'AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE':
WOMEN OF THE ANGLICAN MISSION TO THE JAPANESE IN CANADA, 1903-1957

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis is a study of the women involved in the Anglican mission to the Japanese Canadians between 1903 and 1957. Drawing on a variety of primary source documents housed in the Anglican church archives in Toronto and Vancouver, as well as information gathered in interviews with three former missionaries, the study aims to determine who these women were, what their work consisted of, their reasons for choosing to work among Japanese Canadians, and what effects their efforts had, not specifically on the intended recipients, but on the women themselves.

The thesis argues that much of the success of the mission, as measured by the number of Japanese Canadians who utilized its facilities and programmes, is due to the high level of involvement of local women. Until the World War II evacuation of Japanese Canadians from the coast of British Columbia, the mission's main facilities were located in Vancouver. In 1917 a male-dominated governing board took over the work, and attempted to 'professionalize' the mission during the interwar period. Still, of the over fifty middle-class Anglo-Canadian women, the majority were drawn from the local community, and a further seventeen Japanese Canadian women, originally from the mission's clientele, became involved in the work. A number of these women were employed as lay workers, and those who had the requisite training were engaged as professional missionaries, but more than half of the workers worked as volunteers.

Work in the mission offered an attractive outlet through which these women channelled their energy, skills, and humanitarian propensities. It allowed Anglo-Canadian women to take on a public role while upholding contemporary notions concerning appropriate behaviour for their sex, "race" and class, while the Japanese Canadian workers gained the acceptance and esteem of their Occidental colleagues, and access to a respectable occupation at a time when they had few options to choose from. Thus by creating and largely maintaining the mission, a number of Anglican women,
working within the confines of the maternal feminist ideology, built a sphere for themselves which encouraged their personal growth.
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INTRODUCTION

We are trying to bring to Christ a people of ancient lineage, proud traditions and distinctive gifts, but - to quote a member of the Junior W.A. at Holy Cross Mission - 'the people don’t all know that they need Him.' The only hope is to try to tell them by deeds as well as words. They can best be reached through their children whom they so gladly send to the Missions in increasing numbers. Work of the past is showing results in second and third generation children, already speaking English, already knowing how to sing 'Yes, Jesus loves me', and already substituting for the courteous, quiet manners of Japan, the rougher, quicker ways of the West. Girls who have come up through the Sunday School of the Mission are on its teaching staff now, working faithfully and happily, until they marry - and marriage into Buddhist or atheist homes or isolation in fishing village or mill town remote from church ministrations presents a great hinderance to the development of Japanese-Canadian womanhood.¹

¹ Living Message. November 1941

The above is an excerpt from the official national journal of Anglican Women's Auxiliary's (W.A.). Specifically, it is a report on the work of the Anglican women missionaries who were employed in the mission to the Japanese Canadians in British Columbia. It describes this mission field at its height, during the tense period just prior to the onset of war in the Pacific.

Significantly, the report was written by a lay representative of the local diocesan W.A., an organization which counted among its membership a number of the prominent women in Vancouver society.² The article indicates, then, not just a missionary perspective, but that of at least some of the women in the mainstream of society in British Columbia. This is important, for a number of historians writing on racism in British Columbia have determined that the Anglo-Canadian community was flagrantly anti-Japanese Canadian. There were many declarations in the press and from the pulpit and podium asserting the unassimilability of any and all Japanese Canadians, their "alienness" and their suspected loyalty to Japan. Yet this correspondent calls Japanese Canadians "fellow-Canadians." She describes a high degree of acculturation among the Japanese Canadian young people, and implies that Anglo-Canadian attitudes constitute a
major element of the problem on the coast. The opinions voiced in this report are not
atypical; W.A. correspondents in British Columbia had expressed similar sentiments
previously. This suggests that there were more people willing to accept Japanese
Canadians as fellow citizens than representations in the coexistent popular media or
even later histories of the period would suggest.

The author of the report goes on to say:

Added to the difficulty for young Japanese Christians are the racial
discrimination, prejudice and arrogance which they must face from
fellow-Canadians with whom they come in contact. The work of the
Missionaries in British Columbia, greatly hampered by the so-called
'Christian environment', is to bridge the gulf between Occident and
Orient, as it exists on the Pacific Coast.³

Thus she describes the missionaries not as teachers but as 'bridges' between East and
West. This implies something approaching a relationship of respect and acceptance.
Indeed, she indicates the basis for respect by pointing out the "ancient lineage, proud
traditions, and distinctive gifts" of the Japanese Canadians. The implication seems clear:
if accepted as something like equals the Japanese Canadians, with their 'distinctive
gifts,' could contribute something of value to Canadian society.

Important questions are raised by the possibility that other, perhaps influential,
women were familiar with the missions and shared the opinions of the author of the
above report, and yet were unable or unwilling to confront the extreme racism in their
churches and in their community, or were perhaps unsuccessful in that confrontation.
The answers ultimately touch on all three of the prevalent areas of inquiry in historical
research today - "race," class, and gender.⁴

The present thesis is a study of Anglican women who worked among Japanese
Canadians from the turn of the century to the mid-1950s. The aim of the study is to
determine who these women were, what their work consisted of, their reasons for
choosing missionary work, and what effects their efforts had, not specifically on the
intended recipients of missionary ministrations, but on the women themselves and their
supporters. As measured by the number of people who utilized the mission's facilities and programmes they could certainly be considered successful. The thesis argues that the high level of involvement of local women in these missions was essential to their success. The workers gained tangible rewards through their association with the mission, not the least of which were a sense of personal fulfilment, an opportunity to use or gain practical skills, and a greater knowledge of an "exotic" people. The awareness these women acquired through their association with the mission put them in a distinctly contradictory position to that of the majority of their Anglo-Canadian neighbours.

Anglican work in this mission field has always relied heavily on the labour and sponsorship of local women. From 1903, when Miss Kathleen O'Melia first established the Anglican mission to Japanese immigrants in British Columbia, until 1957, when the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (henceforth M.S.C.C.) officially terminated the work among Japanese Canadians, more than fifty Anglo-Canadian women, the majority drawn from the Lower Mainland area, became substantially involved in the mission's activities. Seventeen other workers were themselves Japanese Canadian.

The women worked in either a paid or voluntary capacity, mainly as kindergarten teachers, night school English teachers, "domestic science" teachers, or teachers' aides. In addition, a number of women whose names, with the exception of only a very few, are unknown and whose numbers cannot with accuracy be determined, were peripherally connected with the mission through such efforts as donating or raising funds, collecting furniture or other items for the mission, or gathering clothes and the like for the needy among the mission's clientele.

One missionary recalls that the W.A. women had a different "angle" on the work, one which was somehow more "human" than that of the men in the church. This in itself is striking. It could be assumed that in the beginning W.A. women would have been just as susceptible to anti-Japanese Canadian rhetoric - as strident and pervasive as it was throughout British Columbian society in the first four decades of the
twentieth century - as their male counterparts. Indeed from an early period in the
twentieth century certain Anglican men, among them a Canon, were prominent
members of the Asiatic Exclusion League and other organizations like it. Moreover,
given that the two major mission stations were situated in close proximity to the less
respectable parts of Vancouver (one near the sawmills of Fairview and the other close
to the 'red light' district of the city), the reasons 'genteel' Anglo-Canadian women had
for becoming active in mission work, rather than in less controversial church work, are
not immediately clear.

Missionary work among the Asians in British Columbia was indeed highly
controversial in the community. Hilda Hellaby, senior missionary in the Anglican
mission to Chinese Canadians, noted that missions to Asian immigrants were "always a
rather unpopular piece of work; those of us who worked among them came in for a bit
of hostility." Grace Tucker and Margaret Foster, two missionaries in the Japanese
Canadian mission, echoed this, stating that, for example, landlords often would not rent
to missionaries who worked with Asian immigrants. This attitude in the community
toward the mission workers among the Japanese Canadians is similar to the attitudes
Marta Danylewycz perceived the residents of Montreal exhibiting toward the nuns who
assisted the unwed mothers of that city.

The earliest accounts of Japanese Canadians were written by male missionaries
who had an interest in immigration issues. Originally they were very negative about
Asians in general, and with the exception of one, these writers maintained an
ethnocentric bias. For the most part they remained opposed to further Asian
immigration; but, as missionaries and their helpers became familiar with Asian
immigrants they gradually adopted a more positive attitude, becoming, by the 1930s,
champions of equal rights for Japanese Canadians.

R.G. MacBeth's 1912 account of Japanese immigrants to Canada reflects his
political priorities. He was a Presbyterian minister who had long been involved in the
struggle to make Canada a homogeneous British state. For him, accepting large numbers of any non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants into Canada threatened this conception; Asians especially were "beyond the pale." Accordingly, he described both Chinese and Japanese immigrants as "people of lower civilization," unassimilable sojourners with roots in their countries of origin and "no vital interest elsewhere." He did, however, make a distinction between the two groups in terms of the relative threat each posed to his vision of the Canadian state. In this regard he saw the Japanese as the greater threat because they were not satisfied with remaining disenfranchised menial workers. Furthermore, he described them as "vain and aggressive" and "less susceptible to Christian influences." Although the Presbyterians engaged in missionary work among Chinese immigrants, they did not extend their activities to the Japanese in Canada.

J.S. Woodsworth's description of Asians in *Strangers Within Our Gates* also exemplifies missionaries' negative attitude toward Asian immigrants in the early period. Like MacBeth, Woodsworth was concerned with immigration issues, and initially Woodsworth also regarded non-Anglo-Saxon immigration as a threat to the ideal of a homogeneous Anglo-Canadian state. As he explained "[t]he presence of incompatible elements changes the entire social and political life of a country; it is a fatal barrier to the highest national life." However, he also acknowledged another viewpoint in a quote from a report to the Methodist Missionary Society for 1907-08,

These strangers from the Far East are human beings like ourselves, of the 'one blood' and just as capable, under proper leadership, of rising in the scale of civilization and becoming a useful element in our cosmopolitan population as are the immigrants from other countries.

In fact, Woodsworth soon reversed his original position. In a speech he made at the national Conference of Social Work in 1924, in which he discussed Asian immigration at length, he asked "[a]re we egotistical enough to really want the immigrants to be made like ourselves? Heaven forbid!" He then went on to quote a passage he wrote in 1917:

[...]et those who set out to "Canadianize and Christianize" the immigrants remember that there is room for other and perhaps higher Canadian types than those which predominate either on our streets or in our
houses of parliament; that there is reason, too, for other types of Christianity than those which prevail in Canada.  

Woodsworth's opinions notwithstanding, Protestant missionaries and others throughout Canada continued to demonstrate their conviction that Christianization was a necessary part of Canadianization. During the interwar years many missionaries displayed the sincerity of their commitment to this principle by supporting the Japanese Canadians' struggle for full citizenship rights. By becoming Christians and adopting an Anglo-Canadian lifestyle, members of the mission congregations manifested, to the satisfaction of the mission workers, at least, their worthiness for the franchise, including all the privileges that went with it.  

From the standpoint of the Christianization/Canadianization process, mission workers found the evangelization of children through such means as kindergartens, children's clubs, and Sunday Schools, to be especially effective. In his 1929 volume, Orientals in Canada, S.S. Osterhout, of the United (previously Methodist) missionary society, was especially enthusiastic about the success of his church's women missionaries with Japanese Canadian children. Indeed, he found the mission kindergartens to be "one of our most fruitful evangelizing agencies," and asserted that the worth of these efforts among the children "cannot be overestimated, as in it are being laid the foundations for the success of years to come."  

During the interwar years Anglican missionaries, too, wrote favourable, although still highly ethnocentric, accounts of Japanese Canadians. In 1925 Neville Laschelles Ward, superintendent of the Anglican mission to the Chinese in British Columbia, published a book about the Anglican missions to the 'Orientals' in the province. While the majority of the book is concerned with work among the Chinese, he included a brief chapter on Japanese immigrants. His account of the history and character of the Japanese was highly complimentary; he went so far as favourably to compare the Japanese with the British. He also noted that the Japanese potential for industry, war, expansion and Christianity was great. Apparently he did not differentiate between the
Japanese in Japan and Japanese Canadians, for he said very little about the immigrants in British Columbia other than to indicate that there had been steady growth in Japanese mission congregations over the years the Anglican church had operated in this field. He commented, too, that Japanese Canadians had shown tremendous appreciation for the efforts of the superintendent of the Anglican Japanese mission, Francis Cassillis-Kennedy, who worked on their behalf to alleviate the anti-Japanese prejudice in the local business community.\(^{16}\)

Almost a decade later H. Walsh edited a volume on the Anglican church's 'home' missions. Mrs. Clara Gould, a member of the New Westminster diocesan W.A., wrote the section on the mission field in British Columbia. She began by echoing J.S. Woodsworth's 1909 statement that life, culture and religion in the East were entirely different than in the West, but she went on to argue that

\[
\text{One of the most difficult aspects of the Oriental question is the biological one. Are these strangers within our gates to remain as such, or are they to become one with us? Shall there be a great gulf fixed between East and West, or shall there be a gradual assimilation of the two on our coast?}^{17}\]

This specifically raised the question of miscegenation, and Gould's answer was emphatic:

\[
\text{We must accept them as part of our Western life, educate them and bring them the message of Christ. We must... train them to become good citizens, and not withhold from them those positions, social or otherwise, of which they are worthy, and for which they have qualified themselves by honest endeavour. As regards the question of inter-marriage, there is practically nothing to fear as the Orientals are no more anxious for this than we.}^{18}\]

All in all, she noted, the mission kindergarten teachers reported that their pupils were eminently assimilable (and by this she no doubt meant in the cultural sense), and their parents were "anxious that their children should avail themselves of every western advantage offered."\(^{19}\)

Regardless of the mission workers' growing recognition of Japanese Canadians as primarily Canadians, rather than Japanese, the vast majority of politicians and writers for the popular press sustained a emphatically anti-Japanese Canadian stance. The
opinions Tom Maclnnes expressed in 1927 in *The Oriental Occupation of British Columbia* were typical of many editorialists and politicians throughout the interwar period. In fact, MacInnes could be considered to be representative of both. As well as being a writer he was the son of Senator Thomas MacInnes, one time member of Parliament for New Westminster and former Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia. In *The Oriental Occupation of British Columbia* MacInnes maintained that the presence of Japanese immigrants on the coast presaged Japan's intention to lay claim to the province's territory. He consistently saw Asians as distinct, and indeed when they took on the trappings of assimilation - by eating western food, wearing western-style clothes, worshipping in Protestant churches, learning English, and so forth - he suggested that they did this in order to gain an added advantage over their Anglo-Canadian competitors, who could not adapt themselves as readily to the Japanese way of life!

Rarely would a non-ecclesiastical British Columbian writer criticise in print the stance of people like MacInnes. Henry F. Angus was one of those rare exceptions. A member of the faculty at the University of British Columbia, Angus wrote a number of articles for scholarly and legal journals, as well as the occasional commentary for Vancouver newspapers. His primary concern was to point out the social, legal and international repercussions arising from the treatment of Japanese Canadians. For example, in an article he published in *Queen's Quarterly* in 1931 he noted that the social consequences in Canada of race discrimination could be profound:

The most serious consequence to the general public is that some thousands of our fellow-citizens have been embittered by treatment which no ordinary man or woman could fail to resent. . . . We have not . . . studied the history of other countries to find out whether there are examples of a racial minority having been deprived of political rights and excluded from economic opportunities without seriously deteriorating, acquiring qualities which are obnoxious to the rest of the community, and in the end becoming a menace to it!

On trade relations with Asia he declared

the importance of friendly trade relations with the Orient is being more and more appreciated. The continuance of these relations must depend on our treating the citizens of Japan and China with courtesy and in a
way consistent with their self-respect. It must also depend on our treating our own citizens of Japanese and Chinese race in such a way as to show that we do not consider their race a ground for dislike or hostility.  

By the mid-1930s Anglo-Canadians from Eastern Canada began studying the 'Japanese problem.' In 1938 Charles H. Young and Helen R. Y. Reid published The Japanese Canadians, a study devoted "to a consideration of the Japanese . . . in the hope that better relations between the Japanese and other racial groups in the Dominion will follow as a result . . . . ignorance still contributes in no small measure to the suspicion and prejudice which surround the Canadian Japanese". Based on the results of an extensive statistical survey of Japanese Canadian working and living conditions, interviews with Anglo- and Japanese Canadian business people, clergy, newspaper editors, workers, leaders and members of various organizations, including "outstanding anti-Japanese and anti-Oriental Canadians," and the authors' own first hand observations, the book gives a fairly detailed account of the development of the Japanese Canadian community. The authors conclude that the treatment accorded to Japanese Canadians by the "White" people of the province was persistently unjust and likely to continue so despite the fact that "Japanese who are residents of British Columbia can no longer be seriously regarded as a menace nor even as a serious problem." This, note, in 1938. Although they would no longer be comfortable living in Japan, Young and Reid acknowledged that the majority of the older generation still retained a predominantly Japanese outlook. But the bulk of the second generation were essentially Canadian in every respect except one - their race.

Charles J. Woodsworth, an expert on international relations, was also interested in the "Japanese problem" on the west coast, but in Canada and the Orient he broadened his scope to include Canadian connections in Japan and China as well as the situation of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia. In keeping with his field of expertise, he viewed events in the province entirely from an international perspective. Like Angus, he was anxious that Canada maintain peaceful relations with Japan and
China. As he noted in his conclusion, "[i]n the interests of better relations with her
Pacific neighbours she [Canada] can remove the disabilities on the Orientals in British
Columbia."\textsuperscript{25}

Like Young and Reid's investigation, Forrest E. La Violette's 1948 study of the
effects on Japanese Canadians of their wartime evacuation and subsequent dispersal was
based on extensive contact with his subjects. In his preface to La Violette's book Henry
F. Angus notes that "Professor La Violette's task has been to explain behaviour and not
to justify or condemn it."\textsuperscript{26} However, by impartially presenting the Japanese Canadian
case La Violette implies that it was legitimate. Indeed, from time to time in his
narrative he even says so. Despite this, he remained firmly entrenched in an Anglo-
Canadian framework by treating the Japanese Canadians as distinct from their fellow Canadøians, as objects to study.

The majority of historians studying Japanese Canadian experience are no longer
concerned with having to prove or disprove the legitimacy of Japanese Canadian
demands for equal rights, or with whether or not they are truly Canadian. Most have
sought explanations for the virulence of British Columbians' anti-Asian prejudice. They
are especially interested in the ultimate manifestation of those prejudices, the 1942
evacuation of all Japanese Canadians from the west coast, and their dispersal across the
country. Some, like Ken Adachi and Ann Gomer Sunahara, have added considerably to
the historical record by presenting these events as the Japanese Canadians experienced them. Others, like Patricia E. Roy and W. Peter Ward, have examined official policy
and demonstrations of Anglo-Canadian prejudice and sought explanations for them.

In his preface Adachi states:

I had two aims when I began to write this book. First, having been the victim since childhood of a particularly virulent strain of racism, I wished to reveal the demon in all its scaly ugliness and perhaps exorcise it. Secondly, I wished to set down the nearly century-old story of the Japanese in Canada in the general context of the age . . . . My two aims converged and the resultant work is an attempt to indicate, with as much documentation as possible, what it was like to have immigrated to
Canada or to have been born in this country as a member of an unpopular minority group.\textsuperscript{27} The evacuation, of course, is the major focal point of Japanese Canadian history, and therefore much of Adachi's book is devoted to tracing its course and explaining why it happened. For him, the explanation is found in "the decades of prejudice and suspicion which had evolved ever since the first Japanese immigrant landed on the Pacific coast."\textsuperscript{28} However, in presenting evidence of Anglo-Canadian racism Adachi gives only cursory consideration to the mission workers' attitudes and activities.

Sunahara's study is more specific than Adachi's. Her main concern is to present evidence, contained in government documents, that the evacuation was not a misguided over-reaction on the part of the federal government to wartime hysteria and prejudice in British Columbia. Instead she contends that it was a deliberate scheme, formulated by a few federal politicians and condoned and carried out by the federal cabinet, to rid British Columbia, and if possible Canada, of the Japanese Canadians.

Recently, Patricia E. Roy and J.L. Granatstein have advanced a far different exegesis of the evacuation. According to them, "the Canadian government caved in to racist fears and to the opinions of journalists and amateur strategists". They maintain that "the Japanese Canadians were subjected to the hardships of the evacuation as much for their own protection, and, by implication, the protection of Canadians in Japanese hands in Hong Kong and elsewhere, as for any other reason." They conclude that "[t]he Japanese Canadians and the Canadians in Japan were mutual hostages" and it was this which shaped Canadian policy toward Japanese Canadians.\textsuperscript{29}

Patricia E. Roy has written extensively on Japanese Canadian history. Her work, spanning two decades, has explored the roots of Anglo-Canadian prejudices against Asians. Broadly speaking, she maintains that anti-Asian prejudice is the result of Anglo-Canadian fear of Asian economic competition. In support of her conclusions she has made a thorough study of public opinion as it was expressed in newspapers, magazines, government records and public archives. One of Roy's most significant
contributions is her caution against over-generalizing the concepts of 'race,' 'racism,' and white supremacy in attempting to understand anti-Asian prejudice on the coast. As she states:

Some whites based their antipathy to Asians on real or anticipated economic conflicts; some were inspired by notions of racial differences; most had a number of reasons, both real and irrational, for their hostility and would have had difficulty in ranking their objections.\(^{30}\)

W. Peter Ward has also studied Anglo-Canadian prejudices against Asians immigrants in British Columbia. However his interpretation differs considerably from Roy's. In the preface to *White Canada Forever*, he states:

[m]y argument . . . holds that racism in British Columbia was fundamentally a problem in the social psychology of race relations. To me, economic strains, while in many instances important sources of racial conflict and prejudice, ultimately were subordinate to psychological tensions as the central locus of racial animosity."\(^{31}\)

Unfortunately, by disregarding the economic underpinning of "racial conflict and prejudice," he undervalues the material basis upon which popular attitudes were formed.

Nonetheless, Ward is one of the few historians specifically to scrutinise the relationship between missionaries and Asians in British Columbia. In "The Oriental Immigrant and Canada's Protestant Clergy, 1858-1925" he discusses missionary attitudes toward Asian immigrants at length, comparing them to the attitudes of other clergymen in British Columbia. However, his account is androcentric; he all but ignores the presence of women workers in the missions, and pays little heed to the possibility that these workers may have held different views from the local clergy.\(^{32}\)

Some historians have noted the links between the social reform movement in general, the social gospel movement, and missionary work among non-Anglo-Saxons.\(^{33}\) In discussing some of these connections Richard Allen maintains that one of the social gospel's "most important functions was to forge links between proposed reforms and the religious heritage of the nation, in the process endowing reform with an authority it
could not otherwise command." Further, in his introduction to *The Social Gospel in Canada* he states that "[t]he Social Gospel addressed the whole problem, not just of individuals, not just of informal social groups, but of institutions and institutional relationships in society." It is possible that Methodism's commitment to social reform, as evidenced by that church's enthusiasm for the social gospel, is partly responsible for the pre-eminent place that the United Church missions attained in the Japanese Canadian community by 1931. If Methodist missionaries encouraged Japanese Canadians to view some of their problems as institutional rather than individual, this may have prompted the Japanese Canadians to adopt a more dynamic approach in attempting to find solutions. No proof of this assertion is evident; however it is reinforced by the fact that the majority of the most articulate spokespeople for the Japanese Canadian community were members of the United Church.

As Allen observed, Anglicanism was not a strong contributor to the social gospel movement. For the first two decades of the twentieth century the Anglican church in Canada was, indeed, a thoroughly conservative institution, most of whose leaders maintained that social reform should be slow, cautious and evolutionary. The real work of the church, according to proponents of this view, was to bring about the personal conversion of individuals, not the reform of society as a whole. Progressives within the Anglican church were not able to overcome the conservatives' outlook until 1915. At that time, according to Edward Pulker, the Anglican Committee on Moral and Social Reform justified the church's involvement in the problems of social reform by pointing out the corporate relationship between individuals and society; members of society were interdependent and therefore responsible for the welfare of each other. Even after this date, however, the Anglican Church still remained essentially aloof from the social gospel movement as such.

Religion played an important part in the everyday lives of most people in the first decades of the twentieth century. In *Decades of Discord* John Herd Thompson and
Allen Seager examined the 1921 census and noted that "the importance of religious affiliation in Canadian life in 1921 is illustrated by the fact that only 22,000 of 8.8 million respondents asked to be enumerated in the category 'no religion.'" Various biographies of notable public figures, such as Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell's biography of Charlotte Whitton, and Michael Hayden's biography of Hilda Neatby, underline this point through their discussions of the importance of religion in the lives of the women they study.41

Yet contemporary historians have only begun to seriously consider the importance of religion in shaping the lives of nineteenth and early twentieth century Anglo-Canadian women. Recently, some historians have argued that in nineteenth century England, Canada and the United States, "religion became the particular preserve of women."42 Despite this, women in these countries were limited to an ancillary, menial role in the church, one which mirrored their position within their societies.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, in response to rapid demographic, social, economic and political changes, middle-class Anglo-Canadian women were attempting to obtain a larger measure of power and autonomy. In defending their desire to go beyond the narrow limits of the 'private' sphere, most women who fought for women's rights built on the domestic ideology which had heretofore restricted them, claiming that "woman's special role as mother gives her the duty and the right to participate in the public sphere."43 Linda Kealey has designated this conviction "maternal feminism" in order to distinguish it from the more radical stance of equal rights feminists who argued that women were quite simply the equals of men and should be treated accordingly.44

According to Rosemary Gagan, women's missionary societies were among the first women's organizations to capitalize on "the ideals of domesticity to justify their actions."45 Thus the presence of Anglo-Canadian women in the British Columbia missions, either as volunteers, paid workers, or professionally trained missionaries, was part of a larger movement of middle-class women into the public domain.
Linda Kealey states that "most reformers and feminists accepted organized religion and worked in church or non-denominational religious organizations." Nonetheless, even after acknowledging this she, like most historians, concentrates on women's secular activities in her discussion of the expansion of women into public life. Due to shifts in demographic patterns, she notes, more middle-class Anglo-Canadian women were entering the professions of medicine, teaching, nursing, and later journalism and social work. Ironically, even after gaining access to the professions, under the new constraints of maternal feminism most career- and reform-minded women continued to work within the domestic sphere (albeit a greatly enlarged domestic sphere), by gravitating to the 'helping professions' enumerated above, and concentrating on providing services for women and children.

In discussing middle-class women's various efforts at social reform, Carol Lee Bacchi contends that in part they were looking for fulfilment outside their normal sphere of activity. Regardless of the rhetoric, Bacchi explains, housekeeping was a low status occupation, and many women "looked for activities which would win them greater respect." She goes on to say that by the late nineteenth century it "became necessary and acceptable for women to work [outside the home] . . . . Those who remained housewives took advantage of the leisure created by new domestic innovations to participate in extra-familial activities." Thus Bacchi provides another reason why middle-class women sought greater access to public life through professional careers and voluntary activities.

Still, while women were successful in gaining formal political equality through winning the vote, wider access to educational institutions, and grudging acceptance of their right to work for pay outside the home, Veronica Strong-Boag asserts that "[t]o a large extent there was no great discontinuity with the past." She argues that "opportunities in paid employment and public life, while they expanded in these decades [1920s and 1930s], finally were critically limited by the assumption that
women's over-riding duty was to shoulder almost all of the labour of the domestic sphere.\footnote{51}

Women continued to shoulder a substantial amount of the work of the church as well, although their efforts were seldom given much acknowledgement. Yet by accepting the tenets of maternal feminism women made a commitment to social service which, as Katherine Ridout contends, "was a decisive factor in shaping the course of Canadian Protestantism as it entered the twentieth century."\footnote{52} This commitment was an important influence in shaping the course of twentieth century Canadian society as well.

Even that most conservative of Protestant denominations, the Anglican church, did not escape the influence of maternal feminism. Indeed, the church simultaneously repudiated and capitalized on it. In The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930, Brian Heeney notes that in England many Anglican church leaders "were confirmed anti-feminists who believed in the subordination of women to men and the propriety of the separate spheres."\footnote{53} Despite this, Heeney argues, "the sheer extent of women's participation as volunteer workers was immense."\footnote{54} Women aided their pastors by functioning as district visitors, Sunday School teachers, and fund-raisers. Moreover, by the turn of the century women obtained paid employment within the church as well. Increasingly, in the first decades of the twentieth century, women who sought deaconess and missionary positions in the church enhanced and solidified their professional standing by attending training courses. Nonetheless, their position remained subordinate to that of male church employees.\footnote{55}

While Heeney's study concentrates solely on the impact of feminism on the Anglican church in England, many of his observations are pertinent to developments in Canada as well. As in England, women performed many pastoral duties within their parishes. Likewise, a small number of Anglican women in Canada desired paid employment in the church. At the same time, the church hierarchy was struggling to reconcile its position on women's proper place with the trend toward the
professionalization of its largely disregarded, but nevertheless essential, female
workforce. Alison Kemper reports that when a deaconess order was first contemplated
in Canada "one of the most difficult challenges . . . was to speak the praises of a new
role for women without calling into question the virtues of traditional women's roles." The alumni association of Wycliffe College eventually overcame these difficulties and
founded the Church of England Deaconess and Missionary Training Home in Toronto
in 1893. By the 1920s the church was actively attempting to recruit young women as
missionaries and deaconesses. However it was still unwilling to grant them salaries and
status equal to their male co-workers.

