
Japanese-Canadian Sport History in the Fraser Valley: Judo and Baseball in the Interwar Years

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STRAWBERRY AND RASPBERRY FIELDS DOTTED THE LANDSCAPE of the Fraser Valley of southwestern British Columbia during the interwar years. Until 1942, these farms were increasingly owned and cared for by Japanese-Canadian families. The children spent much of their summers and after school hours helping to tend the orderly, productive fields their parents had cleared and cultivated. Among the few leisure activities offered to rural Japanese-Canadian boys and young men were the popular sports of judo and baseball, both of which were sanctioned by the senior members of their highly organized communities.

Japanese Canadians of the Fraser Valley established culturally distinct transnational communities during the early decades of the twentieth century.¹ These rural farming communities, organized and maintained by the *Issei*, or first generation of Japanese immigrants, coexisted within larger, predominantly white communities engaged in similar agricultural activities. During the interwar years, the second generation, or *Nisei*, experienced an intense acculturation process, primarily through their enrollment in the public school system. This initiated an almost daily oscillation between the Japanese culture of their parents and the Canadian culture of their white peers and friends.² As they attempted to pursue a permanent place in Canadian society, they encountered numerous discriminatory barriers to higher education, to jobs outside the agricultural sector

and to social relations within the white community.³ In addition to the usual tensions experienced between adolescents and adults, their relationships with first generation Japanese Canadians suffered from the growing language barrier between them and from the *Nisei's* gravitation to attitudes and behaviors more typical of Canadian young people. Over time, the shared goals and frustrations of the *Nisei* contributed to a strengthening of their own group identity and cohesiveness. This was reflected in shared political, social, recreational, and sporting activities. In sports, baseball and judo were popular choices among *Nisei* boys and young men.

Unfortunately, there is scant evidence of the participation of girls and young women of the Fraser Valley in sport outside of school and neighborhood play. As Canadian historian Colin Howell states of early twentieth century Canadian baseball in general, women were "cast as spectators rather than players—defending notions of respectability either in the stands or in the household."⁴ In judo, female participation in Canada remained uncommon until the postwar period. The strict patriarchy of Japanese heritage reinforced female exclusion. Moreover, Japanese tradition deemed women inferior.⁵ Obedience and deference to men was the norm and confinement to the sphere of domestic activities was even more pronounced than in Canadian society in general. Thus, for example, although it has been documented that a Japanese-Canadian girl named Shigue Sakimoto played baseball on the Haney junior girls team in 1938⁶ and another known as Yasuho Mokijuki was the Jacks champion of Webster's Corners School in 1939,⁷ these records are rare exceptions.

Despite the limitations gender imposed on the sport participation of half the *Nisei*, a focus on male involvement in judo and baseball during the interwar years will show how Japanese Canadians utilized each of these sports for two diverse and seemingly conflicting goals. The first was the *Issei* goal of maintaining, for the benefit of the *Nisei*, Japanese culture and traditions within the supportive structure of the transnational communities. The second was the *Nisei* goal of securing full acceptance and opportunity within mainstream Canadian society. While extensive participation in baseball demonstrated *Nisei* enthusiasm for Western practices and values such as fair play and good sportsmanship, it also provided the appearance of an attempt to assimilate into Canadian culture. Judo, on the other hand, having attracted the interest of the white community, not only provided a means of gaining their respect and acceptance but also demonstrated the goodwill of the Japanese-Canadian community through the sharing of its culture. Furthermore, participation in either of these sports assisted Japanese-Canadian communities to retain cultural and social practices with which they were already familiar. This is because both judo and baseball had been part of the *Issei* experience, or at least their awareness, prior to their departure from Japan during the late Meiji and early Taisho periods.⁸ Nevertheless, the general perception within the white community of baseball as a North American sport and judo as a Japanese sport contributed to the positioning of the *Nisei* between the two cultures and also helped maintain the transnational nature of their parents' farming communities.

This study of rural Japanese-Canadian sport culture in the interwar period begins with a brief focus on the political, economic and cultural background against which the *Nisei* pursued their inter-community sport involvement. Further, it identifies major foundational similarities and differences in the rural experiences of Japanese Canadians

and Japanese Americans, as reflected in the sport experiences of each. Then, using newspaper articles as well as reminiscences, this study spotlights the practice of judo followed by that of baseball, suggesting how each of these sports reflected and influenced the transnational nature of Japanese-Canadian communities in the Fraser Valley.

Transnationalism and Sport

During the interwar years and within the structure of transnational communities, Japanese Canadians managed to "maintain the essence of their culture including language, family values and community structure,"⁹ while adopting what they regarded as the best aspects of Canadian culture. These included sports such as baseball and basketball and Canadian holidays such as Thanksgiving¹⁰ and Empire Day.¹¹ The transnational community was highly structured around the *Nokai*, an economic, social and recreational association in which all families held membership and paid a set percentage of their income. Traditional clubs segregated by gender, the Japanese language school, and Japanese sports such as judo and kendo were provided at the *Nokai* community hall. Besides supporting tradition, the community offered a refuge to its members from the often harsh and discriminating community at large.¹² Nonetheless, the Japanese immigrant farmers established mutually beneficial economic ties to the broader community, sent their children to public school and gradually took part in community service, celebrations and fundraising events. Moreover, the *Nokai* hall was open to the general public on set occasions such as judo demonstrations, public school concerts and kindergarten graduations. Thus, a cautious give-and-take relationship developed between the Japanese-Canadian community and the broader community, facilitating very gradual change while supporting the continuation of the transnational community. As the second generation matured and spent greater amounts of time in the broader community, sport became an increasingly important meeting point for the two communities as well as a force in solidifying *Nisei* group identity and solidarity.

In both Canada and the United States, most sport history scholarship has focused on white urban and professional sports, leaving both the rural scene and ethnic group involvement in sport seriously neglected. In the United States, exceptions to this trend include the efforts of baseball historian Samuel Regalado¹³ and sport sociologist Michael Mullan to reconstruct the history of Japanese-American baseball in California and Washington communities, respectively, offering several parallels to the Canadian experience.

