The Perception Gap: A Case Study of Japanese-Canadians

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Introduction

At the start of this article I would like to say plainly that, according to ethnic category, I and my family are defined as Japanese-Canadians. We parents born in the prewar days were guided by the theories of early childhood development proposed by Sigmund Freud and our children born in the postwar days were raised with advice from such authorities on child rearing as Dr. Benjamin Spock. We consider ourselves members of the pre-World War II generation and we value tradition and stability in society, but our children were born after the baby boom period of the 1950s and 60s, and they share with baby boomers the same progressive values and the desire for more freedom of expression and communication in this age of IT technology and the information explosion. They reached adolescence in the 1990s, when the Cold War ended as a result of the collapse of the totalitarian system of communism in the USSR and other East European countries. In growing up in our capitalist society, our children have enjoyed great freedom in their daily lives. Their philosophies and lifestyles present an almost unprecedented challenge to the goals, values and codes of conduct which we believe in and followed in the prewar day. As a result, deep divisions in understanding and values between us parents and our children are common - the perception gap ¹, the generation gap ²-a-e, and the communication gap ²-f-h.

¹ This article was originally delivered by the author at the workshop: "Communication among Japanese-Canadians: The Role of Non-Profit and For-Profit Organizations in Media and Education Service Industries" organized on Feb. 19, 2005 by the Centre for Japanese Research at the Institute of Asian Research of the University of British Columbia.
In addition to these perception and generation gaps, in the case of our Japanese-Canadian family, there is a culture gap. I and my wife immigrated to Canada in the late 1960s and the mid 1970s respectively, and our two children were born in Vancouver in the latter half of the 1970s and have grown up here. At our home I am reading both Japanese and English newspapers, but my wife prefers to read Japanese papers all of the time. Our children are reading English papers exclusively. As for Japanese and English radio and TV programs, we can say the same thing.

The Asahi Baseball Team

The late Roy Ito, a high-school principal and a Nisei (second generation Japanese-Canadian) veteran in Hamilton, Ontario, well described a communication gap in Japanese-Canadian homes in the prewar days between Issei (the first generation) fathers and Nisei sons based on his own experience in his book entitled Stories of My People. The former read Japanese newspapers and the latter read English ones. Meaningful conversation about politics, government, philosophy and religion was difficult between Issei parents and Nisei offspring. In fact, it was almost impossible, because of an additional factor, the relationship of uneducated parents from the prewar Japan and educated children in Canada - the education gap. However, we can find an interesting social factor in the Japanese community, a bridge across the missing communication gap between Issei and Nisei, in Japanese-Canadian newspapers published in the Japan Town of the prewar days. All these Japanese-Canadian newspapers printed a mixture of current domestic news from Japan and articles on daily events in Vancouver's Japan Town along Powell Street. In particular, sports news on the Asahi Baseball Team warranted a long article, occupying almost one quarter of the front page. The box scores were in the paper for every reader to see.
More than anything else, the Asahi team was a focal point, the pride of Japan Town in Vancouver, B.C. Ito's *Journal* says:

When Asahi had a game in Oppenheimer Park at Powell Street and Dunlevy Avenue, spectators packed the dusty baseball field and cheered lustily at the fine plays and even more loudly when an Asahi player got a hit. The Asahi was a light hitting team and relied on speed and defence in their games with the bigger Canadian players. "Did Asahi get a win today? What's their score?" were frequently the stuff of dinner table conversation in a Japanese household.4

Roy Ito pointed out in his book that baseball contributed towards narrowing the communication gap between Issei fathers and Nisei sons through a common subject in their conversation: "Who won the game? What was the final score?" Baseball and the Asahi brought the generations together, bridging the generation gap. Pat Adachi, another Ontarian and a Nisei free-lancer who wrote about the Japanese-Canadian community, did intensive field and documentary research and compiled a beautiful book entitled *Asahi, Legend in Baseball* in which one of the former Asahi players, Iwaichi Kawashiri, 94 years old as of 1992, vividly depicts his recollection of the remarkable Asahis:

There is a great physical difference between the Caucasian stature and the Japanese. Caucasians have the ability to hit the "long-ball." So Asahi created their own style of play -
bunting to perfection and the amazing "squeeze plays." As soon as the ball left the pitcher's hand, the Asahi runner was already running from third to home plate. While the fielder was bewildered, the second base runner was well on his way to third and home, scoring two runs on a single bunt. And that would bring the house down, with resounding cheers from the fans. These memories appear before my eyes. In 1928 I lived on Powell Street, running a rooming house. My greatest pleasure in those difficult times was to grab 10 cents and head for the ball park to see the Asahis play. We followed the Asahis wherever they played. I learned baseball strategy, the true meaning of fair play and sportsmanship. During those years the Japanese people were discriminated against at every turn. To have a Japanese language school to teach our children the Japanese culture was highly suspect. We were constantly criticized for congregating in one area - Little Tokyo on Powell Street, or working too hard in order to eke out a living. No matter what we did we were the targets of political organizations - the institutionalized perception gap. It was a world where the Japanese-Canadian people had a pathetic existence. But the barriers came down whenever the Asahis played ball - played a role of bridging the communication and perception gaps between the Japanese community
and the mainstream Canadian society. Naturally there were the Japanese fans. But, it was the applause from the Occidental fans which would make us so proud. There was one coach on one of the opposing teams named Don Stewart. When the Asahi team was at bat, some of the Occidental fans would encourage the Asahis to execute a double play as we described above. This made Don Stewart so angry, he became livid and grabbed the wire fence and yelled at the fans to shut up. I felt good. Why did these Caucasian fans look upon the Asahis so favourably? These fans appreciated the sportsmanlike attitude, the skill and fervour the Asahis displayed in their game, and thought of them not as a team of a different race, but as equal in the name of sports. It dispelled suspicion and created a camaraderie with the mainstream society of Canada.6

This way of dispelling suspicion and creating respect between Caucasians and Japanese Canadians worked towards closing the perception gap. Love of the Asahi's game helped the people in Japan Town along Powell Street to forget their everyday hardships. Not only did the Asahis play an important role in bridging the communication gap or generation gap between Issei and Nissei, but also the superb play and good sportsmanship demonstrated by the Asahi team members brought mutual respect and a sense of goodwill between them and rival Canadian players as well as among full houses of
Japanese and Canadian spectators, promoting mutual friendship as a result of narrowing the *perception gap*.\(^3\textsuperscript{13}\) Through the Asahi Ball Club, the Japanese in the Province of British Columbia were more favourably accepted and assimilated more quickly into Canadian society, showing more self-assurance, and the Asahi Baseball Team, for these reasons, will always remain in Japanese-Canadians' fondest memories.

In Summer 2005, the National Nikkei & Heritage Centre Museum at Burnaby, B.C., plans to have an exhibition of artifacts and photographs entitled "Levelling the Playing Field: Legacy of the Asahi Baseball Team 1914 -1942." In the prewar days, Ken Kutsukake was catcher and one of the star players of the Asahi team. He also appeared in a recently produced documentary film about the Club by the National Film Board of Canada entitled *Sleeping Tigers: The Asahi Baseball Story*.\(^7\) In this film, award winning director Jari Osborne skillfully weaves archival documentary film and dramatic re-creations, along with candid interviews with the last surviving members of the Asahis, Ken Kutsukake and others, reviving this remarkable story. Adachi’s book profiles Kutsukake as follows:

Ken lived and loved baseball so much he became a member of *go-gun* (fifth junior team) on the Asahi's Clovers team at age 12 and was known as "Catcha-catcha-Kutsukake." An excerpt from a newspaper clipping provides a very accurate description of Ken's ability: "Kutsukake, catcher for Asahi's 15-1 win at Powell Street. An effective catcher not only called the pitches behind the plate, but had to be quick and agile for outside pitches and wild throws, a quick release to gun down base runners and block home plate."
During the evacuation, Ken along with Naggie Nishihara as his battery mate formed and organized a baseball team in Kaslo, B.C. He joined a French team in Montreal as a catcher in the Atwater Baseball Team for a short period of time (1947). His last association with baseball as a manager was in 1956, when the Honest Ed's Nisei Baseball Team in Toronto won the Senior Baseball Championship. Ken put all his energy into bringing about the very successful Asahi Reunion in 1972.8

On June 28, 2003, the Vancouver Asahi Baseball Team9 was inducted into the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame (CBHF) in St. Mary's, Ontario. As of June 2003, there were only 10 living Asahi players left. On the same day, Kutsukake9 was enshrined into the CBHF along with nine other players because of his distinguished contribution to the Pacific Northwest Baseball League in the prewar days. Unfortunately, Ken Kutsukake passed away on Nov. 22, 2003. Attending the Hall of Fame induction ceremony, there were five Asahi players present to receive their Hall of Fame jackets from Tom Valcke, President and CEO of the CBHF. How proudly these old timers stood on the podium - Ken Kutsukake, Mickey Maikawa, Mike Maruno, Kaye Kaminishi, and Kiyoshi Suga. Five others who were unable to attend, but who would receive their jackets were Jimmy Fukui, George Yoshinaka, Yuki Uno, Bob Higuchi, and Ken Shimada. A beautiful bronze plaque with the list of 74 players on the Asahi roster from 1914 to 1941 was also presented. The standing ovation from the large crowd attending the induction ceremony brought tears to everybody's eyes. In pre-World War II Vancouver, the Asahi baseball team was unbeatable, outplaying the
taller Caucasian teams and winning the prestigious Pacific Northwest Championship for five straight years.

When the Pacific War broke out on December 7, 1941, the Canadian government sent every person of Japanese descent (a total of 23,000 Japanese-Canadians), whether born in Canada or not, to internment camps. Faced with hardship and isolation during the Pacific War period, the former Asahi members (the Asahi Team had to be disbanded because of the outbreak of the War) survived by playing baseball with local Canadian people at their relocation camps. Their passion for this quintessential North American heritage game soon attracted other Canadian players, including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and local townspeople, and the baseball games helped to break down racial and cultural barriers in Canadian society - bridging the culture and perception gaps.\textsuperscript{3-13}

There was no premonition of the disaster that was to come.
Yet early in 1942, when these men along with many thousands of Japanese Canadians were interned in relocation camps, ghost towns and road camps, they soon overcame the shock of such harsh treatment by their own government. Little by little, bats and balls appeared and these former Asahi players formed baseball teams wherever they were. It did much to dispel the doom and gloom of that uncertain period. Adults and children alike rallied around their favourite team, cheering their hearts out and releasing their pent up anguish. Also it did much to create a friendly
atmosphere with the local residents. It removed the fear and animosity these people had for the Japanese Canadians who had suddenly been thrust upon them so unexpectedly. Baseball has a universal language.\textsuperscript{10}

Again, the language of baseball helped to narrow the \textit{communication and perception gap}.