The Anglican church was not the only denomination in Canada struggling with
the newly evolving women's roles. John D. Thomas states that "the Methodist deaconess
movement harboured a narrow conception of women's church work, illustrating the
extent to which organized religion constricted and subordinated the contributions of its
women workers." However, Methodist deaconesses themselves did not, apparently,
aspire to a professional ranking more equal to that of male clergy; what they wanted,
according to Thomas, was a standing comparable to that of women missionaries. This
was, he explains, the legacy of maternal feminism.

Achieving equal status with missionaries was difficult, however. Thomas
maintains that the missionary profession gained its prestige through the large number of
highly qualified professional women which it attracted. Many considered that
missionary work was the most alluring career the church offered its female workers.
Rosemary Gagan affirms that this vocation went beyond the "limited opportunities for
women in secular careers." In addition, Kemper notes that a missionary career had "an
exotic and attractive appeal." That this appeal was pervasive is evident from turn of
the century popular literature, in which Gagan found that foreign missionary work had
taken on a "romantic aura."

But beyond the romance of the foreign mission field, missionary work was
attractive because it allowed devout women to pursue Christian activism, to "win souls
for Christ. It gave them a practical and honourable alternative to marriage or spinsterhood. Katherine Ridout points out that "mission work was an acceptable vocation for women because of its connection with the church, but it was still a far less conventional occupation than teaching." Women missionaries who never married were in no way as disturbing as were other women workers who refused the domestic imperative. In all probability it was the combination of the respectability of the work and the romance of the foreign mission field which many women found attractive.

In her study of Presbyterian women missionaries and their supporters, Ruth Compton Brouwer argues that missionary work had a significant impact on Canadian society, and especially on Canadian women's lives, as evidenced by the number of women who belonged to women's missionary societies, the amount of money they raised for the support of missionaries in the field, and the wide circulation of missionary periodicals. She observes that Canadian women were not just involved in the missionary movement, they led it. They built on the notion that women had a special affinity for religious and moral matters, and took advantage of the prevailing notion that only women could reach other women in the mission field.

Missionary work was enthusiastically promoted in a number of women's and children's church groups. For example, Margaret Prang notes that Canadian Girls In Training (CGIT) literature on occupations for young women presented a missionary career as second only to motherhood. While Anglicans had only a limited involvement with the CGIT organization, they too devoted a considerable amount of time to the promotion and support of missionary work in the women's and children's clubs they sponsored within their church.

Wendy Mitchinson first identified the importance of missionary societies for Canadian women in her ground-breaking 1977 article, "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence." She observed that the women's missionary societies of the Protestant churches attracted large numbers of women, many of whom might not otherwise have joined a women's
organization. Further to this she noted that membership in these societies "enabled many women to take their first tentative step outside the domestic sphere . . . . For some, this led to additional involvement in organizations outside the church." Like Brouwer, Mitchinson contended that "through their membership in missionary societies, [women] increasingly became a significant force in the major Protestant denominations."  

Mitchinson observed that the Church of England was the last of the major Protestant churches in Canada to form a women's missionary society. Seven Toronto women were responsible for the foundation of the first Women's Auxiliary (W.A.) in 1885. Like the church itself, the W.A. was based on the diocesan design. The diocese of New Westminster, in which the largest Anglican missions to the Japanese Canadians were located until the 1942 evacuation, comprised the whole of the Lower Mainland. As Mitchinson relates, "each diocese was free to choose its own field of labour." Funds contributed at the parish level were not automatically transferred to the central committee in Toronto for distribution. Instead, members were able to specify the fields in which the money they donated would be dispensed. As Mitchinson points out, the absence of central control reinforced the W.A.'s lack of cohesiveness. Indeed, the church itself exhibited the absence of a high degree of central control until the first General Synod in 1893.

Historians of the Anglican church in British Columbia have tended not to emphasize the work of its female members. Even examinations of the church's missions to Asians, in which W.A. members were the most industrious and numerous workers, have placed greater significance on the activities of male superintendents and clergy than on the day-to-day labours of the female teachers, assistants, volunteers and missionaries. There is some reason for this: after Cassillis-Kennedy arrived in Vancouver in 1914 and took charge of the missions to Japanese Canadians the W.A.'s administrative control diminished; but their voluntary contributions and responsibilities did not. Moreover, despite their overall commitment to administer the missions previous
to Cassillis-Kennedy's arrival, the W.A. was still subordinate to the Bishop of New Westminster and to the clergymen in the parishes. Nevertheless, within the restrictions of their society and their church, middle-class Anglican women did undertake to assist Japanese immigrants and their children to adjust to Canadian society. Their efforts were significant, regardless of how such endeavours are judged in retrospect.

Susan Mann Trofimenkoff maintains that "feminist biography allows us to see women as actors." She notes that this form gives concrete examples of theoretical abstractions and tests generalizations about society, social movements, processes of change, and female behaviour. For this reason the present thesis is structured along the lines of a collective biography.

The unifying factor for many of these women was the mission itself. Indeed, the history of the mission and the history of the women who worked in it are intertwined. Therefore, rather than tracing the mission workers' lives through a standard birth-to-death format, the thesis follows the life course of the mission instead, examining the relevant particulars of its women workers as they emerge. Accordingly, the thesis is divided chronologically according to the major developments in the mission's history.

Source materials for less prominent members of society are notoriously incomplete and difficult to secure. Such indeed is the case in this study. However, a careful perusal of available archival sources has unearthed a variety of primary documents, such as letters, minutes, application forms and internal and external reports. Taken together, these provide a relatively complete picture, albeit with gaps due to the vagaries of collection and storage procedures. However, it has been impossible to trace completely the life course of a number of individuals, most notably the majority of the mission's voluntary workers.

The incomplete nature of the documentary sources has been considerably compensated for with information gathered in interviews with three former
missionaries, all of whom worked for the mission from the 1930s through to the post-war period. Much of the factual detail in the stories these women tell has been corroborated by the documentary sources, but more importantly, their evidence has added a further qualitative dimension which is unavailable in most written reports.

Despite the notable contributions of Rosemary Gagan, Ruth Compton Brouwer and Katherine Ridout, historical studies of Canadian women missionaries are rare. For Anglican women missionaries they are virtually non-existent. This study is aimed at filling a portion of that gap in the historical record.
NOTES


2. See Lyndon Grove, *Pacific Pilgrims*, (Vancouver: Fforbez Publications Ltd., 1979), passim. Although this book is primarily concerned with the male clergy who were involved in the early development of Anglican Church in British Columbia, the author does discuss the positions many of these men held in British Columbian society, and their backgrounds, and from time to time he mentions some of the activities of their wives and children. In combination with the pamphlet outlining the history of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Church of England in Canada, New Westminster Diocesan Board, entitled *Through the Years 1904 – 1954*, [Vancouver: New Westminster Diocesan Board, 1954?], it becomes apparent that many of the W.A. officers were among the social elite of Vancouver.


6. As quoted by Lyndon Grove in *Pacific Pilgrims*, 95.


8. *Regina Standard*, April 9, 1896, 1. "Good Citizens – A Synopsis of Two Addresses by R.G. MacBeth, M.A., Winnipeg, in Knox Presbyterian Church in Regina, April 3 & 4, 1896." The length of his involvement in this struggle is indicated by his service as a lieutenant in No. 1 Company, Winnipeg Light Infantry, with General Strange's column, during the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, as well as by his comments in these two lectures and in his book, *Our Task in Canada*, (Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd., 1912).


11. Ibid., 248.


24. *Ibid*. See also 171.


36. Of the roughly 30% of Japanese Canadians who were Christians in 1935, fully three-quarters were members of the United Church. See Rigenda Sumida, "The Japanese in British Columbia," (Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1935), 132.


44. _Ibid._, 7-8.


47. _Ibid._, 1.

48. Carol Lee Bacchi, _Liberation Deferred?,_ 16.

49. _Ibid._, 22.


51. _Ibid._, 217.


54. Ibid., 19.

55. Ibid., 58.


57. Ibid., 178.

58. Ibid., 171.


60. Ibid., 393-95.

61. Ibid., 381-82.


63. Kemper, 183.

64. Gagan, 112.

65. Ibid., 114.

66. Katherine Ridout, 213.


71. Mitchinson, 58.


73. Mitchinson, 63.


CHAPTER ONE

"The Love of Christ Constraineth Us," 1903–1927

a feeling prevailed that a work so much our own and in our own city, should be supported by us...¹

Thus in 1906 members of the New Westminster diocesan branch of the Women's Auxiliary (W.A.) to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (M.S.C.C.) justified augmenting the support they provided to the first occidental missionary to be appointed to work specifically among the Japanese immigrants in Canada. It is significant that these women saw this work as both their creation and their responsibility, for it suggests the central role women were to play in the Anglican missions to the Japanese in Canada throughout its history. From the moment of its inception in 1903, Anglican missionary work among Japanese immigrants in Canada was performed almost entirely by women.

Prior to 1903 Japanese evangelists, converted to Christianity by missionaries in Japan, ministered to their fellow immigrants in British Columbia.² The Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican churches had established organized missions to the Chinese in British Columbia in the 1880s and 1890s,³ and the Methodists had begun to admit Japanese women and children to their Rescue Home for Chinese Girls in Victoria,⁴ but the Anglican effort was the first endeavour organized by occidental members of a Canadian church to be directed specifically at the Japanese.

The first occidental Anglican missionary was Miss Kathleen O'Melia, apparently a former teacher at a Chinese private school.⁵ She was given her commission to work among the Japanese by Father H.G.F. Clinton of Vancouver's St. James Church. Located on Cordova Street, this church was in the heart of what was soon to become the largest Japanese community in Canada. The Anglican mission was distinct from subsequent endeavours by other denominations in that it was initiated and to a large
degree sustained by the women of the local occidental parishes. Their support came in
spite of the strong anti-Japanese sentiment which prevailed in the province from the
turn of the century until after the Second World War.6

Although in many cases it has been difficult to gather complete, precise, and
verifiable biographical data on these early mission workers and their W.A. supporters, it
is possible to trace what they did, to situate their work within its social context, and to
draw some tentative conclusions as to their motivations for becoming involved with the
mission. The obstacle in gathering concrete evidence with regard to the backgrounds of
these women – their social and economic status, their education, personal attainments
and professional experience, and even their place of origin – is primarily a result of the
scarcity of sources for the early period of the mission, and the practice, in the primary
source documents, of referring to only their surnames or the names of their husbands,
when the names of the women are given at all. However, it has been possible to piece
some of this information together, and from what is available a remarkably consistent
pattern emerges.

Miss O'Melia was one of the few Anglo-Canadian workers who, in the first
twenty-five years of the mission's history, were paid for their efforts. Eleven of the
eighteen women workers who were recorded as having worked in this mission between
1903 to 1927 did their work on a voluntary basis, at least initially. Throughout the
development of the mission the roles of the workers remained essentially the same: they
were teachers, evangelists, and, to a limited degree, social workers.

These women were, for the most part, immigrants from Britain or central
Canada; middle-class and 'comfortably-off', although in general not extremely wealthy;
civic-minded, and regular communicants at their local church. In the pages of the city
directories of Vancouver many of the women appear are shown to have been linked by
marriage or parentage to the newly established business and religious community in the
Lower Mainland. Those single women who were employed outside the home worked as
public school or music teachers and they usually lived with their parents, who were
themselves often engaged in some aspect of the work in the mission. Married women tended to wait until their children were grown before they volunteered their services, and their husbands were usually businessmen, clergymen, or retired.\footnote{7}

Another group of women who became active in the work of the mission from the 1920s on were Japanese. Because they believed Japanese Christians were powerful influences as role models, the mission sponsors perceived the involvement of the Japanese women to be important to the success of the missionary endeavour.\footnote{8} There was also the practical consideration that, with the absence of a language barrier, these women could get the message across more easily and clearly than Anglo-Canadian women.

Japanese women performed the same functions within the mission as the occidental women, but most often in a junior capacity. This may have been justified on the grounds that they lacked facility with English or because some Japanese workers were not yet full members of the church. It may also have been motivated, perhaps unconsciously, by a commonly held notion about the inherent inferiority of non-Anglo-Saxons.

Single Japanese women were frequently, like their occidental counterparts, trained teachers, but unlike their white colleagues the single Japanese women were generally paid for their efforts from the beginning of their involvement in the work. Following the general practice of the church, married Japanese women almost invariably worked in a voluntary capacity. Their husbands were usually either members of the clergy or lay workers for the church.\footnote{9}

The mission developed in accordance with the needs of the Japanese immigrant population, as they were understood by the supervisors of the work. Principal among these needs was English language instruction, but in examining the development of the missions it is important to keep in mind that at the same time the Japanese were, in growing numbers, utilizing the mission services they were also attempting to maintain
their own language and culture through such avenues as the Japanese Language School and various cultural and benevolent associations.¹⁰

According to one report Miss O'Melia began her work among the Japanese privately.¹¹ Whether the mission was established as a private effort or as a result of Father Clinton's encouragement, most sources agree that Miss O'Melia initiated her work in the spring of 1903 in rented rooms at 506 Pender Street.¹² If the mission was established privately by Miss O'Melia, she must have been in contact with Father Clinton shortly thereafter, because from very early in the history of the mission her efforts were supported and supervised by a committee from the St. James church.¹³ Initially she offered a Bible class on Sunday afternoons, with an average attendance of nine or ten, as well as a day school, which was held "regularly"¹⁴ during the week and for which fees were charged. A visitor to the mission in 1906 wrote that "Miss O'Melia . . . is devoted, even to the extent of endangering her health. She could hardly be induced to take even a week's holiday, but from early morning till after ten at night, is to be found at her post, teaching those who come."¹⁵

Unnamed volunteers taught English in the evenings in the mission,¹⁶ but for the most part in the first few years of the mission's existence Anglo-Canadian church members restricted themselves to raising money for the work. In 1904 women in the local parishes of the New Westminster diocese organized a diocesan Women's Auxiliary,¹⁷ and thereafter this body contributed $180 per annum toward Miss O'Melia's salary and $100 per annum towards the mission's maintenance costs. Beginning in 1905 the General Board of the W.A. also provided an annual $100 subsidy to Miss O'Melia's wages.¹⁸ The administrators of both the national and the local W.A.s considered Miss O'Melia's earnings to be far less than adequate remuneration, and in 1906 both groups began to canvas the W.A.s in other dioceses across the country.

In 1905, the St. James parishioners built the Holy Cross Mission on Cordova St., one block away from its parent church. The mortgage on this building was $4400, and
although in the initial period half of the premises were rented out in order to help defray costs, the rest of the money for payments was raised through students' fees and through private subscriptions.\textsuperscript{19} Initially the mission was an educational facility, not a church as such, and so Japanese communicants were still welcome to attend services at St. James Church. Religious education, within the context of English language instruction, was the main preoccupation in the mission, and in 1904 a report to the General Synod described the progress of the scholars as "encouraging".\textsuperscript{20}

As the size of the Japanese immigrant population grew, so too did the exigencies of Miss O'Melia's job. An editorial in the September 1907 issue of the W.A.'s national magazine, the Letter Leaflet, suggested that the greatest requirement of this mission was "an enlargement of the building so as to enable Miss Omelia [sic] to take in as boarders some of the number of Japanese who are constantly applying to her for that purpose."\textsuperscript{21} Boarding prospective converts in missionary residences was not unusual in overseas missions where, most often, the missionary's wife was responsible for their instruction.\textsuperscript{22} Since Miss O'Melia was working more or less independently she would have had to bear the bulk of the extra responsibility for these boarders on her own. It is not clear whether or not she did eventually take in boarders.

Initially Miss O'Melia did not believe herself to be sufficiently fluent in Japanese to perform her duties adequately, so in 1904 one of her students was hired as a catechumen and interpreter. She learned the language very quickly, however, and in 1907, when her interpreter failed to return from a visit to Japan, she informed the local church administration that as "she was perfectly competent now to manage without a Japanese interpreter she decided to carry on the work without one, and do the Catechist work herself."\textsuperscript{23} As a result of her initiative she was granted the catechist's salary and instructed to hire "helpers for herself in the teaching work out of the grant that she has as Japanese Teacher."\textsuperscript{24} Rather than living on the catechist's salary, which only amounted to $180 per annum, and on its own represented a drop in her pay, it seems likely that she instead pooled her income, living on and paying for her assistant
out of the total of $460 per annum. In 1909 a Miss Flower was hired as Miss O'Melia's assistant.\textsuperscript{25}

Initially, given the 'sojourning' nature of the Japanese immigrant community in the early years of the twentieth century, Miss O'Melia's students were all men,\textsuperscript{26} but not long after the mission was established Japanese women also became students. There are no conclusive figures to indicate how many Japanese women were living in British Columbia before 1909, but by that year there were approximately 300, all, apparently, in the Vancouver region.\textsuperscript{27} Thousands more Japanese women were to arrive between 1909 and 1928, mostly as 'mail-order' or 'picture' brides. These women were married in Japan, by proxy, to men living in Canada. After the marriage was registered in Japan the women were permitted to join their new husbands in this country. Many couples had not met prior to their marriage.

Historians usually attribute the picture bride phenomenon to the "Gentlemen's Agreement" which was signed by Canada and Japan in 1907. Roughly speaking, this agreement limited to 400 per year the number of unsponsored Japanese men allowed to emigrate from Japan to Canada, but placed no restrictions on the number of wives and children allowed to join their husbands here. Patricia E. Roy asserts that whether or not the "Gentlemen's Agreement" had anything to do with it, the arrival of the picture brides "did mark the end of sojourning and the beginning of permanent settlement."\textsuperscript{28}

With the shift in the immigration pattern away from predominantly male 'sojourners' to predominantly female 'picture brides,' and the subsequent rise in the number of Japanese-Canadian births, Christian missions throughout the province turned from an emphasis on providing services for adult men, to services for women and children. If nothing else this move was justified by the force of numbers. Between 1920 and 1931 over 14,000 Japanese-Canadian children were born, nearly all in British Columbia, with an average of just over 1000 born each year between 1920 and 1926 and an average of slightly over 1450 born each year between 1927 and 1931.\textsuperscript{29} By 1934 almost half the Japanese-Canadian population was second-generation, or Nisei, and of
those about 3000 were preschool children. The median age of the Nisei by 1934 was 13.52.\textsuperscript{30}

In 1909 the next Anglican mission was established, this time entirely at the initiative of the New Westminster diocesan W.A. This effort was particularly aimed at the growing number of Japanese women and children. The mission was first located at Fairview and Second Avenue in Vancouver, near the Japanese community which had grown up close to the lumber mills in the Fairview district.

A local woman, Mrs. Fanny Patrick, was given charge of the Fairview mission. She held a teaching certificate and was reported to have some experience in teaching 'Orientals'. It is not clear how she got this experience or whether or not she could speak Japanese. For the first two years Mrs. Patrick worked entirely on a voluntary basis, but in 1911, for some unstated reason, she was "obliged to become a paid worker."\textsuperscript{31} This may have been occasioned by the illness or retirement of her husband Samuel.\textsuperscript{32} From then on her salary was paid by the New Westminster W.A., while the maintenance and other operating costs of the mission were covered by individual parish branches within the diocese. The mission was divided into three departments - a Sunday School, a sewing class for women and girls and reading class for women, and an "ungraded day school, including kindergarten and public school studies." The diocesan W.A. donated pictures and supplies for the school, and a report to the diocesan synod for 1911 noted that these items considerably aided in the school's success, as did the neatness and cleanliness of the mission.\textsuperscript{33}

Those who knew her recall that Mrs. Patrick was a forceful, determined woman. The 1911 report on her work related that Mrs. Patrick acted as adjudicator in many of the domestic concerns of her clientele.\textsuperscript{34} She campaigned effectively for garbage collection and sidewalks in the area,\textsuperscript{35} and her mission soon became central in the life of the Japanese-Canadian community in Fairview as a local information bureau.

By 1912 the mission had outgrown its first site, and a larger building called variously Holy Trinity or the Mission of the Ascension was constructed at 1622 West
Second Ave., a short distance away from the original mission station. In addition to operating the school, in 1912 Mrs. Patrick reported visiting Japanese women in their homes and offering them after-school English and domestic science classes. She also taught English to the men in the evenings, receiving lessons in Japanese in return. The Fairview mission grew quickly, and Mrs. Patrick came to rely heavily upon women volunteers to assist her in her teaching duties. Among these volunteers was Miss Millicent Wright, variously the diocesan W.A.'s recording secretary, treasurer and president, who began volunteering in the mission in 1911. In 1912 Miss Ida Withers, a music teacher who had recently emigrated from England with her family, also offered her services as a volunteer.

In late 1912 or early 1913 Miss O'Melia unexpectedly precipitated a crisis by "defecting" to the Roman Catholic order of the Sisters of the Atonement, which had just set up its mission to the Japanese across the street from Holy Cross. Many of her helpers and followers went to the Catholic mission with her and, as a result, the Anglican mission foundered for some years after. Miss O'Melia's move was such a shock and embarrassment that very few allusions to it exist in the primary source documents. A Miss Porter took over the work at Holy Cross, assisted by Bernard Oana, one of Miss O'Melia's former students who was at that time a catechumen and who later joined the Anglican priesthood. In reality Holy Cross existed for the next few years "in name only". The Fairview mission, however, continued to prosper.

A 1914 report to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (M.S.C.C.) on the mission to the Japanese in British Columbia stated that '[f]or some time those in authority in the Diocese of New Westminster have felt that a greater effort should be made to Christianize those "Strangers within her gates," so a missionary of some years' experience in Japan was brought from there to undertake the oversight of the work.'

'Those in authority' mainly referred to Archdeacon F.C.C. Heathcote, a strong supporter of the Japanese mission. The 'missionary of some years' experience in Japan' was Rev. Frank W. Cassillis-Kennedy, M.A., L.Th., who, with his family, arrived in Vancouver
from Japan in the fall of 1914. Kennedy, a native of Ontario, was a graduate of Trinity College in Toronto, and had been an M.S.C.C. missionary in Japan for some 21 years. He officially became superintendent of the Anglican missions to the Japanese in Canada at the end of the year.

It is unclear whether or not Miss O'Melia's sudden defection served as the impetus to send for Rev. Kennedy. It was possibly a consideration, but it is also likely that the work had simply grown to such an extent that the diocesan administration determined that it was time for a clergyman and/or professional missionaries to take charge of the mission. Whether it indicated an assumption that the women workers needed a firm hand to guide them or just an impression that the work had expanded beyond the abilities of the volunteers from the diocesan W.A. to manage, a report on the work delivered to the New Westminster diocesan synod declared that "we need a priest who can speak the Japanese language to supplement and take control of these efforts." Another factor which may have played an important role was the growing trend toward professionalization in all areas of social service provision, such as education, health, and social welfare, which was becoming evident throughout the western nations at this time.

Rev. Kennedy's presence in British Columbia demonstrated to at least one local bishop

the essential identity of our missionary problems at home and abroad and an indication of the method by which the wealth of experience gained in the broad fields of the foreign sphere may be brought to bear with increasing force upon some of the difficulties connected with the work in Canada.

The identification of the work among the Japanese in British Columbia with foreign mission work in Japan had an impact on several levels. It served to raise the status of this field from that of the home missions, which were neither as successful nor as romantically appealing as the foreign missions. This rise in status implied that the work could no longer be left in the hands of amateurs. The significance of the endeavour made it imperative, according to Rev. Kennedy, that professional
missionaries be brought in as soon as practicable. The implication was that in this age of professionalization only trained experts could be trusted to do the job properly. It seemed advisable, therefore, that the work should come under the official administration of the M.S.C.C., which had greater access to financial resources, personnel, and administrative expertise.

Steps toward handing over direction of the mission to the M.S.C.C. were taken in 1915 when a composite Oriental Missions Committee was established for British Columbia, with representatives from the Synod and the diocesan W.A. It immediately expressed its concern about the lack of missionary contact with Japanese women and children in other parts of the diocese, which at that time included the Cariboo and Kootenay regions of British Columbia, in addition to the Fraser Valley and Lower Mainland. Accordingly, "an investigation was undertaken to find ways and means of extending the work." From the committee's perspective the results justified a recommendation that the M.S.C.C. should take over the work among the Asian immigrants in British Columbia. A proposal to this effect was presented to the General Synod in 1915 and again in 1917 to the newly organized Provincial Synod of British Columbia. The creation of the Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals (PBMO) under the M.S.C.C. followed shortly after in that year.

The establishment of the PBMO had the effect of taking the work among the Japanese out of the hands of the W.A. and placing it under the ultimate control of male administrators who were overwhelmingly in the majority on the PBMO's administrative committee. A similar phenomenon was also occurring in such other domains as schools, hospitals, and social work. Although the W.A. still maintained a presence at all the board's meetings, and individual members remained closely involved in and supportive of the missions, women were no longer completely responsible for the work.

This removed some of the increasingly heavy financial burden from the W.A. and local parishes. More importantly, it also completely removed the necessity for "mingling" with the Japanese in occidental churches. As long as the local parishes were
actively involved in the work of the missions the Japanese were more likely to be welcomed to Anglo-Canadian church services. It was one way in which they could be encouraged to adopt Christianity. But when the Japanese became the responsibility of an official church body, the tendency was to encourage them to stay in the missions rather than moving to Anglo-Canadian churches when they were sufficiently adept at English to follow the services. This ultimately had the effect of both segregating the 'races' and augmenting racial tensions. Lacking any compulsion to develop associations with the Japanese, occidental church members were free to cultivate negative stereotypes without being forced to confront the reality. The creation of the PBMO had one other negative consequence. In later years it lead to some friction between the women workers and the male-dominated administration. (See chapter 2)

The PBMO attempted to meet the needs of the growing Japanese community by expanding the number of facilities, workers, and programs at its disposal. The missions, however, had to change the types of programs they offered. Mission-run day schools for school-aged children, for example, became increasingly unnecessary. During the first three decades of this century the British Columbia school system expanded and improved. A larger number of better constructed schools became available, staffed by better trained teachers. Most importantly, as more and more Japanese parents decided to settle permanently in British Columbia, a greater percentage of their children enrolled in the province's public schools. While there was agitation, from time to time, on the part of anti-Asian pressure groups to exclude or segregate children of Asian origin, before the mid-1920s Japanese children were granted, on the whole, unhindered access to the province's educational facilities. Indeed, British Columbia's public school teachers generally welcomed Japanese Canadian children as they were well-behaved and excellent students.

Through the 1910s and 1920s kindergartens became increasingly the central focus of the missionary effort. With greater numbers of children going to public school, Japanese parents, mission workers, and school teachers agreed that there was a greater
need for preschool training, especially to provide the ancillary preparation and exposure to English that could increase the chances of success at public school for Japanese Canadian children. The mission workers also continued to offer training in Western domestic skills to mothers, night school English classes for adults, and various other clubs and activities, but the majority of the women who became involved in the mission in these years worked in the kindergartens.

The mission in Fairview continued to grow dramatically through the late 1910s and early 1920s. By 1919 it had expanded to such a degree that a paid part-time assistant for Mrs. Patrick was hired. In 1920 a larger mission, generally called as the Church of the Ascension, was constructed on Third Ave. near Burrard, with a big schoolroom and chapel on the main floor and living quarters for mission workers above. Two new kindergarten teachers, Mrs. Frank Brown and Miss Kawai (no first name) were added to the staff, and Miss Lois Masui Yao, a Japanese kindergarten teacher trained in Japan, was hired as an assistant teacher. In addition, Miss Withers and other W.A. members continued to volunteer their services.

The Anglican missionary effort began expanding into other localities as well. The Church of the Ascension mission established an outstation in Marpole, which is now part of South Vancouver, around 1919. The mission there started with a Sunday School and expanded to include a kindergarten about 1925. This kindergarten was initially put under the direction of Miss Mabel Colton, a volunteer and recent emigrant from England. In 1921 Mrs. Patrick was forced to resign due to illness, and Miss Eleanor M. Rowland took over as superintendent of the Ascension mission, a job which she held until about 1925.

By 1920 the Holy Cross mission had recovered from the O'Melia crisis and was reported to be thriving under the care of Bernard Oana, one of Kathleen O'Melia's former students. Rev. Oana was raised to the priesthood in that year, after finishing his practical training in Japan. While in Japan he met and married the principal of a Japanese Christian girl's school. Mrs. Oana (her first and maiden names were not given
in any of the available documentation), in the manner of most wives of missionaries, played a central, though unpaid, role in the work among women and children in the Holy Cross mission. This mission, too, opened an outstation, this one in the Heaps (East Vancouver) district. Separate to these developments in Vancouver, a mission in Prince Rupert was established in 1918 under the direction of a Japanese catechist.\footnote{\textsuperscript{58}}

On the strength of its having a Japanese priest, Rev. Kennedy and the PBMO considered Holy Cross 'fully organized', whereas for lack of a native Japanese clergyman the Ascension mission still held a junior status. This signifies the importance, by that time, of 'native' Japanese religious workers, especially male workers, in the minds of the PBMO's directors. They believed Japanese workers were more effective in influencing other Japanese to convert to Christianity. In addition, Rev. Kennedy assumed that Japanese clergymen would provide leadership to the youths, thus retaining them once they became too old for Sunday School.