For example, all Japanese immigrants to North America were motivated in sport as in other aspects of life by traditional Japanese values. Regalado makes the observation that sport was "directly tied to highly valued samurai principles: courage and honor."¹⁴ Mullan adds that at least one coach "preached *yamato damashii* as the essence of a *Nisei* approach to baseball."¹⁵ This term translates as "Japanese spirit" and relates to an ideology of national purity and homogeneity, while encompassing a sense of pride and superiority. Along with these values and traditions, Mullan proposes "a set of competing social impulses and tensions" that characterized the participation of Japanese Americans in sports such as baseball.¹⁶ They include: 1) embracing mainstream culture to demonstrate their readiness for the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; 2) displaying pride in Japanese ancestry, traditions and values; and 3) exhibiting a simultaneous

"submersion of ethnic difference" by partaking in the informal, recreational aspects of baseball such as banter and friendly competition.¹⁷ Japanese Canadians can be seen to have exhibited similar "impulses and tensions" in a similar, albeit Canadian setting. While it is unlikely most *Nisei* would have articulated their motivations with the scholarly depth and detail of Mullan, similar sentiment can be found in essays and newspaper articles written by young *Nisei*.

For instance, sixteen-year-old Norah Fujita claims the way to make a favorable impression on Canadians and to gain rights such as the franchise, is to be a good sport, a good student and to show them that "we are civilized people who are a match for them in wisdom and worthy practices."¹⁸ Baseball was indeed a "worthy practice" and a showcase for *Nisei* strengths and qualities. Judo was another "worthy practice," but many *Nisei* saw it as a venerable part of their heritage rather than a significant element of their destiny.

Mullan's look at Japanese-American baseball in central Washington reveals a rural setting not only geographically and climatically similar to the Fraser Valley north of it¹⁹ but also sharing a comparable socio-economic base. Farming, as the dominant occupation of both regions, involved all members of the family. Moreover, it united whole families within highly structured, supportive agricultural communities. As Howell suggests, "Sport in the countryside reflected the rhythms of agricultural production and the proximity of human beings and animals rather than the factory whistle, the time clock, and the shop floor."²⁰ These rhythms had to be accommodated in *Nisei* sport activities. Similarly, the close proximity of the white community had to be taken into consideration when planning practice sessions and competitions.

The judo season, for example, ran from fall to spring, ending just in time for spring planting. Practice sessions of this ethnically distinct sport were confined to the shelter and privacy of the local Japanese Hall, generally screening them from the scrutiny of the broader community. Tournaments and exhibitions, however, were open to the general public. Newspaper articles announcing these events included a line or two extending an invitation to the larger community.²¹

Like farming, baseball took place outdoors in full view of the community and required the exchange of a field of labor for a field of play. Although the planting, care, and harvest of crops demanded priority, families such as the Moriyamas of Mission nevertheless allowed their sons to join local ball teams. Of her husband, Mrs. Moriyama says, "Toyoki always encouraged such participation. Even during the busiest berry season, Toyoki would often take time off to watch a baseball game."²² At least one of the Moriyama boys also took part in judo.²³ Perhaps the baseball field as well as the judo hall offered fathers and sons opportunities for camaraderie over shared interests at a time when the experience of living between two distinct and often conflicting cultures tended to distance them from each other.

Returning to Mullan's study, it should be pointed out that in addition to the similarities between the rural Washington- and rural British Columbian-Japanese immigrant communities, there were several socio-economic and political differences that served to develop a unique character and foster a unique experience within the Japanese-Canadian transnational community. These differences can be summed up in three major points.

First of all, the high rate of land ownership among Japanese-Canadian farmers, in comparison to their American counterparts,²⁴ rooted them solidly in the Fraser Valley and provided a sense of permanency. This promoted a perceived need to connect to the dominant community in positive and constructive ways. Thus, in addition to wholeheartedly adopting baseball into the *Nisei* sport culture, they also gave sport back to the broader community in the form of judo.

Secondly, the Canadian ramifications of international alliances between Britain and Japan provided a legal foundation upon which the transnational communities of the Fraser Valley and their particular patterns of ethnic and sport activities were established.²⁵ Although these alliances created tension and resentment within some segments of white society, they forced both the Canadian and British Columbian governments to compromise on many proposals aimed at restricting Japanese-Canadian immigration, education, and land ownership.

Thirdly, the elaborate system of farmer's associations and cooperatives in the Fraser Valley produced an economic interdependence between the Japanese-Canadian community and the white community.²⁶ By the mid 1930s, Japanese-Canadian farmers outranked white farmers in the production of strawberries, raspberries and rhubarb, among other crops. Therefore it was in everyone's best interest that associations and co-ops, many of which had a majority of Japanese-Canadian membership, were formed to promote safe and fair marketing of produce. Japanese prominence in the cooperative movement created economic ties that not only helped promote positive relations with the broader community but also contributed to their own sense of community pride and purpose. Thus, rural transnational communities built upon relatively solid socio-economic and political foundations thrived and developed sporting practices that warrant scholarly study independent of the sporting experiences of Japanese immigrants of other destinations in the Western Hemisphere.

Sport as an intricate part of the political, cultural and social order in North America is relevant to early Japanese-Canadian communities, particularly in light of their strong patriarchal traditions. The participation of *Nisei* males in *Nokai* organized sports, such as judo, kendo,²⁷ and baseball may have been part of a masculinizing process deliberately planned by the *Issei* or it may have been an outgrowth of the Japanese belief in male privilege and superiority. Mullan claims that learning to play baseball was so popular among Japanese American males that it was "more a product of male socialization than formal training."²⁸

At any rate, sport helped *Nisei* males to keep fit, occupied, and focused on activities that were regarded as wholesome and character building. This not only strengthened the transnational community from within but also contributed to constructing a respectable *Nisei* image projected to the outside world.

Judo and Japanese Canadians

Clearing the land and establishing a productive farm in the Fraser Valley required years of intensive labor by all family members. The local Japanese *Nokai*, or farmer's association, and the *Nokai* community hall initially addressed most of the economic, social, and recreational needs of rural *Issei* pioneers. However, organized sport, within

and beyond the Japanese-Canadian community, would become increasingly available and significant to the children of these early settlers as family farms and transnational communities took shape and as the children established regular contact with the white community through public schooling. In the case of judo, its Japanese origins helped define and maintain the traditional Japanese foundation of the transnational communities while fostering an ongoing connection between the first and second generations.

