educational system prior to graduation.

The young Indian students could be roughly divided into two main groupings. The first group were those who had been born and raised either in, or in close proximity to, Vancouver. This group experienced the same basic difficulties, approximately, as did their white counterparts. Discrimination in the school system rarely came into their conversation. Their attitudes regarding education were, like their white peers, something that had to be undergone, and they did not view the school as either unique or remote. It was a given fact of life.
A second group were those residing in Vancouver but having permanent residence in small and middle-sized communities some distance from Vancouver. They were in Vancouver to take advantage of educational facilities not available in their home community. This group was, generally, confused by the cityscape and the existing life styles. Frequently members of this group were residing with a kinship associate, but had few close friends outside of that grouping. They did not talk about discrimination; rather, they expressed feelings of loneliness and being "lost." For this group, lack of close interpersonal ties and social intercourse was the immediate concern, not discrimination.

SUMMARY

In the small centers, those Indians who felt that discrimination existed in the school were basing their beliefs primarily on the fact that many Indian students 'dropped-out' prior to completing secondary education. In the opinion of the writer, such conclusions are generally incorrect. It was the lack of white cultural skills and concomitant white goal orientation, combined with the non-white norms of the home environment that promoted educational difficulties. Further, the relative ease of acquiring work, in some small centers, in primary based activities was an important factor in prompting the young male Indian to discontinue his education. The young female Indian appeared more concerned with marriage than education, and did not view schooling as a necessity for family life.
In the medium-sized communities it appeared as if the school became an 'impersonal' institution. Again, as was the case in the small centers, it was not necessarily that discrimination existed in the school system. Rather, it was a combination of the impersonalization of the total educational system and lack of white cultural skills held by Indian students that determined the difficulty.

In Vancouver the educational system was not viewed as being 'remote' as was often the case elsewhere. In addition, the school was generally better understood by all age levels. Most Indians, both student and parent, did not feel that discrimination was evident in the schools.

The concern voiced by many teachers regarding the need for preschooling was heard primarily at the small urban centers. As the population size of the urban center increased, it appeared as if the intensity of the teacher-student, teacher-parent relationship decreased markedly.

Among the Indian populace at the small and medium-sized centers, it was generally the more articulate that regarded preschooling as a necessity. In Vancouver, however, all age levels of the Indian population appeared more concerned with the totality of education, not just those with professional skills of year-round employment.
In many of the small centers it was reiterated that local employment was not too difficult for males to secure. Often such employment was seasonal, but several jobs could be combined to provide year-round work (e.g., fishing and logging). Most agreed that employment could be obtained if a person really wanted it. This was not the case for the female. However, female interviewees focused attention on marriage and family. They regarded employment as a transitional period until these goals were realized.

Some males said that they could not secure local employment because they were Indians. Most disagreed and suggested that poor work habits were the cause of unemployment, not lack of work availability. However, many suggested that upward job mobility was practically impossible once a certain level had been reached. They said that they could progress no further than being a "crew leader" of a small group of men. Others suggested that it was principally a lack of education that prevented their promotion within a company.

Frequently it was mentioned that discrimination had been encountered when visiting the "big city" to secure employment*. The big city was "strange" and "unfriendly"; no one "seemed to care" and the Indian newcomers didn't.

*The "big city" most often meant Vancouver, and "the city" usually referred to the largest urban settlement in the area.
know "where to turn for help." They felt that they were unable to secure employment "because we were Indian." However, it is the opinion of the writer that what frequently was being described was not specifically discrimination, but 'culture shock.' Most had returned home within a short time (usually less than five weeks) where peer and kinship group affiliation reinforced their concept of the "unfriendly city."

MIDDLE-SIZED URBAN SETTINGS

The employment range in these middle-sized centers ranged from manual labourers to professionals. Again, it should be made clear that many who had year-round employment often did so by combining two or more seasonal occupations.