It is relevant, at this juncture, to examine the social context of British Columbia as it pertains to Anglo-Canadian – Japanese relations, the class structure, and the position of women in British Columbia society and in the church, for it is within this context that the workers' motivations for establishing, supporting and working in the missions can be drawn.

For British Columbia's Japanese immigrants, discrimination, restriction, prejudice and outright exploitation emanating from mainstream white society were the unavoidable and unwelcome realities of everyday life from the turn of the century until after the Second World War. Increasingly tight restrictions were placed on the numbers and types of Asian immigrants allowed to settle in Canada between 1901 and 1928.\footnote{\textsuperscript{59}} The naturalization process was made more difficult for Japanese nationals. The provincial and federal governments remained adamant in their refusal to grant the franchise to Asians.\footnote{\textsuperscript{60}} By law or custom Japanese were either altogether excluded from or had restricted access to the professions of pharmacy, engineering, law, chartered
accountancy, public school teaching, nursing, undertaking, lumbering, mining, and the civil service. Efforts to force them out of the fishing industry were beginning in earnest. In pursuits such as farming and small business proprietorship, demands for restrictions on Japanese land ownership and access to business licenses became more strident as the era wore on. The Japanese were also segregated socially, for instance being relegated to certain sections of movie theatres and to certain days and times at public swimming pools. Japanese-Canadians met whites on relatively equal terms only as students in public school classrooms.

Economic and cultural factors have been cited in explanations of these manifestations of racism. According to Patricia Roy, white British Columbians became united on the 'Asian question' under a perceived threat of economic competition. The working class felt this threat first and most acutely because their employers routinely paid Asian workers substantially less than white workers, whose wages and working conditions were not enviable to begin with. Other than those who belonged to strong labour unions, few workers in turn-of-the-century Canada had any control over the terms under which they laboured. The employers dictated those terms, generally in such a way as to guarantee that the workers did little better than subsist until illness, injury or old age forced their retirement.

Excluded from white trade unions, Japanese workers had even less protection from exploitation by their employers than their white co-workers. That Chinese and Japanese workers had little choice but to accept lower wages and consequently lower standards of living was either not understood or was ignored by most Anglo-Canadians.

By the turn of the century members of the middle-class also began to perceive the threat of competition, and thus endorsed the restriction of Japanese immigration and access to the professions, business licenses, and most importantly, the vote. Indeed, among the 2000 paid-up members of the Asiatic Exclusion League, which was founded
in 1907, were "members of Vancouver’s political and social elite including Mayor Alexander Bethune as well as trade union leaders."68

According to Roy, "[t]he early history of the Japanese in British Columbia demonstrates how racial antagonisms appeared only after members of that race became an economic threat to white men."69 She states that before large-scale Japanese immigration began British Columbians tended to hold the Japanese in higher esteem than the Chinese, some believing that "the Japanese were more intelligent than most European races." However, between the 1891 census, when there were, according to Roy, too few Japanese to be counted, and 1911, when Japanese immigrants numbered 9021, these sentiments changed. "British Columbians began to ascribe to the Japanese some of the same unfavourable characteristics associated with the Chinese." Indeed, by 1914 Roy reports that white British Columbians feared the Japanese more than the Chinese, and they did this because "in certain economic activities, Asians were ‘superior.’"70

An alternative exegesis is well expressed by Bolaria and Li who noted in their *Racial Oppression in Canada* that one of the uses of racism was to keep the working class divided.71 In British Columbia competition was artificially fostered between Anglo-Canadian and Japanese workers by defining the latter as 'alien' and therefore inferior, and on the basis of this definition assigning less value to their work. It is important to keep in mind that although the Anglo-Canadians perceived the Japanese as competitors, the Japanese gave no indication that they considered themselves as such.

Whether or not the economic threat the Japanese Canadians were said to pose was real, what is clear is that low wages forced Japanese immigrants to live more frugally and work harder than Anglo-Canadians in order to survive, and that the majority of Japanese-Canadians remained very poor.72 Oftentimes, in extreme circumstances, the survival of individuals and families depended upon the support of their community’s welfare organizations, established along traditional prefectural and kinship lines.73
Rev. Kennedy, writing in 1923, assured his readers that there would be no Oriental Problem if the Japanese only had to be taken into consideration, for their number is not great, but when over 30,000 Chinese and East Indians come into the question, as well, totalling about 1200 Orientals to every 10,000 of the British Columbia population the problem becomes acute. From Rev. Kennedy's perspective, "anti-Japanese feeling" was the result of the failure of Anglo-Canadians to differentiate between the Japanese and the much larger immigrant populations from other Asian countries, not because of any threat that the Japanese posed. Indeed, he may have believed the Japanese to be 'superior' to other Asians.

Rev. Kennedy argued that when we find that since 1915 the average number of Japanese children born in Canada per year is about 740, and that practically all of them live in British Columbia, we begin to realize how necessary it is for these children to become Christian [sic]. If they are not taught Christianity they will be Buddhists or Atheists, and a large non-chritian [sic] population in British Columbia will not make matters easier . . . for that province. In this view, the adoption of Christianity by the Japanese might not cause racist sentiments to disappear, but the failure of the second generation of Japanese-Canadians to become Christian would certainly exacerbate the problem. While one must keep in mind Rev. Kennedy's missionary viewpoint, it is interesting to note that he advocated conversion to Christianity not in the interests of 'saving souls for Christ', or protecting Anglo-Canadians from the pagan influences, but in order to ease social tensions. In this sense missionary work among the Japanese could be seen as part of the vigorous 'Canadianization' programme, aimed at all non-British immigrants, which was going on throughout the western provinces at this time.

Rev. Kennedy himself was a strong and vocal opponent of racism in the white community, frequently writing articles, editorials and letters to newspapers and magazines on the subject and speaking at meetings on behalf of the Japanese. According to Timothy Nakayama, his efforts gained him the respect of the Japanese as
well as accusations by some in the white community that he was working for the Japanese government.  

Whether or not the economic threat was a real one, there was another menace that overshadowed it in the minds of many Anglo-Canadians, especially in Western Canada, namely that of social degeneration resulting from the influx of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants. In British Columbia, as elsewhere in Canada, Anglo-Canadians were confident that their culture was superior. However, they feared "that it was not sufficiently well established to withstand Asian influences." The fundamental worry was that Anglo-Canadian culture in British Columbia would be 'swamped' by Asian immigrants. As Dr. S.S. Osterhout wrote in 1917 "if we fail to Christianize them they will in a measure Orientalize us."  

Of course, British Columbia was not the only place in Canada where this danger was perceived, and Asians were not the only group which appeared to pose this threat. Throughout western Canada Anglo-Canadians protested the presence of relatively large numbers of 'unassimilated' non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants because of fears that with superior numerical strength the latter's 'degeneracy' would cause Anglo-Canadian culture to decline. Assimilating these 'inferior races' into Anglo-Canadian society, as far as it was possible given their presumed limitations, was key to overcoming this danger. The main theme between the turn of the century and World War II was "national strength through cultural homogeneity." Assimilation, combined with close ties to Britain, would supposedly guarantee that the superior Anglo-Canadian way of life would prevail. In this regard, however, their phenotypical differences marked Japanese as completely unassimilable, even as they adopted Anglo-Canadian culture. Whereas, eventually, even the 'inferior' Europeans could be absorbed into the Anglo-Saxon 'race', the Japanese could not, due to the prevalence of deep social taboos against intermarriage between Asians and Europeans.
As Roy has noted, "[m]ost Vancouver residents shared the anti-Asian prejudices of North America's west coast."\(^85\) Indeed, Anglicans were among the prominent members of the Asiatic Exclusion League, and an Anglican clergyman, Rev. G.H. Wilson, was among the speakers who protested Japanese immigration to a crowd of between 8000 and 30,000 just prior to the Vancouver riot in 1907.\(^86\)

In this climate of prejudice and fear, what prompted the members of the W.A. to establish missions and work among the Japanese? Class distinctions and religious convictions are important elements in determining the motivations of these women, but underlying it all was the place and role of women of their class in the church and in Canadian society.

The Anglican church at the turn of the century was a very conservative institution, even by Canadian standards. For example, Edward Pulker states that "Anglicans did not become enthusiastic supporters of the historical movement known as the social gospel",\(^87\) essentially because the church administration and much of the laity maintained that social reforms should be slow, cautious, and evolutionary, and in any case the real work of the church was to bring about the personal conversion of individuals, not the reform of society. The church's involvement in the social and economic problems of Canadian society was not endorsed until 1915, the same year it finally gave its official support to prohibition.\(^88\)

Of course, this did not mean that individual Anglicans were not concerned about Canada's social problems, but, according to Pulker, while Anglicans could accept the social gospellers' definition of society as corporate in nature, each member being interdependent and therefore responsible for the other, they had difficulty justifying optimism concerning human nature and the aim of achieving the kingdom of God on earth. For most Anglicans, the notion was that "spiritual conversion changed the individual's orientation from self-centredness to Christ-centredness, with the result the converted person became unselfishly concerned with the welfare of others."\(^89\) In other words, society should be reformed at the individual and not the institutional level.
The conservatism of the church also applied to its stance on the place of women both within society and within the church itself. This is significant, for at this time organized religion was central to the lives of most Canadians, especially among the middle-class. While it was not often acknowledged, women volunteers did a substantial proportion of the work of the church. Despite this, many church leaders firmly believed in the subordination of women to men and the propriety of the separate spheres, maintaining that allowing women to move beyond the limitations of the home would weaken their natural domesticity and thus threaten the family. They justified this position with references to the decrees set out in the book of Genesis and in the Pauline epistles.

By the turn of the century, however, some church leaders were becoming more flexible even on this issue. For instance, the establishment of an Anglican deaconess training home in Toronto indicated that it was becoming more acceptable for single middle-class women to find employment in the public sphere of the church’s operations, and through the formation and administration of the W.A. itself Anglican women were learning of their importance to the Church and the power of organization. However, whether as paid workers or volunteers, Anglican women were held firmly within the traditional male-female hierarchical structure, under the direction of the parish priest and other male administrators.

The middle-class status of the W.A. members and mission workers was critical, first because anti-Asian legislation effectively protected the British Columbian middle-class from the economic threat the Japanese were said to pose. Secondly, on a purely practical level middle-class women, especially married women, who did not have to work outside the home to support themselves, were in a better position than their working-class sisters to participate in voluntary and philanthropic enterprises, simply by virtue of having comparatively more free time at their disposal.

Instead, middle-class women found themselves coming under the pressure of a new social imperative. As Linda Kealey notes, "[a] primarily middle-class women’s
revolt against the uselessness of a dependent existence emerged in late Victorian Canada just as public attention was focusing on a series of social problems which seemed to threaten the smooth path of 'progress'." It was becoming less acceptable for middle-class Anglo-Canadian women to be merely ornamental - they had to be useful members of society as well, employing the special talents they were said to possess as women to serve society. This social imperative presented middle-class women with, among other things, the obligation to 'civilize' and 'Christianize' those of other races and cultures, both abroad and at home. In the case of the Japanese, even if they could not be completely assimilated, they could be converted to Christianity, and therefore 'uplifted'.

In connection with the social imperative to be 'useful' was the growing acceptance in Canadian society, and even, grudgingly, within the Anglican church, of the values of maternal feminism, and along with this the co-optation of the 'new woman' career professional by proponents of maternal feminism. Advocates of maternal feminism encouraged the expansion of the woman's preserve to include such realms of the public domain which related to the care of others as teaching, nursing, and social work. By virtue of their sex all women, whether they were mothers or not, were believed to share the capacity and the instinct to nurture.

Maternal feminists maintained that "woman's special role as mother gives her the duty and the right to participate in the public sphere" but only in those areas of the public domain in which women's nurturing talents could be put to good use. Work on behalf of other women and their children was especially legitimate, and thus the Japanese community in British Columbia, with its large component of women and children, was eminently acceptable as a field of work. Within the missionary society of the Anglican church, the W.A. had a special responsibility both to work among women and children and to help where needed in the home field. Taking all these factors together, and adding the pragmatic consideration of the greater accessibility of the
field, it is not surprising that members of the New Westminster diocesan W.A. chose to focus their efforts on the Japanese in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{100}

The mission to the Japanese in Canada gave British Columbia's Anglican women the opportunity to serve their church, Canadian society, and Japanese-Canadians, while at the same time providing themselves with a socially acceptable outlet for their skills as teachers, social workers, administrators and fund-raisers. It is important to keep in mind, however, that while these were significant motivating factors, the overriding incentive was to 'win souls for Christ,' Rev. Kennedy's 1923 apologia notwithstanding. These women sincerely believed that they were following the command of God in spreading the Gospel. They could not have considered themselves good Christians without doing so.

While the growth of the Anglican missionary effort among the Japanese Canadians was profoundly influenced by the factors outlined above, in 1925 the mission workers and supporters received a new incentive to expand their efforts to provide kindergartens. In this year, for the first time, Japanese Canadian children were segregated in some public schools in the greater Vancouver area. The school board stated that the policy was motivated by the fact that these children lacked sufficient facility in English to cope in a regular classroom, and that once they demonstrated a reasonable command of the language they would be reintegrated. The reason given for the separation was spurious, for among the children segregated in at least one school were some top-ranked students.\textsuperscript{101}

Japanese Canadian parents employed various strategies to counter the segregation of their children. They made strong representations to the school boards through white intermediaries. The Japanese Consul also protested to the school boards on their behalf. Most importantly, in order to halt the segregation of their children on the basis of their lack of English, the parents sent their children to home mission kindergartens run by the Anglican, Methodist and Catholic churches. Classroom teachers were enthusiastic
about these kindergartens, and by 1927 the Canadian Japanese Association reported that virtually every Japanese child in the Lower Mainland between the ages of four and six attended one of these kindergartens prior to entering public school. This strategy appeared to work, for except in Steveston, a fishing village just outside Vancouver with a large Japanese Canadian population, Japanese Canadian children were not further singled out as the targets of public school segregation policies.

Increased demand for kindergarten spaces, and the apparent success of the programme, made the further development in the missions essential. It also prompted a change in the kind of women who did the work. Although volunteers were still essential in order to accomplish the goals of the mission, the work itself was no longer simply a philanthropic endeavour undertaken by concerned citizens. In a word, it became 'professionalized.'
NOTES

See the Letter Leaflet, a monthly publication of the Dominion Women's Auxiliary, 8, 1(Nov. 1906): 11. The name of this publication was changed to the Living Message in 1923.


7. See appendix 1.


9. See appendix 1.


11. Letter Leaflet, 18, 2(Dec. 1906): 57. It is quite possible that the "Chinese private school" to which the city directory refers was in fact this school and that the directory canvassers were mistaken when they reported that her students were Chinese.


14. The sources give no indication of what "regularly" meant, how long the classes were in duration, what the curriculum was, or what teaching method O'Melia used. *Journal of the 23rd Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, Oct. 26 and 27, (1904): 50.

15. *Letter Leaflet*, 18, 2(Dec. 1906): 57. No concrete information is available which gives details about her pupils, such as their names, ages, and occupations, but the general tone of the reports indicates that most of the students were young men, probably between 15 and 30 years old.


17. *Through the Years*, 9.


26. 'Sojourners' were men who travelled to other countries, such as Canada, hoping to make a lot of money quickly and return to Japan as rich men. They did not intend to immigrate, and usually left their families back in Japan.

27. This figure came from a report issued by the Japanese Consul, as quoted in the *Journal of the 29th Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, February 8th and 9th, (1911): 48.


29. These figures are not adjusted for infant mortality rates or immigration.

31. Through the Years, 12.

32. Samuel Patrick first appears in Henderson's City of Vancouver and North Vancouver Directory for 1909, (Vancouver: Henderson's, 1909): 962, with no occupation given. Fanny Patrick's name does not appear at all. The listing is the same in 1910, 1911 and 1912, but in 1913 Fanny Patrick appears, registered as superintendent of the West End Anglican Japanese Mission (p. 1183). Her daughter Grace, a teacher, is listed next, and her husband Samuel comes last, again without any occupation indicated. In Wrigley's British Columbia Directory for 1926, (Vancouver: Wrigley's, 1926): 1153, Samuel Patrick is listed as retired, and Mrs. Patrick's and their daughter's names do not appear. Given that Mrs. Patrick's ninetieth birthday was celebrated in the Church of the Ascension in 1941 (interviews with Grace Tucker and Margaret Foster, May 30, 1990) she would have turned sixty in 1911. It is probable that her husband's age would have been approximately the same, so it is relatively safe to assume that Samuel Patrick had retired, or was close to doing so, in 1911.


34. Ibid.

35. Interview with Margaret Foster, August 3, 1988.

36. Peake, 144.


38. Through the Years, 12.


40. Extract from the Annual General meeting minutes of the Provincial Board of Mission to Oriental in British Columbia, (PBMO), May 2nd, 1929, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada papers, GS 75-103, Series 3-3, Box 72, General Synod Archives of the Church of England in Canada, hereafter the PBMO papers.

41. Report of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada for the year 1914, (n.p., n.d.), 85. The reference to "strangers within her gates" was most likely a reference with a view to J.S. Woodsworth's Strangers Within Our Gates, Or Coming Canadians, which was originally published in 1909. However, even those Anglicans who were unfamiliar with this Methodist tract would have been familiar with the biblical passage in which the phrase was originally used. See Deut. 31:12-13.


43. This trend towards professionalism has been well documented in numerous historical works, especially in the last twenty years. See, for example, Alison Prentice, "Friendly Atoms in Chemistry: Women and Men at Normal School in Toronto," in David Keane and Colin Read, eds., Festschrift For J.M.S. Careless, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Veronica


45. Most Anglican home missions served the First Nations peoples in isolated northern settlements and in residential schools. The church was beginning to lose its enthusiasm for this work by the turn of the century and to turn its attentions to the foreign mission field, especially in Japan.


47. Through the Years, 10.


49. Peake, 145.


54. Canadian Japanese Association, A Few Facts About Japanese School Children in Canada, 1-8. At that time kindergartens were not part of the public school system in British Columbia.

55. Through the Years, 12.


57. Interview with Aya Saegusa, March 18, 1990.


59. Ken Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was: a History of the Japanese Canadians, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 133-139; Cheng Tien-Fang, Oriental Immigration in Canada, (Shanghai, The Commercial Press, 1931), 99-104; Sumida, 104. Chinese immigration was limited by the Head Tax which by 1904 was set at $500 for each Chinese immigrant. This meant that until Chinese immigration was cut off in 1923 only wealthy Chinese could bring their wives and children into Canada. The Japanese, on the other hand, on the strength of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1894 and the
"Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907, did not face a head tax, and had by comparison an easier time immigrating to Canada. However Canada and Japan renegotiated the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1928, and the new treaty limited all Japanese immigration to Canada to 150 persons per year total. The differential treatment accorded Japanese and Chinese immigrants to British Columbia in the first three decades of this century has been linked to, in part, the respective standings, in international politics, of their countries of origin. For a more complete discussion of this issue, see Roy, *A White Man's Province*, passim.

60. Cheng Tien-Fang, 281; Adachi, 155. The handful of returned Japanese-Canadian World War I veterans (151 in all according to an April 1939 story in the New Canadian, a nisei newspaper) were finally granted the franchise in 1931 after a battle in the provincial legislature which resulted in a 18 to 17 vote in favour of the measure, in recognition of the veterans' sacrifice on the battlefield. That privilege, however, did not extend to their children.

61. Sumida, 104.


63. Adachi, 172.

64. For example, see Roy, *A White Man's Province*, passim, and W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever*, passim.

65. Ibid., xvii.


67. This is rather ironic when one considers that members of the middle-class, as employers, created the economic competition between whites and Japanese through racist hiring policies.


70. Ibid., x-xiv and 14-22. Citations from 14, 22, and xiv.


72. Sumida, 177 and 196, tables.


Ibid.


Nakayama, 32.


See Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian*.

Ward, 42.

Linda Kealey, *ibid*.


Roy, *Vancouver: An Illustrated History*, 63.

*Ibid*. One writer maintains that Wilson "begged the mob to act without violence." Lyndon Grove, *Pacific Pilgrims*, Vancouver: Fforbez Publications Ltd., 1979, 74. Whether or not this is true, both he, and later his son, were staunch supporters of organizations aimed at ridding the province of the Japanese Canadians.

Pulker, 7.


Heeney, 9.

Heeney, 6-9.
93. Kemper, passim.

94. Kealey, 1.

95. Ibid., 5.


97. Heeney, 10-14.


99. Ibid., 7.

100. Mitchinson, 63. According to Mitchinson, each diocesan W.A. was free to choose its own field of work.

101. Ashworth, 100.

CHAPTER TWO
"Meeting a Great Need in the Church." 1927–1941

Question: What leads you to desire to become a Missionary?
Answer: Obedience to God's Command and desire for the good of others.¹

The fourteen professional women missionaries who worked in the Anglican mission to the Japanese in British Columbia between 1927 and 1941 shared many characteristics with other women seeking careers in the public domain, especially during the 1920s. With the exception of two who were Japanese-Canadian, these women were all Anglo-Canadian and of middle-class status. All were from urban areas, and nine of the fourteen were from the eastern provinces. Nearly all had at least senior matriculation, and some had attended post-secondary institutions. At least eight had been in the workforce prior to applying to train as missionaries; five of the eight were teachers and the other three worked in offices as clerks or stenographers. The ages at which they applied for training ranged from 20 to 40: the average age was 27. All were single, and indeed would not have been accepted for training had they been married, engaged to be married, or had they had any dependents. They were all devout Anglicans, baptized and confirmed, and were closely involved with the social, educational, and philanthropic activities of their individual parishes.

Many professional women in the interwar period were deeply committed to their work, but what made missionary women unique was their strong sense of religious vocation, or calling, to missionary service. This sense of calling also went beyond the philanthropic desires of the early Anglican mission workers in Vancouver. Unlike the mission's untrained workers, whether paid or voluntary, throughout its history, the professional women missionaries who came to work among British Columbia's Japanese had made a conscious choice to devote their lives to missionary work. This choice
entailed eschewing other options, including marriage, and undertaking a course of professional training in the Deaconess and Missionary Training House in Toronto.

For the Anglo-Canadian women missionaries who worked among the Japanese in Canada, their commitment to their vocation presented them with a clear choice between marriage and a career. As one woman put it, "I felt that to do the work I wanted to do I had to remain unmarried. It was a difficult decision to make, but I never regretted it. I always felt I was doing the right thing. I found fulfillment in my work." Another remarked "I had the opportunity [to marry]. . . . It was a struggle but I felt it was the right thing not to do, to marry. And the children! I love children. I've had thousands of them!" However, the two Japanese-Canadians who became missionaries in these years eventually left the work to marry.

These latter women may have been less career-oriented than their Anglo-Canadian counterparts. If so, this was due, at least in part, to the fact that few employment opportunities were available to young Japanese-Canadian women. They apparently saw missionary work, in part, as a job rather than purely a religious vocation. As a job, mission work served as an eminently 'proper' way to earn a living, and a fairly lucrative one as well, at least by the pay scales to which Japanese-Canadian women were accustomed. As one Japanese-Canadian missionary put it "I got 60 dollars a month for my work. . . . And I thought, 'oh, that's better than housework [domestic service]." This is not to say that they lacked commitment to the missionary ideal of service to others, or that they did not share a belief in the moral imperative to spread the Gospel. They remained deeply committed Christians and continued to do volunteer work in the missions and for the church even after marrying. Unlike their Anglo-Canadian colleagues, however, their decision to become missionaries did not entail a choice to remain unmarried.
For many Anglican women who grew up between 1890 and 1930, and especially those who were members of the middle-classes, social and cultural life centred on the parish. The church had organized activities and clubs for girls of all ages, from preschool to adulthood. As one missionary said, "all of our activities centred around church things, as we grew up. There was always a lot going on." Another noted that "[i]n those days your friends were the people that you went [with] to Sunday School, girls' clubs, Juniors [the junior branch of the Women's Auxiliary, for girls between the ages of six and ten], and Young Peoples' and everything." Interest in the work of the missions was high in these groups, and as with Margaret Prang's findings in her research on the Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT), many meetings in the Anglican girls' and women's clubs were devoted to learning more about the people who lived in areas in which the missions were located, and to supporting missionary work. When 'vocations' were discussed in girls' meetings the missionary profession came second only to motherhood in the hierarchy of careers which girls were encouraged to consider.

According to the pamphlets, college calendars, ads in church magazines, and synod minutes, Anglican women missionary candidates were required to be single, between 19 and 35 years old, possessed of at least two years of high school education, physically strong and in good health, and able to pass an examination of their religious knowledge and commitment. This examination, which took the form of a personal interview, was initially administered by a committee from the applicant's diocese, but through the late 1910s and into the 1920s, as more and more women expressed interest in becoming missionaries and deaconesses, members of the Dominion Board W.A.'s Candidates' Committee conducted the interviews themselves.

In the early 1920s the Candidates Committee became concerned that the educational qualifications for their women missionaries were not sufficiently rigorous to ensure the highest calibre candidates. As a result one committee member investigated the educational standards and training required by the missionary societies of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Protestant Episcopal Church. The implicit aim of the
subsequent report was to point out the need, discerned not only by members of the Anglican missionary society but by those in the societies of other denominations as well, to raise the standards of the profession by raising the educational status of the women who entered it. Although never explicitly stated, it is possible the Committee hoped that by raising the educational prerequisites, they would attract women of higher social status and discourage those of the working class.

The Methodists, according to this report, were unhappy with their minimum educational requirement, which was high school graduation. They thought that at minimum their women missionaries should be Normal school graduates. As a result they were taking steps to recruit practising teachers, especially for work in overseas missions. The Presbyterians, too, were concerned about the level of education of their recruits. According to the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society (WMS) the majority of Presbyterian women who offered themselves for missionary work were influenced to do so at 'summer schools.' They contended that the educational level of most of these women was much too low, and thus "[i]n order to reach a different class a 'Students Secretary' has lately been appointed whose duty it will be to try and influence girls in colleges, and others of good education in Bible classes etc." In contrast to the Canadian societies, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States required all their missionary candidates to be college graduates, a stipulation about which the author of the report made no further comment.

The Candidates' Committee report suggested that since the Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican societies all felt the need to raise their educational standards, they should organize a joint conference for the purposes of coming to an agreement on the subject and helping each other to attain their goals. No further references to this conference have come to light, and so it is unlikely it actually took place. Despite the enquiry the educational requirements of the Anglican missionary society remained unchanged in the interwar period. They were, however, more explicitly set out. Medical missionaries and teachers were required to have specialized training in their field, but
the Anglicans allowed their candidates to take that specialized training at the same time they were training as missionaries. Except in very rare cases all candidates were required to cover the costs of their training themselves.¹²

On the other hand, the United Church WMS, which was organized after the union of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist churches in 1925, raised its standard requirements to oblige applicants for missionary training to have, in addition to a grade 12 education, "professional training and experience."¹³ By 1936 this professional standard was established more conclusively: doctors were required to have a degree in medicine; nurses, the standing of registered nurse; teachers, a first-class or high school teacher's certificate, and kindergarten, music and domestic science teachers to have specialized training and experience.¹⁴

Despite a growing number of Anglican women enquiring about missionary and deaconess training, as well as a chronic shortage of missionaries, especially for the residential schools and the home missions to the First Nations peoples, not all applicants who possessed the W.A.'s minimum qualifications were accepted. Neither were all candidates accepted found to be satisfactory at the end of the three month probationary period. Satisfactory achievement in the required coursework was important in determining the candidate's suitability during this preliminary phase, but most significant was her comportment and attitude.