Shigetaka Sasaki established Canada's first judo club in 1924 in Vancouver. One of Sasaki's motivations for promoting the sport and starting the club was "to soften the anti-Japanese attitude of the [*Vancouver Sun*] paper."²⁹ By inviting the public and the press to judo tournaments, Sasaki was confident of not only receiving good press but of influencing a positive reversal of attitude toward the Japanese-Canadian community. Sasaki made sure that newspaper articles announcing upcoming judo tournaments always included statements such as "The public is cordially invited. Admission is free."³⁰ By also inviting prominent members of the white community, Sasaki attracted the attention and respect of those in positions of influence. The mayor of Vancouver and the head of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) attended a Vancouver judo tournament and banquet in February 1932. Within a month, the RCMP added judo instruction to their training program, and Sasaki was hired as the instructor in Vancouver.³¹ In March 1937, an RCMP judo team, competing against Japanese-Canadian teams from across the Lower Mainland and the Fraser Valley, took second place in a Vancouver-based tournament.³² Because Japanese Canadians were denied the franchise, they were not permitted to work as policemen or civil servants.³³ The RCMP team, therefore, appears to be the first and possibly the only judo team of non-Japanese Canadians prior to the Second World War.³⁴

In 1930, Sasaki began monthly visits to the Fraser Valley community of Mission City where he helped a local farmer, John Hashizume, organize a judo club for male youth. The fledgling club met in the Japanese Hall twice a week for an hour-and-a-half after school. Yosh Senda, an early member of the club, was introduced to the sport at age seven by his father who held a brown belt. Senda remembers lessons in his living room "on a makeshift mat made out of old straws covered with canvas. I also remember the dust flying every time I landed on the mat."³⁵ He remained an active member of the Mission Judo Club until it was disbanded by government order during the Second World War. It is interesting to note that Sasaki, Hashizume and the elder Senda were *Issei* who had learned judo in Japan prior to coming to Canada.

In the early 1930s, judo clubs sprouted in other Fraser Valley communities including Haney, Hammond, and Whonnock, in the Maple Ridge area. Each met at their own Japanese Hall where *Nisei* skills were nurtured by those *Issei* with previous experience and achievement in the sport. Regularly scheduled tournaments rotated through the Lower Mainland and Fraser Valley communities and always attracted spectators from the white community. Although the press coverage was generally positive and the crowds were usually reported to be enthusiastic, one of the earlier exhibitions was less than well received.

In February 1935, the Maple Ridge Athletic Centre Development Committee organized a stadium fundraising event in which the main attraction was wrestling. The Japanese-Canadian community offered to donate what a journalist described as "two Ju

Jitsu bouts by clever Japanese." S. Kondo and T. Wate from Vancouver, who were considered "outstanding artists of the science of defense and offense," would provide the main bout and T. Mitani and T. Imada who were "local judo artists of no mean calibre,"³⁶ would perform the second bout. The press coverage following the event declared the judo segment "a first class exhibition" but briefly mentioned that the crowd did not appreciate it.³⁷ It was not until the next week that a few details appeared in a letter to the editor from a disgusted Wm. A. St. Louis of the Hammond Hotel. He declares that the "addle-headed nincompoops" who uttered sarcastic remarks "during the exhibition of the Japanese friends were very rude and showed a remarkable display of ignorance."³⁸ He goes on to praise the "Japanese" for their skills and claims that "Ju Jitsu" is an art that "very few so-called 'whites' can excel in." He closes by thanking the "Japanese" for their kindness in donating their time and effort to the cause. While St. Louis' letter represents only one voice, the newspaper editor's decision to publish it exposes the rudeness of the hecklers. It also reinforces St. Louis' perception of Japanese Canadians as skilled, generous members of the community whose behavior on the night in question was superior to that of the hecklers. Furthermore, this episode does not seem to have deterred the Japanese-Canadian communities in Maple Ridge from organizing and contributing to other fundraising efforts related to community sport.

Two months later, on April 27, the *Nisei* of Maple Ridge joined together to produce a benefit concert and variety show for the stadium fund.³⁹ The entertainment presented to a full house included not only Japanese-Canadian performers but also contributions of singing, comedy and high school orchestra music from members of the white community. While this demonstrates one of the ways the *Nisei* were connecting with the broader community, the newspaper's emphasis on the event as a "Japanese" project confirms the ongoing separation of the transnational community from the mainstream. Perhaps the proposed stadium was regarded by the Japanese-Canadian community as a future site for one of the large spring judo tournaments that highlighted the annual championships and wrapped up the season.

Returning to the press coverage of judo exhibitions and tournaments, a variety of positive comments speckled articles over the next several years. At a Mission exhibition in March of 1936, visitors from the white community "were very cordially treated," and they "thanked the Japanese association for the invitation."⁴⁰ *The New Canadian* reported regularly on judo events. In March of 1939, a Vancouver-sponsored tournament involving Mission and Maple Ridge was described as "an evening filled with thrills and surprises" before a crowd of one thousand spectators. One of the highlights of the evening was the participation of "Enrico Ricci, Black Belter, the only Occidental to appear" in the tournament and he was given "a splendid ovation."⁴¹ Although this particular tournament did not include the RCMP team, the article stressed that RCMP participation in judo tournaments was "always of interest to the local Japanese." This can be seen as an expression of Japanese-Canadian pride, as well as a way of informing the general public that Canada's prime law enforcement agency had embraced this important aspect of "Japanese" culture.

The respect and acceptance conferred by the inclusion of judo in basic RCMP training not only stirred Japanese-Canadian pride but gave them a sense of contributing to the greater community, in fact, to the nation as a whole. For the white community,

RCMP acceptance of and involvement in judo helped legitimize and demystify not only the sport itself but also, to some extent, the Japanese-Canadian people. Continuous white spectatorship, positive press, and the gradual increase of non-Japanese-Canadian participants up until the judo clubs were dispersed in the early 1940s suggests a significant bridging of cultures through sport. Judo provided a common body language where a shared tongue did not exist. It reflected a mutual interest in self-defense, competitiveness, and self-improvement that knows no linguistic or cultural borders. What is not clear, however, is how rigid the gender borders were within interwar judo practices.

When Mrs. Hideko Nishi, a former resident of Mission, was asked if girls were taught judo when she was a child, she laughed and replied, "Oh, no! That was only for the boys."⁴² Her experience with sports as a child was limited to activities at school including the occasional baseball game in the schoolyard. Among Japanese Americans, where judo was introduced as early as 1904, females were "encouraged to participate in practicing judo, they were not included in competitions."⁴³ In the Fraser Valley, Japanese-Canadian female spectators would likely have been involved in hosting activities as well. The refreshments offered at a Mission judo exhibition in April 1936 were no doubt prepared and served by women.⁴⁴ If rural *Nisei* women did participate regularly in judo during the interwar years, confirmation is yet to be found. However, the fact that Japanese-Canadian women's and girl's clubs and classes were held in the same halls as judo clubs and that the tournaments and exhibitions were an important community activity, suggests females must have been thoroughly familiar with the sport and its significance as a reflection of their culture. Further, it is important to establish that judo was entrenched as a sport tradition among Japanese immigrants in general.

