

Hiroshima Immigrants
in Canada 1891-1941

Hiroshima Immigrants
in Canada 1891-1941

MICHIKO MIDGE AYUKAWA



UBC Press · Vancouver · Toronto

© UBC Press 2008

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior written permission of the publisher, or, in Canada, in the case of photocopying or other reprographic copying, a licence from Access Copyright (Canadian Copyright Licensing Agency), www.accesscopyright.ca.

16 15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in Canada on acid free paper ∞

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Ayukawa, Michiko Midge, 1930-

Hiroshima immigrants in Canada, 1891-1941 / Michiko Midge Ayukawa.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-7748-1431-7

1. Japanese – Canada – History. 2. Hiroshima-shi (Japan) – Emigration and immigration – History. 3. Japanese Canadians – History. 4. Canada – Emigration and immigration – History. I. Title.

FC106.J3A98 2007

971'.004956

C2007-904259-7

Canada

UBC Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for our publishing program of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program (BPIDP), and of the Canada Council for the Arts, and the British Columbia Arts Council.

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through the Aid to Scholarly Publications Programme, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

UBC Press

The University of British Columbia

2029 West Mall

Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2

604-822-5959 / Fax: 604-822-6083

www.ubcpres.ca

To my late parents:

Ishii Kenji (1895-1971)

Ishii Misayo (1900-2001)

Contents

Illustrations	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
Prologue	xiii
1 The Hiroshima Homeland	3
2 The First Ones	12
3 Sojourning and Beyond	23
4 The Women Come	35
5 Farmers	58
6 The Divided Urban Community	79
7 Nisei, the Second Generation	98
Conclusion	119
Epilogue	125
A Note about the Sources	128
Notes	132
Bibliography	164
Index	175

Illustrations

Maps

- 1 Modern Japan, showing Hiroshima prefecture with former fiefs Aki and Bingo 2
- 2 Hiroshima prefecture with county divisions and the numbers of Canadian immigrants in 1920 7
- 3 Vancouver's Powell Street Japantown area 24
- 4 British Columbia coast, showing some major Japanese communities pre-1942 60

Photographs

- 1 Ishii Chōkichi and Kenji, [1917?]. *Author's collection* xvi
- 2 The results of the September 1907 riot on Powell Street. *UBC Rare Books and Special Collections* 37
- 3 Takata Misayo, [1920?]. *Author's collection* 38
- 4 Japanese brides aboard ship. *Japanese Canadian National Museum 97/200* 39
- 5 Ishii Kenji and Misayo in wedding photograph, Japan, 1921. *Author's collection* 40
- 6 Ishii Kenji and Misayo in Canada, 1922. *Author's collection* 40
- 7 Tree stump removal in British Columbia. *UBC Rare Books and Special Collections* 61
- 8 Ready to drive to the Hiroshima kenjinkai picnic. *Japanese Canadian National Museum 92/20.008* 89
- 9 The Japanese Women's Association in Ocean Falls, 1 July 1937. *Japanese Canadian National Museum 94/65.3.002* 96

- 10 Japanese-Canadian community entry in a parade celebrating Vancouver's silver jubilee in 1936. *Japanese Canadian National Museum 94/71.003* 99
- 11 Michiko Ishii and friend at *chigo* parade in celebration of the Buddhist Church completion, November 1934. *Author's collection* 100
- 12 Grade six class, Strathcona School, spring 1941. *Author's collection* 103
- 13 Japanese school play at the Alexander Street language school. *Author's collection* 106
- 14 Ishii family in 1940. *Author's collection* 123

Acknowledgments

The generous financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Victoria helped defray the costs of research trips across Canada and Japan during the writing of this book.

During those years, I received the assistance of many friends, colleagues, and relatives in Japan and Canada who encouraged me, gave me suggestions, and provided important information. Many welcomed me into their homes and shared their stories.

At both the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria, office and library staff, fellow students, and professors gave me invaluable aid and support. I am indebted to Tim de Lange Boom for the maps that he painstakingly prepared and patiently altered several times over. His technical expertise was also required for the reproduction of my family photographs and other images. All this was a generous gift from a fellow "Tai Chi'er." The Japanese Canadian National Museum, in particular Reiko Tagami, gave me invaluable aid.

This research into the pre-Second World War Japanese-Canadian society, primarily on the west coast of British Columbia, would not have been carried out without the perspicacity and encouragement of Dr. E. Patricia Tsurumi, who believed that the vivid memories of my childhood and of this now lost community should be probed and analyzed. The writing of this book was stalled for a time, until a number of historians urged me to complete it and offered assistance. I am especially indebted to Dr. Patricia E. Roy for her kind patience and expertise at this stage.

During the research period, my mother, Ishii Misayo, encouraged me and shared with me her many memories. It is unfortunate that she passed away in her 101st year, before this book came to fruition. My

five children, their spouses, and my grandchildren, who now total ten, unselfishly carried on without the full attention of the family “matriarch.”

If I have in some small way been able to paint a picture of the early lives of pioneer immigrants from Hiroshima and the milieu in which they lived – covering both the positive and the negative aspects – I am sure my parents will be happy. I regret now that I had little understanding of their world prior to conducting my research.

Prologue

November 1983, Hisayamada, Onomichi city, Hiroshima prefecture. After a treacherous drive along a narrow, hilly road, we stopped in front of a small residence attached to a long, barrack-like building. My blonde friend, my maternal uncle Takata Tomoki, and I stepped out of the car and were immediately surrounded. My eyes fell in turn on four people: a beautiful woman in a pale-green kimono, an older woman, a toddler, and a young mother. They all smiled and bowed repeatedly as the young driver, my late cousin's son, Ishii Kazuhiko, gravely introduced us. I was tongue-tied, partly owing to my inability to voice appropriate Japanese phrases, but much more by the emotional impact of meeting kinfolk for the first time in my life.