The women considered unsuitable for missionary work were most often rejected because they were judged to be poor health risks, lacking in missionary purpose, or deficient in common sense and sensitivity to others. For example, at the end of the academic year 1927–28, eight deaconess students completed the first year of training in the Deaconess and Missionary Training House in Toronto, and all but one was found satisfactory. The one who was considered unsatisfactory showed "great lack of judgement in many matters and peculiarities in many things which would seem likely to hinder her work as a deaconess."¹⁵
Presumably, the application form culled out those women who were most obviously unacceptable. Applicants were required to include proof of their baptism and confirmation, affirm that they were regular communicants of the church, state their occupation, "if any", declare that they were not engaged to be married, had no dependents, were not in debt and had no "pecuniary embarrassments". Applicants were also asked whether their parents, if living, approved of their choice of careers. They were questioned about their formal education, their facility in languages other than English, their domestic skills, and their experience in church work and teaching. They were asked what led them to this vocation and how long they had "entertained this desire", what mission field they preferred and why, if they would accept another posting, if they intended to devote their lives to missionary service, and if they had considered the costs of such a career. Next they were asked about their adaptability in uncomfortable situations, whether responsibilities made them anxious, nervous, irritable, or insomniac, if they were active or sedentary in their habits, and in what kinds of physical exercise and recreations they engaged. They were asked if they would accept the rules of the mission field and submit to those in authority there. Finally they were quizzed on their knowledge of church doctrine and the tenets of the Anglican faith.16

Women who chose to become missionaries nearly always wanted to go to the foreign mission field, and indeed those who came closest to the ideal - that is, well-educated, devout, competent and energetic, yet submissive to authority17 - were most often selected for the overseas missions. However, unlike the Methodist missionary society's policy of assigning only well-educated women workers to its foreign fields,18 in designating workers to overseas missions the Anglican missionary society was sometimes willing to overlook shortcomings in their workers' formal education and academic ability, as long as they had certain strengths in other areas: they required good recommendations from their parish; extensive religious knowledge; a strong sense of missionary purpose; proven ability in 'practical' or social service work; excellent health and a sound constitution. This was the case, for example, with Miss Kathleen
Lang, who was sent to Japan as an evangelical worker although she lacked the required academic credentials. This was also the case with Miss Grace Tucker, who formally possessed only an elementary education but came with such high recommendations from the church authorities in her parish and showed such ability in her practical training and theological coursework that she was specifically recommended to the Bishop of mid-Japan. The mission board’s physician, however, would not pass her for overseas work because he considered her underweight, and therefore an unacceptably high health risk.¹⁹

In fact, with the exception of the two Japanese-Canadian women who took their training during the 1930s, all of the professional missionaries who were sent to the Japanese mission in British Columbia before 1941 had been forbidden to work overseas, or were not permitted to return there from furlough, because the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (M.S.C.C.) physicians believed that the women’s health would be at risk in the foreign field. For example, Miss Lang was not permitted to return to Japan after her first furlough because her health was failing. (The sources do not indicate what was the matter.) Instead she was sent to replace Dr. Eleanor Lennox in the mission to the Japanese in Prince Rupert.²⁰

Thus, while Methodist women missionaries who worked in home missions have been described as "the less educated, less experienced and, not coincidentally, often less competent and career-oriented women,"²¹ the majority of the Anglican women missionaries in the Japanese Canadian mission field appear to have had educational qualifications equal to those of their counterparts in foreign fields.²² Indeed, one woman was apparently not accepted for training as an Anglican missionary despite the fact that she held a post-graduate degree from the University of British Columbia, came from a wealthy family in Vancouver's Point Grey, and had proven her competence in her volunteer activities in the Japanese mission kindergartens. Apparently, the reason she was given for her rejection was that she possessed too much education.²³ Miss Dorothy Bingham, a kindergarten teacher who in 1934 replaced one
of the missionaries on furlough, was refused for training because she was drastically
underweight, despite recommendations from the mission staff as to her ability as a
teacher. She continued to work in the missions until at least 1936, after which she
appears to have dropped out of the work.

Of the fourteen missionaries who worked among the Japanese in British
Columbia from 1927 to 1941, all but five were from the eastern provinces – Margaret
Foster, Frances Hawkins, Kathleen Lang, Eleanor Lennox, Grace Tucker, Gertrude
Shore, and Mae Walker were from Ontario, Helen Bailey was from New Brunswick and
Hattie Horobin was from Quebec. Of the remaining five, Cicely Baldwin was the
daughter of a senior missionary couple who worked for the M.S.C.C. in Japan. Her
parents were from Ontario but evidently she was born in Japan. Ida Withers and Mabel
Colton were Englishwomen who immigrated to Vancouver and had been working for
some years as volunteers in the missions to the Japanese prior to applying for training.
Hisaye Hirano and Aya Suzuki were Japanese-Canadian women from Prince Rupert and
Marpole, respectively.

From the available evidence regarding their places of residence, the education
and occupations of their parents, the institutions in which they were educated, the
levels of their education, and the types of occupations they were engaged in prior to
training, the middle-class status of the Anglo-Canadian women seems clear.

That most of the women had careers before becoming missionaries is not
surprising. As Gagan notes, by the turn of the century "the nature of most middle-class
incomes meant that the role of sheltered flowers, or ornaments of the household, was
unattainable" and the parents of many of the women of this class were beginning to
have their daughters educated with a career in mind. Only Tucker, Lang, and
Hawkins did not graduate from high school. Hawkins, Tucker, and Foster were office
workers before they became missionaries, while Bailey and Walker taught public school
for ten years and five years respectively. Withers taught music in Vancouver from her
arrival in 1911 until 1924, when she became a paid worker for the W.A. in the Mission of the Ascension.

Suzuki had Normal school training but, due to the racist hiring policies of nearly all British Columbia school boards, had few prospects of finding employment in British Columbia public schools. Instead she took a year-long course at the Academy of Useful Arts, a domestic science school in Vancouver which many Japanese-Canadian women in the city attended after completing high school. She had intended to establish her own dress-making school before she decided to follow Tucker's and Foster's advice and apply for missionary training.

Dr. Eleanor Lennox, on the other hand, was first a medical doctor and then a kindergarten director before she applied, at the age of 40, to the M.S.C.C. She worked as a missionary in Japan from 1909 until 1927, when the mission board decided that her health might be at risk if she continued to work overseas. She was then reassigned to the Japanese mission in Prince Rupert.

It appears the rest of the professionals in the British Columbia missions found it neither necessary nor desirable to take on paid work outside the home prior to their careers as missionaries. Those who did not undertake paid employment did, however, do volunteer work for the church. Such was the case with Colton, who lived on a sizable inheritance, as well as income from property holdings in England, and yet volunteered a great deal of her time in the Japanese mission in Vancouver. She then went to Toronto for training in 1926.

It is possible that Colton was prompted to go for training after she suffered a personal setback. She taught in the Marpole kindergarten from sometime in the early 1920s, when it was first established, until 1926, when Isabel Schetky, the daughter of the general secretary of the PBMO, was given charge of it. George Schetky was a wealthy financial and insurance broker, who had moved with his family from Fairview to Marpole in 1926. Isabel Schetky was apparently a certificated teacher, and this could explain why she was given the kindergarten in place of Colton. Regardless of the
reason for the substitution, Aya Saegusa reports that Colton was bitterly disappointed at losing the Marpole kindergarten, and it is possible that she sought training because she hoped that might give her more say in where she was sent to work.30

With regard to the training of Anglican women missionaries, before 1921 most W.A. missionary candidates took at least some of their theological and practical training at the Deaconess and Missionary Training House in Toronto. Because Canada had no School of Missions until 1921, a number of Canadian missionaries then went the United States for instruction specifically related to missionary work. For example, in 1915-16 Adelaide Moss lived in and took some courses at the Deaconess House, while attending lectures at Trinity College.31 After a successful year in Toronto the mission board sent her to the Kennedy School of Missions in Hartford, Connecticut for a further two years of training before appointing her to the mission field in Japan in 1918. The costs of her first year at Hartford were paid by the M.S.C.C. Moss herself covered the second year's fees, since she had requested the second year of study.32

The Deaconess and Missionary Training House was originally established by the alumnae of Wycliffe College in 1893, specifically to train deaconesses. These were professional women parish workers whose duties included evangelistic work and the provision of social services. The program of studies for deaconesses was far less flexible than that of missionaries, and although deaconesses could opt for work in the mission field, lectures at the School of Missions were not included in their program. Deaconess trainees took all of their theological courses with the theology students at Wycliffe, although they were sometimes permitted to audit Trinity lectures. They were termed regular students at the Deaconess House and their training focussed on social service and theology. Required to take a full three year program of prescribed courses in theology, sociology, social service, first aid, "voice culture" and "physical training,"33 aspiring deaconesses were also expected to take on a great deal of the responsibility for the activities of the Mildmay Institute, as well as attending the bible study and "criticism" classes at the Deaconess House. Missionary candidates' programmes, on the
other hand, extended over only one, or at most two academic years, although after 1921 they were expected to take upgrading courses at the Toronto School of Missions at least every five years when they returned on furlough. No similar expectations were held for deaconesses who worked in local parishes.

Deaconesses were distinct from missionaries in other respects than their training. After working for an unspecified period deaconess graduates could be officially "set apart", until recently the only form of ordination permitted Anglican women. Women missionaries, on the other hand, were officially considered lay workers, and ordination in any form was not offered them. Deaconesses were formally responsible to and under the direction of their parish priest, and were appointed to their field of work by the local bishop. Their salaries and pensions were paid by the parish in which they worked. Missionaries were maintained by the national W.A. and under the direction of the M.S.C.C., which could send them to whatever mission field required them most. In addition, according to Alison Kemper,

> the ideology which propelled women missionaries to foreign parts was quite different from that which the [deaconess] committee hoped would attract and mobilize deaconesses. . . . A woman's foreign missionary yearnings might be roused by the realization that the intolerable conditions of child marriage, lack of education and nursing care and ignorance of Jesus Christ demanded her active commitment abroad . . . . It was an exotic and attractive appeal for women volunteers, the sort of romantic challenge that would draw the devout, the adventurous, and the feminist.³⁴

If they wished, however, deaconess graduates could apply to the missionary society and request a posting to a mission field, either at home or abroad. If accepted they became the responsibility of the W.A. Hawkins and Tucker were both originally trained as deaconesses and officially set apart, Hawkins in 1927 and Tucker in 1938.³⁵ Hawkins worked in Japan until 1941, while Tucker requested an appointment to the British Columbia Japanese mission after she was turned down for overseas work.

After 1921 all Canadian Anglican missionary candidates were residents in, or associates of the Deaconess House, where they were considered special, occasional or part-time students rather than regular students because they were not enrolled in the
college's prescribed three-year course of studies for deaconesses. Their programs varied according to the kind of work they wished to specialize in and their background knowledge and skills.

All candidates were required to do some 'practical', or social service work through the Deaconess House's settlement house, the Mildmay Institute. There they received 'hands-on' training in running clubs, classes and activities for 200 to 300 women and children, most of whom lived in the nearby slum neighbourhood. Students also used Mildmay as a centre from which they went out visiting in homes in the district, and when they needed to gain further experience in particular areas of their work. Suzuki, for instance, was kindergarten director for Mildmay's summer program in the summer of 1938, prior to her return to Vancouver.

In addition to practical work, at the Deaconess House students took Bible study classes and did some practice teaching (of each other) in a class called 'Criticism.' But they took the bulk of their coursework either at Trinity or Wycliffe Colleges, and at the School of Missions after 1921. Most missionary candidates took their theological courses from Trinity rather than Wycliffe, although they were permitted a choice. This was because the majority of missionary candidates were from "middle-" or "high-church" parishes, and Trinity was a "high church" Anglican institution. Wycliffe, on the other hand, was supported by evangelical, or "low church" Anglicans.

At either institution students from the Deaconess House took two or three courses per term in such subjects as Old and New Testament, Philosophy of Religion, and Church History. W.A. and Deaconess candidates took these classes along with the men of Trinity or Wycliffe who were intending to become members of the clergy. It was a source of some pride for the women that they often earned higher marks in their examinations than their male classmates.

The School of Missions in Toronto was an interdenominational effort, established jointly by the mission boards of the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, with the cooperation of Trinity, Wycliffe, Knox
(Presbyterian) and Victoria (Methodist) Colleges. The School offered a course in "Theory and Practice of Missions", but in general it drew course instructors and guest lecturers from outside the institution. Professors were invited from the University of Toronto's departments of Public Health and Hygiene, University Health Services, and Linguistics, as well as from the Toronto General Hospital. Missionaries on furlough also gave lectures, as did mission board administrators, and academics and others who had specialized knowledge in such subjects as world religions, social anthropology, and religious history. The School also offered course counselling, and helped missionary candidates obtain admission in courses offered in other institutions, both within and outside the University of Toronto. These latter courses included classes in household science, typing, education, music, sociology and industrial training.\textsuperscript{41}

For missionary and deaconess candidates, life at the Deaconess House was busy and collegial. Most students lived at the House, which was located in downtown Toronto near the University of Toronto campus. Students were usually expected to share a room with one or two classmates.\textsuperscript{42} Their meals were supplied and their laundry done by the housekeeping staff.\textsuperscript{43} Coursework, study, and practical training occupied them during the week; on weekends they did their district visiting and social service work, and attended Sunday church services and Bible study classes. They were permitted to visit, or have as visitors at specified times, men from Wycliffe and Trinity Colleges. A few of the women candidates married students or professors from those colleges.\textsuperscript{44} The women from Toronto or nearby Hamilton were sometimes permitted to return home on weekends.\textsuperscript{45}

With the exceptions of Colton, Withers, Suzuki and Hirano, all of the W.A.'s professional women missionaries who worked in British Columbia between 1927 and 1941 had trained in Toronto prior to coming to the west coast to work. However, Rev. Cassillis-Kennedy, the superintendent of the Japanese mission in Vancouver, wanted not only professionally trained workers, but also professionals with relevant work experience as well. Initially Kennedy favoured bringing to British Columbia those
women missionaries who had already worked in Japan, as the following report given in 1915 indicates:

[T]he work among our women and children, particularly that of Cordova street, will be much more efficiently done when a lady Missionary and trained native [Japanese] women workers come from Japan to help place that part of the work on a proper basis. In order to get at the thousands of Japanese scattered throughout the Diocese, it is necessary to have in Vancouver a small staff of trained and experienced workers who will train native agents, men and women, to carry the Gospel to their brethren in these out-of-the-way places.46

What Kennedy valued most, besides the professionalism and career commitment of the overseas workers, was the understanding of the Japanese culture and the ability to speak the Japanese language which he assumed all missionaries who worked in Japan had acquired. When he could not obtain any missionaries directly from the overseas field he encouraged some of the volunteers already at work in the British Columbian missions to train professionally, and when two of these women were accepted he urged the W.A. to send them to study in Japan.

Ida Withers applied for an appointment to work among the Japanese in British Columbia in January 1923. She was the first volunteer from British Columbia to offer herself as a missionary candidate. In recommending her for the work, Kennedy requested that she be sent to Japan for her training, rather than Toronto. Unfortunately, during a medical examination Miss Withers was found to have a thyroid condition, and after two and a half years of waiting to see if the condition would disappear, and despite the fact that she seemed to be in good health, the M.S.C.C. physicians refused her permission to go overseas.47 In the meantime the general board of the W.A. put her on the payroll in October 1924, and she continued to work at the Ascension mission.48 In June 1927, exactly one year after the doctors rejected her for overseas service or study, Kennedy requested that she be given a year's training in Toronto.49 She was accepted to the Deaconess House in the following September and, because she was already on salary, the W.A. paid for her training and living expenses while in Toronto.50
Mabel Colton applied to the W.A. early in 1926, requesting that she be trained as a nurse for an overseas mission. As with Withers, the physicians would not pass her for overseas work, but in this case the Candidates' Committee minutes do not indicate why. The Committee advised her that "the work among the Japanese in Vancouver is of the highest importance and suggest that she continue this work as she could not be considered for work overseas." They accepted her for one year's missionary training in Toronto, beginning in September 1926. She returned from Toronto in the spring of 1927 to take charge of the kindergarten at Heaps Mission, the Holy Cross outstation in East Vancouver.

Kennedy subsequently requested that the W.A. send her to Japan for language study and finally, in April 1929, when the funds became available she was allowed to go. Reports on her progress in Japan indicated that she was doing satisfactorily in her studies: in fact, because she was tone deaf she found it impossible to learn Japanese. After almost two years of effort, she wrote to the W.A. asserting that they were wasting their money supporting her in Japan and that she wished to return to Vancouver. She arrived back in British Columbia in April 1931 and again took up her duties at Heaps, presumably speaking in English.

In 1927 Lennox returned to Toronto on her third furlough from Japan. All missionaries were required by the Board to report for a medical examination immediately upon their return from the field. If the physician's report was favourable they were considered for a further five-year term. In Lennox's case the medical report declared her a "sub-standard risk" and recommended her for appointment to Prince Rupert, but not the foreign field. She was sent there forthwith, and British Columbia had its first Japanese-speaking woman missionary. When she established her kindergarten, Lennox encouraged Anglo-Canadian parents in the district to send their children to her as well. A number did. The fact that she had managed to get Anglo-Canadians voluntarily to allow their children to associate with Japanese children was hailed by at least one contemporary writer as a remarkable achievement.
The same year Lennox was sent to Prince Rupert, 27 women were accepted for training at the Deaconess and Missionary Training House. This was the largest number of students the Deaconess House had ever had in a single year, and rooms had to be rented in another building to accommodate them all.\textsuperscript{66} Among the new students were Margaret Foster, Grace Tucker, Ida Withers and Mae Walker. Foster originally wanted to go to India, but the doctors did not believe she was strong enough to take the strain of living abroad.\textsuperscript{57} While at college she met the daughter of a Japanese bishop, Miss Hide Motoda,\textsuperscript{58} who was in Toronto to gain some experience in western "Social Service Methods."\textsuperscript{69} Motoda suggested that Foster come to Japan, but when that proved impossible Foster responded to a call from Kennedy requesting that the W.A. send a kindergarten specialist to Vancouver. At his behest, and with the permission of the Candidates’ Committee, she dropped her second year of missionary training and took the one year kindergarten methods course at the Toronto Normal School.\textsuperscript{60} She arrived in Vancouver in 1929.

As a deaconess Grace Tucker initially expected to work in a local parish rather than in a mission, but while she was in training she heard a number of missionaries talking about their work and decided instead that overseas mission work was what she wanted to do. She applied first to go to China, but, as with Foster, the doctors insisted that because of her small size her health would be at risk if she was allowed to work overseas. She was, however, accepted for work in the Japanese mission in British Columbia, and after she completed her training in 1930 she came to Vancouver.\textsuperscript{61}

She worked there for almost a year, helping, as she says, where she could. Then, with Foster, she attended a six-week kindergarten methods course in Monmouth, Oregon in the summer of 1931. Tucker took this course because she often assisted in the kindergartens and concluded that she needed some specialized training in order to work more effectively.\textsuperscript{62} Foster took the course because she was dissatisfied with the more structured teaching method which she had learned in Toronto. At Monmouth the two women were introduced to a Deweyan, child-centred approach to early childhood
education. For Foster, especially, this approach came as a revelation. She reasoned that by encouraging the children to explore their environment through play and through working creatively with the available materials, and then helping them to verbalize their discoveries in English, they would acquire language more quickly than they would with the teacher-directed method that the mission's kindergarten teachers had been using. When she returned from Oregon she tried, with variable success, to encourage her colleagues to try the child-centred approach.63

Just before they left for Oregon Tucker received a telegram from the general board of the W.A. which informed her that she was to go to Japan for language study late in August of that year. Accompanying her to Japan were Adelaide Moss and Irene Isaac, both of whom were seasoned missionaries returning to the field after their furloughs, and Mae Walker, who had just been appointed to the mission in Japan. Tucker was to have remained in Japan for only one year, but she progressed so well in her language studies, and her missionary work was so satisfactory, that she was allowed to stay. After suffering from appendicitis in 1934, she returned to Canada to recover from the operation. Early in 1935 she again took up her duties in the Vancouver mission.

Tucker's experiences in Japan were of substantial assistance to her in her work in British Columbia. She had not become fluent in Japanese, and with the focus of the missions on assisting the Japanese to acquire English, she lost much of what she had acquired of Japanese while overseas. However, her knowledge of the culture and of the country itself helped her to relate more effectively with the Issei, the first-generation Japanese immigrants.64

While the augmentation of the staff with professional missionaries brought a new dynamism to the work in British Columbia, the mission also suffered set-backs during this period. Rev. Kennedy died in 1930, the victim of a brain tumour. Hundreds of Japanese immigrants, from California to the Yukon, mourned his passing.65 Mrs. Kennedy assumed her late husband's place as an advisor to the PBMO, but she was not
asked to take over the superintendent’s position, despite the fact that she could speak Japanese, had been actively involved in the work since the family arrived in Vancouver, and had worked closely with her husband during their years in Japan. Kennedy was eventually replaced by another missionary who had worked for many years in Japan, Rev. W.H. Gale. According to oral sources Gale lacked Kennedy’s charismatic leadership style, and indeed was much more inclined to rely on the experience and expertise of the women workers than Kennedy had been.⁶⁶

It seems the circumstances in which Gale found himself on the west coast had a bearing on the manner in which he performed his supervisory duties. When he stepped into the superintendent’s position in late 1931 the Anglican mission to the Japanese in British Columbia was shaped much as Kennedy had envisioned it in 1917. Work in the missions was largely performed by or under the guidance of professional women missionaries and teachers and a few veteran volunteers, both Anglo- and Japanese-Canadian. Although the need for more volunteers and more funding for the missions was chronic, especially with the deepening Depression, these key women formed a competent and dedicated corps. They were accustomed to the unique circumstances of the work, such as the intense race prejudice of many members in the larger community, expressly among British Columbia’s public figures and elected officials, and even prominent members of their own church.⁶⁷

In addition, Gale did not have sole charge of the mission. The PBMO administrators had, with Kennedy, directed the work of the mission for almost fifteen years. By virtue of long experience these men no doubt believed themselves more competent to direct the mission than the new arrival from the foreign mission field. The tone of the Administrative Committee’s minutes subsequent to Gale’s arrival gives the impression that his role was almost exclusively to report on the work of the staff rather than to exercise administrative control over the mission as a whole.

Given the presence of experienced women workers who had been managing without a superintendent for a year and a half, a social and political climate so unlike
that of Japan, and the existence of an extra level of administration between him and the M.S.C.C. directors, the character of the work must have been very different from what Gale had been accustomed to in his previous career. Therefore it is not surprising that his leadership style was not as forceful as Kennedy's had been.

Gale arrived in Vancouver just as the Depression was assuming serious proportions. In 1931 the M.S.C.C. cut its funding for the mission, and the salaries of the male workers by ten percent. Rev. Bernard Oana, of the Holy Cross mission, the only Japanese priest in British Columbia, resigned and returned with his wife to Japan. He was not replaced for lack of funds. The Heaps Mission was closed in 1931, shortly after Colton returned from Japan, and two Japanese part-time workers were laid-off. Colton and Mrs. Okhi, her assistant, were sent to work at Holy Cross, but by 1934 they had both resigned and Colton returned to England for an extended visit.

The Dominion Board of the W.A. did not cut the salaries of its women workers or its funding for the mission itself, but it had no further monetary support for extending or supplementing the work. In the face of growing numbers of children needing places in the kindergartens, the missionaries were forced to appeal to local parishes and the PBMO for greater financial support and for more volunteers. While members of the New Westminster diocesan W.A. continued to support the missions through fund-raising activities and through their volunteer efforts, the growing number of homeless and destitute families of all races and backgrounds was also a drain on their resources.

Male church members were less forthcoming in their voluntary efforts and financial support. Some men, who were active in the missions before the Depression, continued much as they had before. Such was the case with George Withers, father of Ida, who had been teaching English at the night school at Holy Cross since the 1910s. However, though the missionaries pleaded throughout the decade for a man to come forward to take charge of the Japanese Church Boys' League, no one offered his services. For their part, the male administrators of the PBMO, which was responsible
for distributing the funds gathered for the 'Oriental Missions', would not finance any new projects or changes in programmes without having the opportunity to examine and approve those changes first. As Grace Tucker ruefully recalled, the Board "never had any money for anything." This was a considerable source of frustration for the workers, who observed that their counterparts in the United Church missions had a greater degree of control over both their funding and their programming.

The mission continued to develop despite the Board's frugality. In September 1935 Miss Martha Hisaye Hirano, a protege of Dr. Lennox in Prince Rupert, entered the Deaconess and Missionary Training House in Toronto for a year's training, and thereby became the first Japanese-Canadian woman to be trained as a missionary. Miss Aya Suzuki entered training the following year. While in Toronto the New Westminster Diocesan W.A. supported Hirano through a special fund, and when she returned she worked as a kindergarten teacher and evangelist at the Mission of the Ascension. Suzuki joined her there, after completing her year in Toronto, late in the summer of 1938. It is unclear whether or not she too was supported by the W.A. while in Toronto, but it seems likely, since she had been working part-time at Ascension since 1933.

In 1936 the Dominion Board of the W.A. sent Kathleen Lang to Prince Rupert to take over from Lennox, who was retiring. Lang served one five-year term in Japan, but she had been ill while she was there, and the M.S.C.C. physicians in Toronto rejected her for another term overseas. Her facility in Japanese made her an ideal replacement for Lennox, especially in district visiting. For the first year she worked with Withers, who had volunteered to go to Prince Rupert to take over from Lennox and ease the transition when Lang came in. When Withers returned to the Lower Mainland Elsie Heaps, a volunteer worker in Vancouver, replaced her as a paid, part-time worker. Heaps's father was a wealthy sawmill owner who had employed Japanese workers in his operations in Fairview, East Vancouver, and Ruskin since the turn of the century, and the Heaps family had been active in supporting the work of the missions for many years. Before becoming a W.A. worker Heaps was a music teacher,
working from her family's home in English Bay. As teenagers Aya Suzuki and a friend took piano lessons from Heaps and attended recitals in her home.81

In 1937 Mae Walker, another missionary who had served one term in Japan, joined the staff at Ascension. Her work in Vancouver was intended to be a test of her strength before she was allowed to return to Japan, but a medical report made in December, 1938, recommended that she not be permitted to return to the foreign field. After an extended medical leave she was permanently assigned to the Vancouver mission staff.

These new staff members adjusted quickly to the mission's routine. Because of a chronic shortage of qualified workers, the missionaries typically worked seven days a week, often from 7:30 in the morning to 10:00 at night. On weekdays they taught kindergarten in the morning and afternoon, visited Japanese homes after school, and ran youth clubs, taught English in night school, organized lectures or other programs for adults in the evenings.82 On Saturday they led children's club activities all day, and on Sunday they taught Sunday School both morning and afternoon. They had very little time for their own entertainment, and when they did they generally included members of the Japanese community in their activities. For example, they often invited Japanese friends over for tea or took them out for dinner on rare afternoons or evenings off.83

According to Tucker and Foster, missionary salaries were very low, even for the time, and the workers could not save anything out of their paychecks. Those who had family in Vancouver usually lived "at home", and the others, of necessity, shared apartments with their co-workers or lived in the missions when there was room. Occasionally their families in the east would send money, but as Tucker says, "mostly we just learned to do without."84

Except for a single record of salaries and workers on the payroll in 1941, a breakdown of the wages of individual mission workers is not available for any of the years in which the mission was in operation, although total salary disbursements are sometimes given in the diocesan synod minutes.85 In 1941 lay workers were paid
between $500 and $780 per annum, while annual wages for the professional workers ranged from $720 for Aya Suzuki, the most junior staff member, to $800 for the most senior. In addition to their salaries, if the workers did not live with their parents they also received an additional sum of between $100 and $300 per annum for living expenses.  

Census figures for 1941 show that these wages were indeed low in comparison with the income of some professional women in Vancouver, but not all. For example, Vancouver's women teachers earned, on average, $1292 annually, while the salaries of social welfare workers averaged slightly less, at $1105. Female office clerks received $792 annually on average, and nurses' salaries were $767 per annum. By contrast, non-professional women, such as charworkers and domestic servants, normally earned $390 and $258 per year, respectively. According to the 1941 census, Vancouver's (unspecified) female religious workers average annual earnings were $767, while male religious workers received $1200 per annum. Clergymen in Vancouver averaged $1456 annually in 1941, while in general professional men in Vancouver earned an average of $1787 per year. The relative general figure for professional women in Vancouver was $922. Thus, while their salaries may have been low, women missionaries did not fare too badly in comparison the average female professional in Vancouver. Their low incomes reflected more the influence of the two-tiered wage scale applied to male and female workers in every occupation, than the parsimoniousness of their employers.

While Anglican women missionaries' wages may not have been adequate to meet their needs, they did have the very considerable advantage, for the Depression era, of job security. In addition, the Dominion W.A. paid their medical and dental bills, and W.A. pensions were available for the professional missionaries, although they were very low. However, there were no pensions at all for the mission's lay workers, such as Isabel Schetky and Catherine Jones, in Marpole. 

In speaking of the W.A., Tucker and Foster assert that the local women were indispensable to the work of the mission and, in general, were much more supportive
of it than most male church members. Over and above their work as volunteers and
fund-raisers for the missions, W.A. members provided the missionaries with a social
network, and occasional comforts as well. For example, Misses Dorothy and Sybil
Verner, two elderly Irish sisters who had been active in the W.A. since the 1910s, paid
for a Japanese housekeeper to clean the missionaries’ homes.\textsuperscript{89} The sisters also invited
both the home missionaries and foreign missionaries returning to Canada on furlough to
stay at their country retreat in Roberts Creek on the Sunshine Coast. The Heaps and
the Withers families also opened their English Bay homes to the missionaries.\textsuperscript{90}

The supportive attitude of the W.A. members toward the missionaries did not
extend to members of the general public. Missionaries often had difficulty finding
landlords who would rent to them because they worked among the Japanese. The
women had to phone restaurants ahead of time when they wanted to take Japanese
friends out to dinner in order to ensure they would be seated and served.\textsuperscript{91}

Antipathy toward the Japanese came from Anglo-Canadian churches as well. A
problem arose as the Nisei grew past Sunday School age, since by the time they were
teenagers most Nisei could speak English better than they could Japanese.\textsuperscript{92} As the
services in the missions were in Japanese the young people had difficulty following
them and tended to drop out altogether. The natural solution was for the Nisei to
attend services in the Anglo-Canadian parishes, but this the local clergymen and laity
would not allow.\textsuperscript{93} This language problem created a serious dilemma for the Nisei when
it came time to look for work. Through the 1930s fewer and fewer of these young men
and women could find employment in white businesses, but they were also not
welcomed by employers in the Japanese community because they lacked proficiency in
Japanese. In addition, their behaviour was considered too brash and aggressive by
Japanese standards.