Kevin Gray Carr traces the history and development of judo both in Japan and internationally.⁴⁵ He reveals that the modernization of judo during the late nineteenth century was actually a "westernization" of the sport that initially made it appealing to Western audiences and later to Western participants. While this may appear to call into question the authenticity of the Japanese claim to judo and its promotion as a Japanese sport, it must be remembered that judo is based on the ancient and potentially lethal Japanese combat sport of jujitsu. Japanese professor Jigoro Kano, who refined and renamed the sport in the early 1880s, did so because he "was alarmed at the rapid replacement of the traditional martial arts by European military exercises."⁴⁶ Kano's goal was to retain the essence of the martial arts while codifying a new, gentler form of self-defense solidly based on Japanese rather than European tradition. Furthermore, as cultural historian Allen Guttmann points out, rules in sport are "cultural artifacts" which are rationalized and redesigned over time to meet changing needs.⁴⁷ In the case of the practice of jujitsu, hundreds of years of stagnancy contrasted by the sweeping social change of the Meiji Period created a need for major revisions if the sport was to survive and have relevance in the modern world.

A significant motivation for bringing judo to the Western Hemisphere was the fact that it was the only sport in late nineteenth-century Japan that was open to all classes of people and therefore, acceptable wherever Japanese migrated.⁴⁸ This equality of opportunity, inherent in judo, was also apparent in the system of rankings and advancements within the sport. Rankings were signified by a series of colored belts and were bestowed "without prejudices and solely on the basis of accomplishment."⁴⁹ While these rules

ring of Western liberalism, it should be pointed out that almost every aspect of Japanese life underwent modernization and a degree of westernization during the Meiji Period. As Carr reminds us, "People in this time constantly kept an eye out for anything that was inefficient or antiquated."⁵⁰ Kano, "who was strongly influenced by a Western-oriented education,"⁵¹ cast a critical eye on jujitsu and found it wanting in the modern scheme of things. Thus, Guttmann and sociologist Lee Thompson categorize judo as an indigenous sport that was transformed or reinvented through the application of scientific principles to the best elements of ancient jujitsu.⁵²

The emergence of judo coincided with the formative years of the *Issei* who later came to Canada. Because the teaching of judo in public schools began in 1883 and was made compulsory in 1911, many male *Issei* had received instruction in Japan and virtually all of them would have recognized judo as having roots in ancient Japan. Thus, it is not valid to claim that the refinement of jujitsu to judo in any way disqualified the sport as a Japanese creation and import. Just as early Japanese immigrants to Canada had been influenced by the changes within Meiji Japan, so, too, had their native sports and other social institutions.

Judo gave Japanese Canadians, a relatively powerless group within the larger white community, something of unique and superior value to offer to the dominant culture. Whether many in the white community were aware of the influence of Western values on judo is not clear. At the 1939 exhibition in Mission, however, Jigoro Kano visited from Japan to officiate over the competition. All visitors were given a copy of an English language manuscript entitled, "The Contribution of Judo [*sic*] to Education," by Professor Jigoro Kano.⁵³ How much of the history of judo was revealed therein is unknown but no subsequent newspaper articles during the interwar period suggest any origins for the sport of judo other than Japanese.

Although judo became a gift to the white community and a source of Japanese-Canadian pride, it should not be forgotten that its original function, as a unique ethnic sport brought to Canada by Japanese immigrants, was to maintain the strength and cohesion of the Japanese-Canadian community from within. As a result, the practice of judo helped maintain the separateness and uniqueness of the rural transnational community. This was accomplished partly by establishing close working relationships between *Issei* instructors and *Nisei* students and partly through the characteristics of judo itself. Because judo drew on ancient Samurai values, made use of the Japanese language, and supported patriarchy, it tethered the *Nisei* to their families and their ethnicity even as they reached out to the wider community for Canadian sporting experiences, not the least of which was baseball.

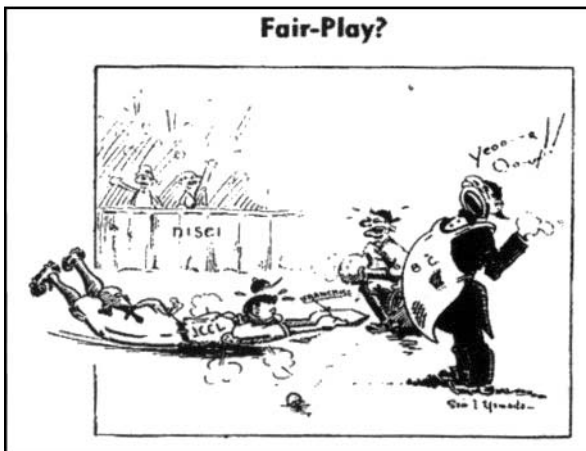
Baseball and Canadianization

Baseball had been part of the Japanese experience of the *Issei* prior to their arrival in Canada.⁵⁴ Its diffusion was not limited to elite schools and clubs "over the heads of the masses" as suggested by Mullan.⁵⁵ More recent evidence presented by Guttmann and Thompson indicates that baseball was spread not only by elite teachers within the higher schools but also by informal student groups, by railway workers, and by curious crowds of spectators who gathered to watch the game wherever it was played.⁵⁶ Forty-four

Japanese books on baseball and its rules, published during the Meiji Period, were available to the highly literate Japanese public. Baseball's propensity for the informal and impromptu game in a vacant lot or field also aided its spread so that by the end of the Meiji Period, if not before, "baseball had become Japan's most popular modern participation sport."⁵⁷

In North America, teams and leagues comprised of Japanese immigrants emerged in the early 1900s, initially in urban areas. Seattle organized a Japanese-American baseball league in 1908. Although the Vancouver Asahi team of Japanese Canadians came together in 1914, it did not break into the same international league as Seattle until 1918.⁵⁸ As the Vancouver Beaver professional baseball club of white Canadians was advancing to its 1908 championship victory,⁵⁹ Japanese Canadians were just beginning to populate the Fraser Valley, a forty-mile train trip into the countryside. While these early farming pioneers had little time for team sports, their *Issei* friends and acquaintances in urban and coastal regions, many of whom would eventually turn to farming in the Fraser Valley, populated the early amateur baseball teams of the lower mainland. There are also reports of informal *Issei* baseball teams in Fraser Valley logging camps, where many *Issei* labored prior to purchasing farmland.⁶⁰ As rural transnational farming communities grew in the Fraser Valley, the *Issei* interest in baseball saw greater fruition among the next generation of sons. Thus, baseball was not foreign to the *Issei*. Seeing their sons gravitate to baseball would have seemed more natural and acceptable than, for instance, to hockey or even basketball, both of which were introduced to Japan much later than baseball and were never as widely practiced.⁶¹

