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THE JAPANESE CONTRIBUTION TO CANADA

A Summary of the Role
Played by the Japanese
in the Development of
Canadian Commonwealth

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N. B. Statistics and statements of facts in the following work are subject to correction.

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INTRODUCTION

The Japanese in Canada have been in many ways a significant racial group in the process of Canadian life. According to the Dominion Census of 1931, there were 23,342 Japanese out of the total Canadian population of 10.37 millions. Of these, 12,261 persons were Japan-born and 11,081 were Canadian-born who were popularly called the Second Generation, or Nisei, by the Japanese. A conspicuous fact revealed by the census figures was the concentration of these people in British Columbia. Actually, 22,205 Japanese were residing in the Province, while the remaining 1,137 were diffused among the White Canadians in the prairie and the Eastern provinces. Of that number, 10,728 comprised the Canadians of Japanese origin.

Though numerically unimportant from the standpoint of the Dominion, they have been the object of divers criticisms by the people of British Columbia. In the days of their immigration, they have been subjected to annoying restrictions in an attempt to bar them from entering Canada. Because of their higher birth rate, they are feared by some politicians, press writers, and narrow patriotic demogogues, because of what they are pleased to term "the peaceful penetration" of the Province. Further, on account of their origin, characteristics, and general cultural background, they are ostracised from the social and political spheres of Canadian life. Paradoxicaly, being industrious and diligent in their work, they seem to be the source of impending menace to economic life of some Canadians. So the ill will is directed toward the Japanese, often motivated by ignorance, prejudice, and suspicion.

However numerous may be the charges of this nature against the Japanese in Canada, and even if they are justfiable to certain extent, they cannot be said to represent a fair description of the Japanese in this country, especially, when most of these accusations are based on nebulous, imperfect, and incomplete data. Moreover, factors that may be considered as more congenial to the national life of Canada seem to have been totally eclipsed in face of various misleading statements concerning Japanese.

The following summary is written, therefore, in a hope to present facts relating to the part played by the Japanese in the development of Canadian Commonwealth. Furthermore, it is highly desired that better relations between the Japanese and the Canadians of other racial groups would follow as a result of increased knowledge of such facts which may be designated as factors of contributions by the Japanese of this country.

The first part of this study consists of statements relating to some historical facts of the Japanese immigration into Canada. The second part comprises descriptions of various activities of this group in the major industries of Canada. The third describes some phases of assimilation of the Japanese.

The materials of this summary are largely confined to the studies and surveys carried out in British Columbia, for there are no others available concerning the Japanese in other provinces of the Dominion. Moreover, the Japanese in other provinces are negligible numerically.

PART ONE

THE JAPANESE IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA

A general outline of the course of the Japanese immigration into Canada may serve to some extent in forming a picture of the first phase of the racial relations cycle.

For more than two centuries from 1638 to 1854, Japan pursued a policy of closed doors, excepting the admission of a few Dutch and Chinese traders. But her seclusion from the rest of the world came to an end when Commodore Perry of the United States Navy forcibly persuaded the Government of Japan to adopt the policy of an open door and successfully negotiated a treaty to have her ports opened for trade. The next year, Great Britain, Russia and Holland took similar action. Likewise, other countries established treaties with Japan within the next few years. In 1858, the United States again took the lead in negotiating the first commercial treaty with Japan. One of the provisions was an agreement whereby each country was to grant to the citizens of the other, the right to migrate and settle in its territory. Again, other countries, including Great Britain, Russia and Holland followed the example of their predecessor. Thus this treaty became a very important event in the annals of Japanese immigration into the North American Continent, though actually the general movement of immigrants did not commence until 1885. The reason was that up to 1884, the Government of Japan did not allow the labouring class to emigrate from their country. In the next year, it gave permission to this class to leave the country, for the Japanese Government had signed a convention with the Hawaiian sugar planter permitting them to import Japanese labourers for their plantations in Hawaii.

The history of the migration of Japanese to Canada may be divided into four periods as follows:

1885-1900; 1901-1907; 1908-1928; 1929 and onward.

The first period is marked by a relatively unrestricted flow of immigrants into Canada. The second period witnessed the highest peak of Japanese Immigration in the closing year, and also the enactments of provincial restrictions prevalent during the time. The last two periods were characterized by a sharp drop in the number of Japanese immigrants. This decline was due to both Dominion and Provincial action.

Although the accurate date of the coming of the first Japanese is not known, word has been passed down to the present in the Japanese community that a certain fisherman, named Nagano, was the first Japanese in British Columbia. But the record shows that the first Japanese fisherman came to Steveston in 1887. To his amazement, this man found hordes of salmon in the Fraser River. On his return to his native land shortly after, he spread the news of the prospective opportunity in Canada. Soon a movement of Japanese into British Columbia was initiated. By 1896, their number had risen to 452. At the end of the first period, the Japanese population in the province was estimated to be around 4,500. The majority of these immigrants had come to the new country in a hope of improving their economic

status, and were partially satisfied as they found employment in the fishing industry, in the lumber industry, in the mining and railway industries.

Even in this period, Canadian fear of the Japanese influx was aroused. As early as 1891 there was an attempt made by the miners in the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council to effect a measure prohibiting the Japanese, as well as Chinese, from working in the mines. In 1895, an amendment to the B. C. Voter's Act excluded Orientals and Indians from the voter's list. In view of the situation the Government of Japan had taken the action to restrict the emigration of its subjects to Canada. After 1895, it was necessary to obtain the permission of the Japanese Government to emigrate. But this new law did not check appreciably the exodus of Japanese, for in 1900 some 2,700 landed at Victoria, drawing the attention of the whites. Again, Japan took a step forbidding entirely the emigration of Japanese subjects to Canada, for the time being.

The second period, 1901 to 1907, is the most interesting one of all, for it was at the end of this period that a dramatic outburst of an anti-Japanese movement was displayed and also in this period, the provincial authorities were very active in introducing restrictive measures.