I recovered sufficiently to introduce Helen, a friend since my youth. During our struggle through honours chemistry at McMaster University from 1948 to 1952 we had developed a strong bond, and she had eagerly accompanied me on this, my first trip to my parents' homeland. My relatives had rarely seen a *hakujin* (literally "white person") and had certainly never hosted one. Her red pantsuit, unusual on an adult in Japan, added to their bewilderment. They were shy but recovered their innate hospitality and ushered us into the *tatami* room (a formal parlour with rush mats), where a familiar photograph of Ishii Chōkichi, my paternal grandfather and Ishii Kazuhiko's great-grandfather, looked down upon us.

My hosts were descendants of my father's eldest brother, Ishii Seiichi, who had assumed the headship of the household when my grandfather left his humble terraced farm in 1906 to seek his fortune overseas. Seiichi, then a young man of twenty, had struggled to provide for his mother, his siblings, and later his own family of six children. Yet he had lived ninety-nine long years, twenty-three longer than my father, who had been nine years his junior.

It was obvious that my hosts had made careful preparations for my visit. Although my father's relatives were now professional people, they had had a humble past. Placed close to the cushions on which Helen and I kneeled uncomfortably were old photographs of their family and mine. I recognized many as similar to those I had often lingered over during my childhood in Vancouver. As we studied them together, I identified some people – in particular, the one in the kimono who now sat across from me. I asked what had happened to some of the others. Two male cousins had died, but three of the women were now living in Osaka. I resolved then that I would make efforts to meet my Osaka cousins, especially Nobuko, the one who was the same age I was. I wondered how my life might have gone had my father not immigrated to Canada.

During that visit, my hosts took me to the family grave, where I awkwardly stood by, uncomfortable with my ignorance of the customary ritual. To this day, I muse about what they thought of my unusual behaviour as they lit some incense and placed some greenery before the stone markers. I understood that their present home was not the ancestral family farm. In answer to my query about where my father's home had been, Kazuhiko pointed to a distant wooded area and told me, "Way over there."

That evening, my Takata uncle and his wife held a dinner party for me to meet my maternal relatives. Kazuhiko and his younger sister were also invited. Unlike my father's family, my mother's family had always been affluent and had an impressive lineage. My uncle, who was my mother's half-brother, lived in a renovated mansion, the ancestral home in which my mother had been reared. He also had rental houses nearby and a newly built guesthouse, as well as fig and mandarin groves. Perhaps because of the easy-going personality of this uncle, the Takata family was much more relaxed with us and welcomed us with light-hearted warmth. At the dinner was another uncle, Kōmoto Noriyoshi, and his married daughter Kiyomi. Noriyoshi had taken the surname of his wife when he married; that is, he had become a *yōshi* (adopted husband). He had fathered only one daughter, Kiyomi, who in turn had an adopted husband. As the sake flowed, Noriyoshi regaled me with stories of his youth and of the years he had spent in China with the Japanese army. It appeared that the passing of years had erased the harshness of those experiences. His stories reminded me sharply of the very different lives of my brothers, who had been designated as "enemy aliens" in Canada and had not been recruited into the military.

That night, Helen and I, although exhausted from the long and eventful day, talked for hours as we struggled with the soft mattress and mounds of heavy quilts over the Western-style bed in the guesthouse. Well into the wee hours of the morning my brain whirled from one scene to another and from one puzzle to the next.

This visit sent me forward on an odyssey, a search for my roots. I considered the emotional and practical difficulties my father and grandfather must have endured when they left their village and, with no knowledge of its language or customs, had sought their fortune in a strange land. And how did my parents, who had such different backgrounds, meet and marry? But now, at least, I understood why my parents used to dream of returning to Japan for an early retirement. They had never been able to achieve that goal. When at long last they were able to return for a visit after forty years of marriage, they realized that they had become Canadians and that the Japan they yearned for no longer existed. Both became happy with their life in Ontario, and neither wished to return even for another visit.

I began to take some Japanese history courses at the University of Victoria. I also went to visit my elderly mother in her seniors' apartment in Hamilton. For two weeks we quietly talked in a way we never had before. She answered my many questions quite willingly when I explained that they were for a course assignment. She had always made great personal sacrifices for my education in my youth, and she still supported my academic endeavours.

I emerged with a sketchy picture of the lives of my pioneer grandfather and my parents. My grandfather, Ishii Chōkichi, had set sail in the early 1900s with several other men from his district. They had been enticed with promises that they would be able to solve all their financial problems by going to Hawaii for a few years. Stories about the men and women from the Hiroshima city area who worked in Hawaii's sugar cane fields and sent money home had reached as far as the eastern outskirts of Hiroshima prefecture, where the Ishii family tilled their modest rice plot. My grandfather and his neighbours were eager to try their luck.

They had passports for Hawaii, but the recruiters persuaded them to travel even farther, to North America. Since this extension was illegal, there are no immigration records.¹ I surmise that they were among the many who landed in Victoria, the Canadian port of entry, in 1906-07.² This sudden influx of Japanese immigrants aroused anti-Asian feelings, and in September 1907 a parade and Asiatic Exclusion League rally at Vancouver City Hall culminated in an ugly riot in Chinatown and



1 This photo of Ishii Chōkichi and Kenji was taken in Vancouver before Chōkichi returned to Japan, probably 1917.

Japantown. In its aftermath, Canada and Japan negotiated the Lemieux-Hayashi Gentlemen's Agreement, which was intended to limit Japanese male immigration. In fact, it led inadvertently to the arrival of wives and the beginnings of settlement.

Chōkichi worked here and there in coastal British Columbia and then urged his seventeen-year-old son, my father, to join him in 1912. Father and son laboured on the same work gangs for about five years. Then Chōkichi became ill and returned to Japan, where he died soon after. A few years later, my father's marriage was arranged, and in 1921 he returned to Japan to marry my mother, a pampered, adventurous young

woman from a neighbouring village. He had promised her that they would return to Japan in five years, so she left her trousseau of quilts and furniture behind.