On the other hand, baseball's role in public school, in neighborhood play, and across the broader white community portrayed it to the *Nisei* as a major Canadian sport. For them, embracing baseball was symbolic of embracing Canadian citizenship itself. While the *Nisei* English language newspaper, *The New Canadian*, offers regular coverage of Japanese-Canadian baseball participation in many areas of British Columbia, a political cartoon published in 1939 demonstrates baseball's significance and symbolism to the *Nisei*.⁶²



The New Canadian, 27 May 1939.
 COURTESY SHIN KAWAI, JAPANESE
 COMMUNICATIONS, INC., TORONTO.

The cartoon equates a wrongly called "out" at home plate with the withholding of the franchise from *Nisei*. The unfairly defeated player represents the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League (JCCL), a *Nisei* political organization that fought for the vote and full rights for Japanese Canadians but was repeatedly frustrated until after the Second World War.

Nisei teams and individual players were known for their teamwork, self-control and good sportsmanship. For example, *The New Canadian* reports that in the early years of the Vancouver Asahis, the team faced hostile crowds and unfair decisions from umpires. Because they collectively chose to accept this rudeness stoically and "never protested a call, no matter how 'raw' it was," they gradually won respect and a popular following among both Japanese Canadian and white fans.⁶⁵ Although *The New Canadian* was written by *Nisei* for *Nisei*, similar sentiment can be seen three years earlier in the community newspaper of Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows. When the new Japanese Canadian Maple Ridge Farmers baseball team joined the predominantly white, rural Dewdney League, they were welcomed with the following statement: "As the Japanese are at all times good sportsmen, their entrance into the league will give added impetus and interest to the game this year."⁶⁴

Nevertheless, as a visible ethnic minority, *Nisei* athletes participating in team sports such as baseball, which took place outside the ethnic enclave, frequently faced discrimination and segregation. Canadian social historian Alan Metcalfe states that a basic reality of Canadian society was "institutionalized social discrimination" which was reflected in sport based on "wealth, education, religion, ethnicity, class, and gender."⁶⁵ More to the point regarding Japanese Canadians, however, is the fact that their visible minority status often led to their exclusion or segregation before any of Metcalfe's additional factors, such as class and education, were even considered.

Vancouver's amateur baseball leagues of the interwar years, for example, had separate teams comprised entirely of Japanese-Canadian players. At the professional level, Japanese-Canadian participation was non-existent. In the Fraser Valley, however, where discrimination was less prominent and a considerable degree of economic partnership existed between Japanese-Canadian farmers and white farmers,⁶⁶ many predominantly white amateur teams had up to three Japanese-Canadian players on them. Interestingly, the position most often held by a *Nisei* was pitcher—the heart and muscle of the team. The second most popular position was shortstop, followed by outfielders. In the Dewdney Triangle League of 1935, of the five *Nisei* players on the three Fraser Valley teams, three were listed as pitchers (Kusano, Hoshizaki, and Sawayama), one as shortstop (Shirakawa), and one most often appeared as an outfielder but once as a pitcher (Oike).⁶⁷ In 1937, of the six *Nisei* players on two of the league's three Fraser Valley teams, four were listed as pitchers (Sawayama, Kusano, Tamura, and Motamura), the fifth as both a pitcher and a shortstop (Hoshizaki), and the sixth was listed only as a pinch hitter (Oike).⁶⁸ Perhaps these listings suggest that *Nisei* players in the Fraser Valley, as in rural Washington, had to be very skillful in order to be "good enough" to play on predominantly white teams.⁶⁹ And perhaps these players were also expected to possess a specialized skill such as pitching or batting or the capability to perform well in several different positions.

Whatever the case, because pitchers were most frequently highlighted in the newspaper coverage of games, several Japanese-Canadian players stand out. In the case of

York Tamura, an interesting transition occurred over the course of three years of newspaper reporting on his growing success as a pitcher for the mainly white Haney team. In 1937, Tamura was referred to as "the midget Nippon for Haney," who held the Fraser Mills team "scoreless to the finish."⁷⁰ In 1938, reference to Tamura's ethnicity ceased and quotes about his performance included, "York Tamura came to the rescue,"⁷¹ and "'York' had the game under perfect control for nearly the entire route, seldom being in trouble."⁷² Again being credited with perfect control near the end of the season, Tamura was labeled "diminutive" in an otherwise flattering article, leading this researcher to conclude that the term was not used with the intent of contempt but rather with that of familiarity or affection.⁷³ Although Tamura's exact height is never given, by 1939 all reference to his size had stopped. Rather, he was tagged "the iron man for Haney,"⁷⁴ a complementary title indicating a significant degree of acceptance within the predominantly white community on whose mainly white baseball team he played.

Tommy Sawayama, also particularly of short stature,⁷⁵ was another talented Japanese-Canadian pitcher who had a positive and promising amateur experience on a number of baseball teams from 1935 to 1941. Over the course of this time he pitched for the predominantly white Hammond Maple Leafs of the Dewdney Triangle League, the Japanese Canadian Maple Ridge Farmers, also of the Dewdney Triangle League, the Port Hammond team of the Japanese Baseball League, and the Vancouver Asahis of the Burrard League (1939-1941). Early in his pitching career, Sawayama was described during one victory as "having 10 strikeouts to his credit," and also having "scored the winning run."⁷⁶ While with the Asahis, he was said to be "a dedicated ball player" who never missed a game even though he had to travel forty miles between Hammond and Vancouver. He was regarded as the Asahi Seniors' "promising rookie."⁷⁷ When *The New Canadian* describes one of Sawayama's 1939 wins for Hammond, they refer to the losing pitcher as "good enough to win half-a-dozen ordinary games," but that "it was his tough luck to run up against Sawayama."⁷⁸