Regarding employment discrimination, the attitudes of the young could be roughly divided into two groups. One group felt that there was little, if any, discrimination. The other suggested that discrimination was quite obvious. (Richardson, pp.11-14) However, they could not make clear to the writer specific events when they felt discriminated against. Statements such as: "Well, you know, its hard to explain."; or, "The whites don't treat us as equal." were common verbal descriptions of the problem. They felt that they were in a subordinate position that could not really be explained. "If you were one of us then you would understand."

It should, however, be made clear that many of the young who were questioned were only concerned with obtaining part-time employment (weekends, summers, etc.) and therefore had had no real experience with securing full-time permanent work.
Those employed in manually oriented occupations were very similar to their small-town counterparts, in that they felt that work was available if one really wanted it. If you "worked hard" your employment was secure. Further, they viewed the lack of upward occupational mobility being a function of inadequate skills rather than a product of discrimination.

The views of the professional class regarding employment were quite different than Indians of less professional status in the same community, or than regularly employed Indians in the smaller centers. They felt that discrimination, while not as blatant as it had been in the past, certainly existed. Often, they said, an Indian was not discriminated against as an individual but simply because he or she was an Indian. For example, some companies and individuals who had hired Indians no longer did so. This action was interpreted as a rejection of all perspective Indian employees because of earlier unacceptable work standards of other Indians. (Hawthorn, et al., p.73.; King, p.7) "Many of our people, as do yours, have poor employment records. But, you can't judge all of us because of the actions of some of us." The professional class felt that it was not infrequent for an Indian to be refused employment even when the person had the requisite qualifications. Further, they felt that Indians were most often "overlooked" when promotions were being considered. For political, social and employment purposes, the professional Indian wanted to be treated as an individual, not a member of a particular race. (Morec, p.33)

Many whites were "overpolite" or "patronized" the professional Indian. This type of 'reverse' discrimination was, to the professionals, even more
difficult to combat. They also suggested that often an Indian, particularly one with professional training, was hired so that the "token" Indian was on the payroll. This person could then be "pointed out" to those who claimed discrimination. (Hawthorn, (ed.), Vol.1., p.53)

Another type of discrimination that was closely related to employment was the type that this professional group received from their own people. Since this group was not reserve oriented, many Indians regarded them as "sellouts" to the white society. Since the professional Indian was in constant contact with their peers of the non-native society, many of their own people, they felt, regarded them as being "snobbish" or "standoffish." This type of reaction they were aware of, but did not know how to combat.

LARGE URBAN SETTING

The older Indians in Vancouver generally concluded that while employment discrimination existed to a degree, it was not as bad as it had been in the past. In their eyes the most important criteria for employment was education. If an Indian were well educated, he or she would confront no great employment obstacle. However, their concept of a 'good job' was most frequently one that provided full-time employment, and not necessarily of a professional nature. They were concerned, however, that many "white jobs" and especially "factory work" offered limited personal satisfaction. Further, their people were not used to regimented employment situations. They indicated that they would prefer to see an Indian "on his own" (e.g., operating his own fishing boat), rather than
having to work a regularly scheduled eight hour day. But their overall consensus appeared to be that an Indian with the requisite skills could obtain employment if he or she really wanted work.

The middle-aged permanently employed group regarded employment much as did the older Indians, except that the need of being 'independent' was not stressed. Work could be obtained if one possessed the necessary skills, and while discrimination did exist to a degree it was not as bad as it had been. This middle-aged group did not, generally, mention the "token" Indian. Instead, they felt that white employers would promote an Indian if he or she were able to handle the added responsibilities. However, they felt that the Indian was being stereotyped at lower occupation levels such as manual labour, or employment requiring little or no formal training. This they felt unfortunate, but the obvious solution was to sidestep this attitude by obtaining a better education. Therefore, they felt that for the Indian with professional skills, discrimination could pose as an unfortunate obstacle.