I thought about my parents' lives, both in Japan and in Canada, and reflected on my own childhood. My life had been devoid of cousins, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. My family had been "nuclear" before the term had been coined. Yet there had been "aunts" and "uncles" – surrogate relatives, who had always been around us to provide a support system. Most of these people had been born in Hiroshima. I wondered what Canada's society had been like for the Issei (literally, the first generation, the immigrants). How had it compared with the world they left behind? How difficult had it been for my parents to leave home to pursue their dreams – even if (so they believed) only for five years? It appeared inconceivable that my mother had actually believed that five years was a realistic period, or that my father had sincerely thought that it was possible.

Eager to learn more about my ancestors' past and the alien environment in which they had staked their dreams, I soon became a full-time student of Canadian and Japanese history. I also resumed my Japanese language studies, which had been interrupted in December 1941 after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor. Gradually, a picture emerged of the racist society that the Japanese pioneers had encountered in British Columbia. Xenophobia and notions of white supremacy had prevailed in British Columbia since the mid-nineteenth century, and lawmakers had imposed restrictions on Asian immigrants. Yet for the Japanese in Canada, persecution and racism did not plague every aspect of daily life. When I was a child in the 1930s, there had been a vibrant Japanese-Canadian community full of confident men and women, both young and old. My memory is not of people who were downtrodden or intimidated by the world around them. I felt the urge to probe and investigate the society of those people.

Ten years after that first trip to Japan in 1983, I made a much longer visit on my own, travelling from Tokyo as far as Nagasaki, partly as a tourist but primarily as a researcher. I met and talked at length with friends, relatives, and academics. At first I was overwhelmed by the complexities of the society and the language, and at times I was so discouraged that I was tempted to give up. But eventually I learned how to travel with ease on the trains and buses and even to roam around the streets of Hiroshima city and other areas of historic significance. In Hiroshima city, Nishimoto Masami, a reporter for *Chūgoku shinbun* who had interviewed me a few years earlier in Victoria, was of invaluable

help. I had met him when he was on assignment to research the lives of Hiroshima immigrants in Canada. Through him and another contact I met some relatives of immigrants in Canada; I was also able to consult the authors of a series of books on the history of Hiroshima prefecture.

On returning to Victoria, I read the Japanese-language articles and books I had acquired. I also travelled across Canada to interview surviving early immigrants as part of an in-depth study of the people who had immigrated to Canada from Hiroshima prefecture. There was an urgency to this project, since the pioneers were now all elderly; even the Nisei (the second-generation Japanese Canadians) were now senior citizens.

I had planned to investigate the early history of Japanese immigrants: the reasons why they immigrated, their social backgrounds, their regions of origin in Japan, and their lives in Canada. It soon became clear that this history comprised a number of separate though intertwining stories of emigration from a number of different parts of Japan. Much like the stories of other ethnic groups who had immigrated to Canada, the story of the Japanese would have to involve a series of “micro studies that constitute the economic, social, and cultural conditions of the sending areas.”³

Although Japan is a small country of only 142,707 square miles, variations in climate, proximity to the ocean, fertility of the soil, and other factors have generated regional differences.⁴ Beyond these physical variations are social ones. For more than two-and-a-half centuries, the Tokugawa regime (1600-1868) had held on to power through strict measures, some of which precluded free movement. As a result of policies that forced peasants to remain on the land in their villages, rural communities became insulated and developed different customs and dialects. The demands of their lords and regional calamities also affected the lives of the villagers.⁵ Although the Meiji government opened the doors to emigration in 1885 as a possible solution to rural poverty, actual emigration policies were determined by the prefectural governments. Some prefectures encouraged it; others discouraged it.⁶ The zeal of the central government’s recruiters, local economic conditions, village officials’ predilections, and later, the activities of emigration companies, which went from village to village in some areas, also had a strong influence. How the immigrants lived in Canada, which jobs they took, and whether they settled permanently or saved their earnings with the goal of returning home also varied according to their roots.

Even during my period of investigation – the late Meiji, Taisho (1912-26), and early Showa (1926-89) – people from Hiroshima were seen as having different characteristics from, for example, those from Shiga

prefecture, which also sent substantial numbers of emigrants to Canada. Shiga was noted for its entrepreneurs. *Ōmi-shōnin*, salesmen from that area, used to travel throughout Japan selling goods; later, in Canada, many people from Shiga became business proprietors. This is well illustrated by Audrey Kobayashi's study of the village of Kaideima, on the eastern shore of Lake Biwa in Shiga prefecture.⁷ Kaideima was prone to flooding, and particularly severe floods in 1896 precipitated emigration from there, especially to British Columbia. The money these people earned in Canada, mainly by labouring in sawmills and by operating shops around Vancouver's Powell Street, did much more than keep their relatives alive. Almost 70 percent of the Shiga immigrants whom Kobayashi studied returned to their villages, bought land, built majestic homes, and donated money to the local Buddhist temple. Of the 135 Shiga households (535 immigrants), only 30 remained in Canada after the Second World War.⁸ As we shall see, Hiroshima immigrants tended to settle and remain in Canada.

Emigration also varied according to region. For instance, in the Tōhoku region in northern Honshu (see Map 1), where poverty was often widespread and severe, villagers typically lacked even the minimum economic resources that would enable them to book passage to Canada. Yet some individuals were able to encourage and arrange emigration for their fellow villagers. Oikawa Jinsaburō made Herculean efforts to urge people from Miyagi prefecture in Tōhoku to emigrate.⁹ Oikawa first went to Canada in 1896. On his return to his home village in 1899, he tried to recruit both men and women to work in his dog salmon (chum) and salmon roe salteries in Canada. Wherever he went in Miyagi prefecture, he heard heart-rending stories of the previous year's famine, which had caused many to die of starvation. But passage to Canada cost sixty yen – an impossible amount for any of the local villagers to accrue, so only nine people followed him. Seven years later, in 1906, he returned to the area with a daring venture. He was able to recruit eighty-two people, including three women, who sailed in September on the *Suianmaru*, which he had hired to transport them illegally to Canada. They landed at Becher Bay near Victoria and were caught, but were allowed to stay. These immigrants were eventually able to remit money to their home villages to keep their families from starving. This sort of desperate poverty was not a principal theme in the stories of the Hiroshima immigrant families.