Racial tensions in the province were often exacerbated by the pronouncements
of public figures, such as those federal and provincial politicians from British Columbia
who exploited racial tensions in order to gain votes. Beginning in the mid-1930s these
men pointed to the Japanese occupation of China and identified Japanese Canadians as having the same ambitions and characteristics as that occupying force. They accused the Japanese Canadians of being planted in British Columbia by the Japanese government for the express purpose of overthrowing the province, first by gaining control of the economy, and second by 'peaceful penetration' - that is, by flooding the province with Japanese, first through immigration and second with a high rate of births.94

These accusations had been in circulation since the 1920s,95 but in the 1930s British Columbia's anti-Japanese agitators made explicit the "big lie" that Japanese-Canadians were fifth columnists, spies and saboteurs who had been sent to British Columbia in advance of an invasion force. Like the "big lie" of a Jewish conspiracy to overthrow Germany, which was being promulgated in Europe at the same time, threat of this Japanese conspiracy was used to justify demands for even greater restrictions on the Japanese minority, including deportation. During a city council meeting one alderman in Vancouver proposed the segregation of Asians into ghettos, similar to those into which Jews were crowded in Europe.96

By 1941 tensions between Japan and the Allies over Japanese incursions in Manchuria, and diplomatic tensions between Japan and the United States, had risen to such an extent that, in anticipation of the coming war, the Japanese government ordered the withdrawal of foreign missionaries and the closing of the Protestant missions. By April of that year sixteen W.A. women missionaries in Japan had returned to Canada. Some were superannuated, but many were sent to other fields either in India or in Canada. The W.A. sent four to British Columbia - Misses Horobin, Hawkins, Bailey and Shore. Rather than keeping all four of the veteran missionaries in the Lower Mainland, the PBMO decided to take advantage of the women's expertise and send two, Horobin and Hawkins, to establish a new mission on Vancouver Island.

After visiting many of the small Japanese communities scattered along the island, the two women established their base at Port Alberni where, like many of the local school teachers, they were able to obtain accommodation in housekeeping rooms.
In Port Alberni they established kindergartens, social clubs, and visited Japanese families in the district. They apparently considered one of their first duties to be the enlightenment Anglo-Canadians in the community, for they spoke frequently at such places as the local Business Men's Club, and the high school, as well as women's meetings in the community's United and Baptist Churches.

The other two newly-acquired W.A. missionaries, Bailey and Shore, went to work in the Holy Cross mission kindergartens. They were joined in Vancouver by Alice Cox and Cicely Baldwin, two Church of England (CMS) missionaries who had been originally assigned to the Japan field by the church authorities in Britain. Rather than returning to England in 1941 the two came to work in British Columbia.

Officially termed an honorary worker, which meant she was not paid by the PBMO, Cox took charge of the Marpole kindergarten, since Schetky had resigned to get married. For her part, Baldwin, who had trained in Toronto for the W.A. in the mid-1920s but had subsequently gone to work for the CMS in Japan, established a model nursery school in the basement of the Ascension mission in April 1941 for the children of working Japanese mothers. While in Vancouver she lived with her family in a house in Point Grey, and encouraged those matrons and university women in her neighbourhood who were not obliged to work, to volunteer in her nursery school. She took the children as soon as they were out of diapers. All operating costs, excluding her salary, were paid by the mothers. The school gained the attention of the Social Service Department at the University of British Columbia, which sent students as observers.

With the addition of the workers from Japan the mission looked forward to expanding its influence in the Japanese-Canadian community by augmenting and improving its programs and services. This optimism was short-lived, and the actions of the Canadian government, following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, compelled the Anglican mission to the Japanese in Canada to take a new direction in its development.
NOTES


3. Interview with Margaret Foster, February 10, 1989.


6. Interview with Margaret Foster, February 10, 1989.


9. This last was the American equivalent of the Anglican Church.

10. This report gives no indication of what type of summer school they were discussing here, exactly who attended these schools, and for what purpose.

11. Report to the Candidates Committee concerning the Educational Standards, Training, Medical Examination, etc., required by other missionary societies, s.i., n.d., M.S.C.C. Candidates Committee Minutes, GS75-103, Series 2-5, Box 10, hereafter M.S.C.C. Candidates Committee Minutes.


20. Candidates' Committee Minutes, p. 663.


22. This conclusion is based on material from the Candidates' Committee minutes. However, Grace Tucker believed that foreign missionaries were better educated than those women who were assigned to the home field. She also observed that some of the women the Anglican missionary society allowed to work in Canada would never be assigned to overseas work because of their lack of education. Interview with Grace Tucker, May 30, 1990.


24. The committee's reason for rejecting Bingham was not actually stated in the minutes. In hindsight two interviewees believed that she might have been anorexic. According to them she lived on "a lettuce leaf and a carrot stick." Interviews with Grace Tucker and Margaret Foster, May 30, 1990.


26. This information has been gleaned from annual issues of Henderson's City Directories and Wrigley's City Directories for Vancouver between 1900 and 1935, (titles vary); "Anglican Women's Training College, Records of Candidates and Graduates," and "Missionaries' Record of Employment," W.A. Papers, G.S. 76-15, Box 22, Series 14, (hereafter W.A. Papers); and Trinity College's Matriculation Book, 1915-39.


28. Ibid., 68.


31. 1915-16 was the first year women were permitted to attend Trinity College.
32. She was actually only supposed to stay in Hartford for one year but asked for permission to stay an extra year at her own expense. According to the representative of the Candidates' Committee who went down to interview her about this request, "the new environment in which Miss Moss had spent the past year, had tended to raise in her mind many questions which seemed to require a further period of study." M.S.C.C. Candidates's Committee Minutes.

33. The Church of England Deaconess and Missionary Training House Calendar, for 1927-28, 1929-30, and 1933-34.

34. Kemper, 183.

35. "Deaconesses Ordained in the Canadian Church," AWTC Graduates, Box 7, 2-D, M75-27; Box 16, 4-C, M75-27.


37. "Practical Evangelistic Work is a part of the curriculum for every student. The Mildmay Institute furnishes abundant opportunity for gaining experience. In the Mother's Meeting, Girl's Club, and Children's Activities each student has a part, later she is transferred to Parish Work, and there given an opportunity to put into practice what she has already learned. Practical Nursing is required of every graduate of the Deaconess House, and opportunity for gaining experience in this department is in the homes of the poorer citizens of Toronto." Church of England Deaconess House, Newsletter #3, December 1927. See also News Sheet, 51, (September 1937): 2, Issued by the Conference of Deaconesses, London: Billing and Sons Ltd., Great Britain.

38. Interview with Aya Saegusa, March 18, 1990.

39. The "high", "middle" and "low" appellations mainly refer to the forms which the services took in each of these churches, and do not necessarily imply class connotations.

40. Interview with Margaret Foster, February 10, 1989.


43. Deaconess and Missionary Training House Calendar.


45. M.S.C.C. Candidates' Committee Minutes, 335, 348.

46. Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, 1917, 78, VST.

47. Candidates' Committee Minutes, 162, 365.

48. Ibid., 267.

49. Ibid., 413.

50. Minutes of the Administrative Committee, July 15, 1927, PBMO Papers.
51. M.S.C.C. Candidates Committee Minutes, 321.

52. Ibid., 346.


54. M.S.C.C. Candidates' Committee minutes, September 6, 1927, 416.


56. Minutes of the Candidates' and Students' Committee, Sept. 4, 1928, AWTC 2-D, Graduates M75-27, Box 7; Graduates, W.A. Candidates, and Part-time Students, hereafter Candidates' and Students' Committee Minutes.

57. Interview with Margaret Foster, February 10, 1989.

58. There is some confusion over her last name. In the Candidates' and Students' Committee minutes she is referred to as Miss Hirose, while Margaret Foster says her name was Motoda. It is possible that, following common practice among bishops in the Anglican church, her father took the name of his diocese as his last name, and thus the confusion. There was only one Japanese woman at the Deaconess House, according to both oral and documentary evidence, so Miss Hirose and Miss Motoda must be one and the same.

59. AWTC Candidates' and Students' Committee Minutes, September 4, 1928, 40.

60. Ibid., December 21, 1928, 45.


62. Ibid.

63. Interview with Margaret Foster, February 10, 1989.

64. Interview with Grace Tucker, February 13, 1989.

65. Nakayama, 32, and numerous letters and telegrams between George Schetky and Canon Gould, June and July 1930, PBMO Papers.


69. Ibid.

70. Mrs. Ohki's first and maiden names were not given in any of the sources of which this writer is aware.


73. Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the PBMO, April 29, 1941, 5, PBMO Papers.


77. Interview with Aya Saegusa, March 18, 1990.


79. *Henderson’s City Directory* (title varies) for the years 1903-1923.


85. See, for example, *Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1920, 81.

86. "List of All Those on the Payroll," (n.p., n.d.[1941], s.i.), PBMO Papers; see also minutes of the Administration Committee of the PBMO, Jan 8, 1942.


88. PBMO minutes, May 19, 1941, PBMO Papers.


92. Sumida, 528.

93. Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the PBMO, May 2, 1928 and April 29, 1941, PBMO Papers.


96. Sunahara, 10-12. For a different point of view concerning the circumstances leading up to the 1942 evacuation see Patricia E. Roy, J.L. Granatstein, Masako Iino and Hiroko Takamura, Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese During the Second World War, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

97. M.S.C.C. Candidates Committee Minutes, 164, 211, 323 and 350.

CHAPTER THREE

'An Unprecedented Opportunity For Service':

Evacuation and Exile, 1942-1945

What do I remember of the evacuation?
I remember Miss Foster and Miss Tucker
Who still live in Vancouver
And who did what they could
And loved the children and who gave me
A puzzle to play with on the train.¹

The roles played by women missionaries of the Anglican, United, and Roman Catholic churches during the 1942 evacuation of Japanese-Canadians living in the coastal region of British Columbia, and the activities of these women on behalf of the Japanese-Canadians during their enforced sojourn in the interior detention camps, have been, in general, either overlooked or underestimated in much of the writing about the Japanese-Canadian exile.² Most historians who have written on this topic have focussed on the enormous political, social, and economic repercussions of the evacuation for the Japanese minority. Another important theme has been the profound implications for Canadian society of the government-ordered expulsion of virtually every member of a minority population.

Within this context the activities of the missionaries may seem minor. Certainly they were few and their power to influence the course of events limited. But, as Joy Kogawa writes of Margaret Foster and Grace Tucker, the missionaries "did what they could." They assisted the Japanese during the evacuation by providing information services, educational and recreational activities, and emotional support. They ran errands, helped families pack, and babysat. They made requests, and occasionally demands, of the British Columbia Security Commission on behalf of families with special needs. They helped to determine the placement of individuals and communities. They went into internal exile with the evacuees in the interior camps. In general they
offered whatever comfort and support was possible under the circumstances. Women missionaries constituted one of the few groups to work on behalf of the Japanese-Canadian community in British Columbia, and so it is not surprising that their efforts touched the lives of many evacuees.

The wartime experiences of the Anglican mission workers also shaped the lives of the women themselves in important, though often subtle, ways. Some of the workers became more active politically as a result of their wartime experiences. In the interior detention camps the Anglican missionaries acquired greater independence in the administration of their work. Although, like many Canadian women in the post-war period, the missionaries' new-found independence was curtailed somewhat after 1945, they never returned to their previous, relatively powerless position with regard to the control of their work.

Of all Canadians the Japanese-Canadians were among the most profoundly affected by the war in the Pacific, and the radical transformation of the Japanese-Canadian community necessitated great changes in the mission which served it. These changes were brought about in the political arena, and were the result of distinctive conditions within Canadian society. Thus, in order to understand something of the missionaries' working and living conditions, it is essential, before examining in detail the activities of these women, to place their wartime work within the political and social context of the period between 1942 and 1945.

War between Japan and the Allies had been expected for at least three years prior to December 7, 1941. Nevertheless, the Pacific Rim nations were stunned by the alarming strength and ingenuity that the Japanese armed forces displayed in the attacks on Pearl Harbor, Hong Kong and the Philippines, and in subsequent offensives in the Pacific theatre. Western colonial governments had underestimated Japan's power, and indeed they continued to do so until Singapore fell on February 15, 1942.
Like Canadians generally, Japanese-Canadians were, for the most part, shocked and appalled by the Japanese offensives against the Allied powers. They were also aware of the potentially grave implications of the Pacific war on their already precarious position in Canada. Both before and after Pearl Harbor members of the Japanese community frequently and forcefully affirmed their loyalty to Canada in the press, in letters to various government agencies and officials, in their repeated requests to be allowed to join the armed forces, and through their endeavours to aid in the war effort. These efforts were in vain, however. As the British Columbia Security Commission report noted, with the declaration of war on Japan the Canadian public, press, and politicians immediately classed all Japanese-Canadians, regardless of their citizenship, as "Alien." The government impounded the Japanese Canadian fishing fleet; Japanese Canadian employees were dismissed from both government corporations and private sector businesses; Japanese Canadian businesses experienced a sharp decline in trade; and vandals attacked Japanese Canadian property.

For a week after December 7, the press called for calm and assured the general public that the majority of Japanese-Canadians were loyal to Canada. From December 16, however, the newspapers began to display less restraint, and tension rose as British Columbian politicians inflamed public opinion in an anti-Japanese propaganda campaign which was more overt and orchestrated than any other of the four previous decades.

Historian John W. Dower claims that for many, the war between Japan and the Allies was in fact a race war, and an examination of the anti-Japanese-Canadian rhetoric bears out many aspects of his hypothesis. Anti-Japanese-Canadian agitators maintained that Japanese-Canadians were loyal to the country of their 'racial' origin, despite the fact that they were citizens of Canada. Further, they identified Japanese-Canadians as members of a wily, deceitful, and untrustworthy 'race,' and for proof the agitators pointed to the covert nature of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The propagandists promoted fears of invasion, and resurrected the 'peaceful penetration' bogie, declaring that Japanese immigration to Canada was supervised by the Japanese
government, and every member of the Japanese minority was a potential fifth-columnist. By this logic, Japanese-Canadian professions of loyalty to Canada were regarded as instances of treachery. British Columbian politicians went so far as to issue false or exaggerated reports of attacks or the possibility of attacks on the west coast, and subversive actions or sentiments on the part of the Japanese Canadians. Thus British Columbian leaders and the press classed the Japanese minority as an internal threat to Canadian national security, and clamoured for the removal of all Japanese-Canadians from British Columbia.

Calls for the internment of so-called 'enemy aliens' were not new. At the beginning of the war in Europe some Canadians had demanded that citizens of German and Italian extraction be interned. Nevertheless, in that case the Canadian government refused to bow to public pressure, and beyond being required to report regularly to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), citizens of German and Italian extraction were free from overt government controls during the war. (Fascists, Communists, and other alleged security risks were interned, however.)

As a result of political expediency, coupled with the pressure brought to bear on the federal government by British Columbian politicians at all levels of government, the federal cabinet issued its initial evacuation order on January 14, 1942. Japanese-Canadian citizens were forbidden to fish, and Japanese vessels were to be sold to non-Japanese without the consent of the original owners. Most importantly, all male Japanese nationals aged 18 to 45 were to be sent to road camps in the British Columbian interior. The prospective evacuees numbered only about 1700, but among them were some of the Japanese community's key leaders and employers. In addition, the volunteer Canadian Service Corps was to be created. The purpose of the Corps was to employ Canadian-born (Nisei) and naturalized Japanese males in interior road camps, like the evacuees, but without the element of compulsion.

After the initial shock, the Japanese-Canadian community reacted to these announcements by asking for further details concerning the disposition and maintenance
of the men and their families. Unfortunately, the government either could not or would not clarify its plans. From January 14 to February 26, in the absence of concrete information, the Japanese minority grew less willing to cooperate with the government. At the same time, British Columbian politicians escalated their demands that all Japanese be removed from the newly defined "protected area" in the province. This was a 100-mile deep zone along the coast extending from the Alaska Panhandle to the border between British Columbia and Washington state.

The fall of Singapore on February 15, 1942, combined with the American government's February 19, 1942 announcement of the internment of all Japanese-Americans resident in its "protected area" on the mainland of the United States, seemed to justify further action against the Japanese-Canadians. On February 26, 1942 Prime Minister Mackenzie King proclaimed the removal of all those of Japanese origin, regardless of their citizenship, from the "protected area" along the west coast. The decision was widely applauded, or at least accepted as necessary, throughout Canada. Within a week the British Columbia Security Commission was established to oversee the evacuation. Ten days later the first evacuees were rounded up and imprisoned in the inadequately prepared animal barns of Vancouver's Hastings Park fairgrounds.

In keeping with the dominant mood in the country, most Anglicans on the west coast were in favour of the evacuation, believing the claims of the politicians and the press that the Japanese-Canadians posed a threat to national security. Indeed, some prominent churchmembers, such as Vancouver Alderman Halford Wilson, had been openly hostile to the Japanese immigrants for many years, and had previously sought to have them deported to Japan or interned in Nazi-style ghettos or prison camps. In general, however, the majority of Anglicans on the west coast, like the majority of British Columbians, appeared satisfied with the government action, but not overtly antagonistic toward the Japanese minority. This was true even of members of the local W.A.
In January 1942 the editors of the Women's Auxiliary publication, the Living Message asked Mrs. John Gould of Vancouver to report regularly on developments as they occurred in the mission to the Japanese.\(^{25}\) In her first report she wrote that "[m]any necessary restrictions have had to be placed upon the Japanese in this province." She added that although not all the Japanese were guilty of the crimes of which they were accused, exceptions could not be made despite the fact that hardships were accruing to the innocent.\(^{26}\) Miss A. May Hilliard, president of the New Westminster Diocesan W.A., Dominion W.A. representative on the PBMO, and long-time supporter of the Japanese mission in Vancouver, reported in November 1942 that although the Japanese had been loyal to Canada, law-abiding and industrious, there were among them "some dangerous to the safety of Canada."\(^{27}\) In addition, she believed that most of the Japanese cooperated in the evacuation because they realized "that the move was a measure of self-protection."\(^{28}\)

Above all, these pronouncements indicate a lack of concern, on the part of church members who avowedly supported Japanese-Canadians, for the rights of the Japanese minority. This unconcern is also evident in the minutes of the PBMO, the administrative body in charge of the Anglican women missionaries who worked among the Japanese. The Administration Committee of the PBMO met on January 8, 1942 to discuss, among other things, the "Japanese situation." Secretary-Treasurer W.H. Matthewson noted;

[It was moved by the Bishop of Columbia, seconded by the Archbishop: 'That this Board realizing the present National peril affirms that the safety of the Country is the first consideration, AND PROVIDED that the National Security is duly safeguarded, trust 1. THAT the true British tradition of justice and fair play will operate in any protective measures the Government may feel necessary to adopt towards the Japanese residents of the Country - AND 2. THAT whatever changes may be adopted full facilities be afforded the Christian Missionaries for the continuation of their work.' And that copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister of Canada; the Hon. Ian MacKenzie; the Mayors of Vancouver and New Westminster; the Rev. W.P. Bunt, United Church of Canada; the Canadian Press Association; the Editor of the Canadian Churchman. [not italicized in original]\(^{29}\)
It seems clear from the above resolution that the Board administrators did not question the necessity of 'protective measures' with regard to the Japanese-Canadians. In fact, they assumed that something would be done. Although they were not specific as to whether they expected the impending government action would be taken to protect the Japanese minority or Canada, they indicated their belief that Japanese-Canadians posed a potential threat to national security. They made it clear that their primary concern was not the protection of Japanese-Canadian civil liberties but the continuation of the missionaries' access to their 'flock.'

Governing councils of other Canadian churches active in the Japanese community shared such sentiments. They officially approved the evacuation order, at the same time assuring Japanese-Canadians that the churches were sympathetic to their plight and would uphold the standards of British justice and fair play.30

Nevertheless, some Anglican missionaries did not support the official position of their church. These few sent telegrams to Ottawa which protested the government's move.31 In addition, nearly all of the paid workers, along with missionaries from other denominations, immediately offered to go with the Japanese wherever they were sent.32 For the Anglican workers, however, securing the permission of the PBMO to go with the Japanese proved difficult. It appears that the PBMO administrators were not opposed in principle to the idea, but they were disinclined to take any practical action, such as making early and emphatic demands on behalf of their workers for access to the detention camps. According to Grace Tucker, the PBMO seemed to believe that the evacuation would only be a temporary measure, and therefore sending missionaries with the "relocated" Japanese would be ultimately unnecessary.33

There were two problems, from the Board's perspective. The first was the lack of concrete official information on where the Japanese were to be sent - a situation which lasted well into May 1942. Even at the end of June some uncertainty lingered over the final disposition of the Japanese for the duration of the war. In the absence of
practical details the Board insisted that no definite plans could be made with regard to future work until the government policy was firmly established.\textsuperscript{34}

The other major difficulty for the PBMO was the Mission's chronic shortage of money. The PBMO's administrators were loath to expend limited funds to set up missions and relocate workers in the interior if they would only have to be moved again later. They held this position despite the assurance of H.G. Watts, field secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (M.S.C.C.), that in this emergency situation both the M.S.C.C. and the Dominion Women's Auxiliary (W.A.) would almost certainly approve any reasonable request for additional funding.\textsuperscript{35}

For their part, the PBMO missionaries were chiefly concerned to remain with the Japanese-Canadians in order to provide practical assistance and emotional support at a time when they had few other friends in the community.\textsuperscript{36} The workers grew increasingly frustrated with the PBMO's reluctance to make even tentative plans for the future of the work. In their letters to the \textit{Living Message} and to M.S.C.C. officials in Toronto they frequently stressed that the exigencies of the evacuation offered the church an "unprecedented opportunity for service," and that the mission had reached a crisis point, namely, the success of further evangelical work among the Japanese-Canadians would depend on how the church conducted itself during the present emergency.\textsuperscript{37}

Early in March H.G. Watts, the M.S.C.C. field secretary, travelled to Vancouver to confer with Rev. W.H. Gale, the Superintendent of the Japanese mission, as well as the missionaries and the local W.A. In a letter to his superior in Toronto he described Gale as being "stunned by the situation" and indecisive at a time when, in Watts's estimation, the urgency of the situation required quick decisions which "cannot be given too much time or thought." He also described the workers as "very obviously not in accord with the Bishop's and Gale's plan of waiting to see what transpires. They are keen to get down to preparations for definite work." He outlined some of the suggestions he made at that meeting, and stated that the workers also made some
suggestions, but that "Gale's attitude . . . was, that as P.B.M.O. workers those decisions must be dealt with by the Board."

In this letter Watts also related that the M.S.C.C. was powerless until the PBMO made some plans and asked for help because "the general attitude in B.C. is that the East, even in Government circles, does not understand the problem, and that applies to the M.S.C.C. too." Any prodding from Eastern officials would likely result in more resistance. He concluded by making a number of further suggestions with regard to how the work in the camps could be conducted, and recommended that because the PBMO met too infrequently and moved too cautiously, it be eliminated. Although this last recommendation was not acted upon until after the war, through the period from 1942-45 the Board did lose much of its power.

On March 13 the Administration Committee met in Vancouver with the missionaries and W.A. representatives in order to discuss plans for the immediate future. It was agreed that the services of the women missionaries would be offered to the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) in order to assist in the evacuation of the women and children. To this end, a list of workers and their qualifications would be given to the Commission, and a request would be made for copies of the rules and regulations governing the Japanese-Canadians, so that the workers could interpret and explain them to those who were confused or who lacked sufficient facility in English. In addition, in order to decide "the best method of carrying on the Missionary work" the missionaries were to list all the Japanese families and individuals they knew of and record where people were sent. The missionaries had to gather this information for themselves since it was not available to them from the BCSC.

Although the Board made no provisions at this meeting for sending the workers to the camps with the Japanese, at least the missionaries could get down to practical work, and this they did with great energy. The Vancouver workers continued their regular duties in kindergartens, clubs and community work. They also assisted those forced to move to dispose of, or find storage for, their belongings, interpreted the new
regulations for those who were handicapped by poor English, acted as intermediaries between the Japanese and the Security Commission, and attempted to calm rumour-inspired fears, (which were especially rife during the first few months of the evacuation). As Foster wrote in April 1942, "our work is heavier than ever, - people coming morning noon and night for help and advice - and seven days a week. Mr. Gale is looking extremely tired." For the Security Commission the missionaries also registered individuals, families, and "homogeneous" groups that wished to remain together when they were evacuated. After discovering that the United Church workers and the Roman Catholic sisters had already begun to list "their" families, Grace Tucker and Alice Cox went to the Commission on behalf of the Anglicans, seeking permission to register Anglican Japanese who wished to remain together. As might be expected, for mission workers "homogeneous" groups were defined primarily by their religious affiliation.

In keeping with a long standing Anglican policy of not duplicating the evangelical efforts of other denominations, (especially those of Protestants), and in cooperation with other churches active among the Japanese-Canadians, the missionaries arranged to have groups sent to different destinations according to the church to which they or their friends belonged. The groups were eventually assigned to detention camps as follows: Anglicans in the Slocan Valley; United Church members in Kaslo; Catholics in Greenwood; and Buddhists in Sandon. The settlement at Tashme housed both United Church and Anglican adherents. Grace Tucker, who was put in charge of registering people for the Anglican interior settlements, recalls that the district visiting that she and her co-workers had done before the war helped in this process, especially with those who were not Anglicans. As she says, "although they [the Japanese] were not our church people . . . they felt they knew us, and had a bit of trust, and came up into . . . Slocan."

In the midst of all this activity, the workers continued to urge the PBMO to permit them to move to the detention camps along with the Japanese. They were aided
in their appeals by the local diocesan W.A. Indeed, at least some workers believed it was the insistence of the New Westminster diocesan W.A. which finally prompted the Board to allow missionaries to go to the interior camps.\textsuperscript{47} Exactly who in the W.A. worked on the missionaries' behalf in this undertaking, and what those women did to make the Board change its position, is unclear. The wives and daughters of some Board members were active as either volunteers or paid workers in the Japanese mission, and they may have been able to exert some influence. W.A. President Hilliard, the only woman on the PBMO, may also have been involved in these efforts since she maintained a keen interest in and support for the Japanese work. There are hints in some of the correspondence that the workers believed Hilliard supported them, rather than the Board, on this issue.\textsuperscript{48}

However constituted, this collective pressure eventually had an effect. At the annual meeting of the PBMO, held on April 30, 1942, camp work was reported to be under consideration. According to the secretary the missionaries had been thus far unable to obtain passes from the Commission "as camps were not sufficiently organized."\textsuperscript{49} A notation on this report dated May 15, 1942 stated "[t]his has since been rectified."\textsuperscript{50}

Approximately 75 percent of the Japanese population in Canada lived in the Greater Vancouver region in 1941.\textsuperscript{51} Because the Vancouver Japanese were allowed to remain in their homes until their evacuation orders came, all the workers originally based in Vancouver continued to work through the Holy Cross and Church of the Ascension missions, and the Marpole and Kitsilano outstations, during the spring of 1942. Japanese-Canadians from coastal areas outside Greater Vancouver, however, were detained in the Hastings Park Manning Pool until other arrangements could be made to place them either in the interior or on the prairie sugar beet farms. A few voluntarily went further east, to Ontario.

When on March 16, 1942 the Security Commissioners began the process of rounding up the people in the outlying regions, they had no idea where the evacuees
were eventually going to be sent.52 Their orders from Ottawa were to begin immediately sending the men to road camps, and to keep the women and children at Hastings Park until more permanent arrangements were made.53 However, these arrangements were more difficult to make than the Commissioners had at first anticipated.54

Because the evacuation was being justified on the grounds that the Japanese minority posed a real threat to national security, many Anglo-Canadians believed that the Japanese might be a personal threat as well. The resulting unwillingness on the part of many communities across the country to accept the Japanese-Canadians caught the Commissioners by surprise. Since the Commission did not definitely settle on the interior "ghost towns" for detention camp sites until May, housing preparations at these locations were not begun until the late spring and early summer of 1942.55 As a consequence some people were confined in Hastings Park for several months.