The young Indians, excluding Red Power and the young leadership Indians, were again divided into two major groupings. One felt that while discrimination existed to a degree, the real problem was lack of education. The second group, most frequently with less education than the first, thought that Vancouver was a poor place to seek employment for anyone, but that the Indian was worse off than most. Some said that they had looked for work "for awhile" but had "given up after a few days" of enquiring. Often this second group consisted of Indians from other areas of the province who
had come to Vancouver to locate employment, but equally important "to see what it was like here." Most possessed neither marketable skills nor close friendships. Many said they would "be going home soon."

**SUMMARY**

Most Indians at the small urban centers did not feel that discrimination was evident in the securing of work. Rather, availability of employment was of critical importance, as was the development of 'good' work habits. Some small centers offered very limited employment opportunities for either Indian or non-Indian, and under these circumstances many Indians were convinced that they were the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Upward mobility within an occupation was being prevented, generally, because of a lack of adequate skills, and was not primarily a result of discrimination. Sometimes opportunities for promotion were limited regardless of the skills possessed because of the size of the business ventures. For example, this would have been the situation in a small logging operation with a total work-force of perhaps fifteen or twenty men.

Moving to the medium-sized settings, it appeared as if the Indian was frequently being stereotyped as belonging to a particular minority group, and often was not being judged as an individual possessing particular skills. Hence, upward employment mobility was being hindered, it would appear, because one was an Indian. Further, the 'token' Indian makes its appearance with this population size, as does the phenomenon of 'reverse'
discrimination.

In Vancouver all points of view were expressed. Stereotyping was said to exist at the lower levels of employment, while high skill requirements became the basis of assessment for more responsible occupations. It is the opinion of the writer that discrimination existed in Vancouver, but perhaps of equal importance was the combination of low education and culture shock that gave rise to many of the attitudes expressed by those Indians of non-local origin.
PUBLIC SPACE

Public space will be divided into two categories. 'Open' public space will refer to roads, sidewalks, parks, and the like. 'Closed' public space will refer to hotels, stores, restaurants, bus depots, and other such private or corporate businesses. Public space is that area(s) or place(s) that is considered to be available to the public at large.

SMALL URBAN SETTINGS

In 'closed' public space, discrimination appeared to be minimal if at all in evidence in small communities. It was often the case that the Indian customer of such 'closed' spaces was on a first name basis with the proprietor. Also, Indians frequently were employed in such establishments. Those Indians interviewed felt that at times discrimination occurred, but such instances were infrequent and not of a serious nature. They further felt that when Indian customers were asked to leave areas of 'closed' public space (particularly hotel beverage rooms), it was usually because of their disruptive actions, rather than the fact that they were Indian.

In 'open' public space there again appeared to be little, if any, discrimination. The Indians were frequently greeted by first name on the street both by Indians and whites. Further, the non-native populace did not act as if they were 'above' the Indian; that is, the white apparently did not regard 'open' public space as being 'his' and relegate the Indian to another place.
MIDDLE-SIZED URBAN SETTINGS

A very different collage greeted the eyes and ears of the writer at these medium sized communities. In both 'open' and 'closed' public space the Indian was frequently treated with contempt by many whites. Abusive language and intended bodily harm was often directed towards the Indian. Non-Indians were treated in high regard in comparison. Both Indian and non-Indian interviewees often said that Indians were frequently arrested for minor law infractions. For the same infraction a white perhaps would be warned about, if indeed that. (Indians and the Law, p.55) Many expressed the view that there were two sets of laws; one for whites, and one for Indians.

Of the urban settings visited, Williams Lake was the worst regarding Indian discrimination in both 'open' and 'closed' public space. In this city the Indians were blatantly treated by many whites as objects, not individuals. The Indian was something less than a second class citizen.

The professional group explained another type of discrimination aimed at the Indian. They said many of their people were constantly being "cheated" by white businessmen. It was suggested that many Indians did not fully comprehend sales agreements which they signed for. Agreements with car dealers, insurance agents, and loan companies were singled out as examples. Also, some merchants including clothing, grocery, and hardware stores, where certain items were often not marked as to price, charged more for a specific item to an Indian than he would have to a white. The "cheating" of this type was directed more toward those with little education or toward recent arrivals to the community than toward regular customers or
Indians of professional status.