In October 1972 the Asahis' reunion was held at the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre in Toronto. A few hundred former great players of the Asahi team in the 1920s and 1930s had a happy reunion for the first time in the postwar period. There were Ken Kutsukake, Mickey Maikawa, Roy Yamamura, Reg Yasui, Frank Shiraishi, the Suga brothers: Ty, Kaz and Kiyoshi, and the Tanaka brothers: George, Charley and Herb. Historian Toyo Takata, originally from Victoria, a former editor of the \textit{New Canadian}, put together a souvenir program which tells lovingly of the many great games of the Asahis, and traces all the players from 1914 to 1941. Toyo read letters and wires from other Asahis, friends and fans, and former opponents. One letter to the Asahi reunion dated Oct. 1, 1972, is from Jimmy Condon of Arrow Transfer, a team in Vancouver's City Service League:

\begin{quote}
It is with a great deal of pleasure that I write this letter. I hope that your reunion will be a real success. I have many fond memories of the Asahi ball club in Vancouver. I was a bit of an orangutan in my baseball days and I wasn't very popular with the Japanese. I played against the Asahis for many years, but it all came to an end in that unfortunate year of
\end{quote}
1941. Well do I remember a lot of the players. Reg Yasui, the Suga brothers, the Tanaka brothers, Roy Yamamura, Nishihara, Shiraishi and many more. I never forgave Shiraishi for catching the hardest hit ball of my career. He was playing left field and I really hit one far over his head. He turned his back and kept running and caught it over his shoulder. Fond memories. Again I wish you a successful reunion, and if any of the old players are there, I hope you will give them my personal regards - renewing the old friendship and closing the culture gap if any.\textsuperscript{11}

Frank Moritsugu contributed an article of his recollections of the Asahi team to Adachi's book. The following is an excerpt:

In my playing days, I never aspired to the stardom in the Japanese-Canadian world that was the Asahas'. But that team and its members symbolized what the growing-up Nisei community offered as its best in the hemmed-in Vancouver days before evacuation. My immigrant father was a real baseball fan. He used to read only two sections of the \textit{Daily Province} everyday - the funnies and the sports pages. That is, after he'd finished his daily ration of the Japanese papers - \textit{Tairiku} and \textit{Minshu}. My mother, who ended up with five sons who played baseball in B.C., became the serious fan in
the years when dad no longer had the ambition to follow us around. When she made her return trip to Japan after coming to Canada 42 years before, she got to see a college baseball game in Tokyo - I think between Waseda and Meiji - and she says it was as exciting as all the magazine stories she'd read over the years suggested it would be.\textsuperscript{12}

Pat Adachi published in 2004 her second book on Asahi entitled \textit{Road to the Pinnacle, the Sequel to Asahi: A Legend in Baseball} \textsuperscript{13} and proudly displayed it at the Nikkei Place booth of the Powell Street Festival held in early August 2004 at the Oppenheimer Park, where the Asahis used to play. As she reminisces, she heard the echoes of the glorious Asahi days coming from Asahi's homeground along Powell Street, which was once the main street of Japan Town.

The Asahis, a team made up exclusively of Japanese-Canadians, was an integral part of Vancouver's Little Tokyo neighbourhood from 1914 to 1942. On Dec. 1, 2004, the BC Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, which is housed in BC Place Stadium in Vancouver, B.C., made a press announcement that the Vancouver Asahi Baseball Team will be inducted also into their Hall of Fame on April 28, 2005, honouring the team's achievement made in their hometown in the prewar days.

Regardless of where the game is played, the love of baseball is universal. Even nowadays, the great plays of Ichiro Suzuki of the Seattle Mariners, Hideki Matsui of the New York Yankees, and Hideo Nomo of the Los Angeles Dodgers have much impressed many North
American baseball fans. Ichiro Suzuki set the major-league record for 258 hits in a season on Oct. 1, 2004, as the Seattle Mariners beat the Texas Rangers 8-3. The Globe and Mail reported on Saturday, Oct. 2, 2004, as follows:

Ichiro Suzuki set the major-league record for hits in a season with 258, surpassing George Sisler's 84-year old mark with a pair of singles last night. The Seattle star chopped a leadoff single in the first inning, then made history with a grounder up the middle in the third. [When the ball bounded past Texas Rangers' shortstop Michael Young, the standing-room-only crowd of 45,573 exploded into a roar, Ichiro! Ichiro!] Later he got another single for No. 259. Fireworks went off after the record ball reached the outfield, creating a haze over Safeco Field, and Suzuki's teammates mobbed him at first base. The crowd gave him a standing ovation. With the fans still cheering, Suzuki ran over to the first-base seats and shook hands with Sisler's 81-year-old daughter, Frances Sisler Drochelman.14

Thus baseball has played an important role in creating mutual respect and making neighborly exchange relationships between peoples on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. As the above cases witness, regardless of whether it is amateur or professional leagues, baseball has a fascinating function of bonding different people together beyond cultural barriers - bridging the culture, generation, and perception gaps.6-13
Japanese Immigrants to Canada

The first Japanese immigrant to Canada, Manzo Nagano (1855-1924) from Nagasaki Prefecture, landed in 1877 at New Westminster, then the capital of British Columbia. By 1941, the Canada census showed 23,000 people of Japanese origin living in Canada, of whom 13,687 (about 60 percent) were Japanese-Canadians by birth. Two distinct large groups of Japanese immigrants to Canada have emigrated from the following particular geographical areas in Japan: 1) Hikone City in Shiga Prefecture: Immigrants from Shiga consisted mainly of merchants, service personnel, contractors, and foremen, and formed the largest group (about 30 %) among the Japanese communities in B.C. They settled in shops in Japan Town along Powell Street and many worked in the sawmill industry in the Hastings area. 2) Mio Village (presently Mihama Town) in Wakayama Prefecture: Wakayama people, the second largest group (about 25 %), were predominantly fishermen and concentrated in the fishing town of Steveston at Richmond, B.C.

Japanese-Canadian Newspapers in the Prewar Days

In 1985, Naomichi Nishimura, former Director of the Hikone Public Library, came to visit the UBC Main Library in order to check backfiles of a few Japanese-Canadian newspapers as part of his private research on Japanese immigrants to Canada. At that time he used mainly Tairiku Nippo (The Continental Daily News), 1908-1941 and observed that its physical condition had badly deteriorated. He felt that some preservation work was required immediately. On his second visit to UBC in May 1987, he presented a generous cash donation, which allowed the UBC Library to produce a microfilm edition of Tairiku Nippo. Considering the historically interesting relationship between Hikone, Shiga Prefecture, and Vancouver, Province of British Columbia, his thoughtful gift was most beneficial to enhance academic and cultural exchanges between Canada and Japan.
Tairiku Nippo (The Continental Daily News)

Tairiku Nippo provided a detailed record of the Japanese Canadian community during the period of 1908-1941. It is still an important historical journal for scholars, researchers, and members of the public, in both Canada and Japan. The following is an excerpt from this author's article on Tairiku Nippo, which appeared in Microform Review (Winter 1989):

Originally founded in Vancouver by Dosa Iida on June 22, 1907. Reestablished under the new management of Yasushi Yamazaki in 1908, Tairiku Nippo is an invaluable resource for determining the social, economic and political conditions of the Japanese-Canadian communities in the prewar years. It vividly records the history of Japanese-Canadians, focusing on those residing in the Province of British Columbia before 1945. For both researchers and the public alike, searching for information about what was happening in the Japanese-Canadian community in those days, this is an indispensable original source. The Main Library of the University of British Columbia has almost all the back issues (1908-1941) - the only set of this leading Japanese-Canadian newspaper in existence in the world. Missing only is the first year - 1907, which was published by Dosa Iida. The paper also served to report to immigrants what was happening in their home country, Japan. It featured articles on the current issues relating to their life in their new country, such as social and
political movements and trends in British Columbia, and it let them know of the impact of such trends on their daily life. Various important organizational and professional activities of the Japanese communities were recorded in great detail, as well as all vital statistics such as births, marriages, and deaths and other miscellaneous community daily news like gossip, exposés, and fiction. Most importantly, *Tairiku Nippo* served as the instrument through which the Japanese immigrants learned to interpret the issues and events of the British Columbia society within which they lived. In the columns of the journal, the readers were advised of all important current issues such as immigration, ethnic problems, and the role of the "Japanese Community" in a multi-cultural society. We can observe in *Tairiku Nippo*’s daily articles that the paper functioned as a vigorous social and political conscience in the Japanese-Canadian effort and struggle to build a B.C. society, and that the paper maintained a high level of ethno-journalistic competence and informed analysis. At the outbreak of the war in the Pacific on Sunday, December 7, 1941, *Tairiku Nippo* was forced to suspend publication after its last issue, dated Saturday, December 6, 1941.\footnote{15}

Our first preservation project was successful and resulted in full cost recovery, which enabled the UBC Library to undertake a second microfilm project on the two Japanese-
Canadian rivals of Tairiku Nippo (The Continental Daily News), i.e.: Kanada Shinbun (The Canada Daily News) and Nikkan Minshu (The Daily People). We can look at issues from 1941 in order to obtain unbiased information regarding the Japanese community in the prewar days. The following excerpts on Kanada Shinbun, Nikkan Minshu, and the New Canadian, are from the author's other article,\(^{16}\) which was printed in Microform Review (Summer 1995):

**a) Kanada Shinbun (The Canada Daily News)**

*Kanada Shinbun* was founded on Sept. 9, 1923 by Juzo Suzuki at 118 Main Street, Vancouver, B.C., under the original title of *Kanada Nichinichi Shinbun* (The Canada Daily News). Like the other two Japanese-Canadian daily newspapers in Vancouver in the 1920s and '30s, *Kanada Shinbun* was a mixture of current domestic news from Japan and articles on daily social and political events on Powell Street in Vancouver's Japan Town. However, compared to the other two papers, it provided rather more coverage of current news from Japan as well as church news. Its readers were mostly Japanese Christians. On the other hand, major readers of *Tairiku Nippo* and *Nikkan Minshu* were members of the Japanese Buddhist temples and labour union members respectively. Looking at the pages of *Kanada Shinbun* (Sept. 2, 1941), we see many articles on Japanese military news from Tokyo, Chinese political news dispatched from Hong
Kong, and international reporting from London, Teheran, and Washington, D.C. There also were news items on the Japanese community, such as the Japanese Christian churches, the Farmers' Association, and the Asahi Baseball Team. Kanada Shinbun in late 1941 also carried a series of contemporary novels entitled "Renai Tokkyu (An Express Romance)" contributed by Chiyo Uno, a best-selling women's writer in those days, as well as a serial of a famous work of English juvenile literature, Little Lord Fauntleroy, which was translated into Japanese by Kan Kikuchi, a prominent Japanese novelist in the prewar Japan. Church and Farmers' Association news items were brief, but sports news on the Asahi team warranted a long article. Kanada Shinbun ceased on Dec. 6, 1941.

b) Nikkan Minshu (The Daily People)