An unfortunate incident occurred to Sawayama in February 1937, again placing his name in the news but not in relation to baseball. Still a high school student at the time, Sawayama was injured in a snowball fight, "receiving severe cuts on his forearm necessitating six surgical stitches."⁷⁹ The article indicates Sawayama was faced with a "barricade" of boys throwing snowballs. He ran for the school but when he reached for the doorknob, he missed it and shoved his hand through the glass in the door because he had been "keeping his eyes on the deluge of snowballs." The principal gave him first aid and took him to the doctor. While the article makes no mention of race or ethnicity and does not suggest any disciplinary action was taken, the snowball fight does not sound like either a friendly exchange or a balanced one. The article creates the image of a frightened, frantic student who was singled out for some unstated or perhaps unknown reason. While it may never be known if this attack was racially motivated, the possibility must be acknowledged. Although Sawayama was a celebrated pitcher on a mainly white Hammond baseball team, he might not have been accepted and respected throughout the Hammond community. If racism played a role in this incident, Sawayama would have found comfort, safety and reassurance within the Japanese-Canadian transnational community. To provide a safe haven for the *Nisei* was one of the reasons the *Issei* worked so hard to build and maintain their close-knit communities. Moreover, the *Issei*

saw this safe haven as conducive to raising law-abiding, productive Canadian citizens within the context of Japanese values and traditions. Thus, even as sport activities drew the *Nisei* farther away from the community, they always returned at the end of the tournament, the exhibition, or the game. In the case of baseball, the opportunities to play were as wide and varied as the Fraser Valley itself.

For instance, the inclusion of baseball games and tournaments in special celebrations like Empire Day and Dominion Day and in relation to community fund-raising efforts such as a drive for the Red Cross was a British tradition commonly adhered to in Fraser Valley communities.⁸⁰ *Nisei* took part in these games to the extent that they took part in regular community baseball teams. High school and club picnics frequently included baseball or its sister sport, softball, among their regular activities.⁸¹ A younger brother like Missions Tak Hayashi often followed an older brother, in this case Roy Hayashi, into community baseball.⁸² Although Japanese Canadians were well known for providing fireworks, floats with Japanese-Canadian girls dressed in kimonos and traditional Japanese dancing for these events,⁸³ *Nisei* participation in community baseball was more of a linking and acculturating activity. The *Nisei* ball players were not offering a cultural spectacle steeped in centuries of Japanese tradition. Rather, they were joining in an established Canadian sporting practice with the same garb, equipment and friendly spirit of competition as the players from the broader community. In the United States, Regalado claims a similar connection when he states, "Through baseball and basketball, Japanese American culture was bridged with seemingly no threat to traditional values."⁸⁴ Because the white Canadian community saw baseball as their own, *Nisei* interest and skill in the sport merely reaffirmed baseball's virtues and value in the eyes of the broader community. It also spoke to whites of a *Nisei* ability to assimilate which, in the estimation of many whites, their *Issei* elders did not appear to possess. For the *Nisei*, participation in baseball was optimistically but naively seen as a step toward full inclusion in Canadian life.

As the 1940s began, baseball continued to grow in popularity. In Mission, fifty-one boys, thirteen of whom were Japanese Canadian, formed four mixed junior teams, which competed within the Mission community for the entire season.⁸⁵ Had incidents related to the Second World War not intervened, these young *Nisei* players would have fed into the senior leagues over the years to come. However, the expulsion and internment of coastal Japanese Canadians, similar to the experience of Japanese Americans, put an abrupt end to those leagues and the dreams of many talented players. Perhaps Japanese-Canadian girls might also have gravitated to organized baseball teams if they had remained in the Fraser Valley. Regardless, until the final season of 1941, the female *Nisei* classmates and friends of male *Nisei* ball players were in the stands and on the sidelines admiring their favorite players and cheering for their favorite teams.⁸⁶ Young women were also very active in fund-raising activities that supported community sports by purchasing sports equipment, by contributing to the stadium fund in Maple Ridge and by adding to the operating funds of many rural baseball teams.⁸⁷ Although women's roles in sport remained supportive of men's roles during the interwar period, *Nisei* women also saw these community activities as part of their Canadian rights and responsibilities.

Thus, baseball forged a link between the transnational Japanese-Canadian community and the broader community. This link satisfied the *Issei* and the *Nisei* as well as much of the general population. For the *Nisei*, baseball embodied what it meant to be Canadian and offered them a showcase for their strengths such as sportsmanship and fair play, as well as community spirit and support. Baseball allowed the *Nisei* to portray themselves as excellent candidates for full rights and inclusion in Canadian society. Because *Nisei* involvement in baseball was supported by the *Issei*, it did not pose a threat to the transnational community but generally supported the principles of patriarchy and the traditional values of hard work, honor, and courage. For the broader white community, baseball provided one of the first public sites of *Nisei* assimilation outside of the public school system. Community newspapers reveal very little labeling of Japanese-Canadian players—it is almost exclusively by their names alone that the reader can identify their ethnicity. Baseball, therefore, supported both the transnational communities and the *Nisei* expression and pursuit of Canadianization. At the same time, baseball helped ease the fears of the broader community regarding the assimilability of Japanese Canadians, showing that the *Nisei* could fit in and excel in community sport as they had in public school.

Conclusion

Japanese-Canadian sport history is a new area of study. A narrow focus on the Fraser Valley of British Columbia during the interwar years has shown that sport practices were not only influenced by ethnic groups like the *Nisei* but they were also instrumental in maintaining organized ethnic enclaves such as rural Japanese-Canadian transnational communities. Sociologist Richard Gruneau claims that sometimes the powerless, including ethnic groups like Japanese Canadians, "have many more resources in society than is commonly realized."⁸⁸ For Japanese Canadians, this is reflected not only in the strength and success of individual farmers and their transnational communities but also within the context of their sport practices. The introduction of judo to the Canadian sport scene and the embracing of popular Canadian sports like baseball highlighted *Nisei* qualities, their contributions to community, and their readiness for full inclusion in Canadian society.

While the *Nisei* were to be further frustrated and delayed in their pursuit of full Canadian rights by the expulsion, displacement and resettlement of the 1940s, the *Issei* were to face the harrowing loss of their farms and destruction of their rural transnational communities. Never again would Japanese Canadians have the opportunity to reconstruct these unique, culturally rich, and close-knit communities characteristic of the Fraser Valley. Although the tragedy of their loss has been documented and acknowledged, only by reconstructing their history through studies of sport and other social practices will the broader community begin to understand the magnitude of its own loss when their Japanese-Canadian neighbors were banished from the Fraser Valley.