By all accounts, except those of the Security Commission, living conditions at Hastings Park were appalling, especially in the first six weeks of its occupation.56 The first groups of evacuees from Tofino and Clayquot were moved in a scant week after the Commission initiated renovations on the livestock barns,57 and Port Alberni and Prince Rupert people arrived only a few days later. The stink of animal manure, maggots, dust and dirt, row upon row of two-tiered bunk beds, and an almost complete lack of privacy greeted these first inhabitants. The first toilets were open troughs, without seats or partitions. There were 48 showers for the 4000 people the Park was expected to house. Disgusted, the inmates began working on improving conditions almost immediately.58

Dormitories and mess halls were segregated by sex. Men and boys over 13 years were separated from their wives, mothers and children in the women's dormitory. Men were shipped out to road camps with little notice and were not granted the opportunity, at least officially, to say good-bye to their families in the women's dormitory. As Sunahara notes "Hastings Park was hardest on the women. In the road camps the men
had a good diet and healthy, if crude, accommodations. At Hastings Park screaming children, prying eyes and the stink of animals defined the women's existence.\textsuperscript{59} On top of everything else, the people in Hastings Park were kept under Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) guard,\textsuperscript{60} and the dusk to dawn curfew, to which all Japanese were subject after the evacuation was announced, was enforced even within the Park. Under this regulation the inmates were not even permitted to attend evening church services.\textsuperscript{61}

The Anglican missionaries who ministered to the people confined in Hastings Park were those who worked in the outlying districts before the evacuation. This was a logical placement, given that these women would be known to at least some of the detainees. Harriet Horobin and Frances Hawkins of the Port Alberni mission began their daily visits to the Park on March 26, after closing the mission in Port Alberni.\textsuperscript{62} Kathleen Lang and Elsie Heaps arrived from Prince Rupert and took up their duties in the Park in April.\textsuperscript{63} The workers' first task was to track down all the people from their districts among the 1593 Japanese-Canadians who were assembled in the Park between March 16 and 29, 1942.\textsuperscript{64} In addition, a lucky few of the first evacuees were able to find accommodation in the city, and the workers sought them out as well.\textsuperscript{65}

Within a week of beginning work at the Park the women workers had organized church services, Sunday School classes, and an outdoor programme for kindergarten children. A girls' club was established shortly after, and by April 20 the missionaries got official permission to hold kindergarten classes six mornings a week, from 9:00 to 11:30.\textsuperscript{66} All church programmes were instituted under the direction of an Inter-Church committee, with representatives from the Anglican, United and Salvation Army churches. Anglican and United Church missionaries operated the kindergarten and Sunday School classes jointly, both denominations sending three workers each to teach approximately 150 children.\textsuperscript{67} The Roman Catholic sisters also worked in the Park, but they refused to join in the joint programmes.\textsuperscript{68} They ran their kindergarten class separately, in the afternoons.\textsuperscript{69}
The Vancouver-based missionaries were extremely busy attending to the increased work load in their own communities, but they lent what assistance they could to the workers in the Park. From the end of March Rev. Gale visited the Park daily, and for two weeks at the end of April Margaret Foster went in to help establish the kindergarten. The Vancouver missions also loaned some furniture and a piano to the workers in the Park, but this did little to cheer the room they were eventually allotted for the kindergarten - it was "large, cold and bare, and the sound reverberated like thunder."

The separation of men from their families was a constant source of distress for the evacuees. Some families in the Lower Fraser Valley and in Hastings Park chose to go to the sugar beet fields in Alberta and Manitoba, where they were at least assured that the family unit would be allowed to remain intact. Those in the road camps staged sit-down strikes in order to back their demands for reunification with their families. On the basis of these demands, and the representations of Vancouver-based Nisei lobby groups, the Security Commission urged government approval for the expansion and improvement of housing in the interior camps. The federal government reluctantly granted its consent to this plan in late June, and the Commissioners announced the change in policy on July 1. However, due to a shortage of accommodation in the camps, relatively few Japanese families were moved in through the summer. As a result by September 1 Hastings Park, which had the capacity for 4000 inmates, housed 3866 persons, its highest population.

While the protests and negotiations were under way, 140 women and children, evacuees destined for the 'Anglican' centre at Slocan City, left by train on May 30, 1942. Their departure had been delayed several times over two weeks. Every other day for a week another group of 140 followed them, half of each group being drawn from Hastings Park, the other half from their homes in Vancouver. The Commission employed special trains to transport the evacuees to the detention centres. By September 1 there were 1600 evacuees in Slocan City. Throughout the summer
additional groups were slowly transferred to the other detention camps. Despite the relatively unhurried pace at which people were evacuated during the summer months, arrivals still far outstripped the available housing. The earliest camp inmates were crowded into dilapidated hotels or tents, entire families sharing a single room for months and as many as seven families sharing a single stove. The rate of evacuation increased after September 1, with trainloads of evacuees arriving daily, but the accommodations remained thoroughly inadequate. Indeed, some people were still living in tents in November.

The interior detention camps were originally intended to house 7500 women, children and elderly people, mostly the dependents of men who were working in the road camps. Plans to reunite families in the camps required the renovation of the existing buildings in the ghost towns, as well as construction of dwellings for more than 12,000. Throughout the summer, in each of the designated ghost towns, Japanese-Canadian work crews under the supervision of Commission personnel threw together hundreds of sixteen by twenty-four foot or sixteen by sixteen foot shacks, single-walled, uninsulated, and built with green timber. The larger shacks were intended to house a minimum of eight people, while a minimum of four individuals were expected to live in the smaller abodes. Electricity, running water and indoor toilets did not exist. In some places water had to be hauled over a mile.

The evacuees were only provided with a small stove to use for heating and cooking. Everything else they had to provide for themselves, including mattresses, cooking utensils, food, and so on. The Security Commission provided wood for fuel and to enable evacuees to construct their own furniture. However, the green wood provided little heat, and the furniture made from it warped. The damp from the lumber quickly ruined mattresses and clothing. All in all conditions were, at least in the first year, primitive and uncomfortable. However, unlike the sites of the Japanese-American detention camps, the Slocan valley was beautiful, and for some this helped make the conditions somewhat more bearable.
Despite the initial reluctance of the PBMO to allow it, when the Commission began moving evacuees in May 1942 into the so-called 'Anglican' relocation centre in the Slocan valley, the workers gradually transferred into the camps too. In order to investigate the site and get started on preparations for work there, Alice Cox, a retired English missionary to Japan and volunteer worker for the PBMO for at least the past year, went to Slocan ahead of the first contingent of Japanese destined for the area. Within two weeks Harriet Horobin followed her with the first group of evacuees, and by the end of June Margaret Foster and Aya Suzuki had joined them. Gertrude Shore also joined the staff at Slocan in early July, leaving Grace Tucker, May Owston, Mae Walker, Cicely Baldwin, Helen Bailey, and Lois Nakayama (former kindergarten teacher at the Church of the Ascension mission, and the wife of the Japanese priest in charge of the Holy Cross mission) to carry on the work in Vancouver, while Francis Hawkins, Kathleen Lang, and Elsie Heaps continued their work in Hastings Park.

The workers in Slocan immediately set about securing locations in which they could hold church services, kindergartens, and Sunday schools. They reported that the town manager for the Security Commission was cooperative and sympathetic to their work, although he could neither lend nor construct any facilities for the mission. To begin with, then, the workers were limited to the tiny Anglican and United Church buildings for meetings and classes, although in September the mission was given one of the larger shacks for its kindergarten in Popoff, a settlement just outside Slocan City. By July the missionaries had not only established regular church services and a kindergarten, they had also organized a daily Vacation Bible School for the older children, Bible classes and home visits with the women, and a lending library for the entire settlement, utilising discarded books from the Vancouver public library and gifts from people supportive of the mission.

In an early report of the situation in the Slocan district, the workers enthusiastically described the future scope of the work there. They saw the greatest opportunities in the areas of evangelistic work, social work with young people, and
public school teaching, and they outlined the steps they believed were necessary in order to maximise successfully these opportunities.

Their first concern was the young people, especially the Nisei teenagers, who would suffer the most in the evacuation. To serve this group the women called for a young Occidental priest who had worked among the Japanese to come with his family and form a centre for the teenagers and young adults in the district. A Japanese priest, they believed, would not do. Although they did not elaborate in the report, in all likelihood they believed an Occidental priest was essential for this aspect of the work because most of the Nisei spoke English better than Japanese. It is also possible that they hoped an Occidental priest might provide an attractive leader and role model for the young people. As such he might alleviate some of the Nisei's hostility and confusion.

Next they demanded two more women missionaries "at once." They also wanted the PBMO to provide a large hall for use as a mission centre and a budget for the new mission's expenses. They briefly outlined an employment scheme they wished to establish in the camp in order to enable the girls in the community to earn some money by doing piecework. They enquired about the Board's policy concerning the distribution of funds for the standard work of the mission - the kindergartens and so on, and for relief for the Japanese. Finally, they asked the Board to approach the W.A. for some bales of second hand clothing, and they requested that the furniture in the Vancouver missions be sent up.

Although the missionaries got the extra workers and some expense funds, they did not get the Occidental priest or, apparently, the furniture from the missions. Neither were they granted any extra funds to distribute to needy families, while the employment scheme for the girls was given some consideration and then abandoned. As for the mission hall, the Bishop of Kootenay reported looking into having one built at the expense of his diocese, but it appears that nothing was actually done about it.
Any extra rooms or buildings constructed for the Slocan mission were built by the Japanese themselves.97

Clearly, the women workers believed that their role as missionaries extended far beyond that of lay evangelists and kindergarten teachers to include the provision of services normally provided by the state, such as social welfare and state education, which in the circumstances were not made available, since the British Columbian government refused to fulfill its responsibilities in the area of education, and the federal government was attempting to cut to a minimum the costs of maintaining the evacuees.98 To this end, on September 1, 1942 Grace Tucker took a leave of absence from the missionary society in order to become the welfare manager for the Security Commission in the Slocan district. In retrospect she saw the focus of her work to be the attempt to get as much money as possible for those camp inmates who were unable to work, and were thus forced to request government relief.99 The other missionaries, in addition to their regular kindergartening, district visiting, club work and church-related duties (like Sunday school and Bible class teaching), organized public school classes for the children in the elementary grades, and tutored high school students. They had to take the latter group in the evenings at first, but in late 1943 they began holding high school classes during the day as well.100

The district's centre was in Slocan City.101 Settlements within the range of the Anglican mission included Rosebery, New Denver, Bay Farm, Popoff, and Lemon Creek, although the United Church also sent some workers to Rosebery and Lemon Creek. The cooperation between United Church and Anglican missionaries, which started in Hastings Park, continued in the Slocan valley, where the workers held joint staff meetings and shared curriculum materials.102 At the peak of its population, on April 1, 1943, there were approximately 6,500 evacuees in the Valley.103 Because of limited resources and workers, the missionaries in the district had to concentrate their efforts on the Bay Farm-Popoff-Slocan City area.
During the autumn of 1942 the mission staff went through a period of adjustment as some of the mission workers took holidays or sick leave, while others, unwilling to leave Vancouver for personal reasons, resigned. Harriet Horobin, overdue for a furlough, opted to spend her leave in a farmhouse just outside Bay Farm for the month of September. Although she was officially on holiday, she still made various visits in the district. Margaret Foster took a month's leave in October, and May Owston replaced her in the kindergarten at Slocan City. While on leave Foster had a sinus operation, for which she received an additional three-month paid leave of absence. She did not return to the mission until March 1, 1943, when she took over the kindergarten in Slocan City from two Japanese-Canadian women who had co-taught this class in her absence. Owston, on the other hand, went back to Vancouver in November, and in December she resigned from the mission after nearly twenty years of service. Her resignation was joined by that of Cicely Baldwin, who had taken a three-month sick leave beginning in August. She requested a further three months off without pay in November, and finally resigned from the Japanese work in December because she was unwilling to leave her mother alone in Vancouver. Both she and Owston went to work for the Chinese mission in Vancouver instead.

There were additions to the staff in the Slocan district as well. Elsie Heaps arrived in the Slocan valley in October 1942, and she immediately began helping Aya Suzuki in the kindergarten at Popoff. Miss Clench and Miss Hamilton, two retired missionaries who had been forced to evacuate from Japan in 1941, went to New Denver as evangelical workers among the evacuees in that settlement. In addition, Norah Bowman, another retired missionary from Japan, offered to help in the interior mission, but she did not actually arrive until sometime in the spring of 1944. Kathleen (Kay) Nakagawa, a young Japanese woman who had lived all her life among Occidentals in Salmon Arm, also came to work in the mission in 1944 in order to obtain some practical experience before training as an Anglican missionary in Toronto in 1945.
Because they were still very short-staffed in the fall of 1942, the workers utilised twelve young Japanese-Canadian women, who had helped in the vacation bible school during the summer, as voluntary workers. Two, Miss Hiroko Shimada and Miss Aya Tokunaga, were eventually put on the W.A. payroll, the former during the summer and the latter, once it was discovered that the missionaries had been paying her a small salary out of their own pockets, in December 1942.\textsuperscript{114}

Although the largest concentration of Anglican Japanese-Canadians was in the Slocan Valley, the workers were not all centred in that district. In early November, once Hastings Park was closed and the evacuation complete, the PBMO sent Kathleen Lang to Salmon Arm as an itinerant worker among the isolated Japanese settlements in that district.\textsuperscript{115} Making good use of the bicycle the W.A. eventually provided for her, Lang gave Sunday services in two communities several miles apart, and made regular visits to four neighbourhoods in the district as well, even in the winter.\textsuperscript{116} Bailey, Hawkins and Walker visited Tashme with Rev. Gale every weekend beginning in November 1942,\textsuperscript{117} but the Security Commission did not provide a schoolroom or housing in Tashme for the missionaries until May 1943.\textsuperscript{118} When the three women did manage to obtain accommodation in the camp, they had to share their rather cramped quarters with three United Church missionaries for the first nine months. At the end of January 1944 the camp authorities finally allocated the Anglican missionaries their own cabin which, unlike the shacks for the Japanese-Canadians, was constructed from logs rather than planks, and had indoor plumbing, a hot water boiler, and a shower. Despite the fact that they no longer had to live with the United Church missionaries, they continued to teach in the United Church-run high school in Tashme, although they operated their own kindergarten, elementary school, and Sunday school.\textsuperscript{119}

Living conditions for the workers in Slocan were primitive, especially in the first winter. Almost all the missionaries, including Grace Tucker, lived together in an old, uninsulated farmhouse at the edge of the Slocan City settlement. Exceptions were Alice Cox, whose status as a retired CMS missionary accorded her the privilege of
living on her own; Aya Suzuki, who lived in nearby Popoff with her parents and two foster sisters; and Kathleen Nakagawa, who moved in with the Suzukis when she came to work in the mission in 1944. Like the Japanese-Canadians, the mission workers suffered greatly from the cold - trying, and mostly failing, to keep their homes warm and dry. They scraped ice off the inside of their walls each morning and broke the ice in the local stream in order to get water. Unlike the camp inmates, however, the missionaries were able to pool their money and hire a woman to do some of the household chores.

After the evacuation was accomplished, reports of the Japanese mission became scarce, both in the Living Message and in the pertinent primary source documents retained by the church archives. This may simply be the result of editorial oversights and the vagaries of those who compiled and preserved the mission's official reports and correspondence. It is also possible, although not likely, that wartime censorship played a role. The overwhelming impression, however, is that once the Japanese-Canadians were housed in the detention camps they were no longer of interest to the majority of Canadians. For Anglicans this lack of interest appears to have extended to the mission work among Japanese-Canadians as well. As a result, it is difficult to assemble a complete picture of how the Anglicans viewed the camp work after the autumn of 1942. The remaining evidence points to some general outlines, however, and from this some details emerge as well.

For the first year in Slocan the workers concentrated on teaching public school classes, kindergartens, holding girls' club and women's meetings, and providing church services and classes. Public school teaching took up a large proportion of the Slocan missionaries' time in late 1942 and all of 1943. Although their staff was small, the mission workers nevertheless attempted to provide as many of the children as possible with a public school education, and thus fulfill the responsibilities that both the provincial and the federal governments refused to honour. The province unequivocally denied that it had an obligation to the Japanese-Canadians in the area of education.
The Department of Education grudgingly allowed the high school students to enroll in the provincial correspondence course, but it charged Japanese-Canadians higher fees than Occidental children.\textsuperscript{120} The Security Commission, on the other hand, established schools in the spring of 1943, but only for children in the elementary grades. The Commission, and later the Department of Labour, which took over the administration of Japanese-Canadian affairs in February 1943, refused to make any provision for high school pupils.\textsuperscript{121} Sunahara maintains that the Security Commission provided elementary schooling because it wanted to avoid alienating the churches, and that, in lieu of the provincial Department of Education living up to its responsibilities, further schooling was not provided because the Department of Labour was attempting to encourage the evacuees to move east of the Rockies.\textsuperscript{122}

The missionaries began teaching public school early in November 1942, when an outbreak of whooping-cough forced the closure of the kindergartens. A ban on gatherings of children under ten remained in effect until January 1943, so in the interim the missionaries organized public school classes for children in the higher grades. Despite a serious lack of space in which to hold classes, the workers in the Slocan area took one or two elementary grades once or twice a week, teaching each class for a few hours either in the morning or the afternoon. Those who taught kindergarten continued to teach primary classes after the kindergartens were allowed to resume in January.\textsuperscript{123} The workers carried on these classes until the Security Commission-run school was opened in April, 1943.\textsuperscript{124}

Although they were deeply concerned about the plight of the high school-aged students, all the workers were able to do in the first year was to tutor a small number of them in the evenings. The high school work was extended in November 1943 when, according to the \textit{Living Message}, Heaps, Suzuki, and Shore, along with two unnamed Nisei students, began offering regular high school instruction.\textsuperscript{125} Bowman came in 1944 and took over Suzuki's high school students, leaving Suzuki to devote all her time to the two kindergarten classes in Popoff and the girls' clubs.
A Roman Catholic sisterhood also came to Slocan in 1944 and established a commercial high school for the Japanese-Canadian children.\textsuperscript{126} This was clearly an invasion of evangelical territory, since the Anglicans had been 'given' the Slocan valley in 1942 and there was only one Catholic family in the district, but some of the new arrivals were welcomed by the older missionaries who knew them from Japan. Even those who viewed the appearance of the Catholics with suspicion or disfavour admitted that the sisters offered an excellent commercial course.\textsuperscript{127}

During their time in the camps the missionaries found themselves able to take greater control of their work than the PBMO had permitted in the past. Board members back in Vancouver, however, did not view this without some misgivings. Late in 1942 the Archbishop of Kootenay visited Slocan and reported being impressed with the work being done, but noted that "it was his opinion that the workers were rather at loose ends due to lack of someone in authority to guide them."\textsuperscript{128} The workers, evidently, did not feel the same way, for although they requested supplies, money, clothing, and prayers from the PBMO and the W.A., they never, in any of the extant documentation, requested a supervisor to direct their work or implied that they felt the need of an authority figure. They produced monthly reports of their work, and at weekly staff meetings planned all the mission's activities, the work schedules, cooperative efforts with the United Church workers, and their teaching curricula, without, as far as can be ascertained, referring their decisions to the authority of the Board. The greater freedom to plan their own work also allowed the women to respond more confidently and decisively when new contingencies arose, as they did during the relocation or repatriation crisis in 1945.

By September 1944 work routines and duties had become established. The Anglicans had a new kindergarten room in the Bay Farm settlement, built by Aya Suzuki's father and some of the other men in the district. These men also built an additional room, for use as a high school classroom, onto the local Anglican church.\textsuperscript{129} The \textit{Living Message} reported in January 1945 that Grace Tucker in addition to her
work as a welfare officer in Slocan, also commuted to Tashme to teach a Sunday School teacher-training course and to supervise a girls' club there. Margaret Foster and Aya Suzuki were wholly occupied with their kindergarten work, and Gertrude Shore, Elsie Heaps, Norah Bowman and Alice Cox were teaching high school, along with a number of Japanese-Canadian young people. Harriet Horobin busied herself with evangelical work in the area and with supervising Kathleen Nakagawa, the new missionary candidate. The workers taught summer school classes every year they were in Slocan, but they managed to schedule the work so that they could all take a month of leave.

According to the outward signs, life in the camps was settling into a regular pattern, but there was an undercurrent of despair and apprehension among the inmates which only increased through 1944 and 1945. Camp residents slipped into what the editors of the *New Canadian* called a "reservation" mentality – the evacuation had dealt their pride a severe blow, and they were living in poverty, without hope, and were unable to plan for the future while their lives were under the direction of the government.

The despair of the camp residents resulted, in large part, from the actions of the federal government in 1943. At the end of March of that year, just as the snows of that first difficult winter were melting, the evacuees discovered that the Custodian of Enemy Property, who was put in charge of the things they had been forced to leave behind, had begun selling their properties and chattels without the owners' permission. Although they tried, the evacuees were unable to stop the sales. Those on relief were forced to repay the government with the capital obtained from the sale of their property, and they were subsequently compelled to draw on the remaining funds in order to support themselves and their families during their detention. In addition, persons who had funds were not permitted to work in the interior camps. Single adults, too, were not allowed to either secure employment or receive relief while living in the camps, unless they were the sole support of their family. This applied even to those who were employed by the church. As early as November a report in the *Living*
Message noted that "the Commission policy of moving Nisei into districts where they may be self-supporting threatened the loss of the two [Nisei women] who have been tutoring [high school students]."

Thus, due to the Commission's general policy of discouraging the evacuees from settling permanently in the camps, most Japanese-Canadians found themselves with no job prospects, no homes to go back to on the coast, and their life savings dwindling or exhausted through the purchase of necessities like food and clothing. Poverty was ever-present.\textsuperscript{138} As Sunahara notes,

\begin{quote}
[b]y late 1944 the camps were populated largely by the elderly, the sick, young families with several children and few marketable skills, pro-Japan patriots, and those who despaired of re-establishing themselves or simply wanted to stay where they were until peace could bring normal conditions again . . . Pessimism and cynicism grew, fed by poverty and disillusionment.\textsuperscript{139}
\end{quote}

Thus an increasing number of evacuees, especially the Nisei, found themselves pressured to go east of the Rockies in search of work.\textsuperscript{140} Pressure became compulsion in the spring and summer of 1945, when the federal government gave the camp residents two choices: resettle east of the Rockies or 'repatriate' to Japan.\textsuperscript{141}

The missionaries responded to this new crisis in two ways: they arranged to go to Ontario and Quebec in order to assist the evacuees in resettling there, and they joined in a vigorous campaign to oppose the forced deportation of those who, for various reasons, found themselves compelled to sign for repatriation to Japan in the spring and summer of 1945. As in the period after Pearl Harbor, once again the workers found the character of their work changing as it shifted to a new location.


3. Like Ann Gomer Sunahara and Ken Adachi, I refer, throughout this chapter, to the interior settlements in which the bulk of the Japanese Canadian population was housed during the war, as 'detention camps,' rather than 'interior housing centres,' 'relocation centres,' or 'housing settlements.' Although the Canadian government did not invoke the legal term 'detention centre' in reference to these camps, the fact that the Japanese Canadians were forcibly relocated under conditions which provided few options other than the camps, the practice of restricting the movements of the inmates, and their supervision by the RCMP indicate that in all but the strictest of legalistic definitions the Japanese Canadians were confined in what can best be described as detention camps. See Sunahara, 95-96; Adachi, 251-252, 256, 259.


6. Ibid., 105, 111-12.

7. Sunahara, 27.


10. See, for example, Vancouver Sun, "City Rapidly Shifts Onto War Footing," "B.C. Defenses 'Adequate to Meet Any Probable Attack,'" and editorial, "Citizens Be Calm," all on p. 1 of the December 8, 1941 issue. At the same time, however, the seizure of the Japanese fishing fleet was justified in the papers as a 'defensive measure,' thereby increasing Anglo-Canadian suspicions about the loyalty of the Japanese.

11. Adachi, 201. It is important to note that Patricia E. Roy and J.L. Granatstein have proposed an alternative exegesis to the events leading up to the evacuation. for example, they report that "espionage and sabotage [on the part of Japanese Canadians in
British Columbia were genuine possibilities. For a fuller account of their interpretation of the evacuation, see Patricia E. Roy, J.L. Granatstein, Masako Iino, and Hiroko Takamura, Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese During the Second World War. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).


13. This argument was bolstered by Frank Knox, the American secretary of the navy, who erroneously reported, on December 15, 1941, that the success of the Pearl Harbour attack was the result of fifth column work. Sunahara, 30.


17. Dower, 34-35, 153-54. Dower does not specifically discuss the relative treatment of German-, Italian-, and Japanese-Canadians, of course, but his arguments with regard to the differences in Allied perceptions of Germans and Japanese are illuminating. Another factor which appears to have been involved was the fact that Japanese Canadians in British Columbia did not possess the franchise. Jack Pickersgill, Mackenzie King's executive assistant during the war, suggested to Sunahara in an interview that the evacuation would not have taken place if the Japanese Canadians possessed voting privileges, for King was "unlikely to discriminate against anyone whose vote he wanted." Sunahara, 45-46.

18. Sunahara points out that at the same time the federal cabinet was making decisions concerning the 'Japanese problem,' it was also wrestling with the conscription crisis. By promoting British Columbia's invasion fears, King was able to justify conscription for reasons of national defence. The evacuation of the Japanese minority authenticated both the invasion fears and King's claim of the necessity of conscription. See 43-44.

19. Ibid., 37-38. Sunahara notes here that naturalization was made almost impossible for Japanese immigrants after 1923.

20. Ibid., 38.

21. Ibid., 39.

22. Ibid., 46-47.

23. La Violette, 59-60.


26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., (November 1942): 374.

28. Ibid.

29. PBMO Administration Committee Minutes, January 8, 1942, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, Series 3-3, Box 72, M.S.C.C. Collection, PBMO File, hereafter GSA, PBMO Papers.


32. Living Message, (May 1942): 136; and Minutes of the Annual PBMO meeting, April 30, 1942, GSA, PBMO Papers.


35. Ibid.


37. See, for example, Foster to Dixon, April 8, 1942, Evacuation Papers; and Living Message, (September 1942): 281.

38. Watts to Dixon, March 19, 1942, GSA, Evacuation Papers.


40. Margaret Foster to Canon L.A. Dixon, April 8, 1942, GSA, Evacuation Papers.


43. Annual Report of the Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals, July 17, 1942, GSA, PBMO Papers.

44. Living Message, (December 1942): 397.

45. Foster to Dixon, May 23, 1942, GSA, Evacuation Papers. In the PBMO report for April 30, 1942, Rev. Gale was given credit for this work.


49. This, in fact, may not have been entirely true. According to a letter from H.G. Watts to L.A. Dixon dated March 4, 1942, Watts had already obtained "agreement in principle" from the colonel in charge (likely Commander Frank Mead of the British Columbia Security Commission), to allow mission workers to follow the Japanese. GSA, Evacuation Papers.

50. Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the PBMO, April 30, 1942, GSA, PBMO Papers.


52. Ibid., 240.


55. The "ghost towns" were interior centres which had been established near sites of intense mining activity. When the mines 'played out' all but a handful of the residents abandoned the towns, leaving the majority of the buildings to deteriorate. See Adachi, 251, 255.

56. There are numerous discussions of the conditions in Hastings Park in both the primary and secondary sources. See, for example, Muriel Kitagawa's This Is My Own 114-16; Sunahara, 55-58; Adachi, 238-46; La Violette, 64-67; and Janice Patton, The Exodus of the Japanese. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), 24-30. For the British Columbia Security Commission's account of conditions in the Park, see the Nov. 1942 "Report", 7-8.

57. Adachi, 238.

58. Sunahara, 55. See also Kitagawa, 115-16.

59. Sunahara, 58.

60. Adachi, 246.


62. Ibid.

63. Heathcote to Dixon, April 18, 1942.

64. Adachi, 238.


68. Foster to Dixon, May 23, 1942 and Heathcote to Dixon, April 18, 1942, GSA, Evacuation Papers.

69. Foster to Dixon, May 23, 1942, GSA, Evacuation Papers.

70. Heathcote to Dixon, April 2, 1942, GSA, Evacuation Papers.

71. Ibid.


74. La Violette, 126; and Sunahara, 77-78, 80.

75. BCSC, "Report," 12.

76. Adachi, 248.

77. Ibid., 246.


79. Sunahara, 77.


81. Ibid.


83. Sunahara, 91. Kitagawa describes conditions for those who were living in tents in Slocan City: "It was bitter cold, with the tent collapsing often as not from the weight of the snow on it. The mess hall, converted from a skating rink, was large and drafty, the bare earth that was the floor, wet and cold." Kitagawa, 258.

84. Adachi, 252.

85. Sunahara, 91.


87. Sunahara, 91.

89. Gale to Dixon, May 21, 1942, GSA, Evacuation Papers; and PBMO Annual Report, July 17, 1942, GSA, PBMO Papers.

90. PBMO Annual Report, July 17, 1942, GSA, PBMO Papers.


93. They noted in the report that some of the staff held public school teaching certificates.


95. By this they were referring to Rev. Gordon G. Nakayama, who was put in charge of the entire Slocan district in the fall of 1942, while Rev. Gale remained in Vancouver for the duration of the war and visited Tashme once a week in order to hold church services.

96. PBMO Administration Committee Minutes, December 10, 1942, GSA, PBMO Papers.


100. Living Message, (November 1943): 381.


102. Interview with Margaret Foster, May 30, 1990.


104. Horobin to Dixon, September 22, 1942, GSA, Evacuation Papers.


106. PBMO Administration Committee Minutes, December 10, 1942, GSA, PBMO Papers.


108. Ibid.

109. PBMO Administration Committee Minutes, December 10, 1942, GSA, PBMO Papers.

110. Living Message, (March 1943): 75 and (June 1943): 197.
In the PBMO Administration Committee Minutes, December 10, 1942, Bowman was reported to be coming, but not right away. In the *Living Message*, (November 1943): 381, it was reported that Heaps, Suzuki and Shore, with two Nisei students who were being paid by the W.A., had arranged to carry on high school work, using the materials provided in the provincial correspondence course. According to Aya Suzuki and Margaret Foster, when Bowman arrived later on, she took over Suzuki's high school teaching duties, and the latter went back to teaching morning and afternoon kindergarten in Popoff. Interviews with Aya Saegusa, March 18, 1990, and Margaret Foster, May 30, 1990.