From 1901 to 1904, the number of Japanese immigrants was almost at a standstill. The one outstanding reason for this state was already stated in the above paragraph. The successive enactments by British Columbia Legislature to prevent the entrance of Japanese immigrants into their territory were nullified or interfered with by the Dominion. For twice in 1897 and 1898, the Provincial Legislature introduced a Labour Regulation Bill, designed to prohibit employment of Orientals in the work requiring franchise. Each time, upon the protest by the Japanese authorites, the Dominion Government disallowed the legislation. Similarly, several regulations passed by the Provincial in 1899 were effectively interrupted. In 1900, what appeared to be the culmination of the unrest against the Japanese took shape when the Legislature passed an Immigration Act on the Natal model and also the Labour Regulation Act. Again intercepting, the Dominion Government disallowed the chapters 11 and 14 of the Statutes of 1900.

Another reason for the temporary cessation of Japanese immigrants into Canada was a complete mobilization of manpower available in Japan for the war against Russia. Thus the Japanese desiring to emigrate to Canada were not permitted to leave until some time after the close of the war. Still another reason for this situation has been given in the preceding paragraph, namely, the action of the Japanese Government to prohibit Japanese emigrating from their country, at least for the time being.

After 1905, the flow of immigrants to Canada reverted to its former course. In the same year, 345 entered into the Province. Thereafter their number increased by leaps and bounds; 1922 in 1906, and 2,042 in 1907. The sudden influx was due to the arrival of Japanese from Hawaii. This phenomenal increase, together with the indignation of the Whites at the interference of the Dominion Government, as already cited, and their fear of invasion by Asiatics into their occupational fields, caused the hostility of White labourers against these newcomers.

Under the influence and leadership of the Anti-Asiatic League, the feeling of antagonism came to a head and resulted in the riots in Vancouver in September 1907. A mob of white labourers attacked the Chinese and Japanese quarters and inflicted heavy damage upon them, breaking window glass and injuring persons.

The Canadian Government immediately took control of the situation, offered an apology to the Government of Japan, and made reparations to the victims of the riots. Thus the whole affair was settled diplomatically and directly between Japan and Canada, without the detour of referring the matter to the British Government.

In view of the critical nature of the anti-Japanese feeling as demonstrated by the riot, the Governments of Canada and Japan conferred for negotiations to make adjustments regarding the immigration agreement. As a result of this conference, the Hayashi-Lemieux or Gentlemen's Agreement in the form of letter from Mr. Hayashi, the Foreign Minister of Japan, to Mr. Rodolphe Lemieux, the Labour Minister representing Canada, was reached in December 1907. By this agreement, Japan was to limit the number of passports issued to male labouring immigrants to a maximum of 400, but bona fide students, merchants, and tourists from Japan were to be admitted freely to Canada. As before, wives, parents, children of resident Japanese also belonged to the same category. A limit was put on the number of immigrants for domestic service and for farm labour. The second period had thus come to an end.

At the beginning of the third period, the Japanese who entered Canada were as many as 6,945 for 1908, but as few as 312 for 1909. Two facts chiefly account for this difference between those two years. First, the Hayashi-Lemieux Agreement did not become effective immediately. Secondly, the Japanese Government had no control over its nationals emigrating from Hawaii. They were checked by Canada refusing their entry into her territory unless they possessed passports issued by Japan. In the years 1909 and after, the effect of the Agreement is definitely marked as in the table.

MALE JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1907 - 1934

YEAR	NUMBER	YEAR		NUMBER
1908	6945	1922		140
09	312	23		141
10	104	24		184
11	170	25		182
12	322	26	11 mos.	114
13	252	27	total	475
14	354	28	"	478
15	191	29	"	168
16	148	30	"	188
17	301	31		70
18	459	32		32
19	584	33		52
20	280	34		44
21	145			

In the above table, the years 1918 and 1919 show an excess over the quota of 400. But they were in comformity with the Agreement, since some classes of immigrants were not included in the quota.

Unsatisfied with the curtailment of Japanese immigrants brought about by the Gentlemen's Agreement, and also somewhat alarmed at the noticeable increase of the Japanese population, the Province of British Columbia continued agitation against the Japanese in the Province except during the War.

2 POPULATION OF JAPANESE IN CANADA

1901	4,738
1911	9,021
1921	15,868
1931	23,342

In the meantime, the Dominion passed a new Immigration Act in 1910. The new Act appeared to be non-discriminative, as it applied to immigrants from every country, nevertheless, by Section 38, the Government reserved the power implied that the Canadian Government might refuse Japanese from entering the country.

There were also other numerous expressions of anti-Japanese feeling. One was a famous Neill Bill which was introduced in the Dominion Parliament on May 29th, 1922. It was purported to exclude Orientals. However, the Bill was dropped after the second reading at the following session when it was again introduced. Meanwhile, the Dominion Government had been negotiating with the Japanese Government for restrictions of immigrants. The new arrangement agreed by both parties in 1924 limited the number of contract labourers, domestic servants, farm hands, to 150. The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1928 still narrowed entry of the Japanese immigrants though the number was maintained at 150. In this agreement, wives and children of resident Japanese, domestic servants, and agricultural labourers were included in the limit. The total effect of these restrictions was clearly reflected in the years after 1929. Japanese immigration to Canada has become only nominal in the recent years.

P A R T T W O

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE JAPANESE IN BASIC INDUSTRIES

Almost from the beginning of the immigration of the Japanese into Canada, because of the lack of capital and owing to the nature of these immigrants, the Japanese had been engaged in the more primary industries. Their ignorance of language and customs had compelled them to enter into those fields where a small degree of training, skill, and knowledge were required. Thus in the early period of their settlement, they had established themselves in the fishing, lumbering, mining, and railroading industries.

It was not until a generation or so later that they began to shift into other fields. When the pressure of competition had noticeably been felt by the Japanese fishermen, they sought their livelihood in the agricultural industry. Later, when the Japanese population in British Columbia increased, their sphere of economic activities expanded to include trade, commerce, finance and transportation.

I. PART PLAYED BY THE JAPANESE IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY

The importance of the fishing industry of British Columbia in the economy of Canada cannot be over-emphasized. In 1937, B. C. led all the provinces in the Dominion in respect to the production of fisheries wealth, as indicated by the figures[3] below.

The value of the fisheries products of Canada totalled $38,976,294. During that year, B. C. produced the same to the value of $16,155,439 or 41 per cent of Canada's total. In 1938, again British Columbia ranked at the head of the others, with its fisheries products valued at $18,725,591.

An outstanding factor contributing to this situation is the salmon fishing. In 1938, its production value amounted to $14,544,126.