Another man, Kuno Gihei, rescued Miomura, a fishing village in Wakayama prefecture broadly known as Amerika-mura (America village), from obliteration. Kuno's poverty-stricken village depended entirely on fishing. Once the fishers began venturing farther and farther

out and returning with more and more meagre catches, Kuno urged them to go to Canada to fish for salmon. For a number of years those fishers who followed his advice returned to Miomura from Canada in the off-season; later, though, they immigrated with their families. The vast majority of these Wakayama fishers settled in Steveston at the mouth of the Fraser River. A fair number eventually returned to Japan to live comfortably on the fruits of their labour and on the monies remitted to them by sons left behind in Canada; many, though, realized that Miomura could not provide any permanent sustenance and chose to remain in Canada.¹⁰ Like the Hiroshima emigrants, they stayed; unlike the Hiroshima immigrants, they fished.

In Hiroshima too, there were villages, especially in Asa, Aki, and Saeki counties, from which large numbers emigrated.¹¹ (See Map 2 of Hiroshima prefecture with the county divisions.) A table in a history of Hiroshima tells us that by 1910 there were twenty-six villages from which more than 270 people had emigrated. From as few as 3.1 percent to as many as 25.6 percent of these villagers had done so.¹² And these numbers do not include those who had moved to the colonies of Taiwan, Sakhalin, or Korea. So it is clear that emigration overseas was fairly common among villagers in some parts of Hiroshima. In fact, Hiroshima people often led the way to foreign lands, and their apparent success created many “emigrant villages” in the prefecture. The first to leave went to Hawaii as contract labourers in January 1885; 222 of this group of 945 were from Hiroshima.¹³ In Canada as well, the first contract Japanese immigrants were all from Hiroshima. They arrived in 1891 to work in the mines at Cumberland, Vancouver Island.

Hiroshima was the third-largest source of Japanese immigrants to Canada, trailed by Shiga and Wakayama prefectures.¹⁴ According to a study conducted in British Columbia in 1934, of the 574 Japanese immigrants surveyed, 8 percent were from Hiroshima. Of these, almost half lived in Vancouver, almost one-quarter on farms, and just over one-quarter in company towns. None of them were fishers.¹⁵

By focusing on Hiroshima immigrants to Canada, I hoped to show how regional identities influence personal behaviour and community networking. My family’s own roots offered me special advantages as well as personal qualifications for this study. Having been born to Hiroshima immigrants and having lived within the rather narrow confines of Vancouver’s Japanese-Canadian society in the 1930s, I had acquired useful tools for understanding these people and their history from their earliest days in BC. Every day, after primary school, I attended the

Alexander Street Japanese Language School in Japantown; then on Sundays I would go to the Buddhist Sunday School at the corner of Princess and Cordova Streets. I had probably been enculturated to Hiroshima customs and traditions and also to the regional dialect. Also, my 1983 visit to Japan had pointed me toward “insider” research into the history of the Hiroshima immigrants in Canada.

After first studying Canadian and Japanese history and improving my Japanese-language skills (which I sorely needed to do), I embarked on my study of Japanese-Canadian history. My BA essay and MA thesis both involved translating the memoirs of Mrs. Imada Ito, a pioneer woman who had arrived in Canada in 1911. Luckily for me, she had come from Saeki county, from a village that is now part of the city of Hiroshima. I gathered a vivid picture of village life from her descriptions of her childhood on a farm, her stay in her in-laws’ home before she joined her husband, and her temporary return to the village with three children in 1918.¹⁶ She was a product of her village, and the way she conducted herself in Canada must have partly reflected her background as a Hiroshima woman. She had written her memoirs in a unique blend of Meiji Japanese, fractured English, and a Hiroshima dialect, combining *hiragana* (cursive script), *katakana* (phonetic script, used for foreign words), and *kanji* (Chinese ideograms). Her language had been confusing to scholars from Japan, but it was very familiar to me. When I had some question regarding an idiomatic expression, a phone call to my elderly mother would answer it. In her memoirs, Mrs. Imada mentioned many people who appeared in my later research.

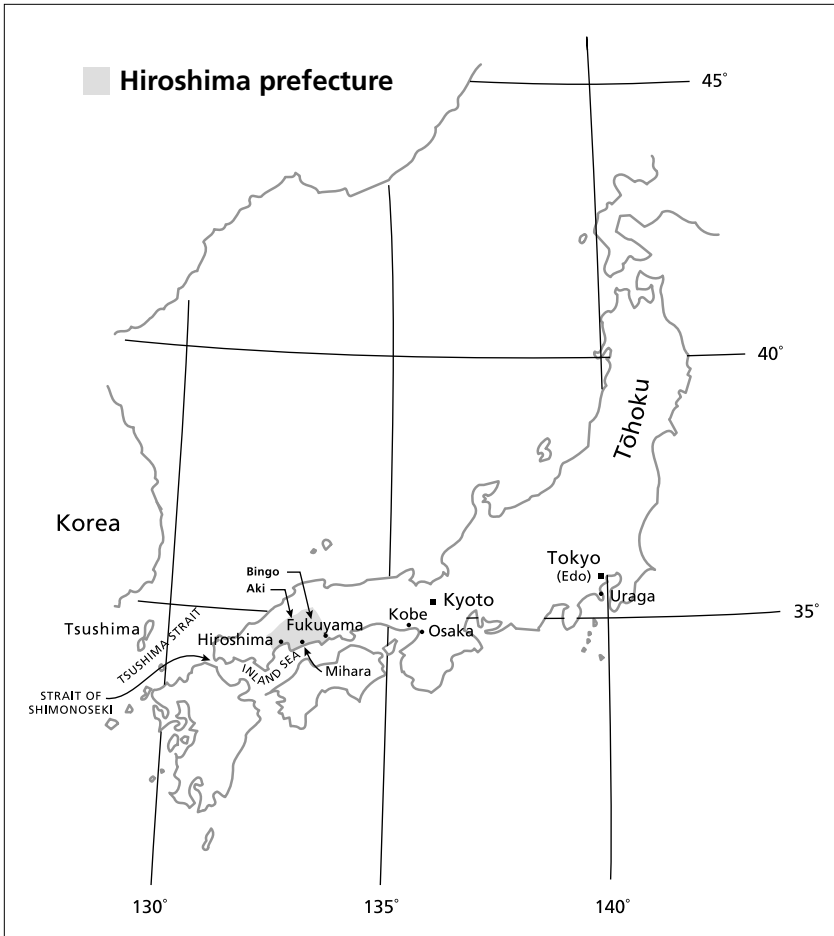
As I carried out my study, a picture emerged of both the homogeneity and the individuality of the immigrants. They had sought fortune in Canada for a variety of reasons. Some came alone; a number had been recruited by emigration companies; many others had been hired by a previous immigrant who had returned to his home village to gather a work crew for a specific venture. Some were wildly successful in Canada: Kaminishi Kannosuke and Sasaki Shūichi ended up owning lumber camps, sawmills, and forest tracts. Other immigrants became prosperous farmers, struggling farmers, mill workers, or small businessmen. Some were caring and family-oriented men; others were lazy and selfish; still others spent every penny they earned on gambling and liquor. Some community leaders sacrificed their own families in order to help others. There were adventurers and daredevils, and some who beat their wives, but most of them were like my father – just steady workers who sacrificed for their families.¹⁷