It was founded on Mar. 21, 1924 by Kanada Nihonjin Rodo Kumiai, the Japanese Workers' Union, at 544 Powell Street in Japan Town, Vancouver, B.C. The Union was organized by Etsu Suzuki and Takaichi Umezuki (both became Editor of Minshu later) in July 1920 after the bitter experience of a 1919 labour strike in a sawmill at Swanson bay near Ocean Falls, B.C., in which all the Japanese workers such as sawmill and paper-mill workers, loggers, fishermen, day
labourers, and laundry workers became members of the Japanese Union. As one of the major activities of the Union, they started publishing a weekly newspaper, *Rodo Shuho (Labour Weekly)* on August 11, 1920, providing Japanese workers with much information on current labour issues and the labour movement in Canada. The paper aimed at educating the Japanese workers in democratic procedures for equal payment and status. It had great influence upon Japanese workers, who learned that the function of the union was to protect the workers against exploitation by management and that discrimination in any form was against union principles. Angus MacInnis, the Member of Parliament of the CCF (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) for the East Hastings constituency in Vancouver, assisted the Japanese labour union in gaining affiliation in 1927 with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, headquartered in Ottawa, and with being granted a charter as the Camp and Mill Workers' Union, Local No. 31. He also made an arrangement for a Nisei (Second Generation) delegation of four - S. I. Hayakawa (an eminent linguist and President of San Francisco College in the 1960s and '70s), E. C. Banno (a dentist), Minoru Kobayashi (life insurance agent), and Ms. Hide Hyodo (the first Japanese public school teacher in B.C. in 1926, who taught at an elementary school in Steveston,
B.C.) - to travel to Ottawa in 1936 and make their presentation for Nisei enfranchisement to the special committee on Election and Franchise Acts. People in the Japanese Community appreciated Angus MacInnis' great efforts very much, and most of them enthusiastically supported the CCF. Insufficient funds always plagued the Union and the Rodo Shuho (Labour Weekly), which ceased on March 8, 1924. Therefore, the Union bravely undertook to publish a daily newspaper, Nikkan Minshu (The Daily People), with the hope of increasing revenue. Its first issue appeared on March 21, 1924 under the editorship of a prominent Japanese journalist, Etsu Suzuki (1886-1933), who kept his position from 1924 to 1932. Suzuki, a graduate of Waseda University in Tokyo, was an articulate gentleman and a persuasive writer. His goal was to improve the working conditions of Japanese workers. Before he came to Canada in 1918, he had worked for Yorozu Choho and Asahi Shinbun, the two most famous national newspapers in Japan at that time. From his arrival in Vancouver until 1924 he was the editor-in-chief of Tairiku Nippo (The Continental Daily News). Tairiku was a very conservative newspaper concerned mainly with Japanese community affairs. Its pages did not discuss progressive ideas until Etsu Suzuki wrote about Taisho democracy, a new social trend in Japan after the First
World War. Suzuki was also concerned with the labour movement in the 1920s, which motivated him to move from Tairiku to Nikkan Minshu. Although Minshu was published by the Japanese Workers' Union, it was intended to be a general newspaper for members of the Japanese communities in B.C., not merely a house organ of the Union. Its prototype was likely the BC Labour News, published by the Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labour Council, which was also aimed at general readers. At that time the Japanese Union officially belonged to the Trades and Labour Council. Minshu was distributed from the office of the Union on Powell Street to Japan Town as well as its many local chapters scattered across B.C. The contents of some representative issues of Nikkan Minshu during the period of May - December 1941 consisted of labour and industrial news, articles on international affairs reflecting the gloomy events of World War II already occurring in Europe, fishery news reporting a good harvest of salmon and herring, glorious news of the Asahi Baseball Team's five consecutive wins, and religious and educational issues: in particular, a big discussion about the Japanese Language School between Vancouver City Council and the Japanese Community. Some city councillors were concerned about the health of Japanese-Canadian students who spent much time studying at both
English and Japanese schools. Teachers of the Japanese Language School denied any health problems among Nisei youth due to dual education. Etsu Suzuki's wife Toshiko Tamura (1884-1945), a prominent novelist and essayist, contributed to *Nikkan Minshu*, with many articles and essays on women's issues; she also organized various cultural activities for working Japanese women during the 1930s. She encouraged Japanese women in Canada to be more active in both their private and public lives by organizing a discussion group where the women could express opinions freely and gain mutual understanding. *Nikkan Minshu* ceased on December 6, 1941.16

c) *The New Canadian*

This was an all English newspaper published in Japan Town and was aimed at Nisei readers in the late 1930s and later became bilingual during the evacuation days around 1942. When the Pacific War started on December 7, 1941, the Canadian government banned the publication of all Japanese-Canadian newspapers, except this English language newspaper. The *New Canadian* was founded on Nov. 24, 1938, by UBC graduates Shinobu Higashi, Edward Ouchi, Kunio Shimizu, and Thomas Shoyama at 230 Alexander Street c/o Taiyo Printing Company in Japan Town. Back in
the 1930s it was very difficult for Japanese university graduates to find jobs in their chosen fields. Therefore, Masajiro Miyazaki (UBC B.A. 1925) arranged to create jobs for them. He used to hear Maeba of Taiyo Printing Company talk about the scarcity of printing business. It gave him the idea of starting an English language newspaper for the Nisei people and letting Taiyo print it. That would be good for both the printing company and the second generation of Japanese Canadians whose first language was English. One Japanese newspaper publisher also encouraged Higashi and the other young men to do so. Shinobu Higashi (who had formerly worked on the university paper, the *Ubyssey*) was editor, reporter, subscription and ad salesman: Thomas Shoyama (Deputy Federal Minister of Finance between 1975-80, and recipient of the Order of Canada in 1978) was co-editor; Ed Ouchi, finance manager; and Kunio Shimizu, assistant editor. All of them were UBC graduates in 1938 except Ed Ouchi, who had received his B.A. in 1937. That was how the *New Canadian* started publishing. Its circulation was very small, estimated at 400 in 1941. During the war years, the *New Canadian* relocated in 1942 to Kaslo, B.C., one of the internment camps, and was closely censored by the B.C. Security Commission from 1942 to 1945. Later the authorities realized the need for a Japanese section in this
English paper because they had difficulty in communicating with the Issei and they had to let Japanese-Canadian internees know of notices and orders issued by the government. Takaichi Umezuki joined the staff of the New Canadian and worked as an editor for its Japanese section. So the New Canadian became a bilingual paper from 1942 and its total circulation jumped to about 4,000 copies at the peak time during the war period and it proved of great value to the Canadian authorities as well as to the Japanese Canadians. After the war, the New Canadian was published in Winnipeg from 1945 to 1948 and in Toronto from 1949 to 2001. Takaichi Umezuki eventually became the editor-in-chief and publisher of the New Canadian. He was awarded the Order of Canada in 1979 by the Federal Government of Canada for his sixty years of contribution to the welfare of Canadians of Japanese origin. He passed away in Toronto at the age of eighty-two on January 23, 1980. UBC has complete back numbers of the New Canadian from Nov. 24, 1938 to Sept. 27, 2001 in the Special Collections Division of Main Library.16

**Characteristics and Roles of Japanese-Canadian Newspapers in their Community**

Every one of the above four Japanese-Canadian papers vividly records the daily activities of Japanese communities scattered in various locations around British Columbia, seen
through their professions such as business and commerce, farming, fishing, logging, mining, religious activities, education and so on in the prewar days as described in the later part of this article. The Japanese-language newspapers also served to report to immigrants what was happening in their home country, Japan. They featured articles on current issues relating to their life in their new country, such as social and political movements and trends in British Columbia, and these Japanese papers let immigrants know of the impact of such trends on their daily life. Various important organizational and professional activities of the Japanese communities were recorded in great detail, as well as all vital statistics such as births, marriages, and deaths, and other miscellaneous community daily news like gossip, exposés, and fiction. For both researchers and the public alike, searching for information about what was happening in the Japanese communities in B.C. in those days, these four newspapers are indispensable original news sources. These newspapers are invaluable resources for determining the social, economic and political conditions of the Japanese-Canadian communities in the prewar days. Most importantly, these Japanese-Canadian newspapers served as the instrument through which Japanese immigrants and Nisei (their second generation offspring) learned to interpret the issues and events of the British Columbian society within which they lived. In the columns of the journals, the readers were advised of important current issues such as immigration, ethnic problems, and the role of the "Japanese Community" in a multi-cultural society. We can observe in their daily and weekly issues that all the four papers functioned as a vigorous social and political conscience in Japanese-Canadian efforts and struggles to build a B.C. society, and that all the papers maintained a high level of ethno-journalistic competence and informed analysis. All of them were headquartered in their main ethnic community: Japan Town centered around Powell Street in Vancouver, where a large number of Japanese organizations,
companies, shops, Christian churches, a Buddhist temple, and the Japanese Language School were concentrated, and from there these news presses further distributed their daily and weekly to various local Japanese communities scattered around the Province of British Columbia. After the outbreak of the Pacific War on Dec. 7, 1941 (Sunday), only the *New Canadian* - an English language paper - was permitted to continue publication by the Canadian authorities. All the other three Japanese language papers, *Tairiku, Kanada Shinbun* and *Nikkan Minshu*, were forced to suspend publication by the British Columbia Security Commission of the Federal Government of Canada. After the War, the *New Canadian* moved to Winnipeg in 1945, and further to Toronto in 1949. Its publication ceased on Sept. 27, 2001, because of decreasing circulation numbers and subsequent financial problems. Among the Japanese-language papers, only *Tairiku* was reestablished in Toronto as *Tairiku Jiho (The Continental Times)* under the new management of Yoriki and his wife Midori Iwasaki, who was the niece of Yasushi Iwasaki, founder of the original *Tairiku Nippo (The Continental Daily News)* 1908-1941. *Tairiku Jiho* was published between November 1949 and March 1982. It was superseded by *Kanada Taimusu (The Canada Times)*, which was published between April 1982 and May 1998 by Harry Kunio Taba. Most of this paper's readers were Issei (Japanese First Generation) seniors and as a result of their gradual departures, its circulation numbers also decreased and eventually its publication ceased in May, 1998.

**Readership of Japanese Dailies in the Prewar Days**

Circulation figures for these Japanese-Canadian dailies in 1941²⁰ are remarkable. Among the three Japanese-language papers, the long-established *Tairiku Nippo (The Continental Daily News)*, 1908-1941, led the field with 4,000; *Kanada Shinbun (The Canada Daily
News), 1923-1941, was the second largest in terms of circulation, with 2,500 readers; and third, Nikkan Minshu (Daily People), 1924-1941, sold 1,500 copies. Interestingly, the total circulation of the three papers was therefore about 8,000. At the same time, according to the Canada census, the total number of Japanese-Canadian families in the Province of British Columbia was only about 7,000. Therefore, we can safely conclude that many families were subscribing to more than one of these daily papers, and not relying on just one. This means that the readers were getting balanced information from these papers with different characters and editorships.

Completion of Microfilm Editions of Japanese-Canadian Newspapers at UBC

In the more than 50 years since the last issue of these Japanese language papers were published (Saturday, Dec. 6, 1941), the physical condition of the original newspapers has been deteriorating, but their historical value has been increasing as time passes. In order to obtain unbiased information about the Japanese communities in the prewar days, all the available Japanese-Canadian newspapers mentioned above should be examined comparatively. Therefore, many Canadian and Japanese scholars, researchers, and members of the general public, in their study of Japanese immigrants and their communities in Canada, have been requesting the preservation of these indispensable source materials and improvement in their accessibility by micro-filming. In order to meet their wishes, the UBC Library undertook a preservation project to microfilm their holdings of these four papers.15-18 Today, with the completion of microfilm editions of Tairiku Nippo (The Continental Daily News), Jan. 1, 1908 - Dec. 6, 1941, Kanada Shinbun (The Canada Daily News), Sept. 2 - Dec. 6, 1941, Nikkan Minshu (The Daily People), May 2 - Dec. 6, 1941, and the New Canadian, Nov. 24, 1938 - Sept. 27, 2001, both researchers and the
general public who are interested in Japanese-Canadian history are now able to know more
details of various aspects of the cultural, social, economic and political lives of many
Japanese-Canadians up to 1941, when there were approximately 23,000 people of Japanese
origin residing in the Province of British Columbia. The range of viewpoints presented in
these newspapers adds another dimension to the historical record, and having all four
papers preserved on a stable medium will ensure that these resources will remain available
to researchers and general readers into the distant future.