**LARGE URBAN SETTING**

In Vancouver most Indians did not think that they were discriminated against in either 'open' or 'closed' public space. Some did think that they were treated "coldly" by a small percentage of non-Indians, but this they did not really regard as discrimination. A few Indians mentioned that some of their people were discriminated against by landlords. They felt that certain people would not rent an apartment or a house to an Indian. However, no interviewee could give concrete examples of this action. Rather, they said that they had heard of it happening to others, but had not been personally involved.

At the bottom rung of the social and economic ladder were those Indians who inhabited skid-row. For these people it appeared as if alcohol were the primary means of euphoric escape; drugs played a less important secondary role. Nearly all age levels, both male and female, were represented here. Some felt that they were discriminated against; most had no opinion on the subject. Those that did think that discriminatory practices against Indian people were in evidence never gave clear examples of their feelings. "It's hard to get work if you are an Indian." or, "Some whites are o.k., but most don't like us." were typical responses.

In areas of 'closed' public space (e.g., hotels, restaurants, small stores) where Indians went as customers, no distinction was made between Indians and non-Indians. Here an Indian was treated as any other member of skid-row. He was asked to leave a premises if he misbehaved. If an Indian
had the requisite finances and did not cause any undue disturbance, he was left pretty well alone. This was unlike the treatment that they were subjected to at Williams Lake.

In addition, a sense of 'community' or 'belonging' permeated the district. Indians and non-Indians who frequented the area were often on a first name basis not only with each other, but with those who worked in, or owned, skid-row establishments. The Police it appeared did not go out of their way to harass Indians in either 'open' or 'closed' public space; all community members received approximately the same treatment. Therefore, the Indian on skid-row was generally regarded as an inhabitant of the slum environment, and was treated as such. They were not regarded as being any different than other members of that same subculture.

SUMMARY

At the small urban centers, discrimination in either 'open' or 'closed' public space did not exist, in the opinion of the writer, to any significant degree. The Indian appeared to be treated the same as any other individual.

Moving to the middle-sized communities, discrimination towards Indians in both 'open' and 'closed' public space was extremely obvious. In addition, the Indian was being subjected to forms of subtle discrimination such as "cheating" in 'closed' public spaces.
In Vancouver, discrimination in public space was not a common topic of discussion among Indians. Further, the writer did not personally witness Indian people being subjected to treatment any different than that received by other minority groups.
CONCLUSIONS

Due to the brevity of the research period it is felt that many forms of discrimination may have escaped detection by the writer. It is further felt that seasonal disparities of employment did not manifest themselves during such a short period of field research; perhaps during the winter months different attitudes would be expressed by certain of those who were interviewed. In addition, perhaps some individuals were voicing concern with prejudicial occurrences and not necessarily acts of discrimination.

The long-term effects upon the individual of internalized feelings and attitudes regarding discrimination, whether such feelings resulted from real or imagined events, cannot be estimated. Both the type of discrimination, and the attitudes regarding discrimination varied greatly from one population sized cluster to another in southwestern British Columbia. Further, within each urban setting quite different viewpoints were expressed.

Discrimination, the differential treatment of individuals, is a product of many forces. It is felt that one of the major variables influencing discriminatory action results from the breakdown of close interpersonal ties. In essence, the shift from primary to secondary association results in the person being stereotyped as a member of a specific group, and is no longer regarded as an individual. This impersonalization seems, in part, influenced by increased population. It is therefore felt that the lack of discrimination evident in the small urban centers can be partially explained by the fact that persons are considered as individuals: primary interpersonal relationships are the rule, not the exception.
Moving to the middle-sized communities, this primary social intercourse is broken. The person is no longer an individual; he becomes a member of a distinct minority group. The proprietor does not see Joseph Smith who is an Indian; he sees an Indian whom he may incidently know as being Joseph Smith. The Indian is, at this population level, being stereotyped.