Some women had chosen to immigrate to “Amerika”; others had merely acquiesced to their parents’ suggestions that they marry overseas men. These women found their lives in Canada extremely difficult: they had no extended family to help them, and they worked both inside and outside the home. Those who were burdened with irresponsible husbands became breadwinners; or they just gave up and abandoned their families, or committed suicide.

The pioneers waged an ongoing battle against racism; in this, they were supported and defended by the Japanese government through the consul in Vancouver. When the provincial legislature passed discriminatory laws against the Japanese immigrants, the Japanese government appealed to Britain on their behalf, citing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was in force between 1902 and 1921. The Canadian government disallowed some of BC’s laws; even so, the racism institutionalized by the ones that remained demoted the Japanese Canadians to an inferior status in the province. At the same time, BC’s business community victimized Japanese labourers, paying them badly in order to maximize profits. And within the Japanese community, predatory contractors, “the bosses,” actively participated in this process. They negotiated with the hiring companies, offering work crews at lower wages, and the Japanese labourers felt obligated and grateful to them. As the years went by, the economic gap between the labourers and their “benefactors” widened; and all the while, the *dekasegi* (literally, “going out to work” – that is, temporary migrant workers) evolved into permanent settlers as they married and raised families. Those who belonged to this immigrant community had a wide range of goals. The Nisei were exposed to mainstream culture at public schools and through the media, but most parents tried to raise them to be proud of their Japanese heritage and to be fluent in Japanese.¹⁸ The province’s social and economic climate made this necessary. Many Nisei struggled to make a living at hard labour and menial jobs, much like their immigrant parents; but some became successful businessmen and professionals.

The history of the Hiroshima people is a vital part of the history of British Columbia. It was in BC that these immigrants struggled against anti-Asian racism, discriminatory labour practices, and anti-Japanese legislation in the hope of achieving their dreams. Over the years, the Hiroshima immigrants largely succeeded in controlling and directing their own destinies – at least, until the bombing of Pearl Harbor by their ancestral country destroyed the Japanese-Canadian community.

Hiroshima Immigrants
in Canada 1891-1941



Map 1 Modern Japan, showing Hiroshima prefecture with former fiefs Aki and Bingo

Chapter One

The Hiroshima Homeland

One of the first questions that arose in my mind was why the people of my grandfather's prefecture had a greater propensity than many others in Japan to seek their fortunes abroad. Besides geographical, climatic, and economic variations among the four main islands of Japan, there were basic and long-standing differences in cultural and psychological attitudes that affected the acceptance of new ideas and that drove some people, but not others, to seek adventures. Undoubtedly, the proximity of the Setonaikai (Inland Sea) was a major factor; Hiroshima prefecture lies along its north coast. For many centuries, ships had been sailing to and from the continent of Asia through the Tsushima Strait (see Map 1).¹ From Korea, China, and other lands had come cultural ideas such as Buddhism and Confucianism, as well as the technical skills of indigo dyeing and ceramics making. Thus the sea did not frighten the people who lived near it; instead, they saw it as a passageway to a world of wonders. Thoughts of far-off lands evoked in many a yearning for adventure, a sense of awe, and an eagerness to explore.

During the Era of the Warring States (1336-1590), the samurai fought battles back and forth over the paddy fields. They constantly ravaged the farms; the peasants suffered, rebuilt, and carried on. Except when the samurai were fighting on their land, the peasants lived peacefully, though at subsistence levels, in hamlets surrounded by rice paddies and communal woodlands.

From 1590, Toyotomi Hideyoshi managed to maintain relative calm but the samurai conflicts ended only in 1600 when Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), having won the Battle of Sekigahara, completed the unification begun by Oda Nobunaga (1534-82) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98). In Tokugawa's semi-unified state, slightly fewer than three hundred feudal lords – called *daimyō* – acknowledged him and his

descendants as overlords. Ieyasu organized the *daimyō* into three categories: *shimpan*, relatives of the Tokugawa clan; *fudai*, those who had followed the Tokugawa family before the Battle of Sekigahara; and *tōzama* (the “outside lords”). Ieyasu, distrustful of the *tōzama*, situated their domains far from the capital of Edo (present-day Tokyo), between two *fudai* lords’ domains.

To tighten its grip over the country, the Tokugawa regime maintained a rigid society, an adaptation of the Confucian four-class system in which the samurai or soldier-officials were at the top of the social hierarchy. Below them, “the peasants were to remain on the land, and the artisans and merchants were to keep their places and behave in a manner expected of humble people.”² In each domain, the warriors, merchants, and artisans lived in the *daimyō*’s castle towns.³ The entire population of Tokugawa Japan depended on the production of the peasants, who were about four-fifths of the population. Cadastral surveys by Ieyasu’s predecessor had recorded the financial worth of each village in terms of its estimated rice yield, or *kokudaka*. The Tokugawa rulers continued to order these surveys and to use the resulting statistics. The status of the *daimyō* was determined by the *kokudaka* value of the entire domain.