Japanese Local Communities by Professions in the Prewar Days

a) Business and Commerce

Powell Street in Vancouver in the prewar days was the main street of Little Tokyo or
Japan Town, aligning all sorts of small stores and businesses operated by Japanese
immigrants. Early immigrants often began by working for five or ten years at the nearby
Hastings Mill; then they would own small stores in this area, often with their living
quarters or a boarding room upstairs. Two of the large companies were Tamura Shokai (the
Tamura Trading Company), and its affiliate, Nikka Chochiku K.K. (the Japan-Canada Trust
Savings Company). Prof. Kunitoshi Suenaga of the Faculty of Economics, Doshisha
University, Kyoto, did his research in the mid-1990s at UBC about the Vancouver Japanese
Credit Association in the post First World War period. All these banking companies held
the money that these immigrants made and looked after the transfer of any surplus to their
homes in Japan. There were also the head offices and the printing facilities for all the
dailies, Tairiku Nippo, Kanada Shinbun and Nikkan Minshu, and of the weekly, the New
Canadian. A Japanese businessmen's club was organized as early as 1920. In short,
Japan Town along Powell Street had everything that Japanese people looked for: shops,
international companies, social organizations, Christian churches, a Buddhist temple, the Japanese School, and even Powell Grounds for baseball and recreation.

b) Farming

Along the Fraser River in B.C., agriculture was a key industry for Japanese immigrants in the prewar days. The *National Japanese Canadian Citizenship Association (NJCCA) Collection* kept by the Special Collections Division of UBC Library lists fourteen Japanese agricultural communities in the Fraser Valley, their memberships, total acres owned or leased, type of crops cultivated, etc. Information on the Fraser Community (NJCCA Collection) and the Mission Japanese Farmers' Association (*Mrs. Lily Kamachi Collection*) is also useful for getting acquainted with Japanese farming conditions in these areas. Two outstanding leaders of the Japanese farming community were Jiro Inouye and Yasutaro Yamaga. Jiro Inouye was born in Saga Prefecture, southern Japan, in 1870, and graduated from Waseda University in Tokyo. He immigrated to Canada in 1906, bought 20 acres of land in Haney and started to grow strawberries. He found it profitable and wrote many articles in the Japanese newspapers urging people to start farming, and he also wrote a historical book about the Japanese Farmers' Association in Haney, B.C.* The total land developed by Japanese farmers before 1930 was approximately 3,000 acres. Assisting Jiro Inouye was Yasutaro Yamaga. Born in Hiroshima Prefecture, Japan, in 1886, Yamaga had immigrated to Canada in 1907, and attracted by Inouye's publications, he settled down in Haney until 1942. Both men taught Sunday School at the Haney Corner Mission, which was interdenominational and interracial in nature (in 1930, there were 160 Japanese and Caucasian Canadian children in attendance there). Yamaga was one of the rare older Japanese-Canadians who had a full command of English and understood the Canadian way of life. He acted to clarify misunderstandings and misconceptions and to interpret for both
Japanese immigrants and Canadian people - bridging the communication, generation, and interracial gaps. At the Japanese Club, the Japanese Farmers' Association, the Japanese Youth Club, and the Japanese Women's Club, Yamaga and his associates would give talks to promote better understanding of the Canadian way of life - closing the perception gap. After the war, Yamaga moved to Beamsville, Ontario, and purchased an orchard and built on it Nipponia Home, the first Japanese-Canadian Senior Citizens' Home. Yamaga is perhaps one of the most well known among Japanese leaders, in agriculture, in adult education, in the co-operative union movement and in social work. In early days, there was a lot of uncleared land in the Fraser Valley, which ambitious farmers cleared by hand. However, as the number of strawberry growers increased, many problems developed, such as overproduction, lack of markets, lack of price control for their produce, and, above all, accelerating anti-Japanese sentiment. The Canadian farmers, unable to compete with the Japanese, blamed them for the low price of berries. In order to solve the many problems, the Japanese soon realized that it was necessary to organize a farmers' cooperative to expand into the profitable produce market and establish a system of quality control for the strawberry crop. Through the leadership of Yamaga, the Maple Ridge Co-operative Produce Exchange was organized in 1926. A method of packing and crating the strawberries was standardized. Information concerning new and better varieties of strawberry plants, fertilizers, crates, insecticides, etc. was given to the members, and the Co-op could buy large quantities of these materials and sell them to the members at reasonable prices. The Co-op had a plant to receive and sell berries and other farm produce, a jam factory and a berry preserving plant.

A postwar immigrant farmer's laborious trial-and-error story of producing successful organic vegetables in greenhouses in Windsor, Ontario, was well depicted in his memoir,
Bokuwa Kanada no Daikon Hyakusho \textsuperscript{26-g} by Tom T. Kuramoto. He told the story of overcoming the perception gap between an employee and an employer as a farmer in Canada.

c) Fishing

Fishing was a very common profession for Japanese immigrants, and in the prewar days Japanese fishing villages were scattered along the Fraser, Skeena and Nass Rivers, and around Vancouver Island in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{27} However, the first Japanese victims in Canada of the persecution that followed the outbreak of the Pacific War were fishermen. By the order of the Royal Canadian Navy, all the Japanese fishing boats, about 1,200, were assembled on the shores of Annacis Island, off New Westminster along the Fraser River, for fear Japanese-Canadian fishermen would act as enemy agents. One prominent Japanese-Canadian fisherman was Rintaro Hayashi, \textsuperscript{27-j} who was born in 1901 at Mio-Mura, Wakayama-ken, Japan. Mio-Mura is well known as "American Village" in Japan (i.e., Canadian Village, source of emigrants of fishermen to Canada), because every family in the village has relatives in Steveston at Richmond, B.C.,\textsuperscript{27-d} a fishing town at the mouth of the Fraser River. Hayashi came to Canada at age twelve, called here by his father, who was a fisherman. Besides fishing, he served as secretary of the Steveston Japanese Fisherman's Association and also was in charge of accounting for the Steveston Japanese Hospital managed by the Fisherman's Association. He was also one of the founders of Kendo (Japanese fencing) Clubs in Canada. Hayashi wrote two books \textsuperscript{27-f & l} in his retirement days. The \textit{Rintaro Hayashi Collection} kept by the Special Collections at UBC is rich in official documents regarding the Japanese evacuation orders issued by the BC Security Commission, RCMP, and so on. It includes lists of names of those repatriated after
the War and correspondence regarding the relocation of other Japanese-Canadians in Eastern Canada. The Collection also contains minutes of the Steveston Japanese Fisherman's Benevolent Association. The Skeena Fisherman's Association Collection (part of the NJCCA Collection at UBC) includes correspondence files which pertain to the cancellation of fishing licenses for Japanese fishermen, and the "gas boat controversy". (The restriction gas boats for Japanese was appealed by Jun Kisawa, Waseda graduate, and he won his case in court in 1929). Finally, the Kishizo Kimura Collection includes very detailed statistics on salt salmon production, 1895 - 1939, and salt herring production, 1924 - 1941, as well as licenses issued by racial origin and type of fishing, 1922 - 1937.

c) Forestry

In pioneering days, many Japanese immigrants worked for logging companies, sawmills, or pulp and paper companies along the B.C. coast. In fact, the Japanese called Hastings Mill, the Otasuke Kaisha, the "Helping Hand Company." As mentioned above, newcomers found ready employment at this Mill, and from their earnings many started small shops and built their first homes in Japan Town. One prominent figure in forestry was Eikichi Kagetsu, who operated in the Cumberland-Comox area, logging and transporting timbers on his logging railway. The Rev. Yoshio Ono Collection at UBC includes Kagetsu's letter to the B.C. Security Commission, which reveals the scope of his operations: when the war broke out and he was forced to leave his logging camp with 2.5 million feet of logs awaiting transport, he requested special permission to hire employees to move them before closing down his operation. Another prominent figure was Kantaro Kadota. He was born in 1882 in Tottori Prefecture in Japan and immigrated to Canada in 1905. Kadota's camps were known for the prohibition of liquor and gambling, as it was his conviction that
the excess of these vices (which were almost synonymous with labour camps in those days) only led to the deterioration of morals and standards of propriety. His principles were based on his Christian spirit, particularly encouragement for a hard-working and clean, happy life. Kadota, as the Head Millwright and Superintendent of the Japanese workers at the Englewood mill by 1941, was overseeing one of the most productive sawmills. Many of the mill facilities were designed and constructed by him. After the historic 1919 strike at Whalen Pulp & Paper Company, the Japanese Workers' Union (JWU) was formed in 1920, based at an office on Powell Street. It accepted any Japanese worker who wished to join: loggers, papermill workers, laborers, fishermen, laundry workers and so on. In 1927, JWU gained affiliation with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. It's constitution and bylaws as well as correspondence and records up to 1942 can be seen in the *NJCCA Collection* at the Special Collections, UBC, which also includes a taped interview with Hachiro Miyazawa, whose reminiscences of his first employment days at the Hasting Saw Mill and of his later successful laundry business were published in 1980.

d) Mining

Many early immigrants from Japan also used to work in mining. The *NJCCA Collection* at UBC includes the story of Arichika Ikeda, whose copper mine on Moresby Island was located on "Ikeda Bay." According to the *Charlottes Journal* of the Queen Charlotte Islands Museum, Vol. 3 (1973), Arichika Ikeda was "a most unusual man belonging to a special breed of adventurers, a man who dominated an exciting period in the history of the Queen Charlottes, liked and trusted by all he met, no mean feat in those days when racial prejudice ... was rampant." In April 1906, he discovered copper at Moresby Island, one of the Queen Charlotte Islands. When he journeyed to Victoria, capital of B.C., to register his
copper claim, he could not describe the location by name since it was not given on the map. He drew the shape of the bay on paper and presented it to the authorities in Victoria. A letter he received later from the Federal Government of Canada stated: "This bay shall be named Ikeda Bay forever." It is likely the first time the Canadian map was marked by a Japanese name.

Prof. Toshiji Sasaki's article and book in Japanese on the Canada Union Coal Mine (CUCM) and the Kobe Emigration Company (KEC) describe well about 178 Japanese labourers from Hiroshima and Fukuoka employed in 1891/92 by the CUCM through KEC, an emigration agent. The Rev. Ono Collection at UBC contains lists of Japanese people working in the coal mines and forests around Cumberland, B.C. The lists were made in great detail and they include not only miners and loggers but also all their family members by age, sex, school grade, etc. These would be very useful lists in a demographic study of Japanese-Canadians in the prewar days. Miyoko Kudo, a non-fiction writer who once lived in Vancouver, B.C., in the 1970s and '80s, wrote a book on the coal mining town of Cumberland with many old photographs reproduced from original glass negatives kept by the Cumberland Museum.

e) Education

From the prewar days to the present time Japanese immigrants' parents have been very eager to give bilingual and bicultural education to their children by sending them to the Japanese heritage school after Canadian public school hours.