In the large population cluster a different phenomena of a dual nature occurs. The population is now so large that the Indian, in addition to being stereotyped as a member of a distinct racial group, is most frequently treated as just another person, no more, no less. People do not go out of their way to harass Indians (as was the case at Williams Lake); the city is cold; the person becomes just one more face in the crowd. Because he is just one more face in the crowd, and usually treated as such, the Indian often regards this as discrimination. It is not discrimination; rather, it is an attitude of not caring that is characteristic of an urban dwellers autonomy.

The ratio of Indians to whites is also considered important in terms of discrimination. In Vancouver the Indian population is slight relative to that of the larger society. In Vancouver, contact with Indian people is extremely limited for most of the non-native populace. Because of this, preconceived notions are held to a minimum and are not reinforced by daily contact; attitudes of not caring predominate, not acts of discrimination.

At the middle-sized centers constant contact between the two cultures is the rule, not the exception. Preconceived notions find daily reinforcement, and discriminatory action by whites towards Indians is an accepted norm. At the small centers, contact is again daily, but here interpersonal
ties decrease racial conflict.

Physical isolation (ie; the lack of transportation and/or other forms of communication) promotes the development of close interpersonal ties. In the small center the proprietor knows the customer, the business man the employee, and vice versa. An in-group solidarity is attained and maintained.

By increasing the population size, which is usually accompanied by an increase in communication availability, the factor of physical isolation is decreased: concomitant social intercourse decays. However, one can be isolated in even the largest urban setting. Skid-row, not physically isolated, is, like the small urban setting, a community revealing close interpersonal ties. Therefore, isolation, either physically or mentally induced, is of importance in explaining discrimination.

Employment in the small centers was usually associated with primary activities (e.g., logging, fishing, and cattle ranching), and the skills required for such employment were low. Hence, low skill requirements combined with greater interpersonal contact across racial lines appears to be responsible in little or no employment discrimination at these smaller centers. Further, in certain communities where two or more seasonal occupations could be combined to provide long-term employment, attitudes regarding discrimination were greatly modified. That is, fewer individuals thought that discrimination existed in the labour marketplace. In other small centers, however, where limited employment was the rule, it was frequently reiterated that discriminatory practices occurred.

Increasing the population size usually means a corresponding increase
in work availability. But, the increased population also means more people competing for the same job. Hence, it is often inadequate skills in combination with discrimination that are the significant factors in employment at these middle-sized communities.

The practice of 'reverse' discrimination such as the 'token' Indian on the payroll, or being 'overpolite' to an Indian, absent in the small centers but evident in the larger ones, results from a myriad of social norms. The pressures that promote this type of action are absent in the small villages, but manifest themselves in the larger urban centers: tokenism is more an urban than rural phenomena.

As the population at a given place increases, it would appear that a corresponding increase in awareness results. For example, most interviewees belonging to the Red Power organization had been born in small village settings. For a variety of reasons they had migrated to Vancouver. They felt that had they remained in their home village they would not have been as aware of either their own culture or that of white society.

Awareness in social, political and economic terms appears to be greater in a large urban setting. Those individuals who were born and raised in Vancouver, or in close proximity to it, were not mystified by the cityscape. Such was not the case with the recent arrival who was confused and disoriented, as the senses were bombarded with stimuli absent in the small village.
As the population size increases the individual is, often unconsciously, assimilating the norms, values, and goals of the larger society. Even a rejection of such norms means a prior partial understanding of them. In addition, the larger urban communities exhibit problems that were either absent in the small towns, or at least only occurring at a superficial level (e.g., 'hard' drug abuse). Some of the problems of the middle-sized communities did not exist in the larger center to such a marked degree, but at the same time many of the rural problems were magnified there.

It is felt that future Indian leadership will emerge from the city environment where a compendium of conditions are forcing the young, more educated and articulate Indians to become aware of what is occurring. Awareness is the first step towards a solution.