At that time, what is now known as Hiroshima prefecture comprised two domains. Aki, in the west, stretched east as far as Mihara (see Map 1); Bingo was to the east. Aki was a *tōzama* domain held by the Asano clan; Bingo had since 1710 been ruled by a *fudai* lord, Abe.⁴ Aki, whose castle was located in what today is Hiroshima city, boasted a *kokudaka* value of 426,000. Bingo, with its castle at Fukuyama, had a *kokudaka* value of 110,000 in 1867.⁵ Like domain lords throughout the land, the *daimyō* of Aki and Bingo were responsible for their samurai vassals and paid them rice stipends. By the mid-1800s, rising living standards, the increased consumption of “luxury” goods and services, and demands made by the governing Tokugawa shogun had impoverished the country’s *daimyō* and the rest of the samurai class. So, too, had the *sankin-kōtai*, which required all *daimyō* to alternate their residences between their Hiroshima and Fukuyama castles and Edo, while their families remained in Edo under the watchful eye of the shogunate.

Like the other lords, the Aki and Bingo *daimyō* looked for ways to supplement their domain incomes. Within their domains they encouraged cottage industries specializing in local materials and crops. Local entrepreneurs, who organized these ventures, hired peasants to work in their own homes or at nearby workshops. Villages were gradually converted from subsistence farming to production for the market; typically, they focused on cash crops of local products, including ones that could

be used in cottage industries. The mild winters and the long growing season made it possible to use rice paddy fields for crops of winter barley, as well as mat rush and cotton for use in cottage industries.⁶ The peasants grew whatever the market and the climate favoured. What they needed, they could now purchase. The percentage of cash crops varied from region to region. By the Meiji era (1868-1912) the national percentage was between 10.2 and 26.8 percent; around Aki and Bingo it was 13.7 percent in 1877.⁷

Since earliest times in Aki and Bingo, the peasants had farmed cooperatively, often organizing themselves by lineage. But as cash crops became more important, the trend grew toward individual farming, with families buying what they required – fertilizer, labour, thatch for roofing, lumber, food, clothing – instead of working cooperatively. As a result, they came to depend on the market. Not all succeeded. Some lost their land through foreclosure and survived as tenant farmers, by hiring themselves out as agricultural labourers, or by turning to other occupations. Women worked in village handicraft industries that were owned and controlled by the wealthier landlords. By the last decades of Tokugawa rule, the distance between the rural wealthy and the mass of peasants had grown wide.⁸

Landless peasants and those who owned plots so small that they could not survive on farming alone often left home to find work to supplement their incomes.⁹ In Aki and Bingo, and elsewhere, some women left home to work in nearby villages or towns as maids and seasonal labourers. Most, however, stayed home and engaged in agricultural activities, which included growing, processing, and weaving cotton and silk.¹⁰

The Intrusion of the West

In the early seventeenth century the Bakufu (the central administration of the Tokugawa regime) was sharply restricting the country's contact with the outside world, especially the non-East Asian world. It forbade the building of ships large enough for ocean voyages, and it refused re-entry to those who, carried by the winds, had landed on foreign shores. It also restricted trade to a handful of foreigners. This seclusionist policy was not seriously challenged until America's commodore Matthew Perry arrived with four warships in Edo Bay in 1853. In 1854, Perry forced the Bakufu to sign the Treaty of Kanagawa, and soon a number of European powers secured similar treaties. These unequal treaties imposed by the Western imperialists generated turbulence throughout the country, and by 1868 a new regime with the young emperor Meiji as a symbolic head

had replaced the Bakufu. Rather optimistically, it declared itself the representative of a unified country.

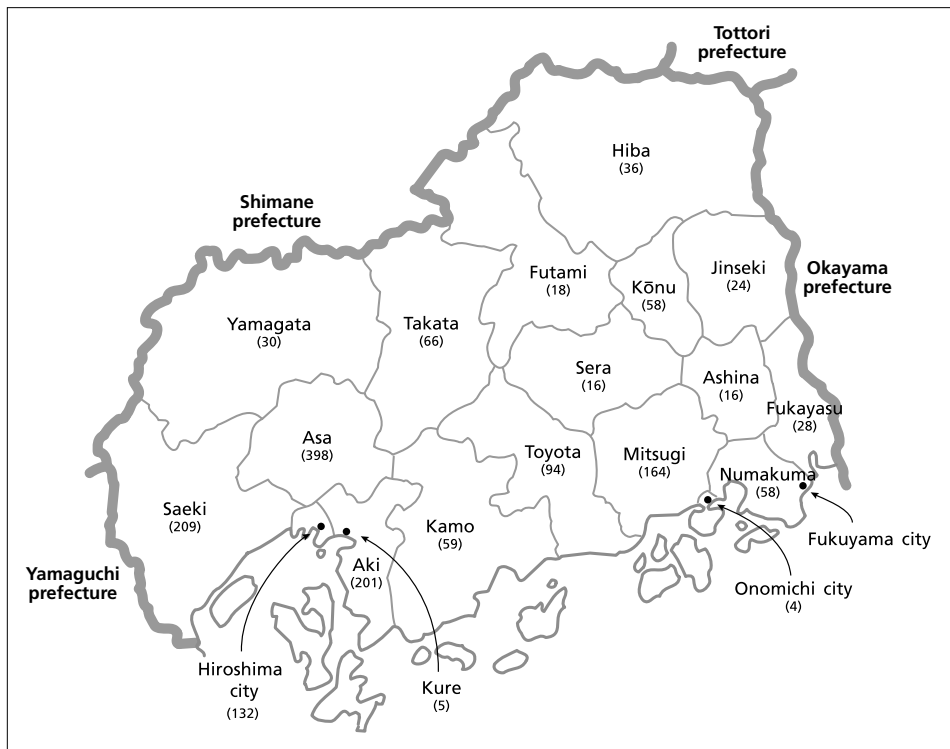
At the time of Perry's intrusion, Abe Masahiro (1819-57), the *fudai daimyō* of Bingo from 1837 to 1857, as well as *rōju* (senior councillor) from 1843 until his death, wielded considerable influence in the Bakufu. As the chief elder of the Bakufu from 1843 to 1855, he undertook military and institutional reforms and handled the Perry negotiations.¹¹ The Asano rulers of Aki, on the other hand, presided over a *tōzama* domain. During the turmoil of the 1860s the Asano did not unequivocally support the challengers that eventually defeated the Tokugawa rulers. So they were unable to leverage Aki's historical distance from the Bakufu in order to receive favours from the new state that ultimately emerged from the struggles.¹² The vacillation of the Asano, and Abe's *fudai* connections with the defeated Tokugawa, meant that neither Aki nor Bingo could hope for much power in the Meiji government.