¹See Anne Doré, "Transnational Communities: Japanese Canadians of the Fraser Valley, 1904-1942," *BC Studies* 134 (2002): 35-70. For the purposes of this paper, communities considered part of the

Fraser Valley are Mission and the Maple Ridge area, which included the smaller communities of Haney, Hammond, Whonnock, Ruskin, and Albion. The total combined population of these neighboring areas in 1931 was 8,525 and in 1941, it was 11,151. (Seventh Census of Canada, 1931 and Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, *Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics* [Ottawa: Printer to the King]). The Japanese Canadian population within these totals was, in 1933, approximately 1,588 and in 1941, approximately 2,109. In both instances, the Japanese-Canadian population grew in proportion to the total population, maintaining 19 percent of the total. See Reginda Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1935), 296-297; and John Mark Read, "The Pre-War Japanese Canadians of Maple Ridge: Landownership and the KEN-Tie" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1975), 40.

²Numerous studies explore the Nisei experience including David K. Yoo, *Growing Up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924-49* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000) and Lon Kurashige, "The Problem of Biculturalism: Japanese American Identity and Festival Before World War II," *Journal of American History* 86 (2000): 1632-1654. For the Canadian Nisei experience and history, see Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); and Charles H. Young and Helen R. Y. Reid, *The Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939). Also see *The New Canadian* newspaper, published by and for Nisei from 1938.

³While space does not allow for a detailed look at discriminatory legislation and practices these areas are thoroughly covered by Adachi, *The Enemy*, 26-35, 50-51, Patricia Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989), 81-88, 244-258, and Doré, "Transnational Communities," 43-45. In general, relations between Japanese Canadians and European Canadians were somewhat better in the Fraser Valley than in Vancouver because of closer economic ties and a gradual expansion in social interaction and shared community projects. Nevertheless, they fluctuated in response to both domestic and international political and economic changes.

⁴Colin D. Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 6.

⁵Midge Ayukawa, "Good Wives and Wise Mothers: Japanese Picture Brides in Early Twentieth-Century British Columbia," *BC Studies*, Nos. 105 -106 (1995): 106.

⁶*Maple Ridge-Pitt Meadows Gazette* (hereafter *MR-PM Gazette*) (British Columbia), 6 May 1938, p. 8.

⁷*MR-PM Gazette*, 19 May 1939, p. 5.

⁸Policies of modernization and Westernization initiated during the Meiji Period (1868-1911) and more or less maintained during the Taisho Period (1912-1926) included the embracing of Western sports, particularly baseball from 1872 onward. See Donald Roden, "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan," *American Historical Review* 85 (1980): 511-534; and Paul Spickard, *Japanese Americans* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), 9. Michael Mullan, in "Ethnicity and Sport: The Wapato Nippons and Pre-World War II Japanese American Baseball," *Journal of Sport History* 26 (1999): 82-114, claims baseball during the Meiji Period was limited to the elite higher schools, but this theory has been called into question by a more recent publication by Allen Guttmann and Lee Thompson, *Japanese Sports: A History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 82-90. For background on Meiji and Taisho Japan, see Ann Waswo, *Modern Japanese Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992).

⁹Doré, "Transnational Communities," 37. Others have offered more ethnically generalized but nonetheless detailed studies of the concept of transnationalism, its origins, and applications. See Peter Kivisto, "Theorizing Transnational Immigration: A Critical Review of Current Efforts," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24 (2001): 549-577; and William Alonso, "Citizenship, Nationality, and Other Identities," *Journal of International Affairs* 48 (1995): 585-600. Regarding Japanese Brazilian and Japanese Peruvian transnational communities, see Takeyuki (Gaku) Tsuda, "When Identities Become Modern: Japanese Emigration to Brazil and the Global Contextualization of Identity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24 (2001): 412-432. See also Ayumi Takenaka, "Transnational Community and Its Ethnic Consequences: The

Return Migration and the Transformation of Ethnicity of Japanese Peruvians," *America Behavioral Scientist* 42 (1999): 1459-1475. For a look at Japanese Brazilian and to a lesser extent Japanese Peruvian ethnicity and community structure, see Christopher A. Reichl, "Stages in the Historical Process of Ethnicity: The Japanese in Brazil, 1908-1988," *Ethnohistory* 42 (1995): 31-62.

¹⁰Yasutaro Yamaga Papers, Box 20, Japanese Canadian Collection, Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver, British Columbia. See also Doré, "Transnational Communities," 61, in which Yamaga describes an annual community Thanksgiving dinner and music program for which Japanese-Canadian women provided the main course and white women provided pastry and beverages.

¹¹Mission City, "Empire Day Programme, 25 May 1925," Mission Community Archives, Mission, British Columbia. The Mission *Nokai* provided a fireworks display as part of the community festivities.

¹²See Doré, "Transnational Communities," 48-49. As in rural Japan, most Japanese-Canadian farming communities formed a *Nokai*—a complex social and economic association which functioned as the defender of cultural integrity. The term *Nokai* also refers to the community hall used for *Nokai* and community activities. Most Japanese immigrants to Canada hailed from southern agricultural prefectures in Japan, and some gravitated toward similar clusterings in British Columbia. However, none of the Fraser Valley communities were comprised exclusively of immigrants from one or two prefectures (*KEN*). See also Read, "The Pre-War Japanese Canadians" and "Japanese Pioneer Settlers in Mission by Prefectures," Hashizume Fonds, Mission Community Archives.

¹³Samuel O. Regalado, "Sport and Community in California's Japanese American 'Yamato Colony,' 1930-1945," *Journal of Sport History* 19 (1992): 130-143.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 132.

¹⁵Mullan, "Ethnicity and Sport," 102.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 83-84.

¹⁸Norah Fujita, *Voice of the Nisei* (Japanese Canadian Citizen's League Special Issue and precursor of *The New Canadian*), 27 August 1938, 1-2. Fujita was the junior third prize winner in an essay contest sponsored by a variety of Japanese Canadian community groups.

¹⁹While the Fraser Valley lies west of the Cascade Range, the Yakima Valley is east of it and consequently has a climate that is slightly warmer and dryer in summer than the Fraser Valley.

²⁰Colin D. Howell, *Blood, Sweat and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

²¹See *Fraser Valley Record*, 21 May 1925, p. 1; 11 March 1937, p. 8.

²²"Rambling Reminiscences of Haru Moriyama," memoir recorded and expanded by her daughter, Fumi Tamagi (nee Moriyama) in Lethbridge, Alberta, 27, Japanese Canadian Exhibit Collection (JCEC), Mission Community Archives, (also found in the Japanese Canadian National Museum, Burnaby, B.C.).

²³*The New Canadian*, 1 December 1939, p. 6, lists Kiyoshi Moriyama on the Mission junior judo team.