The Japanese have been closely connected with the development of the fishing industry in British Columbia since their entry into Canada. They were first engaged in the salmon fishing, gradually extending their activities into different branches of the industry, such as salmon and herring salting, and cod fishing.

In the next few pages, an account of the early Japanese fishermen is given.

SALMON FISHING

The first Japanese fishermen were found in Steveston in 1885, though on the earlier date, two men, Sada and Nagano, were said to be engaged in the salmon gill-net fishing in the Fraser River. As these fisher-folk were successfully carrying on their business, word soon spread to attract more people. In 1888, the population of the village had become 150. Incidentally, in 1889 Hayakawa was granted a fishing license; probably he was the first Japanese to receive it.

In 1887, one of the fishermen returned to his native village in Japan, and persuaded his friends and relatives to enter upon a new adventure in Canada. In the ensuing years, more Japanese fishermen immigrated into Canada and settled at Steveston. By 1899, the village population increased to 2,000.

With the ever growing number of fishermen at Steveston and along the Fraser near its mouth, there arose an important branch of the fishing industry. In 1876, a group of white people initiated a cannery operation for canning fresh salmon. The period between 1893 and 1901 witnessed a rapid expansion of fish canning industry. In 1896 or thereabout, several canneries were established in the Fraser River area; the English Cannery in Steveston, two at Ladner, one at North River, and on at Canoe Pass.

A growing community in Steveston soon found itself confronted with the problem of leadership. In 1897, however, it seemed to have been partially solved when a fishermen's association was instituted with Honma at its head. This organization continued to function until May 1900 when the society yielded its place to a larger institution. Meanwhile, through the efforts of two prominent Japanese, Okamoto and Oyama, a hospital was erected just in time to render service to many Japanese victims of an epidemic of typhoid. The hospital was entirely financed by the Japanese though aided by the Christian churches in other respects.

It soon became evident that the more influential organization was needed for co-operation and assistance in order to render efficient service. Consequently in 1900, Steveston Fishermen's Benevolent Society was organized and incorporated under the laws of British Columbia.

The story of salmon fishing in the Skeena River dates back to 1890, when a Japanese, named Yoshizawa, drew up a plan to journey northward from Vancouver in search of fishing grounds. Yoshizawa succeeded in winning four of his compatriots to accompany him. After a hasty preparation, a party of five set sail in a small row boat. They had very small quantity of food and supplies, and relied solely upon the imperfect chart and maps. The party spent some forty days on open sea, often their progress being encumbered by inclement weather.

When these five men had reached the Skeena River, they found that the North Pacific Cannery was still in the midst of its construction. There were 80 whites and 30 Indians being employed in the work; the five men were lucky to obtain jobs to supply fuel wood for the Cannery. Soon, three of the party left for Seattle, while the remaining two, Yoshizawa and Oikawa, continued their work. Fortunately, in the summer of the same year, they were hired by the Cannery for fishing salmon. Thus they had become the forerunners of the Japanese fishermen in this area.

As the two foresaw the possibility of greater employment for Japanese, Oikawa returned to the south. At Victoria, he found seven men who were on a seal-hunting schooner anchored near the town. He accompanied these men north and left them at Georgetown near what is now Prince Rupert. In the summer of 1891, the four men including Oikawa and Yoshizawa, were invited to fish for the Inverness Cannery on the Skeena River.

They demonstrated such a remarkable ability in their work that the manager of the cannery sent Oikawa to the south for

some more men. He brought back four men from Victoria. This group was followed by several others. In 1892, the Japanese fishermen along the Skeena River numbered 80. Soon after, many more followed.

The Japanese part in the development of the fishing industry in the district consisting of the northern half of the British Columbia mainland coast waters up to the Naas is reviewed in the following chronological order.

In 1893, the Rivers Inlet Cannery began its operation. There were 6 or 7 Japanese, headed by Noguchi, at this place fishing. or working in the cannery. A number of fishing grounds was discovered by the Japanese after 1900 along the coast. In that year, Mukai and his partners found one at China Hat. Seven years after, a party of 8 or 9 including, Oikawa, Yoshizawa, and Ichihara, located another promising ground at Bella Bella. Fishing was also started at Smith Inlet. Other places where the Japanese fisher-folk entered into the industry were Kimsquit, Kingcome Inlet, Knight Inlet, Alert Bay and Clem Chu. These simple records indicate that the Japanese had been engaged in the salmon fishing in the early period of the industry.

SALT HERRING PRODUCTION[4]

The production of salt herring was initiated, and almost entirely controlled by the Japanese operators. Over 95% of the annual production averaging between 30,000 tons and 50,000 tons is marketed through "The Canadian Salt Herring Exporters, Ltd.," organization of the Japanese enterprisers, to various points in China. The highest point of production was reached in the season 1928-1929 when 54,000 tons of salt herring valued $2,200,000 were exported. The lowest point occurred in the season 1937-1938, producing 10,000 tons valued $311,000. Operations are chiefly carried on at Galiano, and Pender.

The first attempt at the salting of herring was made in 1877 by two Japanese fishermen, but it ended in failure. Previous to this experiment, herring had been considered as worthless for food purposes. The Japanese, after being prohibited from reducing the fish to fertilizer, conceived the idea of salting them. In 1902, a saltery was established near Nanaimo. In 1905, Tsuchiya, under contract with the Chinese firm Sanki Company, began to operate a salt herring camp and shipped the product to China. After many adversities owing to lack of knowledge and skill in regard to the salting process, they finally arrived at a stage of the industry operating upon a paying basis. In this way, production mounted from year to year. In 1904, it was only 300 tons; in 1907, 8000 tons; in 1910, 27,000 tons; fell off from 1911 to 1918, but regained in 1919. The sharp drop in the recent years is due to the China affair.

SALT SALMON PRODUCTION[5]

In the field of salmon salting, the Japanese were also responsible for the beginning of the industry. In 1896, several fishermen including one named Hayashi, seized the opportunity for salting salmon, when they saw that a great quantity of fish, quite beyond the capacity of existing canning equipment, was brought to the canneries. They decided to salt the excess salmon and sent them to Japan. Accordingly, in that year, some 300 tons were produced and exported to that

country. This experiment, however, met a failure owing to the inferior quality of the product. But these fishermen gradually improved the quality and thereby built up a good market in Japan. During the early period of the industry, the production of salt salmon was 1000 tons in 1897; 4000 tons in 1900; 6000 tons in 1902; and 8000 tons in 1905. Production fell abruptly to 780 tons in 1916. In more recent years, annual production has averaged 30,000 cases, each containing 250-300 salted chums and weighing 400 lbs. In 1931 when the chum canning was reduced to a very slow pace, the production of salted chums leaped to an all time record of 85,000 cases. The product is marketed at $14.00 to $18.00 per case through the Canadian Herring Exporters limited, to various points in Japan. The chief centers of salt salmon operation are Steveston, the Coasts of Vancouver Island, Alert Bay, and other places. At present, salmon salting is temporarily disallowed by the Government.