The new government faced enormous problems. In order to win back Japan's autonomy by eliminating the unequal treaties that gave the Western powers extraterritorial and other rights, the Meiji rulers needed to launch drastic economic and social changes. They converted domains into prefectures, and they pensioned off the former *daimyō* and samurai. Hundreds of young men and five girls of "impressionable ages" were sent overseas to study, while thousands of Western "experts" were brought in to train others.¹³ The government imported modern machinery, erected huge factories, developed mines and railways, introduced compulsory education – with the costs borne by the local areas – and conscripted males from all classes. This last practice caused great hardship, especially in the rural areas, since it deprived the fields of the labour of young men in their prime. The new government financed these expensive ventures through a revised land tax levied on the peasantry, who still constituted around 80 percent of Japanese.¹⁴

In the early Meiji era in Hiroshima prefecture, the degree of stratification among peasants varied from area to area. In southern Bingo, about 70 percent of farmers owned less than three *tan* (1 *tan* equals 0.245 acres) and had to rent more land to survive. Farmers in other areas had slightly more land, but about half the farmers still owned less than three *tan*. In Bingo there were far fewer families of middle status – that is, who owned and worked five to ten *tan*. In both areas there were landowners who had amassed large tracts of land. One man in what is now Hiroshima city had by 1872 acquired more than 44 *chō* 9 *tan* (1 *chō* equals 10 *tan*, so approximately 110 acres); three others, near what today is Fuku-yama city, had acquired even more property.¹⁵ These land acquisitions

preceded the Meiji tax law of 1873; clearly, then, by late Tokugawa times, land was an important investment for the wealthy, who rented it out to tenants or hired agricultural labourers.

Because the 1873 tax law required the holders of title deeds to pay taxes in cash at 3 percent of the assessed value of the land, the vagaries of the market caused much hardship for peasants. A reduction of the tax in 1876 to 2.5 percent did little to alleviate the problem. Moreover, by 1879, inflation had further accelerated land losses among non-tenant farmers. This was caused in part by the issuance of bank notes against bonds deposited by the *kazoku* (peers) and *shizoku* (one-time higher-class samurai) that had been paid to them by the government.¹⁶ The situation grew worse when Matsukata Masayoshi, the finance minister in 1881, introduced deflationary fiscal policies that led to a sharp fall in the price of rice. This meant that the peasants had to pay twice as much in taxes.¹⁷ Meanwhile, the central government was forcing local governments to levy additional taxes.¹⁸ Peasants began to lose their land at alarming



Map 2 Hiroshima prefecture with county divisions and the numbers of Canadian immigrants in 1920

rates. In Hiroshima between 1884 and 1886, 18.9 percent of the land in the prefecture changed hands; between 1884 and 1887, tenancy increased by 4 percent across the prefecture.¹⁹ By 1889, the tenancy rates ranged from as high as 58.4 percent in Fukayasu county to 25.4 percent in Mitsugi county (see Map 2).

In 1884 and 1885 in the area around the Inland Sea, economic hard times were extreme. Prices were falling, as were interest rates; money-lenders were going bankrupt, unemployment was rising, and many farmers were becoming destitute. Matters went from bad to worse. By 1887 there had been a sharp decline in the market for cash crops such as cotton, indigo, sugar cane, tobacco, reed, and flax.²⁰ Cotton was especially important. It had been grown ever since Tokugawa times and by 1877 had come to represent 11.1 percent of the value of agricultural commodities. Rural households had supplemented their incomes by spinning and weaving cotton. Now, though, large-scale spinning mills built in 1882 and 1883 in the Hiroshima city area with *shizoku* and government funding, and using cheap imported cotton thread, were depriving the villagers of their livelihood.²¹

Another small-scale enterprise that had provided supplementary employment for Hiroshima blacksmiths and farmers was the manufacture of *yasuri* (files or rasps). After a long, arduous apprenticeship of seven or eight years, men learned how to make rasps from iron sand. Before mechanization, they could produce only about ten each day. By 1911, however, Japan had a modern steel industry,²² so that by 1917, one person was able to turn out two hundred files in one working day.

As a consequence of industrialization, the peasants of the Inland Sea area, who since Edo times had survived by marketing cash crops and developing cottage industries, needed to find new ways to earn a livelihood. In some districts, solutions were found. In the former fief, Bingo area, enterprising merchants quickly adjusted to the marketplace. Around Fukuyama, wholesalers had long provided employment for local women who wove *Bingo-gasuri* on narrow thirty-six-inch looms.²³ By 1907, even after the conversion to large industrial looms, sixty to seventy wholesale dealers were still renting looms to agricultural families, and at least some *Bingo-gasuri* weaving was still being done.²⁴ This area also switched easily from growing cotton to raising vegetables and *igusa* (reed for *tatami*). The production of *tatami* mats and woven cotton products also absorbed surplus labour.²⁵