In conclusion, it is felt that this preliminary investigation has illustrated that discrimination is not uniform from one population cluster to another. As population size changes so does the type of accompanying discrimination; and, the attitudes held by Indians also changed. The specific reasons for these changes are many, but certain key variables are considered of critical importance: primary-secondary interpersonal ties; work availability; required employment skills; isolation; educational requirements; and, personal awareness. The reasons are manifold: there is no single answer solution.
Appendix "A"

11. Subject to section 12, a person is entitled to be registered if that person:
   (a) on the 26th day of May, 1874, was for the purposes of An Act providing for the organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the management of Indian and Ordnance Lands, chapter 42 of the statutes of 1868, as amended by section 6 of chapter 6 of the statutes of 1869, and section 8 of chapter 21 of the statutes of 1874, considered to be entitled to hold, use or enjoy the lands and other immovable property belonging to or appropriated to the use of the various tribes, bands or bodies of Indians in Canada;
   (b) is a member of a band
      (i) for whose use and benefit, in common, lands have been set apart or since the 26th day of May, 1874, have been agreed by treaty to be set apart, or
      (ii) that has been declared by the Governor in Council to be a band for the purposes of this Act;
   (c) is a male person who is a direct descendant in the male line of a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b);
   (d) is a legitimate child of
      (i) a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b), or
      (ii) a person described in paragraph (c);
   (e) is the legitimate child of a female person described in paragraph (a), (b) or (d); or
   (f) is the wife or widow of a person who is entitled to be registered by virtue of paragraph (a), (b), (c), (d) or (e).

12. (1) The following persons are not entitled to be registered namely,
   (a) a person who
      (i) has received or has been allotted half-breed lands or money script,
      (ii) is a descendant of a person described in subparagraph (i),
      (iii) is enfranchised, or
      (iv) is a person born of a marriage entered into after the 4th day of September, 1951, and has attained the age of twenty-one years, whose mother and whose father's mother are not persons described in paragraph (a), (b), (d), or entitled to be registered by virtue of paragraph (e) of section 11, unless, being a woman, that person is the wife or widow of a person described in section 11, and
   (b) a woman who married a person who is not an Indian, unless that woman is subsequently the wife of widow of a person described in section 11.

Source: Office Consolidation of the Indian Act, R.S.C. 1952, c 149 as amended by 1952-53, c.41;1956, c.40;1958, c.19;1960,c.8;1960-61,c.9.
### Appendix "E"

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Urban Center</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Large</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>450,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Medium</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>15,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penticton</td>
<td>15,335</td>
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<tr>
<td>Port Alberni</td>
<td>18,538</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quesnel</td>
<td>6,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Williams Lake</td>
<td>4,100</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Small</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ashcroft</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>3,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lillooet</td>
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<td>Lytton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mission City</td>
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<td>Parksville</td>
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<td>Pemberton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Princeton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Squamish</td>
<td>1,557**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tofino</td>
<td>465</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ucluelet</td>
<td>1,150</td>
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<td>100 Mile House</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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</table>


* Canada Year Book, 1968
** Canada Year Book, 1967
Appendix "C"

NARP EIGHT POINT PROGRAM

1. We will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny. Therefore, we want power to determine the destiny of our reservations and communities. Gaining power in our reservations and communities, and power over our lives will entail the abolishment of the "Indian Act" and the destruction of the colonial office (Indian Affairs Branch).

2. This racist government has robbed, cheated and brutalized us, and is responsible for the deaths of untold numbers of our people. We feel under no obligation to support this government in the form of taxation. Therefore, we want an end to the collection of taxes.

3. The history of Canada was written by the oppressors, the invaders of this land. Their lies are perpetrated in the educational system of today. By failing to expose the true history of this decadent Canadian society, the schools facilitate our continued oppression. Therefore, we want an education that teaches us our true history and exposes the racist values of this society.