The first Japanese school for children of immigrants from Japan started in 1906 as Nippon Kokumin Gakko (Japanese National School) on Alexander Street in Japan Town.
Curriculum and textbooks were exactly the same as those in schools in Japan so that immigrants' children could experience the same education as their counterparts in Japan. However, as the number of Japanese children born in Canada increased, some teachers of the Japanese School urged parents to send their children to Canadian public schools and to send them to the Japanese Language School for Japanese lessons only after public school hours. Mastering English was absolutely necessary, but learning their parents' mother tongue at the same time was also essential for them to keep their ethnic cultural background. Between 1906 and 1942, the number of Japanese language schools increased to about fifty schools in all of B.C. They had typically changed from strictly Japanese education from 1906 to 1911, then to teaching English in addition to Japanese, and finally to teaching Japanese language only after public school hours in Canadian schools. In particular, strong advocates of this bilingual education for Japanese-Canadian children were Tsutae and Hanako Sato, long-time principal and teacher respectively of the Vancouver Japanese School in Japan Town. Tsutae Sato's contribution to Canadian multicultural society through his career and writings was recognized in 1980 when he was made a member of the Order of Canada. The essay by Tom Mitsunaga in the Lily Kamachi Collection at UBC deals particularly with the history of the Japanese school in Mission, describing in detail its origins. The primary acculturation agents to Canadian culture of the Japanese were the public schools, churches, and other social organizations, while various Japanese institutions like the Japanese language school played the main role in preserving an appreciation for Japanese cultures. Regarding the history of Japanese language education in British Columbia in the prewar days, readers will want to refer to Tsutae Sato's History of the Vancouver Japanese Language School Educational Society, 1923-1942 and H. K. Hutchison's Dimensions of Ethnic Education: The Japanese in British Columbia, 1880 - 1940. The latter thesis deals with the relationship between
acculturation and educational factors. It demonstrates that the public school was to a large extent responsible for the behavioral assimilation of the second generation of Japanese-Canadians. Hutchison concludes that the primary acculturation agents were the public schools, churches, and various Japanese institutions like the Japanese Language School and the Japanese Youth Club, etc. - helping to close the _perception gap_. Another important role served by the Japanese Language School taught by T. Sato was the facilitating of adult education among the parents of the students through the School's Educational Society, Parent-Teacher Association, Mothers' Association, etc. There existed a strong desire to promote understanding and to bridge the _perception gap_ between the Japanese and Canadian communities. One time, for example, the school held a fund-raising drive to send a Canadian teacher from Strathcona Public School to Japan. As for the education of Japanese-Canadian children in the B.C. interior detention camps during WW II, Frank Moritsugu and 100 former teachers of the camp schools successfully compiled a comprehensive history book entitled _Teaching in Canadian Exile_ 30-o after their happy reunion in 1987. Patricia Roy, History Professor at the University of Victoria wrote a research article, "The Education of Japanese Children in the British Columbia Interior Housing Settlements during World War Two," 30-1 and Wakako Ishikawa, graduate education student at the University of Toronto, an MA thesis, "Japanese-Canadian education during the World War II internment."30-p With regard to the same subject in the postwar period, _The Vancouver Japanese School: 20th Anniversary, 1973-1993_ 30-m and "The History of Japanese Language Education at UBC, 1956-1998: Challenges and Future Directions" 30-n by K. H. Lynn at the UBC Asian Studies Department are good research sources.
f) Religious Missionaries

i) The Buddhist Church

The dominant Buddhist school in Canada is Jodo Shinshu Honganjiha (Pure Land Sect - Nishi Honganji Temple) headquartered in Kyoto, Japan. The first Buddhist Church in Canada was established at 328 Alexander Street, Vancouver, B.C., in 1905 by Rev. Senju Sasaki, dispatched from Honganji in Kyoto, and members of the Bukkyokai (Vancouver Buddhist Association). Terry Watada's *Bukkyo Tozan* details the ninety years (1905-1995) of existence of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism and its followers in Canada. It is a story of a Buddhist organization and its people that faced hardships, hostility, and discrimination in the early stages of immigration into Canada. During the Pacific War they were forced to leave their homes on the west coast, resulting in the dissolution of the Buddhist churches. After the war the Buddhist churches, through sacrifice and hard work of their leaders, followers, and supporters, re-emerged stronger with churches today in major cities all across Canada. As of today (2004) there are Buddhist churches in most major Japanese communities such as those in Vancouver, Kelowna, and Steveston in B.C., Raymond in Alberta, Winnipeg in Manitoba, Toronto in Ontario, and Montreal in Quebec. Prof. Masako Iino, former President of the Japanese Association for Canadian Studies and presently President of Tsuda College in Tokyo, has come to visit Canada almost every year over the past ten years in order to do her research on Japanese communities and their Buddhist churches in various locations mentioned above. As her research results she contributed several excellent research papers to academic journals in Japan.

ii) The Christian Church

An early history of the Christian missionary movement among Japanese immigrants in
British Columbia from 1892 to 1949 is well depicted in Rev. Tadashi Mitsui's thesis submitted in 1964 to Union College of B.C. He examines the Christian church during the early period of Japanese settlement in B.C. and gives an account of the religious activities of such leaders as Rev. Kosaburo Shimizu of Vancouver and Rev. Yoshimitsu Akagawa of New Westminster. This thesis is a good research source on the development of Christianity in the Japanese community before and during WW II, which played an important role for Japanese immigrants, helping them to assimilate to Canadian society and resolve the perception gap.

*A History of the Japanese Congregations in the United Church of Canada* tells of the founding of the Japanese churches in British Columbia, the grass roots pastoral work, evangelism and the taking root of the congregations, wherever Japanese found work - the fishing canneries, lumber camps and farming areas. Then the war came. The Japanese were forcibly removed to internment camps in the B.C. interior and sugar beet areas in Alberta. When the war ended, the Japanese were either repatriated to Japan or scattered across Canada, forming new congregations in the Japanese communities at various locations. Japanese Christian ministers were serving at local churches of the Japanese communities. Rev. Yoshimitsu Akagawa came to Canada in 1910 to help in church work in the Japanese community of the New Westminster District. After completing a theology course at the University of Toronto, he established the Japanese United Church missions between 1924 and 1934 in the Fraser Valley farming districts of Pitt Meadows, Hammond, Haney, Mission City, Strawberry Hill, Surrey, and many other small villages along the Fraser River. In Haney, one centre of Japanese farming in the Fraser Valley district, the church meetings used to be held at the Japanese Farmers' Community Hall. The *Rev. Y. Akagawa Collection* at UBC, including his diaries written in both Japanese and English between 1893 and 1950, and
membership lists of the Vancouver Methodist Church in 1909 and 1918, contain information which cannot be found elsewhere today. Rev. Yoshio Ono served on the Cumberland-Comox Japanese Mission, United Church of Canada, and was appointed as a Japanese liaison at the Hastings Relocation Camp during the early period of the Pacific War. The *Rev. Yoshio Ono Collection* at UBC includes his bilingual diary, which describes in detail his day-to-day work in the Hastings Park clearing station in early 1942. There are also precise lists of Japanese residents and students of the Cumberland-Comox areas in the 1940s. Voluminous diaries and documents of Rev. Kosaburo Shimizu, (United Church), spanning 1892 through 1962, and those of Rev. Gordon G. Nakayama, (Anglican Church), covering 1900 through 1962, are also housed at the Rare Books and Special Collections Division of UBC Main Library. Both Rev. Shimizu and Rev. Nakayama graduated from the Vancouver Theology College in 1924 and 1934 respectively. In those days the majority of Japanese Christians belonged to the United Church of Canada.  

**The Past and Present Overview of the Japanese Community**

**a) History**

The first immigrant from Japan, Manzo Nagano\(^{34-b}\) of Nagasaki, landed at New Westminster, then the capital of British Columbia, in 1877. As of 1936, there were 20,000 Japanese-Canadians in British Columbia, of whom 11,000 were Canadian born, 3,500 were naturalized, and 5,500 were landed immigrants. There were two large groups in the Japanese community, as described before - those originally from Shiga Prefecture, and those from Wakayama Prefecture, in Japan. The Shiga people\(^{36}\) ran stores in Japan Town or engaged in farming in the Fraser Valley. The Wakayama people\(^{37}\) tended to settle in Steveston, or other coastal locations, and mainly engaged in fishing. As for sources in
English on the history of the Japanese-Canadians in British Columbia and other locations in Canada, refer to the note.\textsuperscript{33} As for Japanese books with the same subject, see also the note.\textsuperscript{34} In 1958 the History Committee of the Japanese-Canadian Citizens Association in Toronto under the editorship of Ken Adachi compiled a good handbook of the Japanese in Canada entitled *A History of the Japanese Canadians in British Columbia 1877 to 1958*.\textsuperscript{38-b}

Two decades later, in 1977, the Japanese community celebrated its 100th year anniversary since the first Japanese immigrant, Manzo Nagano, put his foot down in New Westminster, B.C. in 1877. The ad hoc committee on the Japanese-Canadian Centennial Project of the Japanese-Canadian Citizenship Association in Vancouver, B.C., compiled a photographic history book of the Japanese development in Canada in English, French, and Japanese, and in 1978 they published it with great success under the title, *A Dream of Riches: The Japanese Canadians, 1877-1977*.\textsuperscript{33-l} In those early immigration days, the Japanese, like other Canadians of Oriental origin, were not allowed to vote in British Columbia. The rights and privileges of Canadian citizenship were not granted even to those born here, much less to naturalized Canadians of Japanese parentage who were barred from becoming elected officials, lawyers, pharmacists, employees on public works projects, jury members, etc. The *NJCCA Collection* at UBC includes materials on both sides of the debate over full citizenship for Japanese-Canadians, an extreme example of the *culture gap* between Japanese and Canadians. On one side there were Angus MacInnis' speech in Parliament in Feb. 1936, and the Nisei presentation seeking their enfranchisement at the House of Commons in May 1936, and on the other side H. D. Wilson's "Brief on the Oriental Situation in British Columbia in the Year 1938." The lack of recognition and acceptance of the Japanese community by the rest of Canadian society makes the records of activities of the Japanese association particularly important. The *Dr. Masajiro Miyazaki*
Collection at UBC includes maps of Japanese populations in Vancouver in 1938, vital statistics of the Japanese in B.C. in 1938 and 1939, minutes of Kanada Nihonjin Kai (The Canadian Japanese Association) from Dec. 1936 to Jan. 1940, and membership lists of the Association from 1935-1937 and 1939, which list an average of 3,300 members each year. "Kanada Zairyu Hojin Chosahyo" (The Survey of Japanese in Canada) compiled by the Association is the result of a comprehensive census of the 23,000 Japanese residing in Canada as of 1938. Its detailed statistics cover professions by province, and include a census by age, sex, and citizenship status (Canadian-born, naturalized, or landed immigrant). Within B.C., there is coverage by city, town, and village, by gender, and by family, etc. All of these are very good sources for a researcher who is interested in demographic study. The Rintaro Hayashi Collection includes the Constitution, Bulletins, Reports, and Agenda of the National Japanese-Canadian Citizens Association (NJCCA), and the similar documents of Vancouver JCCA, Steveston JCCA, and provincial BC JCCA.