THE ADVENTURES ON THE WEST COAST OF VANCOUVER ISLAND

The discovery of new fishing grounds and extension of the older area on the west coast of Vancouver Island depended largely upon the adventurous spirit and the courage of the Japanese fishermen. The open seas on the west coast of the Island are tempestuous, therefore dangerous, and too strenuous for those fishermen who had confined themselves to the toil within the inland waters. Furthermore, nature, often inconsiderate of one's convenience, chooses such environment to provide with multitudes of prizes sought by man. In 1917, a Japanese buyer at Tofino, while plying to and fro, spotted several schools of pilchard and herring in certain outlying waters. This meant the possible presence of spring salmon, cohoes and chums. On his return to the fishing station the buyer persuaded the Whites and the Indians to venture out to those outer waters. Realizing that these people apparently had no desire for this new experience, he had secured two veteran fishermen from Steveston for the new undertaking. The result exceeded their expectations. Each had a catch of fish valued at $1500 during the season of three months' duration. The good news was soon spread among the fisherfolk in Steveston, and an exodus of fortune seekers began.

In 1917, six Japanese fishermen from Steveston came to Ucluelet on the west coast of Vancouver Island and settled there. Since then, the number of Japanese, who came out here and along the coast at Tofino, Green Cove, had so increased that by 1921 an association was formed at Ucluelet, named the West Coast Trolling Fishermens' Association. These fishermen had adopted an improved method of trolling which they had learned in Japan.

COD FISHING

The cod fishing by Japanese dates back to 1891 when Sakai and three others were hired by a Swede to engage in the fishing of cod off the coast of Queen Charlette Islands. Later in 1917 some Japanese were said to be trolling for cod in the vicinity of Nanaimo and Seymour Narrows.

At present, the cod fishing in B. C. is carried on by Whites and Japanese who are members of the B. C. Cod Fishermens' Co-operative Association. A sketch of this industry is given below.

"The chief locality for cod fishing is the Gulf of Georgia, though the west coast of Vancouver Island is another fishing ground for some fishermen. The season lasts from March 1 to December 31 every year. After the fishing season is concluded in the Gulf of Georgia, some fishermen proceed to the west coast for a short period.

The average annual catch is 2½ million pounds with the market value of 5¢ to 8½¢ per pound. The entire catch is first brought to Vancouver and then distributed for local consumption or exported to the United States.

The present membership of the B. C. Cod Fishermens' Association is about two hundred of which one hundred and twelve are Japanese. Each invests approximately $1,000 in the industry for a boat and fishing accessories. His average gross income is around $1,200 and enjoys a fairly good standard of living.

A special emphasis was laid upon the fact that there exists an amicable relationship and true co-operation between the Whites and the Japanese fishermen."[6]

GENERAL TENDENCY OF THE JAPANESE EMPLOYMENT IN FISHING

In respect to the number of Japanese fishermen and their licences, there has been a progressive elimination from the fishing industry of British Columbia in spite of the fact that the Japanese had been contributing to the development of the industry.

Before 1905, Japanese fisher-folk lived in peace and happiness with White and Indian fishermen. They had aided the latter in their work, introducing new methods of fishing, improving fishing boats, and discovering new fishing grounds. But this state had come to an end after 1906, for in the years following, the agitation of the Whites against the Japanese became acute and bitter. The movement, however, did not mature into an active elimination of the Japanese fishermen until 1922.

Before proceeding further to examine the various steps taken by the Dominion for the elimination of the Japanese from the fishing industry of B. C., the summary of the number of licences issued to these people between 1896 and 1922 will give a picture of the Japanese expansion in this field. In 1896,[7] 452 licences were granted to the Japanese; in 1901, 1958 out of the total issue of 4,722. By 1901, because there were two men to a boat on a license, it was estimated over 4000 Japanese were actually participating in this industry. The number remained more or less stable for the next few years, but after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, there was a sudden increase in the industry owing to the influx of Japanese immigrants into Canada. It is said that between 1905-1909, almost[8] 38% of the Japanese fishermen in 1934 had entered the industry. During the war their number increased owing to the greater demand for food. In 1919, the Japanese employment in the field reached the highest peak when they received 3,267 licences.

With this mounting number of Japanese fishermen, the agitation was resumed by the Whites. They complained that the Orientals were threatening to drive the Whites from the basic industry. Consequently in 1920-21 some minor actions

were taken by the Dominion. In these years, the number of licenses issued to the Japanese was limited to that of 1919 In 1922, the salmon trolling licenses to the Japanese were decreased by 33 per cent. In the same year, the British Columbia Fisheries Commission, headed by William Duff, M.P., was appointed by the Dominion Government to investigate the fishing situation in British Columbia. The report of the Commission recommended the reduction of the number of licenses issued to the Japanese, so that the Whites and Indians would be restored to a dominant position in the fishery. According to this recommendation, all the licenses issued to other than White British subjects and Indians, in 1923, were to be 40 percent less than the number issued in 1922, except the trolling licenses, which were to be undisturbed; there should be no reduction in 1924, but 15 percent reduction was to be effected in 1925. The Department of Marine and Fisheries, recognizing the recommendations, reduced in 1923 the number of salmon gill net licenses issued to other than White British Subjects and Indians. Actually, the policy failed to achieve its objective. In 1925, because there were no definite advice by the Duff Commission regarding the reduction of licenses in the future years, the Select Standing Committee on Marine and Fisheries met to discuss the question of future policy. They recommended "that the licenses issued to other than White men and Indians to be reduced by 10 percent of the number issued in 1926, and the same reduction in each future year so that these licenses will be entirely confined to Whites and Indians."9

This recommendation was adopted by the Department and carried out until 1927 when it was halted pending the decision of the legal proceeding instituted by the Japanese.