In most other parts of Japan, though, the government's modernization efforts shattered people's livelihoods and drove them to seek work elsewhere. This happened to the people of Nihōjima near what is now

the southern end of Hiroshima city. At nearby Ujina, over protests from the local peasantry and despite setbacks caused by storms, high tides, and funding shortfalls, the government built a deep-sea port, which was finally completed on 30 November 1889. The residents of Nihōjima were forced to abandon their oyster beds and to stop harvesting seaweed; the dredging of the seabed and the raising of the piers had destroyed both.²⁶ During the Meiji era, Sakamachi, on the Inland Sea just east of Hiroshima city, had had a population density of 861 per square kilometre – more than four times the average for Japan. Indiscriminate felling of trees eventually resulted in a severe flood there in 1907. Arable land was scarce and no side work was available. When the Ujina harbour was being constructed, men would pay five *rin* for a boat journey to work for five *sen* a day.²⁷ Few in Nihōjima went to school beyond the age of fourteen. As a consequence of all this, many in this region had no alternative except to go overseas to work.²⁸

In the early 1880s, migration was chiefly within Japan. Many villagers moved to Osaka and other large cities, continuing the tradition of *dekasegi*. At the government's urging, some moved to Hokkaido. Between 1882 and 1884, Aki county was one of the main sources of settlers for Hokkaido.²⁹ In 1885, emigration to Hawaii began, and people from Aki county began going there instead, because the wages were higher and the transportation was free.

Until then, Japan had been reluctant to send its workers abroad. However, R.W. Irwin, the consul general for Hawaii, was a personal friend of Inoue Kaoru, the foreign minister, and the two of them signed an emigration agreement in September 1884.³⁰ The Japanese Foreign Office decided that if the Americans guaranteed the safety of the immigrants to Hawaii, it would permit temporary immigration.³¹ Here, the government was remembering a fiasco dating back to the last days of the Bakufu, when around 150 men and women from Tokyo and Yokohama were "sneaked into" Hawaii to work in the sugar cane fields. Many were unable to cope with the hard labour, and the Meiji government had to transport some of them back to Japan. The government hoped that work overseas would provide employment, and that the income these sojourners remitted would ameliorate the hard times in Japan.

Among the first three groups of workers who embarked for Hawaii – on January 1885, June 1885, and January 1886 – the largest number were from Hiroshima prefecture: 963 out of 2,859 (33 percent). The Foreign Affairs Ministry's own statistics indicate that between 1899 and 1937, 96,181 people from Hiroshima went overseas. By 1940, Hiroshima prefecture led all of Japan in numbers of emigrants, with a total of 72,486.

(Presumably, about 23,700 returned to Japan.) In other words, by that time, 3.88 percent of the people of Hiroshima prefecture had gone to live overseas. Only Okinawa prefecture (9.97 percent) and Kumamoto prefecture (4.78 percent) exceeded Hiroshima in this regard. The average percentage for all of Japan was 1.03 percent.³² These statistics include children who were born overseas but were registered in the family records in Japan.

Emigration was also driven by disasters such as the heavy summer rains and plagues of vermin that in 1889 destroyed crops in Hesaka, an area near Hiroshima city. Another important factor was the amount of money that could be earned in Hawaii.³³ There, a worker could earn the equivalent of 17.65 yen per month; in Hiroshima, carpenters made 4.68 yen and labourers 3.38 yen per month.³⁴ Three years' hard work in a foreign land could solve a person's economic problems. Many of the early emigrants from Hiroshima were household heads or first sons who were "saving" their families through *dekasegi*.³⁵ The amount of money sent back to Japan by Hiroshima emigrants between 1926 and 1938 represented 22.4 percent (in raw numbers, more than five million yen) of the total amounts sent back by all the emigrants overseas.³⁶ Remittances by Wakayama prefecture emigrants came second, amounting to 12.9 percent of all funds remitted to Japan.

Why were so many emigrants from Hiroshima prefecture? Although the Tokugawa regime had discouraged movement around the country, going elsewhere to work was a well-established custom even in the Tokugawa period.³⁷ Hiroshima farmers for centuries had gone to other parts of the country by way of the Inland Sea, and bold fishermen had sailed as far as Korea. Was Hawaii the next logical step? The inhabitants of the Hiroshima area were certainly more willing to go overseas than were people in the far more destitute Tōhoku region (see Map 1). In Tōhoku, desperate peasants were practising infanticide and selling their daughters to brothels, yet they were extremely reluctant to go abroad. In places such as Nagano in the Japanese Alps, young daughters were being sent to work in the spinning mills of Suwa, where they were forced to work under atrocious conditions.³⁸ The men and women of Hiroshima chose *dekasegi* instead, as far as Hawaii.

There was a push-pull effect in emigration. In Hiroshima, as soon as money from overseas began to arrive in the villages, others were drawn to the idea of going abroad, and emigration accelerated. After all, families of emigrants were buying property and household goods and repaying their debts.³⁹ The amount of money remitted in 1891 was

equivalent to 54.3 percent of the annual budget of Hiroshima's prefectural government that year.⁴⁰

Figures for Hawaii compiled by Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the years 1885 to 1894, and similar data gathered on the Hiroshima *dekasegi* between 1885 and 1893, reveal that emigrants from Hiroshima tended to stay overseas rather than return to Japan.⁴¹ How did the Hiroshima immigrants who followed the first "wave" find their way overseas? And what did they do in their new environment?

After 1894, it was private companies that organized emigration; before then, the government had sponsored it. In order to control emigration, which so far had been unregulated, the Japanese government drew up the Emigrant Protection Ordinance in 1894; this was followed by the Emigrant Protection Law of 1896. Prefectural authorities gradually took over the paperwork for emigration, and some local authorities, especially in certain prefectures, encouraged overseas work and helped popularize it. Private businesses shipped labourers to Southeast Asia, Hawaii, and North and South America. In December 1891, even before emigration companies were officially sanctioned, the Kobe Emigration Company (later known as the Meiji Emigration Company) began operations, sending one hundred labourers from Hiroshima prefecture to the Union Colliery in Cumberland, Vancouver Island. According to Sasaki Toshiji, at the time these men were sent to the Union Colliery, there were only two hundred Japanese in all of Canada. How many of those two hundred were from Hiroshima we do not know.⁴²