As for research materials on the development of the Japanese in Canada in the prewar days, there are many good source books written in English, e.g. Rigenta Sumida's MA thesis at UBC, in which this student of economics traces the history and main characteristics of Japanese immigration to Canada, and provides detailed statistical data on the income, occupation, and industrial distribution of Japanese immigrants. This is an intensive study of the social and economic status of the Japanese-Canadians (naturalized and Canadian-born second generation) in British Columbia. There was anti-Japanese public sentiment in B.C. from 1890 to 1941. Most crucial in molding BC's hostile political atmosphere was the economic factor - the fact that Japanese worked hard as cheap labour. The Japanese worked harder and their skills were comparable or exceeded those of their Caucasian counterparts. Competition became the source of discord and apprehension,
which caused the B.C. government to pass an anti-Japanese law in 1897. Howard Sugimoto, second generation Canadian student, analyzed this conflict in his MA thesis entitled "Japanese Immigration, the Vancouver Riots and Canadian Diplomacy," which was submitted to the University of Washington in 1966.\textsuperscript{33-i} Immediately after the riot incident in Sept. 1907, then Prime Minister Laurier sent R. Lemieux, Minister of Labour, to Japan. The visit resulted in the Hayashi-Lemieux Agreement; as a result of immigration negotiations between Ottawa and Tokyo, the Japanese government agreed in 1908 to limit emigration to Canada to 400 persons yearly. *The Japanese Canadians* \textsuperscript{33-b} by Charles Young et al., gives an overall picture of the Japanese in Canada in terms of the significant stages in their progress after their arrival in Canada. The book contains a systematic account of the hostility and racial prejudice against Japanese-Canadians and their offspring, the Nisei generation. In order to counter such anti-Japanese movements, the book shows the Japanese contribution towards the development of Canada. This is a good source book on the prewar Japanese-Canadians. The Association of Canadian Japanese made two reports entitled: *A Short Statement of the Position and Facts Regarding the Japanese in Canada* \textsuperscript{39-a} in 1921, and *Survey of the Second Generation of Japanese in British Columbia* \textsuperscript{39-k} in 1935, in order to help members of the general public in B.C. to understand the Nisei, the second generation of the Japanese immigrants. The latter is little more than a statistical summary of a house-to-house survey, which focuses on the economic, social, and political conditions of the Nisei. Japanese Canadians had been the object of criticisms in the 1930s and '40s by the people of B.C. The Association also wrote a booklet entitled *The Japanese Contribution to Canada, a Summary of the Role Played by the Japanese in the Development of Canadian Commonwealth* \textsuperscript{33-c} with the intent of countering the above-mentioned criticisms by presenting the facts of Japanese participation in Canadian life.
It describes various activities of the Japanese-Canadians in the major industries of Canada, such as Fishing, Logging, Agriculture, Mining and others. It also discusses some of the problems of assimilation, especially for the Nisei. Conflicts and changes of the Japanese-Canadian community in the prewar and postwar periods were well depicted in S. Shaw's paper: "The Future of Japanese in Canada," which appeared in *Canadian Business* (October 1944) and George Tanaka's *A Documented History of Japanese-Canadians up to the Year 1953.* F. Walhouse wrote an MA thesis at UBC in 1961 entitled "Minority Ethnic Groups in Vancouver's Cultural Geography." He conducted a comprehensive survey of twenty-seven ethnic groups in Vancouver in the 1950s including Japanese-Canadians, and made an enquiry into the contribution that these groups made to the function and appearance of the multicultural city of Greater Vancouver in accordance with the national mosaic policy in Canada. Joseph S. Roucek's "The Japanese in Canada," published in 1965-66 is a series of brief but comprehensive bilingual articles on the Japanese in Canada. Dr. Roucek, a political scientist, presents a clear short history of Japanese-Canadians. He then focuses his attention on the *generation gap* between the Issei and Nisei (first and second generation) Japanese-Canadians in the 1960s. Victor Koji Ujimoto, former Sociology Professor of the University of Guelph, Ontario, wrote his Ph.D. thesis at UBC in 1973 under the title of "Post-War Japanese Immigrants in Canada," in which he gives a good overview of the political, economic, and social conditions of Japanese immigrants in the postwar period. However, his study does not adequately assess the effects of traditional Japanese cultural factors - the networks of personal affiliations and good neighbourhoods - on the social relationships of the Japanese immigrants in the Canadian setting. It should also be noted that new immigrants in the postwar period are not closely associated with each other any more like the old immigrants in the prewar days.
b) Evacuation

The Pacific War broke out on December 7, 1941 (Sunday). The British Columbia Security Commission of the Federal Government of Canada was established on March 4, 1942 to plan and supervise the mass evacuation of Japanese-Canadian citizens, regardless of whether they were Canadian-born, naturalized, or landed immigrants, to security areas set up in the interior more than 100 miles from the B.C. coast, as designated by the Minister of National Defence on February 2nd 1942. Order in Council P.C. 1486\textsuperscript{40-a} authorized the Minister of Justice to evacuate all persons of Japanese race on Feb. 24, 1942. Under the Order-in-Council, Evacuation Order: P.C. 1665\textsuperscript{40-b} which was made on March 4, 1942, in Ottawa under the War Measures Act on the recommendation of then Prime Minister Mackenzie King, was put into operation by the British Columbia Security Commission and was publicly announced on March 6, 1942, through the *New Canadian*, the only English newspaper of the Japanese community which was permitted to continue publication during WW II, as well as through other mainstream media. The Commission undertook the first steps toward total evacuation, using the Hastings Park National Exhibition Grounds as a "clearing station" for assembling the evacuees. Eventually, approximately 8,000 individuals passed through this temporary set-up before a total of 23,000 Japanese Canadians were interned under Order-in Council P.C. 1486 in various local camps such as Tashme, Princeton, Bay Farm, Popoff, Lemon Creek, New Denver, Sandon, Slocan City, Kaslo, and Greenwood. Some important English-language sources on the Japanese mass evacuation are seen in the note.\textsuperscript{40} Jessie L Beattie's *Strength for the Bridge*\textsuperscript{40-i} well depicts the uprooting of the Japanese from the West Coast of Canada in 1942. The author does not preach or admonish; she lets the historical facts speak for themselves. Studies of the crisis created by the Pacific War and its effects on the Japanese-Canadians and of the
popular agitation for evacuation of the Japanese in Canada from the protected areas on the
Canadian West Coast and their consequent removal and resettlement are also documented
in other similar Japanese sources in the note. Kimiaki Nakashima's M.A. thesis at McGill
University in 1946 attempts to study some of the economic consequences of relocation
by giving a detailed analysis of the mass evacuation of the Japanese-Canadians. It shows
that controlled movements of population may often result in economic as well as social and
psychological disorientation. Furthermore, that such disorientation is not always limited to
the particular group relocated but may have repercussions on the economic life of the
whole country. In this category of effects of population displacement, researchers should
refer to the National Association of Japanese-Canadians's Economic Losses of Japanese-
Canadians after 1941 and J. Roberts-Moore's "Studies in Documents: The Office of the
Custodian of Enemy Property..." There are several other worthy government documents
on this subject The Japanese-Canadian Archives at UBC Special Collections houses
the following personal collections: the Tokikazu Tanaka Collection, consisting of public
correspondence in his capacity as leader of the Petawawa Internment Camp, Angler,
Ontario, in 1942-45, and the Rintaro Hayashi Collection, including documents from the
RCMP, B.C. Security Commission and other materials relating to the relocation of
Japanese-Canadians in Eastern Canada after the war. The latter also contains lists of names
of Japanese-Canadians repatriated to Japan in 1946, and the Report of the Department of
Labour on Administration of Japanese Affairs in Canada, 1942-44, which is especially
noteworthy. Many other UBC collections contain important and interesting material
on the evacuation. The Kiyozo Kazuta Collection contains notes, clippings and
miscellaneous documents from wartime 1943, such as a summary of the factfinding
Royal Commission. The TASHME Camp News Collection includes back numbers of
TASHME Camp News, dated October-December 1943. Shigeichi Uchibori was a member of the Central Committee of the Lemon Creek Action Group in the Slocan Valley, B.C. The Shigeichi Uchibori Collection covers the period from October 1945 though March 1946 and contains many letters concerning efforts to mobilize a movement to cancel the so-called "Voluntary Repatriation" from various Japanese internment camps. In addition, there are petitions and open letters to the Prime Minister of Canada denouncing "Voluntary Repatriation."

The Rev. Yoshio Ono Collection also contains documents relating to the mass evacuation process of Japanese-Canadians. Forty back issues (1941-44) of the New Canadian, which printed many important announcements and/or orders of the Canadian Government during wartime, are included in this collection as well. The Ono Collection also contains the following moving farewell letter written by him to the residents of Comox District, B.C., in April 1942:

- Sayonara (Goodbye) -

The Japanese people of Comox District wish to say a word of farewell to all residents of this area. ... For many of us, this has been our HOME for over thirty years. Here our sons and daughters were born and brought up. They received their training in Canadian citizenship in the local schools and institutions and for this we are thankful. Our life here has been a happy one which we will remember for the rest of our life. We are sorry to have to say SAYONARA to all our
friends - people we have known so long - and we earnestly hope that when this trouble is over (which we hope will be soon) we shall return to our HOMES and take up our associations where we now leave off. The difficult business of moving the whole community of Japanese people has been made as easy as possible by the local people ... We are grateful for all such assistances ... Again we wish to say "SAYONARA," and may God be with you all till we meet again. Rev. Yoshio Ono, Japanese United Church at Cumberland - Comox, B.C.  