In other branches of the fishing industry, similar policy of the Government was accorded to the Japanese.

Fearing the total elimination of the Japanese from the field of fisheries, in 1922, the Amalgamated Association of Japanese Fishermen and the Steveston Benevolent Fishermens' Association sent two delegates to Ottawa in a hope of obtaining a more lenient treatment of the Japanese fishermen.

Nothing was accomplished. They have made several attempts to alleviate the critical situation of these fishermen, but all were to no avail.

At last in 1927 the Amalgamated Association of Japanese Fishermen took their case to the Courts. In May, 1928, the Supreme Court of Canada handed down a decision in favour of the plaintiff. The Canadian Government appealed to the Privy Council in 1929, but it was dismissed on ground that there was nothing in the language of the legislation that might imply that the Federal Minister had the discretionary power to grant or withhold a license from a Canadian citizen. Accordingly, from 1927 to 1930, the reduction of the licenses has been suspended.

But in 1930, the Department of Marine and Fisheries announced that the policy of reducing the number of licenses issued to other than Whites and Indians would be resumed in 1931. It was not carried out by the Department for the Government acceded to the petition of the Japanese fishermen and the White supporters.

For a decade after the delivery of the legal decision regarding the granting of fishing licenses to Japanese, there was peace and silence. But the question of reduction was revived in 1938 when Mr. Reid, M.P. from the New Westminster Constituency brought the matter before the Dominion Parliament on January 28th of that year. The summary effect of this move

was the reduction of the number of boat puller's licenses issued to Japanese fishermen. In 1938, the decrease was 40% of the number issued in the previous year, and in 1939, 21% of that issued in 1938. This policy of reduction, however, was temporarily suspended in 1940.[10]

THE NUMBER OF JAPANESE FISHERMEN AND THE ESTIMATE[11] OF THEIR INVESTMENTS IN 1933-34 (IN CERTAIN BRANCHES)

The Japanese fishermen distributed right along the coast of British Columbia, comprising the three districts, number 1, 2, and 3, the divisions set by the Department of Fisheries. In 1936 their number in B. C. was 2,028 together with 81 Japanese returned soldiers, while there were 3,499 Indians, and 9,178 White fishermen.[12]

District No. 1 consists of the Fraser System and the Gulf of Georgia. The centre of this district for the Japanese fishermen is Steveston. Here, the population in 1934 was 1495, while 413 were engaged in fishing, others in business and farming, and the rest were their dependents. The total capital invested by the Japanese of this town in 1934 in residence, property, and fishing boats, was approximately $810,000.

District No. 2 covers the area including the northern half of the British Columbia mainland coastal waters, the Naas and Skeena Rivers. The number of Japanese in this district in 1933 to 34 was 811. Many of these people do not reside permanently in the centres where they have chosen to take up the work in fishing, but return to their homes in Vancouver, and vicinity, or to seek work in lumber mills and farming. The total value of investment in fishing equipment was estimated at $390,000 in 1932.

District No. 3 includes the waters surrounding the east and west coasts of Vancouver Island. The Japanese numbering 800 in 1934 were engaged in fishing along the west coast of the Island, Ucluelet being the chief centre. The majority of Japanese are engaged in salmon trolling, while salmon and herring salting has been one other important branch of fishing in this district. In 1932, the total capital investment of eleven salteries on the West Coast of the Island was said to be $1,019,000. These salteries employed 298 White labourers and 395 Japanese in the same year. The Japanese fishermen in Ucluelet are well organized having instituted the West Coast Fishermen's Association which is open to all fishermen of any race. The Association is an economic co-operative with responsibility to market the catch of all the fishermen who are members.

Before concluding this section on the Japanese fishermen in B. C., a few paragraphs may be written describing some characteristics of these fishermen. First Japanese fishermen are admitted by many White fishermen, canners, and politicians, that they are probably the most industrious and efficient workers on the coast. They know the tides, currents, temperatures of the water, and winds. If they lack knowledge, they are very eager to learn. Besides, they are law-abiding citizens, faithful in observing the fishery regulations. Of 165 prosecutions under the Fisheries Act in 1933, only 8 offences, or 4.85 per cent, were committed by the Japanese, though their number was 16.57 per cent of the total.[13]

The Japanese have shown a desire to co-operate with anyone with whom they come in contact, and often freely given their time and money for a humanitarian act. An incident occurred in April 1938 near Saturna Island which will illustrate the point. A Canadian member of the B. C. Cod Fishermen's Co-operative Association had disappeared off the south of that Island, while engaged in fishing. As soon as the report had reached the other fishermen of the Association, almost entire Japanese members (112) joined a search party and spent many days in the Gulf to locate the lost member, though finally they had to abandon the search.[14]

Another occurrence related by Mr. A. H. Lyche to Mr. R. Sumida at Ucluelet serves to depict the characteristic of the Japanese referred.

"One day in 1927, Mr. Lyche's son failed to return from the fishing grounds at his usual time about 8:00 P.M. Mr. Lyche, greatly worried, went to his white neighbours late at night inquiring if anyone had seen the boy. None had, however, and they sought to convince Mr. Lyche that the boy would return soon. Not satisfied, however, he went to the Japanese in the next cove, and made inquiries. One of the Japanese had seen the boy returning quite early so that a tragedy seemed apparent. Accordingly, the entire Japanese fleet of fifty-two boats from six scattered coves called up and lining up in a row, assisted by a few White fishermen, began a search of the inlet. After a few hours, some of the White fishermen returned home, but the entire Japanese fleet searched for two days and nights for the boy, leaving the fishing grounds entirely to the Whites. At least, as the search continued out into the open sea, the body of the boy was found far out by a Japanese fisherman, and brought back home. At the funeral, practically the entire Japanese population turned out to do honour to the son of the man who had always treated them honourably and justly.[15]

II. LABOURERS AND ENTERPRISERS[16] IN THE LUMBER INDUSTRY

The history of the Japanese labourers in lumbering in British Columbia is contemporaneous with that of the Japanese in fishing. Moreover, both industries have been closely allied, even from the early days, in the economic activities of the Japanese immigrants in the Province, for fishermen usually found their jobs in lumbering during the off-season, while mill workers often changed their occupation to fishing. However, the common course of the Japanese immigrants outside of the fisher-folk, was to enter as labouring hands into the lumber industry.