4. In this country, Indian and Metis represent 3% of the population, yet we constitute approximately 60% of the inmates in prisons and jails. Therefore, we want an immediate end to the unjust arrests and harassment of our people by the racist police.

5. When brought before the courts of this country, the redman cannot hope to get a fair hearing from white jurors, judges and court officials. Therefore, we want natives to be tried by a jury of people chosen from native communities or people of their racial heritage. Also, we want freedom for those of our brothers and sisters now being held unjustly in the prisons of this country.

6. The treaties pertaining to fishing, hunting, trapping, and property rights and special privileges have been broken by this government. In some cases, our people did not engage in treaties with the government and have not been compensated for their loss of land. Therefore, for those of our people who have not made treaties, we want fair compensation. Also, we want the government to honour the statutes, as laid down in these treaties, as being supreme and not to be infringed upon by any legislation whatsoever.
7. The large industrial companies and corporations that have raped the natural resources of this country are responsible, along with their government, for the extermination of the resources upon which we depend for food, clothing and shelter. Therefore, we want an immediate end to this exploitation, and compensation from these thieves. We want the government to give foreign aid to the areas comprising the Indian Nation, so that we can start desperately needed programs concerning housing, agriculture and industrial co-operatives. We want to develop our remaining resources in the interests of the redman, not in the interests of the white corporate-elite.

8. The white power structure has used every possible method to destroy our spirit, and the will to resist. They have divided us into status and non-status, American and Canadian, Metis and Indian. We are fully aware of their "divide and rule," tactics, and its effects on our people.

RED POWER IS THE SPIRIT TO RESIST
RED POWER IS PRIDE IN WHAT WE ARE
RED POWER IS LOVE FOR OUR PEOPLE
RED POWER IS OUR COMING TOGETHER TO FIGHT FOR LIBERATION
RED POWER IS NOW!

During the summer of 1969, the Federal Government released an Indian Policy statement. Indian leaders were, generally, extremely critical of this new proposal. A small portion of the policy statement is herein reproduced.

The New Policy

True equality presupposes that the Indian people have the right to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada.

The government believes that the framework within which individual Indians and bands could achieve full participation requires:

1. that the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination be removed;

2. that there be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life;

3. that services come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians;

4. that those who are furthest behind be helped most;

5. that lawful obligations be recognized;

6. that control of Indian lands be transferred to the Indian people.

The Government would be prepared to take the following steps to create this framework:

1. Propose to Parliament that the Indian Act be repealed and take such legislative steps as may be necessary to enable Indians to control Indian lands and to acquire title to them.

2. Propose to the governments of the provinces that they take over the same responsibility for Indians that they have for other citizens in their provinces. The take-over would be accompanied by the transfer to the provinces of federal funds normally provided for Indian programs, augmented as may be necessary.

3. Make substantial funds available for Indian economic development as an interim measure.
4. Wind up that part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which deals with Indian Affairs. The residual responsibilities of the Federal Government for programs in the field of Indian affairs would be transferred to other appropriate federal department.

In addition, the Government will appoint a Commissioner to consult with the Indians and to study and recommend acceptable procedures for the adjudication of claims.

The new policy looks to a better future for all Indian people wherever they may be. The measures for implementation are straightforward. They require discussion, consultation and negotiation with the Indian people—individuals, bands and with provincial governments.

Success will depend upon the co-operation and assistance of the Indians and the provinces. The Government seeks this co-operation and will respond when it is offered.

The Immediate Steps

Some changes could take place quickly. Others would take longer. It is expected that within five years the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development would cease to operate in the field of Indian affairs; the new laws would be in effect and existing programs would have been devolved. The Indian lands would require special attention for some time. The process of transferring control to the Indian people would be under continuous review.

The Government believes this is a policy which is just and necessary. It can only be successful if it has the support of the Indian people, the provinces, and all Canadians.

The policy promises all Indian people a new opportunity to expand and develop their identity within the framework of a Canadian society which offers them the rewards and responsibilities of participation, the benefits of involvement and the pride of belonging.

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