Interviews, Aya Saegusa, March 18, 1990; Margaret Foster, June 19, 1990. Foster recalls that Nakagawa was a cheerful worker, but she was somewhat overwhelmed at seeing so many Japanese faces, and she found the Japanese names difficult to pronounce.


Ibid.

Ibid.


Living Message, (June 1943): 186.


La Violette, 108; Ashworth, 127.

Patricia E. Roy, "Due to their keenness regarding education, they well get the utmost out of the whole plan: 'The Education of Japanese Children in the British Columbia Interior Housing Settlements During World War Two," Paper given at the Canadian History of Education Association Conference, Ottawa, University of Ottawa, October 12-14, 1990. See also La Violette, 111.

Sunahara, 97.

"Table of Fixed Appointments," Slocan District, January 14, 1943, GSA, PBMO Papers.

Living Message, (June 1943): 186.

Ibid., (November 1943): 381.

Interviews with Margaret Foster, February 10, 1989 and May 30, 1989. There is no clear indication of exactly which order this sisterhood was from, when they arrived, or where they came from, for the Catholic high school was not referred to in any of the documentary sources. Since La Violette does not refer to it in his discussion of education in the interior camps, one may assume that it arrived fairly late. In the *Living Message*, (September 1944): 285, there is an oblique mention of "other Church Schools," which "would have attracted the young people if the Anglicans had not
opened [their high school]." Since no other group was working in the district, the writer is most probably referring to the Catholic high school.


128. PBMO Administration Committee Minutes, December 10, 1942. Grace Tucker reported that Archbishop Adams (Kootenay) was generally "very good and supportive." Interview with Grace Tucker, May 30, 1990.


134. Ibid., (July 1943): 216.

135. La Violette, 104, footnote 12. See also Sunahara, 111.

136. Sunahara, 111.

137. Ibid., 106-108.


139. Sunahara, 111.

140. Ibid., 110-111.

141. La Violette, 149.
CHAPTER FOUR

"Different Problems and New Conditions":

'Repatriation,' Dispersal and Resettlement, 1945-1957

"It seems an extremely strange thing that now, when the race baiters cannot possibly say "war emergency", a [Japanese] Canadian citizen has difficulty to travel . . . . Whatever kind of country is ours becoming?"¹

From the time that the evacuation orders were first promulgated in 1942 until late in 1945 Japanese Canadians were left in a state of uncertainty over the government's plans for them in the post-war period. The abrupt end to the war in the Pacific in late summer 1945 concluded that anxious period. On September 5, 1945, acting on the results of the 'repatriation survey' conducted in the spring of 1945, Labour Minister Humphrey Mitchell announced that all those who had signed for repatriation to Japan would be deported, with the exception of a few Nisei who had revoked their requests in writing before the official Japanese surrender. The order threatened 10,347 people, 43% of the Japanese Canadian population; the rest were to be dispersed across Canada. The government proposed also to establish a 'loyalty' commission to test the 'patriotism' of the Japanese Canadians who chose to remain in this country. Those proving their loyalty to Canada before the commission might settle permanently in any province which agreed to take them.² The entire programme was to be completed before January 1, 1946, when the War Measures Act expired.³

A number of the Anglican women missionaries who had worked among the Japanese in British Columbia, both before and during the war, were active in the protest movement mounted against the deportations. They protested the repatriation survey when it was launched, advised those in the camps not to sign for repatriation when it was being conducted,⁴ and sent telegrams to Ottawa protesting the
government's deportation plans when they were announced. They also wrote letters and articles to the *Living Message* in which they voiced their outrage. Subsequently, in the east they spoke frequently to church groups of various denominations in an effort to gain support for the anti-deportation campaign and, more generally, for Japanese Canadians.

For the first time, however, the women found they were not working alone. The Anglican mission workers soon became members of a powerful, Toronto-based pro-Japanese Canadian lobby group, the Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians (CCJC) which had evolved from a 1943 YWCA resettlement project for young Japanese Canadian women. By 1945 the CCJC had affiliates in most cities across Canada, and had expanded its scope to include political action on behalf of all Japanese Canadians. In addition to protesting the government policies independently, and within smaller joint councils and associations, all the major religious groups in Canada, including the Jewish Congress, sent representatives to the CCJC. So too did several large labour unions, civil liberties unions, national women's groups, university student associations, missionary societies, and Japanese Canadian citizens' associations, and many others.

Through organizations like the CCJC, the Inter-Church Committee, and the M.S.C.C., the Womens' Auxiliary (W.A.) mission workers not only helped fight the deportations, but also argued for full civil liberties for Japanese Canadians, and for the payment of reparations by the federal government for property losses incurred as a result of the evacuation. At the same time, they accepted the church's and the M.S.C.C.'s official position on resettlement, and readily cooperated with the federal government's dispersal programme.

The missionaries played an important role in assisting Japanese Canadians to resettle in the east. Through 1946 the W.A. gradually shifted the majority of their workers to southern Ontario, with a few missionaries going on to Montreal or remaining to serve the independent Japanese communities in the British Columbian
interior. Indeed, resettlement work was the major focus of missionary activity in the post-war period. This necessitated a greater emphasis on the provision of social services for adults than had been evident before the war. In their new environment, kindergarten work, and the opportunity for evangelization that such work presented, were things of the past.

Without an organized and centralized Japanese Canadian community, local mission stations, and a compelling reason for non-Christian parents to bring their children to the missionaries, work among Japanese Canadians became frustrating, impractical and expensive. Ultimately, in 1957 the committee directing the mission recommended that the remainder of its work be transferred to the individual dioceses, and that the committee itself be discharged. The changes in the work which led to the dissolution of the Anglican mission to the Japanese in Canada, and what that dissolution signified, are the subjects of this chapter.

From the winter of 1942-43 Department of Labour officials had actively 'encouraged' young 'employables' in the interior detention camps to move east of the Rockies, through such means as refusing to employ or grant relief benefits to single adults unless they were the sole support of their families. The federal government did not, however, make any active attempts to entice Japanese Canadians to the east. In fact, it made no attempt to reverse or modify the restrictions which made movement out of the detention camps almost inconceivable to the majority of the inmates. These included prohibitions on owning real estate, limitations on leasing businesses and property, restrictions on entering certain municipalities and cities, a ban on living in close proximity to other Japanese Canadians, and requirements that the evacuees obtain permission from the Department of Labour and the RCMP to cross provincial borders or move to new accommodations. In addition to these official constraints, the Japanese Canadians were subject to the same kinds of discrimination that they had faced in dealing with the Occidental community in British Columbia. The prospect of permanent
resettlement anywhere in Canada was questionable in any case, since the federal
government had promised to remove the evacuees from those provinces which
demanded it after the war ended.\footnote{14}

On August 4, 1944, Prime Minister King proposed a general policy with regard
to Japanese Canadians. He declared that it was the government's intention to establish a
judicial commission to "ascertain those [Japanese Canadians] who are not fit to be
allowed to remain here [in Canada]"; to strip of their citizenship and deport those whom
the commission deemed disloyal; to encourage those who indicated a desire to go to
Japan to "proceed . . . as soon as they can,"; and to disperse the rest of the Japanese
Canadian population evenly across the country.\footnote{15}

For some months nothing was done about putting the proposed policy into
effect. However, in January 1945 the Canadian government was galvanized into action.
The American government in that month permitted Japanese Americans to return to
their homes on the Pacific coast and restored their civil liberties.\footnote{16} The Canadian
government was unwilling, and, due to the sale of evacuees's properties, unable to do
the same for Japanese Canadians. Instead it conducted a repatriation survey ultimately
aimed at designating as many people as possible for later expulsion from Canada. All
those who signed for repatriation, regardless of their reasons, were later branded as
'disloyal.' No Japanese Canadian was permitted to abstain from declaring a choice, one
way or the other.\footnote{17}

The restrictions on movements in the east, the desire to remain in British
Columbia near their 'unmovable' loved ones and their former homes, the assurances that
their repatriation requests need not be unalterable, and subtle intimidation exerted by
government officials and by camp inmates themselves\footnote{18} resulted in 86% of those in
detention camps signing for repatriation. However, within the year 4527 of the 6844
adults who had signed for Japan applied to revoke their requests on behalf of
themselves and their children. It was the government's insistence that these people be
repatriated against their wishes which aroused public opinion in defence of the
Japanese Canadians. Eventually, in the face of the massive public protest, the government revoked its deportation orders. Unable to carry out its full 'repatriation' policy, the government stepped up the dispersal programme.

Eastern resettlement was not voluntary. As Sunahara notes, "[o]nly the sick, the unemployable, the veterans, their families and those who lived in self-supporting communities were 'free to remain in B.C.'" On July 1, 1944 15,733 Japanese Canadians lived in British Columbia, 10,443 in the interior detention camps. On January 1, 1947, 6776 remained in that province. Of this number, 900, mostly invalids, lived in New Denver while the rest resided in small enclaves in the Cariboo and Kootenay regions. With the exception of the 'repatriates,' the remaining Japanese Canadians, over 13,000 in all, had been resettled in the east, or were staying in Department of Labour hostels until their resettlement could be effected.

The entire resettlement programme took longer than many had first anticipated, not least because of the active discrimination of many easterners. The participation of large numbers of Anglo-Canadians in the anti-deportation lobby, and the support of various churches and organizations for the principle of Japanese Canadian resettlement, evidently did not signify a willingness on the part of Anglo-Canadians east of the Rockies to welcome Japanese Canadians as neighbours. Not one eastern Canadian community or parish responded to the Inter-church Advisory Council's request, made through official directives from the head offices of the various churches, that each congregation sponsor one Japanese Canadian family. A similar request made by the Department of Labour, first to eastern farm communities and later to the church congregations which had protested the deportation plan, also garnered no response. Japanese Canadians had many more friends in 1946 than they had in 1942, but it appears that the broad appeal of the anti-deportation lobby was due to the menace that the deportations posed to the citizenship rights of all Canadians, rather than to a newly-evolved spirit of acceptance among Anglo-Canadians generally. Some landlords still refused to rent, and some employers to hire Japanese Canadians, and that, coupled
with the restrictions placed on the movements and activities of the 'reloc. ces,' and a general post-war shortage of housing and jobs in many communities, made resettlement all the more difficult in the first few years after the war.25

Regardless of these obstacles, the federal government was determined to close the interior camps and remove as many evacuees as possible from British Columbia. As part of its accelerated resettlement programme it established hostels in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan; Transcona, Manitoba; Neys, Summerville, Hearst and Fingal, Ontario; and Farnham, Quebec. These facilities, former airbases and German POW camps, were kept crude and uncomfortable in order to discourage long-term residence.26 Detention camp inmates were given the opportunity to choose which hostel they wished to go to.27 Alternatively, they could go directly into employment in the east, or join relatives already settled there. According to a government report, two thirds of the 'reloc. ces,' as they came to be called, selected the latter option, with a number going to work in Northern Ontario forestry and mining companies.28 By December 1946 the W.A.'s journal, the Living Message, reported that the detention camps were closed and the missionary staff had moved on to other, unspecified fields.29

For the short term, many of the missionaries who had worked in the detention camps moved to Ontario, along with the bulk of the Japanese Canadian resettlers. Toronto quickly became the focal point, with large numbers of reloc. ces settling there, passing through the city on their way to the northern part of the province, or moving further east to the Niagara peninsula or Quebec. By August 30, 1946 the M.S.C.C.'s Committee on the Japanese East of the Rockies (CJER) reported that there were some 1700 Japanese Canadians living in Toronto,30 the largest concentration of Japanese Canadians in any one place at that time. In June 1948 Grace Tucker reported that approximately 7400 lived in Ontario, and of those, 4200 lived in Toronto, while another 1200 were in Hamilton. A further 1200 had resettled in Quebec, another 1200 in Manitoba; 900 were in Saskatchewan; 3600 in Alberta, and 6000 in British Columbia.31
The large population in the Toronto area alone explains why the Anglican resettlement work in the east centred in that city.

Anglican resettlement work in Toronto originated in 1944, when the M.S.C.C. struck the CJER. This committee was staffed by M.S.C.C. and W.A. administrators, and worked out of the M.S.C.C. offices in Church House in downtown Toronto. Until 1946, however, the CJER itself did not take any active role in the Japanese Canadian resettlement, contenting itself instead with raising questions to be discussed in other administrative committees about what role the M.S.C.C. and the W.A. should play in the resettlement, and in what manner the CJER might be expected to assist the missionary society in performing that role. Tucker outlined that policy in her initial report on the work, reprinted in the February 1947 issue of the Living Message:

> We have always kept in mind the policy suggested by the Committee, and which is in keeping with the desire of the Department of Labour (Japanese Division), that there should be no extensive organizational activities among the Nisei - but that all our efforts should be directed toward helping them to become an integral part of our Church and community life, not in groups by themselves, but in small groups in the existing social, cultural and religious organizations.

This policy, promoted by the government in the first instance as part of its dispersal programme, did eventually result in the assimilation of many Japanese Canadian Anglicans into their local churches. To the distress of the workers, the policy also meant they spent a great deal of their time, and the mission's resources, on travelling to meet with individual families scattered throughout Greater Toronto. This made missionary work among Japanese Canadians increasingly costly, difficult, and ultimately unmanageable.

In contrast to the CJER's relative inactivity in the period between 1944 and 1946 were the private efforts of a few individuals associated with the missionary endeavours of the Anglican church. For example, there was the previously-mentioned involvement with the Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadians. In addition, Eleanor Lennox, (a retired W.A. missionary who had worked in Japan and among the Japanese in Prince Rupert), and former M.S.C.C. missionary, Bishop H.J. Hamilton,
began in 1944 to offer Japanese-language church services for the Anglican evacuees among the 700 or so Japanese Canadians then resident in Toronto.\textsuperscript{34} Presumably, since they are not mentioned in the CJER's minutes, the activities of these two did not come under the aegis of that committee. Lennox and Hamilton continued their efforts at least until 1946. Considering that Lennox was 75 years old in 1946, and that by the fall of that year a number of younger workers had arrived in Toronto to take over the work, it is not surprising that she decided to resume her retirement, originally begun in 1936, then.\textsuperscript{35}

Anglican work in the east officially began in January 1946, when Canon Dixon, M.S.C.C. General Secretary and Secretary of the CJER, met with the Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals (PBMO) to secure the transfer from British Columbia of Grace Tucker, Aya Suzuki and Rev. Gordon G. Nakayama to work under the CJER.\textsuperscript{36} The CJER had also requested Helen Bailey for work among the increasing numbers of Japanese Canadians in Montreal, but when she wrote to ask that she be allowed to remain in the Tashme camp for the time being, the committee agreed to her request.\textsuperscript{37} The rest of the W.A. workers were to remain for the time being in the camps in order to maintain the schools, kindergartens and mission-based activities for the rapidly dwindling camp populations. Rev. Nakayama was sent to Coaldale, Alberta, while Suzuki and Tucker came to work in Toronto.

In 1951 Grace Tucker summarized Anglican missionary work among the Japanese in Canada over the preceding forty years for the readers of the \textit{Living Message}. Noting that many changes had taken place within the Japanese Canadian community during that period, especially with the upheavals of the previous decade, she remarked that "[t]hese changes have greatly affected our mission work, and still in a changing situation we must be alert to meet the challenge of different problems and new conditions."\textsuperscript{38} For her, and later for Hayashi, the major problem lay in merely maintaining a connection with those who had been in contact with the Anglican
missions in British Columbia. Expanding the scope of the work was out of the question. The workers had too little time, and the mission too few resources, to continue actively evangelizing among non-Christian Japanese Canadians. In any case, with the decentralization of the Japanese Canadian community it was difficult to find non-Christians to proselytize. Therefore, the CJER workers could not fulfill an important aspect of the missionary mandate. It was, perhaps, a realization of this last point which in the end led to the abandonment of this mission field.

Initially, assisting in the relocation took up virtually all the workers' time. The missionaries in Toronto met the trains and gathered up all the Japanese Canadians they could find in the station. They helped those who were passing through to locate the train to which they were to transfer, and to sort out luggage. They also ran errands, helped care for the children, answered questions, and generally kept the travellers company until their train was ready to leave. For those evacuees who remained in Toronto the workers helped to find work and living accommodation, and to obtain the necessary permits. They accompanied new arrivals, who were required to report to RCMP offices, and the Labour Department office. The women also helped the resettlers gather information on job retraining and the property and employment restrictions to which Japanese Canadians were subject, and went with them shopping, to lawyers' offices, and job interviews. In many cases the missionaries arranged to take full responsibility for the newcomers, so that the latter would be issued an "open permit" which would allow them to choose employment for themselves. They placed a number of high school students as domestics, and then followed up these youngsters in order to assure anxious parents about their children's continued well-being. The workers also entertained frequently in order to get young people with no family in Toronto out of their "dismal rooms." In addition, they visited with families scattered throughout Toronto, and acted as liaisons between the newcomers and the local clergy. By the end of 1946 Tucker reported that there were 1200 Japanese Canadians on the mission's
records, more than half of whom were in Toronto, while the rest were in the Niagara and Huron districts.\[39\]

By January 1, 1947, only 6776 Japanese Canadians remained in British Columbia, of whom approximately 900, mostly elderly or ailing, lived in New Denver, the one interior camp which continued to operate after 1946.\[40\] The rest were either the favoured, wealthy few (approximately 1400, in all) who had managed to arrange with the British Columbia Security Commission to live for the duration of the war in autonomous, self-supporting communities at Christina Lake, Bridge River-Lillooet, MacGillivray Falls, and Minto City;\[41\] or they were veterans, all restrictions upon whom the federal government lifted after April 1946.\[42\] Also included were detention camp residents who had been able to secure employment outside the camps, and thereby evaded the government's attempts to force them to move east. These people remained in the interior until 1949, when the government finally lifted the restrictions on Japanese-Canadians' travel to, and residence on, the British Columbian coast, after which many returned to the Lower Mainland.\[43\] By 1952 enough Japanese-Canadians had returned to the coast, from the east as well as the interior, to justify some limited missionary activity in Vancouver.\[44\]

Florence Hamilton and Marguerite Clench, retired missionaries who had worked in New Denver for the duration of the war on a voluntary basis, remained active workers in that settlement until 1949,\[45\] and stayed on in New Denver until 1956, at which time they moved back to Japan.\[46\] Most of their work centred on the tuberculosis sanatorium in New Denver, where they visited the patients, arranged baptisms and confirmations, and generally attempted to comfort the sick and dying.

Kathleen Lang continued just as she had done in wartime, working among the scattered settlements in the Kamloops region - visiting, giving church services, and holding religious education classes for the various age groups. She also interpreted for Japanese-speakers, helping them to deal with government agencies and the law courts in her area.\[47\] In 1948 she obtained two full-time assistants, Norah Forrest, who had
worked for two years in the Vancouver mission, and Norah's sister Peggy. These two offered Sunday School classes and held social gatherings in their home in Kamloops. In addition to her assistants, Lang's work received another boost in 1950, when the local diocesan W.A. finally bought her a car. Also in that year Kay (Nakagawa) Uyeda, the missionary who had taken some of her training in Slocan City during the war, moved to Westsyde with her new husband and subsequently opened a Sunday School there for Japanese Canadian children.48

Helen Bailey moved to Salmon Arm after Tashme closed late in 1946, and then to Slocan City in the fall of 1948. By September 1949 a house had been bought for her, and she began offering kindergarten classes to a mixed group of Anglo- and Japanese-Canadian children, as well as standard missionary activities such as district visiting, conducting Sunday School classes, and offering English as a second language classes for the Japanese-speaking mothers in the district.49

Resettled with her family in 1945 in London, Ontario, Suzuki took up her duties in Toronto at the beginning of January 1946. Tucker arrived at the end of January, and together the two began tracing Japanese Canadians who had been connected with the Anglican mission in British Columbia or in Slocan. In August, as the camps became depopulated, the M.S.C.C. requested more workers from the PBMO. As a result Harriet Horobin returned to work among the Japanese Canadians in her home town of Montreal. Margaret Foster went to the Neys hostel in Northern Ontario to participate in a joint mission with the United Church. Mae Walker went first to Toronto to relieve Tucker during her holiday break, and then with Frances Hawkins to Hamilton, Ontario in September.50

The M.S.C.C. reassigned Horobin and Hawkins to Japan late in 1947.51 Tucker went to Montreal for two and a half months in 1948, but after she left there were no Anglican missionaries for work among the Japanese in that city. While Tucker was in Montreal Hisaye (Hirano) Hayashi, a former Japanese Canadian missionary who had resigned to marry in 1940, substituted for her in Toronto. When the M.S.C.C. decided
to send Tucker to Japan in 1949 they planned to replace her with a part-time worker, Adelaide Moss, who was a retired missionary from Japan. Illness prevented Tucker's departure, and despite her recovery and return to work in April, the risk to her health was considered to be too great: so once again she was prevented from working overseas.  

Tucker remained in Toronto until 1951, when she resigned to work in "Sunday School by Post" department of the mission in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. Foster was asked to replace her, but refused, and Moss again succeeded Tucker on a part-time basis until Hayashi took over full time in June 1952. In hiring Hayashi, who was married and had children, the M.S.C.C. also officially reinstated her missionary standing, an unprecedented move in this mission field.

The CJER either did not consider Suzuki's role essential after 1947, or there was simply no one available to replace her when she took a year's leave beginning in September 1947, and then resigned on December 1, 1948 to get married. In contrast, when Foster took a six-month sick leave in 1948, Walker "subbed" for her in Opasatika, while Hayashi replaced Walker in Hamilton. (In September 1947 Foster had moved from Neys to teach school in Opasatika, a small Northern Ontario settlement 30 miles from Kapuskasing, established for lumberworkers, most of whom were Japanese Canadian.) After 1948, however, neither Walker nor Foster were replaced with substitutes for holidays or sick leaves. Indeed, when Foster transferred to the Indian mission at Moose Factory in 1952, missionary work among the Japanese in Opasatika ended. In addition to these workers from the British Columbia mission, from 1950 to 1952 the CJER had Irene Isaac, another retired missionary who had worked in Japan, on salary for work in London.

This examination of the movements of the workers during the first six years of the eastern phase of the mission's existence suggests that a significant shift took place in the way the M.S.C.C. and W.A. administrators regarded the work among the Japanese Canadians. No new graduates of the Deaconess and Missionary Training House (recently
officially renamed the Anglican Women's Training College) were assigned to this field, despite the fact that the mission headquarters were situated in one of the M.S.C.C.'s offices. In addition, the M.S.C.C. allocated very limited funds to the CJER for its work. Thus, despite a severe shortage of staff, when a full-time worker moved to another field, she was either not replaced, or replaced with a retired missionary, usually only on a part-time basis. Hiring Hayashi, a married woman, for full-time work was not, in itself, unique in this field; the PBMO had employed married workers in the past. However, granting a married worker, especially one with children, full missionary status was unusual. This hiring pattern indicates that the mission had such a low priority that the CJER was forced to make compromises in its staffing.

Securing adequate space for mission-centred activities, and the equipment necessary in order to do the job efficiently, was also difficult. Other than an office and a meeting room at Church House in Toronto, the mission had no facility it could call its own until June 1949. Prior to that date it held Japanese services and other meetings at various locations in Toronto, including St James Cathedral, St. George's Church, School of Missions and W.A. House. In addition, the most pressing need, especially after the first few years, was for a car which would enable the workers to visit the Japanese Canadians scattered throughout Greater Toronto and southern Ontario. They never got one, and instead grew increasingly frustrated at having to spend a good deal of time on the public transit system.

Through the CJER, the M.S.C.C. retained control of the mission in the east. However, in 1950 Grace Tucker was invited to join the committee, a shift which indicates a recognition on the part of the CJER of both Tucker's expertise and competence, and a willingness to allow the workers a share in the decision-making process with regard to the direction of the work. A similar recognition of the workers in British Columbia did not occur within the PBMO in the post-war period. The PBMO retained its authority over the workers in the Japanese Canadian missions in the interior until it the Board itself was finally dissolved in 1949 and its work transferred to the
individual dioceses where it was carried out. Even so, the distance of these missions from the headquarters in Vancouver ensured that the PBMO was more or less limited to dispensing funds to the workers. The day-to-day programming decisions appear to have been left in the hands of the workers themselves.

After 1947 resettlement work in the east took up less and less time. The government's dispersal program was virtually complete by mid-1947. After the spring of 1946 Japanese Canadians living in the east were permitted to buy property east of the Rockies. Restrictions on their movements and places of residence in eastern Canada, as well as their right to establish businesses, were abandoned after 1947. However, the federal government maintained its restrictions on travel or settlement within British Columbia until 1949. The government also withheld the federal and British Columbian provincial franchise from the Japanese minority until 1949. The gradual lifting of the restrictions caused a great deal of disruption in the Japanese Canadian community during the period from 1946 to 1951, as people began to move to more agreeable locations.

Despite the Japanese Canadians' frequent changes of locale throughout the 1946 to 1951 period, Tucker and her colleagues in Southern Ontario attempted to keep a record of where people went. Where possible they accompanied new arrivals to the local church to introduce them to the parish priest and his staff. They attempted to continue visiting in Japanese Canadian homes, although this became increasingly difficult, and maintained Japanese-language church services for the older people in one of the downtown Toronto churches. In 1948 the workers initiated English as a second language classes for adults, which they continued until at least 1951. Their other duties included providing personal counselling services, interpreting, holding socials, addressing meetings on behalf of Japanese Canadians, sponsoring applicants for old age pensions and Canadian citizenship, and preparing people for baptism and confirmation.
For the missionaries, another important task was their involvement in the fight, spearheaded by the Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadians (CCJC), over reparations for Japanese Canadian property losses. The CCJC turned its attention to reparations after the deportation orders were rescinded on January 24, 1947. The Committee maintained that although the loss of property which had taken a lifetime to build up could never be repaid, some amends had to be made. It argued for a commission analogous to the evacuation claims commission then in operation in the United States, and supported its argument with the results of an economic losses survey which was undertaken in 1946. The government responded by establishing the Bird Commission, whose terms of reference were restricted to individually adjudicating only those cases in which the claimants could present proof of the Custodian's negligence. After considerable protest, the government widened the terms to allow Bird to examine cases where the property could be proved to have been sold at below market value, but the new terms of reference still did not cover the losses incurred before the Custodian took over.

Grace Tucker served on the executive committee of the CCJC which directed the legal committee in charge of the work on the property claims. She was closely involved in discussions aimed at determining the fair market value of Japanese-Canadian property at the time it was sold, how the claims would be handled, and how the arbitration process should be financed. The committee decided that the claims should be handled cooperatively, and asked each claimant to contribute 1 percent of his or her claim to the pool for legal expenses. In this manner 13,000 claims from across the country were filed for a total of over $4 million.

The Bird Commission made its report public on June 14, 1950. It recommended the payment of a total of $1,222,929. The best recompense was obtained by Fraser Valley farmers, while the lowest amounts were recommended for Vancouver city properties. The claimants and the CCJC were generally dissatisfied with this settlement, and again the CCJC held many long meetings in an attempt to resolve the
situation. In the end, according to Fowke, "those concerned felt that rough justice had been done," so the recommendations were accepted, for the most part. In the fall of 1951, after the final negotiations of the claims were completed, the CCJC dissolved.

The Canadian government was not to acknowledge its culpability in the evacuation and dispossession until nearly four decades later. In 1988, after a prolonged and sometimes bitter campaign, the federal government offered a formal apology to the Japanese Canadians, and agreed to pay $21,000 to each Japanese Canadian who had "suffered from discriminatory actions . . . taken by the government of Canada against them and their community, during and after World War II, solely on the basis of their Japanese ancestry," in order to redress the wrong.

At the same time they were involved in the fight for property restitution, the missionaries continued to visit, act as liaisons between local parishes and newly arrived Japanese Canadian parishioners, interpret, counsel, and hold social and religious gatherings for their scattered clientele. The difficulties inherent in district visiting among such a spread out community grew insurmountable as more Japanese Canadian women continued to work outside the home after marrying and starting a family. Most visiting had to be done in the evenings, when many people busied themselves with night school classes, housework, and socializing with friends.

Another problem with which the missionaries had to contend was diminishing interest in Christianity. This was especially common among the younger generation, and was evident across the country. The mission was no longer the only avenue available to those Japanese Canadians who sought acceptance in mainstream Anglo-Canadian society. No longer restricted from certain occupations and neighbourhoods, and no longer faced with the prospect of having their children segregated in the public schools, Japanese Canadians rapidly assimilated into mainstream Canadian society.