The Japanese moved into this field in large numbers only after 1900. Until then, proportion of their employment was insignificant. As early as 1890, some 60[17] or 70 Japanese were found to be working in a sawmill in Vancouver, though none elsewhere. These people were well received by their employer, as they were industrious and willing workers. By 1901 the Japanese workers were estimated to be 460 in B. C. They were mostly employed in work requiring little skill, such as piling, loading and unloading lumbers or clearing sawdust. From 1902 to 1905 their number did not exceed many over 460.

The years between 1905 and 1908 had shown a greater increase of Japanese workers, on account of the influx of immigrants from Japan. But in the ensuing years, the anti-Japanese agitation was felt respecting the employment of Japanese in this field. During the Great War, there was a considerable increase of their number owing to the shortage of labour. In 1918, they totalled 1,565[18] out of 12,060 engaged in all branches of the lumber industry. A slight decline marked the period from 1919 to 1924. In 1925, there were 3,075. This number fell to 1214 in 1933, but rose to 1940 in the year 1938[19].

As regards wages of the Japanese in the lumbering industry it is an interesting fact to note that their wages, though followed a general trend of business activities, have been always few cents less per hour than those paid to Whites. This discrepancy will be observed casually in the following pages. For present, a birds-eye view of the wages paid to the Japanese given chronologically. In the early immigrant days, wages ranged from 80¢ to 90¢ per day for mill workers, $1.80 to $2.00 for those in the logging industry. In 1906, Japanese labourers earned 15¢ to 17¢ per hour, while the Whites received 20¢ per hour. Wages for other periods have closely followed in some such fashion; during the Great War, especially in the later years, wages increased to 50¢ per hour for all workers, but dropped immediately after the close of the war to 20¢ and 25¢ for Japanese. In 1926, the Minimum Wage Act brought about a raise to the minimum of 40¢ per hour. Around the depression years of 1930-1932, wages for Japanese decreased to 20¢ per hour. The modified Minimum Wage Law of 1930 brought them up to 25¢ per hour. Recently, Japanese are earning 35¢ to 40¢ or more per hour.

The Japanese wage-earners in the lumber industry have been employed in mills and logging camps situated in the following districts, including cities, towns, and villages. Lower Mainland - Vancouver, New Westminster, Fraser Mills, Mission City, along the Coast of B. C., to the North, Woodfibre, Ocean Falls, on Vancouver Island, Port Alice, Port Alberni, Englewood, Royston, Fanny Bay, Ladysmith, and Chemainus.

JAPANESE IN MILLS

The City of Vancouver is the first locality in which Japanese found their jobs as mill hands. The Hastings sawmill, established in 1866 and one of the large mills in the city, employed 60 to 70 Japanese in 1890. When Yamada succeeded Uchida in 1899, as boss of the Japanese employees in this mill, he was given the full responsibility of hiring his countrymen up to 260. In 1919, there were actually 220 Japanese working for the company. This policy favouring the immigrants from Japan continued until the mill was finally closed several years ago. Their wages paid by this mill fluctuated as shown below.

1890-1906	70¢ and 80¢ per day
1907-1908	$1.35 to $2.25 per day
1909-1916	$1.75 per day
1917-1919	$2.60 to $4.25 per day

The purchasing power of these money values (80¢ in 1890-1906 and $3.00 for the war period) were approximately equivalent to $1.30 to $1.50 at the 1930 level.

According to the study made in 1917 by J. Nakayama, the number of Japanese employed in the mills of Vancouver was

approximately 700, distributed among the mills listed below. Many of these mills, however, had ceased operation sometime before this study was carried out.[20]

1. The Royal City Lumber Mill. This mill had been in operation for some years and was closed in 1911. The plant included a sawmill, a planer, and a factory. There were 60 Japanese employees of whom a large number had been in this mill for seven to nine years.

2. The Heaps Sawmill. Its operation was discontinued prior to the outbreak of the Great War. At one time 90 Japanese were employed.

3. The British Columbia Lumber Company. In 1904, the Company was established with the investment of $500,000. Later, it was incorporated with its capital amounting to $1,000,000. Out of 220 employees, 130 were Japanese. When Mr. Maekawa was the foreman, these people were organized into a mutual benefit society. In 1907, as its fund had accumulated to the sum of $700, the organization donated $200 to the City General Hospital, and expended certain amounts for benevolent purposes.

4. The Hastings Shingle and Lumber Company. More than fifty years ago the Company began to operate the mills. In 1901, 12 Japanese were employed, later 70.

5. Other mills, either ceased operation or still in operation include: Red Cedar, 30; South Shore Lumber, 25; Vancouver Sawmill Lumber Company, 70; Alberta Lumber Company, 70; False Creek Lumber Company, 18; Hanbury Lumber Co., 70; Rat Portage, 70; Cascade, 8; Pacific Box Mill, 10; Heaps Shingle Mill, 12; Harbour Lumber, 45; Alberta Shingle Mill, 7; B. C. Fir and Cedar Lumber (still in operation) 40; Robertson and Hackett, (still in operation) 25.

The Fraser Mills located in the vicinity of New Westminster have also provided employment for Japanese in the past as well as present. In 1906, there were 30 Japanese. This number had increased to 250 when the ownership of the mill was changed. The increase was due largely to efforts of Watanabe and Toda. After 1930, this number had dropped considerably.

In respect to their wages, the survey of 1934 revealed that in 1906 or thereabout, the Fraser Mills paid the Japanese workers at the rate of 15¢ - 17¢ per hour, and the Whites at the rate of 20¢ per hour for the same work. Before the War, wages slumped to 7-7½¢ per hour for Japanese, and 10-12¢ for Whites. During the War, the wages were raised to 50¢ per hour for all workers, but dropped again to 20-25¢ per hour. Thereafter the fluctuation of the Japanese wages closely followed the general trend of the wage curve, though there had been always some differentiation between those received by the Japanese and by the Whites.

On Vancouver Island where extensive lumbering is carried on, many Japanese labourers are to be found. One of the important centres on the Island is Chemainus where Japanese were first employed over thirty-five years ago. In 1905, there were 35 Japanese here. The majority of them were fishermen who engaged in fishing during the summer, and worked in the mill in the winter. As time passed, there were some changes in the number of Japanese employed in Chemainus, but in 1925, approximately 100 Japanese were staying in the town as mill hands. However, by 1934, this number had decreased to 70.