Key Japanese-language sources on the evacuation include the following: Chiyokichi Ariga, Roki no Yuwaku (Temptations in the Rockies) and Omoide no Katami (Souvenir from My Memory); Kiyoko Koyama, Surokohan no Omoide (Memories of Lake Slocan); Robert Katsumasa Okazaki, Nisei Masu Ebakyueshon Gurupu to "Senji Horyo Shuyojo 101" - 1941-1946 (The Nisei Mass Evacuation Group and P.O.W. Camp 101 [in Angler, Ontario]: The Japanese-Canadian Community's Struggle for Justice and Human Rights during World War II); Tom Sando Kuwabara, Toraware no Mi: Aru Kanada Nikkei Nisei no Senjichu Nikki translated and edited by Yumiko Hoyano (Wild Daisies in the Sand: Life in a Canadian Internment Camp); Mitsuru Shinpo, Kanada Nihonjin Imin Monogatari (The Story of Japanese Immigration to Canada) and Ishi o Mote Owaruru Gotoku (Chased Out by Stones) and Masako Iino, Nikkei Kanadajin no Rekishi (A History of Japanese-Canadians).
Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson gave a moving address on the evacuation at the opening ceremony of the Japanese-Canadian Cultural Centre in Don Mills, Toronto, on June 7, 1964. The following is an excerpt from his speech:

For me, this Centre is a new reminder of the multi-racial heritage on which our nation is being built, surely and strongly. The first Japanese to arrive in Canada came to seek a temporary livelihood in British Columbia, many of them planning to return to Japan to retire in comfort. But Canada was to be more fortunate than that for, happily, most of them decided to stay, and the Japanese way of life became firmly rooted in small settlements along Canada's Pacific coast. In 1942, however, following the unhappy outbreak of war between our two countries, the coastal area of British Columbia was declared a protected area. People of Japanese origin were required to leave. That action by the Canadian government - though taken under the strains, and fears and pressures of war - was a black mark against Canada's traditional fairness and devotion to the principles of human rights. We have no reason to be proud of this episode, but it had one compensation. Relocation brought to the attention of other parts of Canada the strong character and the fine qualities of our Japanese citizens and settlers. Their self-reliance and energy and their varied contribution to Canadian
development were a revelation to the rest of Canada. Perhaps even more important, the distribution - even though forceful - over the whole country undoubtedly hastened the full integration of Japanese-Canadians into Canadian life.\textsuperscript{40-l}

c) Redress

The Japanese-Canadians' experience of injustice in Canada did not begin with the outbreak of the Pacific War. The struggle to achieve full recognition as citizens of this country can be traced to the early years of Japanese immigration to British Columbia. A long time before 1941, they were targeted by racists because of their growing successes in their major occupations such as fishing, forestry and farming in B.C. The trauma of what Japanese-Canadians went through during World War II was clearly the result of politicized and institutionalized racism. The tragic experience of the mass expulsion of Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry from the B.C. coast under government orders P.C. 1486\textsuperscript{40-a} and P.C. 1665\textsuperscript{40-b} motivated the Redress Movement for and by Japanese-Canadians in the 1980s and 1990s because the evacuation was a violation of Canadian citizenship rights, a denial of its own citizens, by the federal government - a reprehensible result of \textit{the perception gap}. In the early organization of this Redress Movement there was a significant \textit{generation gap} in the Japanese-Canadian community, as well. Issei (the first generation) did not want to cause any troubles in Canadian society, but Nisei and Sansei (the second and third generations) wanted to correct the past injustice - this withholding of basic human rights - imposed upon Japanese-Canadians during WW II by the federal government of Canada. These younger generations initiated the Redress Movement. A successful result of their civil rights movement has opened a new perspective for Japanese Canadians in Canadian society.
The honour and dignity of loyal Japanese-Canadians were restored in the House of Commons on September 28, 1988, with a formal apology from the Government of Canada, officially pronounced by then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. The labels of "second class citizen" and "enemy alien" were officially and forever removed. For Japanese-Canadians, a minority group of only 40,000 (as of the 1986 Canada Census), apart from the financial compensation - C$ 21,000 each for former individual Japanese-Canadian evacuees (the total number of recipients of the compensation around 1988 to 1993 was about 18,000) - the moral victory for human rights will remain for perpetuity. It is hailed as one of the most significant victories for civil and human rights in Canadian history. As a group compensation benefit to the Japanese-Canadian community, the Redress Agreement also stipulated a $12 million fund to be administered by the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) headquartered in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The fund would be used for promoting educational, social and cultural activities in the community. As for those former Japanese-Canadians expatriated to Japan in 1946 under the federal government's "Repatriation Program" in 1946 after the war, Canadian citizenship was restored to them. After September 28, 1988, former landed immigrants from Japan and/or Japanese Canadians by birth who were living in Canada were newly granted Canadian citizenship under the Redress Agreement. According to a national poll published in the Toronto Star on April 11, 1986, 63% of members of the general public in Canada supported the redress for Japanese-Canadians. We can safely conclude from this newspaper report that not only the great efforts of Japanese-Canadians but also huge public support and pressure from Canadians in general played a significant role in correcting an injustice toward this ethnic minority, bridging the perception gap among the general public in Canada and also among Canadian governments - municipal, provincial, and federal.
Since the redress for Japanese-Canadians was finally achieved in the House of Commons on September 22, 1988, quite a number of books about the long quest for justice have been written. From these, let me pick *Justice in Our Time* by Roy Miki and Cassandra Kobayashi as a good example. Authors Miki and Kobayashi, Sansei (the third generation), played an active role in the Japanese-Canadian redress movement, as community representatives and as members of the NAJC Strategy Committee that negotiated the Redress Settlement. They celebrate the redress settlement as a major victory for human rights in Canada. In this book, they have documented the vital stages in the political struggle from the historic injustices in the 1940s, through the redress movement in the 1980s, to the final events leading up to the settlement on September 22, 1988. The story of redress is told through a rich interweaving of commentary, photographs, quotations, and historic documents. Four decades of history of the Japanese-Canadians' struggle to win redress is a story of democracy winning out, after persistent attempts to correct an injustice under joint public pressures from Japanese-Canadian and other collaborative communities. Through the public education campaigns of the national and local Japanese-Canadian Citizenship Associations, and response from members of other communities in Canada, the public has spoken, and the Canadian governments on every level - municipal, provincial, and federal - listened.

d) Demographic Change in the Japanese-Canadian Community

In recent years, the demographics of the Nikkei community have changed dramatically. Now, the Issei generation of immigrants has almost gone, and the Nisei generation is going to follow next. At present, the Sansei and Yonsei (third and fourth generations) and the Shin-Ijusha (postwar immigrants since 1966) compose the main core of the permanent
Japanese-Canadian population. The Shin-Ijusha have different culture and assimilation issues. As mentioned above, as of 2004 the total population of Japanese-Canadians is approximately 73,000, with 34,000 in the Greater Vancouver area. Each of the different groups is in a much different situation than its counterparts were with regards to the *generation, culture, and perception gaps*.

At the same time, there are a Japanese businessmen's community and a growing population of Japanese visitors on working holidays and visitor visas, along with an increasing number of intermarried couples, with their own complex sets of concerns (the exact statistics of numbers of businessmen, temporary workers, and intermarried couples are not available). Among them, there are many significant problems of language, cultural differences, and misunderstanding: that is, significant *communication, culture, and perception gaps*. *A Demographic Profile of Japanese Canadians and Social Implications for the Future* by Audrey Kobayashi, published in 1989 by the Department of Secretary of State, Ottawa, is somewhat dated, but is still useful to a researcher on this subject.42-n.

e) Interactive Community Programs

In order for Japanese-Canadians to fully participate in Canadian life, more efforts should be made to draw together members of the mainstream and other ethnic communities in Canada and to provide them with the opportunity to interact with Japanese-Canadian colleagues. To realize this objective, various intercultural community programs have been organized at the Nikkei (Japanese-Canadian) Centres in Vancouver, Toronto and other places. Let me point out good examples of such interaction recently observed here in the Greater Vancouver area.
c-i) Dialogue Forum - Closing the Gap

One such example is the activities related to Nikkei Week held at Toronto and Vancouver. In order to close the language, culture and generation gaps between Shin-ijusha, new immigrants from Japan since 1966, and Nikkeijin, Canadian-born Japanese, Vancouver JCCA organized a forum in the form of a panel discussion at the National Nikkei Heritage and Cultural Centre located in Burnaby, B.C., on September 15, 2004, as part of this year's Nikkei Week programs. Two years ago in 2002, in Toronto, the National Association of Japanese-Canadians (NAJC) sponsored a "Meeting Point Forum," which facilitated a national community dialogue about issues of concern, differences, challenges, experiences, and aspirations of the Shin-ijusha community in adapting to life in Canada and relating to Nikkeijin. Since then, the Vancouver JCCA has held such a dialogue session annually during the Nikkei Week. What are the past and present challenges to achieving mutually supportive relations and genuine integration between these two Japanese-Canadian community groups? Nationally, we are a small community (73,000). We are losing membership due to an aging population and limited immigration from Japan at present. New biracial and intercultural generations are growing through intermarriage. Our future growth and development as a Japanese-Canadian community relies on establishing an inclusive outlook, finding and sustaining our commonalities, respecting diversity, developing stronger ties with each other, and building true integration among our community members whether they settled here one year ago or 100 years ago. They are the keys to becoming a truly strong and healthy, united community. Both representatives of various community organizations and individual participants confirmed at the end of this year's forum the importance of continuing this discussion so that we can work more closely to bridge the communication, culture, and perception gaps.
e-ii) Nikkei Week Lecture Series

The National Nikkei Museum in Burnaby, B.C., has organized a series of lectures on various topics by inviting speakers from the Japanese and other communities in order to narrow the culture and generation gaps. This year, as a part of the Nikkei Week discussion "After the Tumult" on September 21, 2004, Tatsuo Kage, who formerly served as a board member of the Vancouver JCCA and later worked for the NAJC as a Redress Implementation Co-ordinator, delivered a speech entitled "Japanese-Canadians Exiled to Japan." The following is an excerpt from his talk:

In 1946, right after the Pacific War ended, almost 4,000 Canadian residents of Japanese ancestry were exiled to Japan. The majority were Canadian citizens and it was a historically rare incident of a democratic country deporting its own citizens to a foreign country. A general policy direction for the expulsion was given by Prime Minister McKenzie King on August 4, 1944, at the House of Commons, Parliament of Canada. He categorized Canadians of Japanese origin into two groups:

1) Those who were loyal to Canada: They had to comply with the government policy to disperse themselves as evenly as possible in Canada (in concrete terms they had to move east of the Canadian Rockies).

2) If Japanese Canadians were unwilling to move to the east, they were regarded as disloyal to Canada and they had to be
sent "back" to Japan. According to the government records of "repatriation," at the time the government insisted repeatedly that the choice was voluntary, but considering the circumstances, Japanese-Canadians were forced to choose one way or another. It should be noted that two-thirds of the exiled were Canadians by birth; therefore, the government term "repatriation" or "deportation" did not accurately describe the nature of the policy. They were required to give up their citizenship when they left Canada.

Kage suggested in his conclusion that this lesser known aspect of the community's experience of expulsion should be appropriately incorporated into the history of our community and of Canada in order to better understand the vulnerability of democracy and citizens' rights during times of national emergency, whether actual or perceived. Irene Tsuyuki also wrote an article on this theme of "Exiled to Japan."

e-iii) First Friday Forum

At the National Nikkei Heritage Centre located in Burnaby, B.C., the "First Friday Forum and Coffeehouse" has been held. This interdisciplinary cultural interaction program was designed by Harry Aoki, a bassist, with the Nikkei Centre in early 2002 as an "outreach" program to use arts and dialogue: to initiate intercultural exchange between Japanese-Canadian artists and other Canadian artists and members of the general public from various ethnic and mainstream communities; to investigate the culture and identity of different ethnic groups; and to identify their commonalities which in turn serve to enhance
appreciation of those inherent differences which render various cultures unique in Canadian society. This unique cultural interaction forum, with the objective of sharing experience, invites anyone to bring one's musical instrument and join the others for music, free discussion, refreshments and good company on the first Friday evening of each month during the period from fall to spring. These sessions are designed to help close the communication and perception gaps and promote multiculturalism in Canada.