²⁴For details regarding Alien Land Acts in California and Washington, which prohibited the purchasing of land by Japanese immigrants, see Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York: Twayne, 1991), 46-47. For an example of land ownership versus leasing, in Mission in 1929, sixty-seven Japanese Canadian families farmed 924 acres of land. Of that total, all was owned by the farmers who worked the land except for seventy-five acres which was leased by a few Japanese-Canadian tenant farmers. See Juzo Suzuki, ed., "Farming by Japanese in Mission Area," in issue "Kanada Nohgyo Hatten Go: Development of Farming in Canada," *Canada Nichinichi Shinbun*, trans. W. T. Hashizume (1929): 2 (available in English in the Hashizume Fonds, Mission Community Archives).

²⁵For details of Anglo-Japanese agreements, see Thomas R. Berger, *Fragile Freedoms: Human Rights and Dissent in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin, 1982), 98-100.

²⁶Doré, "Transnational Communities," 51-53.

²⁷*Kendo* is Japanese swordsmanship. See Guttman and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 56-64.

²⁸Mullan, "Ethnicity and Sport," 94.

²⁹Gordon G. Nakayama, *Issei: Stories of Japanese Canadian Pioneers* (Toronto: NC Press, 1984), 201.

³⁰*MR-PM Gazette*, 19 March 1937.

³¹Nakayama, *Issei*, 201.

³²*MR-PM Gazette*, 19 March 1937.

³³Berger, "Banished Canadians," 97-98. Only a small number of Japanese Canadians who were veterans of the First World War were allowed to vote in British Columbia as of 1931 (105).

³⁴The judo club in Duncan on Vancouver Island had one member of Indo-Canadian descent in 1940. See *The New Canadian*, 15 March 1940, p. 5.

³⁵From a letter written by Yosh Senda, 30 April 1992, JCEC.

³⁶*MR-PM Gazette*, 21 February 1935, p. 5.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 28 February 1935, p. 2.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 7 March 1935, p. 2.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 18 April 1935; 2 May 1935, p. 8.

⁴⁰*Fraser Valley Record*, 2 April 1936, p. 1.

⁴¹*The New Canadian*, 1 March 1939, p. 7.

⁴²Interview with Mrs. Hideko Nishi by the author at Mission Community Archives, 3 August 2001.

⁴³George B. Kirsch, Othello Harris, and Claire E. Nolte, eds., *Encyclopedia of Ethnicity and Sports in the United States* (London: Greenwood Press, 2000), 264.

⁴⁴*Fraser Valley Record*, 2 April 1936, p. 1.

⁴⁵Kevin Gray Carr, "Making Way: War, Philosophy and Sport in Japanese Judo," *Journal of Sport History* 20 (1993): 176-188.

⁴⁶Richard D. Mendell, *Sport: A Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 101.

⁴⁷Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 40.

⁴⁸Mandell, *Sport*, 101.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰Carr, "Making Way," 176.

⁵¹Guttmann and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 100.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 96, 100.

⁵³*Fraser Valley Record*, 2 April 1936, p. 1.

⁵⁴For the arrival and early development of baseball in Meiji Japan see Roden, "Baseball and the Quest," 511-534.

⁵⁵Mullan, "Ethnicity and Sport," 85.

⁵⁶Guttmann and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 82-90.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 82.

⁵⁸*The New Canadian*, 27 May 1939, p. 15.

⁵⁹Robin John Anderson, "'On the Edge of the Baseball Map' with the 1908 Vancouver Beavers," *The Canadian Historical Review* 77 (1996): 538-574.

⁶⁰William Humber, *Diamonds of the North: A Concise History of Baseball in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995), 99.

⁶¹Basketball was not introduced in Japan until 1908. See *The New Canadian*, 13 October 1939, p. 7.

⁶²*The New Canadian*, 27 May 1939, p. 2.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 27 May 1939, p. 15; 15 February 1939, p. 7.

⁶⁴*MR-PM Gazette*, 1 May 1936, p. 1.

⁶⁵Alan Metcalfe, "The Growth of Organized Sport and the Development of Amateurism in Canada, 1807-1914," in *Not Just A Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology*, eds. Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), 42.

⁶⁶See Doré, "Transnational Communities," 16-19, 21, 25, and 28 for the development and maintenance of the farmer's agricultural associations and cooperative networks in the Fraser Valley.

⁶⁷*MR-PM Gazette*, 13 June 1935, p. 6; 4 July 1935, p. 5; 12 September 1935, p. 6.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 30 July 1937, p. 8; 6 August 1937, p. 1; 20 August 1937, p. 1; 27 August 1937, p. 1.

⁶⁹Mullan, "Ethnicity and Sport," 94.

⁷⁰*MR-PM Gazette*, 30 July 1937, p. 8.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 8 July 1938, p. 8.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 15 July 1938, p. 5.

⁷³*ITP Nelson Canadian Dictionary* (Toronto: Thomson Publishing, 1997), 389.

⁷⁴*MR-PM Gazette*, 19 May 1939, p. 3.

⁷⁵Pat Adachi, *Asahi: A Legend in Baseball* (Etobicoke, Ontario: Coronex Printing and Publishing, 1992), 116.

⁷⁶*MR-PM Gazette*, 25 July 1935, p. 5.

⁷⁷Adachi, *Asahi*, 116.

⁷⁸*The New Canadian*, 1 August 1939, p. 8.

⁷⁹*MR-PM Gazette*, 5 February 1937, p. 1.

⁸⁰Howell, *Blood, Sweat, and Cheers*, 29; *MR-PM Gazette*, 23 June 1939, p. 1; *Fraser Valley Record*, 18 July 1940.

⁸¹*MR-PM Gazette*, 10 June 1938, p. 8; *The New Canadian*, 6 June 1939, p. 5.

⁸²*The New Canadian*, 6 June 1939, p. 8. Although this article also claims Roy Hayashi played for the Vancouver Asahis, his name is not listed in Pat Adachi's history of the Asahis.

⁸³*MR-PM Gazette*, 16 April 1937; 14 May 1937, p. 1.

⁸⁴Regalado, "Sport and Community," 136.

⁸⁵*Fraser Valley Record*, 9 May 1940, p. 2.

⁸⁶*The New Canadian*, 1 May 1939, p. 4.

⁸⁷*MR-PM Gazette*, 18 April 1935; 17 December 1937; 5 April 1940.

⁸⁸Richard S. Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development," in *Not Just A Game*, eds. Harvey and Cantelon, 9-32.