Two other large centres where Japanese form a large portion of employment are Woodfibre and Ocean Falls, well known for pulp and paper manufacture. The Japanese workers in Woodfibre are practically all employees of B. C. Pulp and Paper Company, Limited. They first found their way to this town during the War. In 1918, 59 were working in the mills; in 1920, 100; by 1930, the total number of Japanese employed was 230; but in 1934 it had decreased to 157. Now, 200 are working. The wages for Japanese in 1934 was 25¢ per hour or more. At present the minimum of 41½¢ per hour is being paid.

In Ocean Falls, many Japanese are employed by the Pacific Mills Limited which was established in 1917. The information (concerning employment and wages of Japanese and White workers in the Company) imparted to Mr. Sumida by the Secretary of the Japanese Workers' Association, Ocean Falls, in 1934, indicates some significance.

YEAR	NO. OF JAPANESE	WAGES	NO. OF WHITES	WAGES
1917	350	28½¢ per hr.	700	36½¢ per hr.
1918	350	35 " "	750	40 " "
1919	350	35 " "	850	42 " "
1920	375	38 " "	850	42 " "
1921	375	38 " "	850	42 " "
1922	375	38 " "	850	42 " "
1923	350	38 " "	800	42 " "
1924	330	38 " "	800	42 " "
1925	300	38 " "	800	42 " "
1926	300	40 " "	750	45 " "
1927	300	40 " "	750	45 " "
1928	300	40 " "	750	45 " "
1929	300	40 " "	750	45 " "
1930	280	36 " "	600	45 " "
1931	270	32 " "	550	41 " "
1932	200	31 " "	480	39 " "
1933	175	31 " "	500	39 " "
1934	185	33 " "	520	41 " "

In the above table, two interesting facts are observable. First, throughout the period from 1917 to 1934, the Japanese have received lower wages than the Whites, a situation quite common in the lumber, paper and pulp industries. Secondly, there has been practically no displacement of White employees by the Japanese receiving lower wages.

One significant development has taken place among the Japanese in this town. In 1937, in order to co-operate with the Whites in matters of wages and working conditions, these labourers, on application for membership, were admitted into the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. This step was taken as an outcome of their understanding of the labour movement and not of their selfish motive, though the benefit derived therefrom is undeniable.

THE JAPANESE IN LOGGING

Wage Earners in Early Period of the Immigration Enterprisers and their Operations.

This section is chiefly devoted to the discussion of the Japanese enterprisers and their operations in the logging industry though mention is made of wage-earners. To the Japanese enterprisers, the logging has been of greater importance than the sawmill since the days of the immigration.

The first Japanese who entered logging was Y. Aoki. This pioneer had opened a camp in 1895, employing 45 Japanese labourers with Tsuyuki as their superintendent. In spite of difficulties and impediments due to lack of knowledge and inexperience in this industry, Aoki and his men persevered and struggled until they had established a reputation as competent enterprisers and workers. Shortly after, I. Ito, following the example of his predecessor, opened a camp at Port Moody and gained a considerable profit. In 1899, Y. Kanamura began operation in North Vancouver. In the ensuing years, many logging camps were established by such men as Hori, Aoki, Tsuyuki, and Yasuda. By 1910, these Japanese operators, including both independents and contractors, numbered 34, but in 1919, there were 21. A study conducted in 1934 showed that 14 companies engaged as proprietors in the industry were in existence in that year. The extent of operation of 12 enterprises is as follows:

NAME OF COMPANY	CAPITAL INVESTMENT	ANNUAL PRODUCTION	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES
Fanny Bay Logging Co., Ltd.	$ 200,000	$ 135,500	71
Deep Bay Logging Co., Ltd.	200,000	135,000	73
Cartwright Bay Logging Co., Ltd.	40,000	67,500	18
Foolmove Logging Co., Ltd.	10,000	54,000	35
Highland Logging Co., Ltd.	20,000	35,000	23
Stalta Logging Co., Ltd.	4,000	13,000	10
Taniguchi Logging Co., Ltd.	15,000	40,000	20
Takahashi Logging Co., Ltd.	550,000	470,000	75
Maeda Logging Co., Ltd.	6,000	20,000	8
Uyenaka Logging Co., Ltd.	25,000	60,000	11
Channel Logging Co., Ltd.	20,000	31,500	12
Mission Logging Co., Ltd.	8,400	23,000	12
TOTAL	1,098,400	1,184,500	368
AVERAGE	91,533	98,708	30.7

N.B: The majority of 368 employees are Japanese, but a good number of them are Whites, including all the engineers and firemen, from which positions Japanese are barred.

In 1939 ten companies operated the logging camps at Fanny Bay, Cowichan Lake, Call Creek, Laysmith, Port McNeil, Haney, Steelhead, Royston, Coombs and Duncan. These operations had the total investment of $1,303,000, with their production for the year valued at $1,267,000. They employed 541 workers of which 407 were Japanese, and the rest were Whites.[27]

The Japanese wage-earners played a conspicuous part in the logging industry in the pioneer days. It is said that some 2000 were in this occupation in the war period. Many of these were employees of some 50 minor contractors and enterprisers, while less than 250 were under the White management. The actual work in which these people had been engaged can be classified into the shingle board splitting and the tree felling. The wages paid to them differ widely according to the kind of work and positions. Before the Great War, they received $2.00-$3.00 per day for labour, $4.75 a cord for sawing and splitting shingle board under contract. During the War, the wages and the contract price rose to $4.00-$6.00 per day for labour, $5.00 a cord, respectively.

Sawmill operations by Japanese in British Columbia have not been extensive nor the history has been long. In 1933, there were Whonnock Lumber Company, Whonnock, Sterling Sawmill at Aldergrove, and a few others on the very small scale. The largest, and the oldest operation carried on by the Japanese is the mill of the Royston Lumber Company, at Royston, Vancouver Island. It has been under the present management since 1916. The capital invested in the company in 1934 was $300,000 and the production value for 1933 was $250,000.

At present, in Vancouver, two sawmills are operated by the Japanese fuel dealers. They employ about 110 countrymen.

III. THEIR MOVEMENT INTO AGRICULTURE

While the Japanese immigrants at first entered into fishing and lumbering, soon they drifted into farming and contributed their share towards the development of agriculture in British Columbia. But it is, indeed, difficult to estimate the part which they have played on account not only because of the scantiness of available data, but also of the nature involved in this kind of presentation. Under these circumstances, the present section mainly deals with some facts which, fragmentary as they are, might serve to fulfil the purpose.