e-iv) Vancouver Public Library and Vancouver Opera Joint Speakers' Forum
"The Japanese Internment of the 1940s: Realities & Legacies " in the "Opera Speaks" Series was held on the Main Branch of Vancouver Public Library on November 9 (7:30 - 9:30 pm). Speakers were Midge Ayukawa, Paul Kariya, Arthur Miki, and Zool Sulman, a lawyer for immigration and human rights. This forum was moderated by CBC Radio's Mark Forsythe for about 100 attendees. Ayukawa, formerly a chemist working for the federal government Water Bureau in Ottawa, later obtained her PhD in Japanese-Canadian history from the University of Victoria in her retirement days. Paul Kariya works for a private agency, the Pacific Salmon Foundation, and is a cousin of the NHL super-star with the same name - Paul Kariya. Art Miki, former President of the National Association of Japanese-Canadians (NAJC) and one of the leaders of the redress movement of Japanese-Canadians, was awarded the Order of Canada. These above three Japanese-Canadian speakers talked about their hardships experienced as members of the Japanese-Canadian community. Ayukawa recollected the forced evacuation under the War Measures Act during WW II. Kariya talked about his fisherman father's struggle to survive in the prewar and postwar days. Miki spoke about the arduous process of "Redress" negotiations in the 1980s between the NAJC and the federal government under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.
In February 1942 a total of 23,000 Japanese-Canadians were forcefully removed from their homes and out from the 100 Mile Protected Area to the B.C. interior, as designated by the minister of National Defence, and were eventually interned in various local camps. All "persons of Japanese racial origin" were classified as "enemy aliens" regardless of their status as Japanese nationals, naturalized Canadian citizens, or Canadians by birth. The Canadian federal government referred to this expulsion from the Pacific Coast, as a "relocation," carefully avoiding the term "internment" in their official documents, because "internment" would have been a violation of human rights and illegal under the Geneva Convention. The above mentioned classification "enemy aliens" for the Canadian-born Japanese and Japanese immigrants who became naturalized Canadian citizens is also a violation of Canadian citizenship rights. What we can clearly see nowadays is that these Japanese-Canadians were not prisoners-of-war or even criminals. The Pacific War was over in August 1945, but it was not until 1949 that they were finally released from all the relocation camps. As described before in "Nikkei Week Discussion: After the Tumult," the federal government of Canada deported about 4,000 Canadian residents of Japanese ancestry to Japan in 1946. The majority were Canadian citizens. This undemocratic action of a civilized nation was clearly a violation of its citizenship rights. Originally about 10,000 Japanese Canadians responded to the federal government's repatriation program by signing on such application forms but later about 60 % of these applicants changed their mind and decided to stay in Canada. This determination of 18,000 people of Japanese origin may be interpreted as a confirmation of their Canadian citizenship in spite of their bitter experience during wartime. As we saw above in this paper, Prime Minister Lester Pearson praised their decision to stay in Canada. All the wartime Japanese-Canadians still alive at present say nowadays that they are happy and proud with the wise choice they
made right after the war to reject the "repatriation programme" of the federal government and to stay in Canada. Canada should appreciate the bicultural challenges faced by Japanese-Canadians, who tried so hard to reconcile their motherland of Canada and their fatherland of Japan during a period of great turmoil. This patriotism does well fit into the present-day national policy of multiculturalism and also clearly symbolizes the globalism in Canada - promoting *multiculturalism and globalism* in Canada.

In 1977 the Japanese-Canadian communities all across Canada celebrated the centennial anniversary since the first immigrant from Japan, Manzo Nagano from Nagasaki, set his foot in New Westminster. This historic event awoke the memories of the unjust treatment of the past endured by Japanese-Canadians. The government files that once were banned from public scrutiny were gradually becoming available, which revealed that the forced removal of people of Japanese ancestry, internment, confiscation of property and repatriation policies were unnecessary and not vital to the safety of Canada. In 1984 Art Miki was appointed as President of the National Association of Japanese-Canadians (NAJC) headquartered in Winnipeg. Under his leadership the redress movement for correcting the injustices of the past by government and institutionalized racism against Japanese-Canadians started. On September 22, 1988, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney officially apologized for injustices perpetrated upon Japanese-Canadians in the House of Commons and provided compensation to the individual victims and a community fund for the revitalization of the Japanese community. Furthermore, the redress agreement called for the restoration of Canadian citizenship to those former Canadian residents who were forced to give up their citizenship at the time of the repatriation in 1946, and amendment of the War Measures Act and relevant sections of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms so that no
Canadian will ever again be subjected to the wrongs committed against Japanese-Canadians during World War II. In this forum at the Vancouver Public Library on Nov. 9, 2004, Art Miki mainly talked about this redress movement, which took forty-six years before this satisfactory resolution was finally realized since the uprooting of Japanese-Canadians took place in 1942. The author of this article attended this public meeting and observed that this kind of forum has really promoted a public education on ethnic Canadian history and also helped in stimulating public discussions on Canadian society as mosaic -promoting mutual understanding, and bridging the communication, culture, and perception gaps.

e-v) Philosophers' Café

Simon Fraser University (SFU) of Burnaby has been organizing informal community discussion programs called "The Philosophers' Café" in the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island regions of B.C. These cafés are set up as interdisciplinary programs under their Continuing Studies department in cooperation with volunteer moderators at local cafes, community centres and other premises of various organizations which host the programs. They aim to provide members of the general public an opportunity to participate in free discussion on various topics and to eventually help to raise the level of public awareness in our community. These are all interesting community discussion programs ranging from philosophy in general to government, politics, economy, society, culture, sports, science and technology, and so on. One of this year's fall programs announced by SFU was: "'Homeland Security' in Canada: What lessons have we learned from the Japanese internment in the 1940s?" It was held at the Kino Café, a local establishment on Cambie Street in Vancouver on November 17 (Wednesday), 2004. "The Philosophers' Café Program" (SFU Newsletter, Fall 2004, p. 7) says:
The internment of Japanese-Canadians in the 1940s was the largest mass movement of people in Canadian history. Its effects are still being felt by those who were detained and by the generations that have followed. After much soul-searching by Canadians, an official government apology and the payment of repatriations [i.e. the redress payment for Japanese-Canadians], we might be forgiven for believing that such injustices could never happen again in a country committed to tolerance and multiculturalism. But the War Measures Act [replaced by the Emergencies Act in 1988 - see below] is still on the books, the world is on alert for terrorists, and racism still rears its ugly head in many places. This café program, hosted by Vancouver Opera's General Director James W. Wright, will look back at the events of the Internment, into the mirror at current issues of national security in Canada and elsewhere, and forward to what the future may hold.46

This café is part of Vancouver Opera's Views of Japan, a series of events and performances - leading up to its production of Puccini's Madama Butterfly in November / December 2004 - that will explore the rich and complex relationship between the cultures of Japan and Canada. Thus, Vancouver Opera and the Philosopers' Café are cooperating to help close the communication, culture, and perception gaps and promote the ethnic mosaic and globalism in Canada.
With regard to the war-time experience of Japanese-Canadians in the 1940s, Kage, also a member of the Human Rights Committee of the Greater Vancouver Japanese-Canadian Citizens' Association, delivered another lecture under the theme: "The War Measures Act - Canadian Experience Workshop: Immigration and Security" at the Inter-Community Conference on Our Voice, Our Strategies - Asian Canadians Against Racism - organized by the Chinese-Canadian National Council and held June 7 - 9, 2002, at UBC. The following is a core excerpt from his lecture draft:

The War Measures Act was a statute legislated in 1914, conferring emergency powers on the federal cabinet. This act allowed the Cabinet to govern by orders-in-council when it perceives the existence of "war, invasion or insurrection, real or apprehended." This legislation was applied during the two world wars, most notably, for the discriminatory treatment of Japanese-Canadians during and after World War II - with censorship of publications, arrest, detention and deportation of persons, confiscation and disposition of properties, control of movements & travels, etc. In 1988, under the Mulroney government, the Act was replaced by a more detailed and limited emergency law called the Emergencies Act. Further, the government introduced Bill 36: the Anti-terrorism Act proclaimed in Dec. 2001. Why did the federal government introduce a new anti-terrorism legislation instead of using its powers under the 1988 Emergencies Act? Perhaps because
the emergency powers available under the Emergencies Act are for a limited time period and under the supervision of Parliament. It seems that the government may have preferred the concentration of power in the executive, resulting in a repetition of the highly discredited practice under the War Measures Act. Through the Act, legislative power was transferred to the federal government. Either Parliamentary control or judicial review was very difficult. Through this power, the government could and did deprive citizens of their democratic rights by issuing orders-in-council and regulations which had the effect of laws. Japanese-Canadians, as a visible minority, have experienced legalized repressive measures from the powers authorized by the War Measures Act. Therefore, during our redress campaign, the National Association of Japanese Canadians urged that "the fundamental human rights and freedoms be considered sacrosanct, non-negotiable and beyond the reach of any arbitrary legislation such as the War Measures Act." Our concerns remain the same as before because of the anti-terrorism legislation. The present situation after September 11, 2001 seems to be a state of permanent or on-going emergency. When and how can we go back to a normal state of affairs? 47
Conclusion
On September 22, 1988, the Canadian government under the Conservative Party Cabinet of PM Brian Mulroney formally apologized to the Japanese-Canadians in the form of a redress agreement correcting the injustices toward them during WW II. Most of the Japanese-Canadians have been happy with the decision they made after the war to reject the federal government's "repatriation programme" to Japan\(^{43-a}\) and to stay in Canada. By overcoming hardship during a war-time period of great turmoil, they finally reconciled the *perception gap* between their motherland of Canada and their fatherland of Japan.

With the redress group endowment funds administered by the National Association of Japanese-Canadians headquartered in Winnipeg, Manitoba, various programs have been organized to assist Japanese-Canadians in culture, arts, sports and education fields, and also to promote various interdisciplinary and intercultural interaction with non-Japanese communities in the above fields and even beyond these categories. In order to promote Japanese-Canadian society, unilingual media sources, for example Japanese language newspapers, should be published bilingually, in English and Japanese, so that many more Canadian can have access to news of what's going on in the Japanese-Canadian communities all across Canada. Such bilingual sources would help bridge the *communication, culture, and perception gaps* between Japanese-Canadians and other Canadians.

We also could say that if the Canadian governments - municipal, provincial or federal - would try to further promote mutual exchanges between Canada and other countries, it would help bring together not only the peoples of multi-ethnic communities in Canada but also the peoples of multiple countries in the world. It would also promote mutual understanding by exchanging different cultures and thoughts, working towards a resolution of the *perception gap* on a universal scale.
Open Question

In this paper entitled "The Perception Gap: A Case Study of Japanese-Canadians," I have not dealt with psychological aspects of the perception gap of Japanese-Canadians, because I do not have any expertise in this field. However, it would be an interesting topic to explore, I think. Therefore, I hope that one day someone will try to throw some light on this issue.

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Notes


2) For the Generation Gap, See:
   d) Grant Sylvester and Rob Sylvester, *The Money Gap: Expecions vs. Reality*:
Bridging the Gap Facing Baby Boomers and Seniors (Willowdale, ON: Money Jar Publishing, 1997).


See also:


19) Frances Hodgson Burnett, Little Lord Fauntleroy (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1922).

20) For Etsu Suzuki, See:


22) Masajiro Miyazaki, My Sixty Years in Canada (Lillooet, BC: Masajiro Miyazaki, 1973)

23) For Powell Street, See:
   Note: This is the English translation of *Pauerugai Monogatari*.


26) For Farming, See:


27) For Fishing, See:


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n) Chiyokichi Ariga and Shinichi Kimura, The Rev. Frank Cassillis-Kennedy: Elder to
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36) For Immigrants from Shiga Prefecture, Japan, See:


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38) For the Japanese-Canadian History - Local Regions, See:


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