In April 1956 Hayashi published a report in the *Living Message* in which she evaluated the work which still needed to be performed in the Toronto area. According to her there was a continuing need for missionaries who could minister to the older
people with few English-language skills. In addition, the young people who had been trained in Anglican Sunday Schools needed assistance in assimilating into local congregations. Moreover, evangelists were required for work with non-Christians, and there was still plenty of work available with the Sunday School-aged group.\textsuperscript{79} No mention was made in Hayashi's report of plans to maintain, in modified form, those social and educational services which had drawn many to the mission for more than fifty years. Given the church's policy (first proposed in 1944) of transferring much of the responsibility for work among Japanese Canadians to the dioceses in which the resettlers lived, it is likely no such plans were contemplated.\textsuperscript{80} On March 25, 1957, one year after Hayashi's report, Anglican missionary work among Japanese Canadians was officially abandoned.\textsuperscript{81}

While they had not supported the proposal for a loyalty commission, the policy of dispersal accorded with the objectives of many Japanese Canadian supporters, among them church and missionary society administrators and policy-makers.\textsuperscript{82} Most believed that allowing Japanese Canadians to return to the west coast would have disastrous repercussions. West coast residents had taken over the homes, businesses and chattels of the evacuees, and would undoubtedly resist any attempts to restore them to their former owners. Thus, large numbers of the evacuees would be homeless and jobless, causing a serious social welfare problem which British Columbians would resent having to shoulder alone. Such resentment would strain national unity, perhaps to the breaking point. The only answer, according to this perspective, was to scatter the evacuees throughout the Dominion so that no one province or community would be forced to take on the full responsibility for solving the 'Japanese problem.'\textsuperscript{83}

Inherent in this explanation is a tacit recognition that dispersal invalidated the rights of Canadian citizenship, rights which these same supporters were arguing should be granted without restriction to the Japanese Canadians. This insistence on both forced assimilation and civil liberties illustrates the transition which was taking place in post-war Canadian thinking on issues of race. It also invalidates simplistic characterizations
which place 'liberals' on one side and 'racists' on the other of any wide ranging issue or policy.
NOTES


2. Other than Saskatchewan, no province had agreed to take the evacuees after the war, although Manitoba was also willing to permit Japanese Canadians to resettle there, as long as the other provinces also took their 'share.' See Ann Gomer Sunahara, The Politics of Racism, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981): 119; and Forrest E. La Violette, Canadian Japanese and World War II: A Sociological and Psychological Account, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948): 139-41.


4. Interview with Aya (Suzuki) Saegusa, March 18, 1990. See also La Violette, 248.


8. September 21, 1945, Minutes of the Committee on the Japanese East of the Rockies, Leonard Dixon Papers, M.S.C.C. Collection, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, Series 3-3, Box 72. Hereafter CJER.

9. Fowke, 32.


11. CJER minutes, March 25, 1957.

12. Sunahara, 111.


14. Adachi, 287; La Violette, 158.
15. Canada, House of Commons Debates, August 4, 1944, as reproduced in Adachi, Appendix XII, 431-433.


18. Kitagawa, 259; La Violette, 161-162, 242; Sunahara, 121-123; Adachi, 298.

19. The government did, however, repatriate 3965 people in 1946. While they apparently went voluntarily, 51% of these repatriates were Canadian-born, including over 1300 children under 16 years of age. See Sunahara, 143-144.

20. Sunahara, 140. The group in the self-supporting communities were those who had had, during the evacuation, either sufficient resources or sufficient influence with the British Columbia Security Commission to obtain permission to live in isolated, self-supporting communities outside the detention camps. See La Violette, 97.


22. Interview with Aya (Suzuki) Saegusa, March 18, 1990.


24. Adachi, 290; Dominion Department of Labour, Japanese Division circular, "Information for Employers - Farm Placement Plan, Japanese Canadian Families, 1945." La Violette reports that while many church groups did help the resettlers, this point should not be overstressed. Church groups, as she rather diplomatically puts it, were much more effective in putting political pressure on the federal government. La Violette, 188.


27. Adachi, 339.

28. Canada. Department of Labour, Report on the Re-establishment of the Japanese in Canada, 18. Presumably, those who joined relatives in the east were reuniting with members of their immediate family, since the government prohibited Japanese Canadians from living in the same area as other Japanese Canadians. See Sunahara, 141.


30. CJER minutes, August 30, 1946.

31. Living Message, (June 1948): 192. She does not cite the source of these figures.

32. CJER minutes, October 10, 1944, 1a, 1b; September 21, 1945, 4; November 28, 1945, 13.

34. Nakayama, 41.


36. CJER minutes, November 28, 1945 and December 11, 1945.

37. Ibid., January 8, 1946. The minutes do not record the reasons for this request.


41. Sunahara, 65, 78.

42. La Violette, 147, footnote 6.


44. Ibid., (November 1952): 12.

45. Ibid., (April 1948): 126.


50. CJER minutes, July 16, 1946.


52. CJER minutes, December 1, 1948, 4b; April 13, 1949, 3c.

53. Ibid., June 17, 1949. The accommodation, at 413 Sherbourne St., included a residence for Tucker, offices, and space for classes, meetings, parties and services.


55. CJER minutes, February 21, 1950.


59. La Violette, 147.

60. Living Message, (June 1948): 192.


62. Sunahara, 151.


66. Ibid., (June 1948): 192. The CJER workers were all members of the Cooperative Committee.


68. Ibid., 26.

69. Sunahara, 151-52.

70. Fowke, 27.

71. Ibid., 28-29.

72. Ibid., 29-30.

73. Ibid., 30-31.

74. Ibid. See also Living Message, (October 1950): 6.

75. Fowke, 31.


80. CJER minutes, October 10, 1944.

81. Ibid., March 25, 1957.

82. Fowke, 9.

CONCLUSION

"I Always Felt I Was Doing The Right Thing"

For a number of middle-class Anglo-Canadian women in Vancouver, work in the Anglican mission to the Japanese Canadians offered an attractive outlet through which they channelled their energy, skills, and humanitarian propensities. It allowed them to take on a public role while upholding contemporary notions concerning appropriate behaviour for their sex, race and class. In creating and supporting the Anglican mission to Japanese Canadians they established a separate domain within the Anglo-Canadian community in which they held a vital and respected place. Their activities locate these women between those whom Rosemary Gagan describes as the more 'normal' "middle-class wives and mothers who limited their sense of social obligation to membership in a WMS auxiliary" and those who chose, and were able, to become professionally trained missionaries.¹

The arrival of Rev. Cassill-Kennedy, the organization of the Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals (PBMO), the extension of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada's (M.S.C.C.'s) and the national Women's Auxiliary (W.A.) board's involvement in the mission, together with the arrival of professional women missionaries all reduced the administrative control and the financial and practical responsibilities of the local women in Vancouver. However, their interest did not wane, nor did their labours in the mission. On the contrary, the efforts of local women were indispensable throughout the interwar period and beyond. They taught or assisted in the mission's kindergartens, English classes, and Sunday Schools, and assisted in various clubs and other activities for Japanese Canadian women and children. Moreover, they created a sympathetic and supportive environment for the professional missionaries who began to join them near the end of the 1920s.
Indeed, local women sometimes used their influence to intercede on the missionaries' behalf. The most notable example of this occurred during the evacuation, when the diocesan W.A. successfully pressured the PBMO to reverse its "wait and see" stand and permit the professional missionaries to accompany the Japanese Canadians to the interior. What makes this reversal all the more striking is that the PBMO bowed to the local W.A. after having effectively withstood both the determined insistence of the professional workers, and the inducements and arguments of M.S.C.C. representatives from Toronto.

Eliane Leslau Silverman contends that Canadian women in the first decades of the twentieth century lived in two cultures, "suppressed and silenced in one, active, real and whole in the other." The mission was clearly one place in which some Anglo-Canadian women felt "active, real and whole." As with most middle-class women's activities in the public sphere in this era, the mission workers primarily provided services to women and children. The culture of the mission, as a result, was largely a women's culture, regardless of its male superintendent and its male-dominated administration. Indeed, despite the changes in the mission over its fifty-five year history, facilitating the ministry among the Japanese Canadians remained, in essence, women's work.

Until the post-war dispersal of the Japanese Canadians, the male-dominated PBMO retained absolute control over the mission's finances and programming decisions, and the local W.A. appears not to have opposed its authority. Despite the fact that women consistently performed the bulk of the work, and the professional missionaries became increasingly frustrated at their lack of authority, especially in the area of programming, workers' autonomy seems not to have been an issue for the local women. There were no persistent calls for greater female representation on the board, or greater administrative authority for their own professional workers. This is significant, in view of the (comparatively) greater independence of the United Church's (after 1925) women missionaries in this field. It could be, as Ruth Brouwer found in the Presbyterian
women's foreign missionary society, that the members of the local W.A. saw distinct advantages in their, and the professional workers', lack of formal authority. Leaving the mission under the administration of members of the church hierarchy meant that these men remained closely involved in the work, lending their prestige and an aura of official sanction to the mission. Moreover, the men's continuing interest in the mission may have protected the workers, somewhat, from the antagonism of racists both within the church and within the larger community.

While the arrival of Cassillis-Kennedy from Japan and the establishment of the PBMO heralded a move toward putting the mission on a professional footing, the mission administrators never quite achieved this goal. It appears that this was largely due to the M.S.C.C.'s failure to provide sufficient funding and to assign enough professionally trained missionaries to this particular home constituency. Overseas missions continued to draw the majority of the funding and the trained workers, despite the identification of the Japanese Canadian mission with higher status foreign mission work, which seems implicit in Kennedy's assignment to British Columbia. Nevertheless, through the late 1920s and 1930s the M.S.C.C. gradually increased its remittance to the PBMO, and the dominion board of the W.A. directed a small but growing number of women missionaries to this field. These changes, however, came slowly and were insufficient to keep up with the growth of the mission. As a result, women from the local area continued to play an important role in the work of the mission even as it was becoming professionalized.

The trend toward the professionalization of this mission is evident in the accrual of such benefits as (comparatively) higher salaries, coverage of medical and dental costs, sick leave, pensions, and vacation leave for the professional missionaries. Lay workers were apparently not eligible for such allocations. In return the professional missionaries brought a high degree of dedication to the mission. Indeed, their work expanded to encompass all aspects of their lives. They typically worked long hours,
seven days a week, and had little time left over for recreation or other pursuits. Unlike
the women which Gagan describes in the Methodist home missions, the majority of the
professional workers in the Anglican mission did not view their work as a stop-gap
between leaving school and marrying. For the lay workers the expectations were not so
high, but neither were the material benefits and social rewards as great.

The trend toward professionalization is also evident in the development of a
hierarchical structure in the mission. At its apogee was the PBMO, followed by the
mission superintendent, the trained women missionaries, skilled workers from the
community, and finally, the aides and helpers who lacked professional credentials or
expertise. As the last group gained skills and experience they moved up in the
hierarchy or out of the mission altogether, and others took their place. Initially,
Japanese Canadian women, who had been present in small numbers on the mission's
staff since at least 1920, appear to have had a somewhat lower status than their Anglo-
Canadian counterparts. However, as time went on they occupied staff positions on a
more equal basis.

As long as the mission remained on the coast, the diocesan W.A. considered the
work very much its own. Yet the W.A. workers appear not to have resented the
usurpation of its authority by the PBMO, or the arrival of professional missionaries
from the East. Neither did the paid workers seem unhappy that the professional
missionaries automatically occupied a higher position in the staff hierarchy. Rather, the
professional workers appear to have commanded a high degree of respect from the lay
women. Considering the greater expectations placed on the trained missionaries, their
specialized training and possession of professional credentials in an age of
professionalization, not to mention the religious nature of their 'calling,' this respect is
not surprising.

The mission's impact on the Japanese Canadian community was more significant
than a tally of its converts might imply. The Anglo-Canadian workers provided a core
of support and acceptance which mitigated, somewhat, the overwhelming rejection of
the dominant Anglo-Canadian community. Beyond that, for better or worse the mission
acted as an agent of cultural change. That the majority of the mission's flock took
advantage of the social services offered, and yet retained their traditional religious
beliefs, indicates that they were judicious participants in the acculturation process. To
varying degrees, Japanese Canadian parents used the mission to serve their own ends.
Many who were anxious that their children be successful in Canada accepted the
prevailing notion that Christianization was part of Canadianization, and therefore did
not block their children's conversion to Christianity. Others valued the training and
early exposure to the English language that their children received in the mission's
kindergartens, but considered conversion detrimental to their children's moral well-
being. Regardless of their response to evangelization, all who came in contact with the
mission were in some way affected by it.

Just as importantly, the mission workers were themselves altered by their
experiences. As they got to know non-Christians at an individual level the stereotypical
beliefs about Japanese Canadians which prevailed in the dominant society seem to have
faded, replaced by a somewhat more complex understanding. This is more evident in
the accounts written by professional missionaries than in those by the lay workers, but
members of the latter group, too, seem to have developed a measure of cultural
understanding and sympathy which persisted during the whirlwind of events in 1942,
even as they accepted the government's explanation for the necessity of the evacuation,
and later, the dispersal.

It is important to note that the W.A. appears not to have taken an overtly public
stance to counter the anti-Japanese Canadian prejudice in their community. When
viewed from a late twentieth century perspective this might seem curious or
contradictory; however, the public silence of these women is consistent with the
behaviour traditionally expected of women in Canadian society in general and in the
Anglican church in particular. Instead, despite the controversy raised by those in the
community who opposed offering any aid to the Japanese Canadians in their adaptation to the Canadian environment, the mission workers continued to carry out their duties. This in itself shows courage. By persevering in their work among the Japanese Canadians the mission workers demonstrated that they were far from submissive in the face of apparently wide public disapproval, even if they did not publicly fight it.

It is interesting to note that W.A. members east of the Rockies did not initiate missionary activity among the Japanese Canadians who moved into their communities during the post-war dispersal. There appears to be a fairly straightforward reason for this; there were simply not enough Japanese Canadians in any one community to constitute a visible 'problem' which could be usefully addressed through missionary endeavours directed at the local level. It could also be that, given the higher level of integration in the post-war period, people in the east did not see the Japanese Canadians as so completely distinct as did their counterparts in British Columbia.

In the interval between the wars, involvement in the mission to the Japanese Canadians was simultaneously acceptable, even laudable, from the perspective of the church, and controversial in the eyes of a number of British Columbians. It is here that the professional women missionaries played a crucial role: they functioned in a capacity which was unavailable to their secular sisters. Because women missionaries were permitted a moderately greater degree of latitude in the public sphere, their outspoken defence of the Japanese Canadians, and their public endeavours on behalf of their 'flock,' were not only tolerated but expected. This was true because their endeavours were well within the boundaries of maternal feminism, which had as its central precept the notion that middle-class Anglo-Canadian women had the duty and the prerogative to 'mother the world.' In befriending, defending, and assisting Japanese Canadians to acculturate, women missionaries were doing, at a professional level, no more than what a mother might be expected to do on behalf of her children.
Further investigations of these missions might reveal other data relevant to current historical research. An investigation of the mission from the perspective of the Japanese Canadians who utilized them, and those who did not, would add a different dimension to the study of this institution. Likewise, a fuller explanation is needed for the greater popularity of the United Church mission. Another area of further inquiry is this mission's correlation to other Anglican missions in Canada and overseas, and more generally in the links between Canadian Anglicans' missionary endeavours and those of their co-religionists in the United States and in Britain. In the area of gender research, while this thesis has been restricted to a study of the activities of the female mission workers, particularly of the Anglo-Canadian workers, there were a small number of male workers involved as well, almost all of whom were Japanese Canadian. An examination of their relationships to the women workers could add to our understanding of the relationships between "race" and class and gender. More generally, an analysis is required of the problematic relationship between the fundamental tenets of the Anglican faith and the imperatives of social reform, and more specifically between Anglicanism and missionary work. Home mission work introduced a number of Anglo-Canadian women, evidently committed to humanitarian ideals, to the iniquities inherent in capitalist society. Did their experiences cause any of these women to become politicized? Did some follow the lead of J.S. Woodsworth, and begin to question the fundamental precepts of their society?

* * * * *

Historians have described maternal feminism as restrictive, and this indeed is true. Less often have they discussed how women in the interwar years worked within the confines of the maternal feminist ideology to build a sphere of their own which encouraged personal growth. In this sense the mission was as important to the workers as it was to the Japanese Canadian community. Grace Tucker, who at the age of 85 was successfully recommended by Japanese Canadians to the Order of Canada for her work during the evacuation and dispersal, probably spoke for most of the mission workers
when she said "There's one thing I just wanted to stress - I really enjoyed my work. I loved the Japanese Canadians and had great admiration for them. I always felt I was doing the right thing."
NOTES


2. Eliane Leslau Silverman, "Writing Canadian Women's History, 1970-82: An Historiographical Analysis," *Canadian Historical Review*, LXIII, 4(1982): 528. It is important to bear in mind that this is a phenomenon specific to the experience of many middle-class Anglo-Canadian women.


## APPENDIX I

### WORKERS AT THE MISSION, 1903 TO 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period at Mission</th>
<th>Capacity</th>
<th>Duties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss Helen Bailey</td>
<td>1941 to 1955</td>
<td>professional</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher, evangelist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>missionary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Cicely Baldwin</td>
<td>1941 to 1942</td>
<td>professional</td>
<td>nursery school teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>missionary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Dorothy Bingham</td>
<td>1934 to 1936</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Norah Bowman</td>
<td>1943 to 1946</td>
<td>professional</td>
<td>high school principal, Slocan City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>missionary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Madeleine</td>
<td>nd. [1930s]</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher's aide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brault</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Frank Brown</td>
<td>1920? to 1934</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>kindergarten; aide to Grace Tucker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Buxton</td>
<td>1927 to 1936</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>teacher's aide, twice weekly, Ascension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Cassilis-Kennedy</td>
<td>1914 to 1931</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>mission worker;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>advisor to PBMO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Executive (1930-1931), following death of husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Marguerite Clench</td>
<td>1943 to 1948</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>evangelical worker,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New Denver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(missionary evacuated from Japan, 1941, when she officially retired)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Mabel Colton</td>
<td>1920 to 1926</td>
<td>volunteer; in training (Toronto); professional</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1926-1927</td>
<td></td>
<td>kindergarten teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1927 to 1934</td>
<td>missionary</td>
<td>(language study in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japan, 1929-1931)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Colver</td>
<td>nd. [1930s]</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>teacher's aide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Alice Cox</td>
<td>September to</td>
<td>CMS missionary on furlough from Japan; evacuated from</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>December, 1922</td>
<td></td>
<td>district visitor and</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>recreation worker;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese convener for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1940 to 1942</td>
<td></td>
<td>the W.A., 1940 to 1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Edith Dales</td>
<td>1930? to 1935</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>Junior W.A. superintendent, Ascension - left to train as a nurse in England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss DuVernet</td>
<td>1922 to 1928?</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>Sunday School teacher?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Isabelle (Schetky) Elsted</td>
<td>1929 to 1940</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Flower</td>
<td>1908 to 1914</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>assistant to Kathleen O'Melia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Nora Forrest</td>
<td>1938 to 1940</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>n.a, 1938 to 1940; evangelical worker, Sandon, 1942 to 1946; evangelical worker, Sunday School teacher, relocation worker, Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1942 to 1946</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1947 to 1955</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Peggy Forrest</td>
<td>1947 to 1955</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>evangelical worker, Sunday School teacher, relocation worker, Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Margaret Foster</td>
<td>1929 to 1952</td>
<td>professional missionary</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Roles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Garrett</td>
<td>1936 to ?</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Francis Hawkins</td>
<td>1941 to 1947</td>
<td>professional, missionary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Hisaye (Hirano) Hayashi</td>
<td>1933 to 1935</td>
<td>volunteer, training (Toronto)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1935-1936</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher's aide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1936 to 1940</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher, itinerant, evangelical worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1947 to 1952</td>
<td>relocation worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1952 to 1956</td>
<td>professional, missionary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Elsie Heaps</td>
<td>1932[?] to 1940</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1940 to 1946</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                               |                   | kindergarten teacher in Vancouver, Prince Rupert, primary school teacher, Slocan City, 1942-1943; high school teacher, Slocan City
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss E.L. Hempstead</td>
<td>1945-1946</td>
<td>volunteer (American missionary previously stationed in Japan)</td>
<td>high school teacher, Slocan City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Florence Henderson</td>
<td>1943 to 1947</td>
<td>volunteer (missionary evacuated from Japan, 1941, when she officially retired)</td>
<td>evangelical worker, New Denver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Hide Hidoko</td>
<td>1943 to 1946?</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>Tashme?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A. May Hilliard</td>
<td>1936 to 1946</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>Women's Auxiliary representative to the Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Harriet Horobin</td>
<td>1941 to 1947</td>
<td>professional missionary (evacuated from Japan, 1941)</td>
<td>mission supervisor, kindergarten teacher, evangelical worker, Port Alberni, 1941-42; evangelical worker, youth recreation leader, high school teacher, 1942 to 46; relocation worker, 1946-47; returned to Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Role Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Michi Ide</td>
<td>n.d. [1930s]</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Setsu Ishizaki</td>
<td>1938?–40</td>
<td>part-time lay worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Irene Isaac</td>
<td>1952–53</td>
<td>volunteer (retired professional missionary from Japan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Izumi</td>
<td>1933 to ?</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Katherine Jones</td>
<td>1939?–1942</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Kawai</td>
<td>1920 to 1922?</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Kathleen Lang</td>
<td>1936 to 1955</td>
<td>professional missionary (worked in Japan 1930 to 1935)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Role Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Eleanore Lennox</td>
<td>1927 to 1936</td>
<td>professional missionary (worked in Japan 1909 to 1927)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Barbara Liddett</td>
<td>n.d. [1930s]</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Adelaide Moss</td>
<td>1948 to 1953</td>
<td>professional missionary (worked in Japan, 1918 to 1941, then retired) volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1953 to 1956?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Shizue Naka</td>
<td>1942 to 1946?</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Lois (Yao) Nakayama</td>
<td>1920 to 1926</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1926 to 1946</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Neame</td>
<td>1928 to 1930</td>
<td>volunteer (while visiting from England)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs John Newbury</td>
<td>1935 to ?</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Kay Nishimura</td>
<td>1942 to 1946?</td>
<td>volunteer?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Freda Noble</td>
<td>1935 to ?</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>assistant to Grace Tucker in directing Holy Cross W.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Bernard Oana</td>
<td>1920 to 1934</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>mission worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(left with husband for Japan after staff cuts)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs T. Ohki</td>
<td>1929 to 1934</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>assistant kindergarten teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Kathleen O'Melia</td>
<td>1903 to 1913</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>English teacher, evangelist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(converted to Catholicism)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss May Owston</td>
<td>1925? to 1942</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Fannie Patrick</td>
<td>1909 to 1911</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>mission supervisor, kindergarten teacher, English teacher, evangelist, Sunday School teacher, recreation worker, social worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1911 to 1920?</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1921 to 1941</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Porter</td>
<td>1913 to 1920?</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>English teacher, evangelist (took over when Kathleen O'Melia converted to Catholicism)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Miss K. Robertson  1935 to 1937?  volunteer  recreation worker
Miss Eleanor Rowland  1920? to 1925  lay worker  mission supervisor
  (took over when Mrs Patrick was forced to resign for health reasons)
Mrs Aya (Suzuki) Saegusa  1932? to 1936  volunteer  kindergarten teacher's aide, 1932 to 1936; student;
  1936 to 1938  training  kindergarten teacher, 1938 to 1946; relocation worker, 1946 to 1948
  1938 to 1948  professional missionary
Mrs George Schetky  1929 to 1942  volunteer  kindergarten teacher's aide; recreation worker
Miss H.C. Shimada  1942 to 1946  lay worker  kindergarten teacher, public school teacher in Slocan district
Miss Sarah Gertrude Shore  1941 to 1945  professional missionary  recreation worker, evangelist, 1941-42; public school and high school teacher, recreation worker, evangelist, 1942-45; retired to Ottawa, 1945
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss Daphne Smithson</td>
<td>1935 to 1940</td>
<td>part-time lay worker</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher's aide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Southwell</td>
<td>1922 to 1927?</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>mission helper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Sweetnam</td>
<td>1936 to 1940</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>mission helper and W.A. Japanese convener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Tada</td>
<td>1920s</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Tokuhisa</td>
<td>1920s</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Aya Tokunaga</td>
<td>1942 to 1946</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>public school teacher, kindergarten teacher, Slocan City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Grace Tucker</td>
<td>1930 to 1956</td>
<td>professional missionary</td>
<td>mission helper, 1930-31; language study in Japan, 1931 to 1934; mission deaconess, 1934 to 1942; welfare officer in Slocan City, 1942 to 1946; relocation worker, 1946 to 1951 and 1953 to 1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Kathleen</td>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher's aide in Slocan City, 1944-45; missionary training, 1945 to 1947; missionary work in Saskatoon; married 1950; opened Sunday School for Japanese Canadian children in 1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nakagawa) Uyeda</td>
<td>1945 to 1947</td>
<td>training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1951 to 1955?</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Marion Walker</td>
<td>1937 to 1956</td>
<td>professional missionary (in Japan from 1931 to 1936 - not allowed to return due to concerns for her health)</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher in Vancouver and in Tashme; relocation worker in Hamilton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Ida Withers</td>
<td>1912 to 1924</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher's aide; kindergarten teacher; evangelist; district visitor; Sunday School teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1924 to 1927</td>
<td>lay worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1927-28</td>
<td>training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1929 to 1941</td>
<td>professional missionary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1952 to 1954</td>
<td>kindergarten missionary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Millicent Wright</td>
<td>1911 to 1921</td>
<td>volunteer</td>
<td>kindergarten teacher's aide - resigned to become W.A. president, 1921 to 1927</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX II

### BACKGROUNDS OF PROFESSIONAL MISSIONARIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and Birthdate</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Previous Work Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helen Bailey</td>
<td>St. John, N.B.</td>
<td>Fredericton&lt;br&gt;Teacher's College;&lt;br&gt;Missionary training in Toronto, 1923-24</td>
<td>Missionary in China, 1924 to 1927;&lt;br&gt;evacuated to Japan, 1927;&lt;br&gt;worked there until 1941;&lt;br&gt;evacuated to British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicely Baldwin</td>
<td>n.a. [Japan?]</td>
<td>n.a.;&lt;br&gt;Missionary training in Toronto, 1923 to 1926;&lt;br&gt;Took subsequent training in England</td>
<td>late 1920s went to Japan as CMS missionary;&lt;br&gt;evacuated to Vancouver 1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Date of Birth</td>
<td>Place of Birth</td>
<td>Education and Career Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Foster</td>
<td>November 15, 1905</td>
<td>Ottawa, Ont.</td>
<td>Graduated from Ottawa Collegiate Institute; Missionary training in Toronto - 1927 to 1929; kindergarten course at Toronto normal school in second year of missionary training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frances Hawkins</td>
<td>October 6, 1891</td>
<td>Hamilton, Ont.</td>
<td>Did not matriculate; Missionary training in Toronto, 1918 to 1920; Kindergarten training in Toronto, 1926-27.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Harriet Horobin
June 12, 1897
Montreal
Graduated from the Commercial and Technical High School, Montreal; Missionary training in Toronto - 1921 to 1923; Kindergarten training in Toronto, summer 1922; Attended Normal school in Toronto while on furlough in 1928

Kathleen Lang
July 22, 1903
St. Catherines
Did not matriculate; Missionary training in Toronto - 1926 to 1929

Eleanore Lennox
April 8, 1871
Belleville?
Medical school graduate - 6 years training; kindergarten director's certificate; missionary training in Japan 1908-1909; preparation in North America for overseas work unknown

occupation before becoming missionary unknown; missionary in Japan 1923 to 1941; returned to Japan in 1948

occupation before becoming missionary unknown; missionary in Japan 1930 to 1936

unknown if she practiced medicine; occupation on application form listed as kindergartening; missionary in Japan 1909 to 1927
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Occupation Before Becoming Missionary</th>
<th>Occupation As Missionary</th>
<th>Missionary Training Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adelaide Moss</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>unknown; missionary unknown; missionary in Japan 1918 to 1941; retired in 1941 after evacuating from Japan</td>
<td>missionary in Kennedy School of Missions, Connecticut - 1916 to 1918</td>
<td>Graduated Havergal College, Toronto; Missionary training in Kennedy School of Missions, Connecticut - 1916 to 1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aya (Suzuki) Saegusa</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>volunteered in mission kindergartens; taught dressmaking part-time; worked in parents' market garden</td>
<td>missionary in Toronto 1918 to 1941</td>
<td>Graduated Magee High School; Graduated Vancouver Normal School; Graduated Vancouver Academy of Useful Arts; Missionary training in Toronto 1936 to 1938; Toronto Normal School kindergarten course in second year of missionary training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Gertrude Shore</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>unknown; missionary unknown; missionary in Japan 1920 to 1941</td>
<td>missionary in Toronto 1919-1920 and 1932-1933</td>
<td>Ottawa Collegiate; took some art training as well; missionary training in Toronto 1919-1920 and 1932-1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Education/Training</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M[argerite] Grace Tucker</td>
<td>London, England</td>
<td>Public school to grade 8 in Peterborough, Ont.; clerical training course in England; night school courses while working</td>
<td>Office clerk for ten years, in England and Canada, before applying for deaconess training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marion Walker</td>
<td>Orillia, Ont.</td>
<td>Ontario teaching certificate; missionary training in Toronto 1928 to 1930; kindergarten training in Boston 1930-1931</td>
<td>Taught for five years before applying for missionary training; missionary in Japan 1931 to 1936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ida Withers n.a.</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Associate of the Toronto Conservatory of Music; missionary training 1927-1928</td>
<td>Taught music for approximately 15 years before applying for missionary training; volunteered at Vancouver mission 1911 to 1924; lay worker in mission 1924 to 1927</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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