The shifting of many Japanese from other occupations into farming has been caused by several factors. One, as has been noted elsewhere, is a fact that many immigrants came from the farming class in Japan. This characteristic of the immigrants tended to induce them to enter the agricultural field. On their arrival in Canada, because they had no capital for investment, they were compelled to work as plain labourers. But as soon as they had adjusted themselves to a new environment and had saved the necessary amount for independent enterprises, they turned to the most familiar occupation. Perhaps, the more important reason for this drift has been the discrimination both "de facto" and of legal nature against Japanese in fishing and lumbering. Other factors of importance in influencing the Japanese to become farmers have been the comparatively cheap prices of land in British Columbia, familiarity of these people to intensive cultivation and ready returns from such crops as vegetables and berries.

Investigation into the number of Japanese farmers and their dependents, and the farm acreage owned or leased has not been carried out regularly since the first entry of the Japanese into farming. Only a few statistics produced by occasional surveys supply the information.

The table from a study made in 1934 gives an indication of the number of Japanese entering this field in British Columbia each year.

YEAR OF ENTRY INTO FARMING BY JAPANESE[22] IMMIGRANTS IN B. C.

YEAR	NUMBER	YEAR	NUMBER
1899	0	1920-24	22
1900-04	4	1925-29	15
1905-09	15	1930-34	0
1910-14	15	TOTAL	
1915-19	17	CONSIDERED	88

According to the findings of the Continental Daily News, there were 473 Japanese farmers in 1921 and 2027 dependent on 533 farms in 1923. In 1927, the acreage possessed by Japanese in B. C. was estimated at 5,736.64, valued at $1,003,481, and acreage leased was estimated at 764.48, assessed at $43,790 by the Bureau of Public Information and the statistican of the Department of Agriculture. These figures are for organized territories only. In unorganized territories, Japanese owned 3500.75 acres of improved land, valued at $248,582. In 1930, the number of Japanese farmers was estimated to be 600 in B.C., owning 8,385.78 acres, and leasing 1,781.28 acres. The farming districts in which Japanese have settled include the Lower Fraser Valley, the Okanagan Valley, and Vancouver Island.

THE FRASER VALLEY[23]

The Fraser Valley is the most important of the three. This area extends from Hope to the mouth of the River, covering some 850 square miles of arable land and supports 75,000 people or more. Of these inhabitants, majority are farmers devoting either to mixed farming or small fruit growing. The Japanese are exclusively engaged in the latter. The total acreage of farm cultivated for berry production was extended from 3,414 in 1920 to 6,463 in 1938. The acreage utilized for strawberries alone increased from 1,796 in 1920 to 3,338 in 1938. It is also in this area that the Japanese are engaged in producing over 90 to 95 per cent of the forced rhubarb.

One of the thriving communities of Japanese growers in the Fraser Valley is found in the district municipality of Maple Ridge which comprises Port Hammond, Port Haney, Whonnock, Albion, and Ruskin. In these places, the Japanese seemed to have made their first appearance a few years after 1900; Port Hammond, 1903; Port Haney, 1905; Whonnock, Ruskin and Albion, 1914. These Japanese were mostly farm hands helping the White farmers. Some owned a half share in the cultivation of a small plot of land. As time passed on, and more Japanese came into the territory, a definite settlement was established. The early settlers, however, had a very humble start. One Japanese in Port Haney settled in 15 acres of farm land, and after five years of struggle and toil he was finally successful in completing the purchase. In the course of time, having realized a brighter prospect, this farmer persuaded others to join with him, even though the beginning for them might involve hardship and sacrifice. By 1914, there were about 15 Japanese. In 1924, the number had increased to 40. In this way, communities of Japanese farmers grew up in the area. By 1930, there were 34 Japanese farmers in Whonnock, Ruskin, and Albion. They invested $72,500 in 412 acres. The value of production gained from 228 acres of farm was $38,420 in that year.

The Municipality of Mission, including the city of the same name, is another centre for the Japanese farmers in the Fraser Valley. With its fertile land, ideal climate and sufficient moisture, this district is suited for berry growing, particularly for the cultivation of raspberries. The first Japanese farmer in this area was K. Fujino who settled on the farm of 30 acres in 1904. By 1929, 67 Japanese farmers had joined with him in farming. In 1930,[24] these 67 farmers owned 849 acres, of which 630 acres were cultivated, and rented 75 acres. The total investment then was $210,000. In 1934, the number of farmers increased to 80, who possessed the total acreage of 974.03. The assessed value of improved land amounted to $59,184, while the total taxable value of land was $29,157.50.

The farmers of Mission, as it has been already mentioned, devote themselves to the production of strawberries and raspberries. The following excerpts from the work referred previously, depict the experience of two Japanese farmers engaged in berry producing.

"It requires about four months to clear an acre (4840 sq. yds.) of wild land for the cultivation of strawberries. In one acre of newly cleared land, 7000 strawberry plants are used, and for every 1000 plants, 100 lbs of bone meal fertilizer, at $37.00 per ton, is required. Just before the harvest, additional fertilizer is needed. If bought in British Columbia, each plant costs 3¢. The latter, though more expensive, is much more productive, and in the long run more profitable. An acre of strawberry plants usually produces from 300 to 350 crates (24 baskets per crate) in the first year, 400-450 in the second year, and 500-550 in the third year. Until the fifth or sixth year, this level is maintained, but after that, production steadily declines."

Regarding the production of raspberries:

"After clearing land, about 2500 raspberry canes are planted in one acre in March, April, or May. Each cane costs about 6¢, but varies with the different species of raspberries. It requires three years before the farmer can harvest the first crop which averages about 200-250 crates per acre. Production increases until the fifth and sixth years, and then declines. The price per crate in 1933 was approximately $1.80, and in 1934, $1.70."[25]

The production of rhubarb has become increasingly attractive to the Japanese farmers in Mission. This tendency was the result of the precarious situation in which berry growing farmers were placed. Through the years of experience, they have learned the extreme riskiness of devoting their efforts solely to the production of raspberries and strawberries. For this reason, the cultivation of rhubarb has become quite favourable among the Japanese farmers.

Rhubarb is grown in the open field in the spring and summer, and in green houses in winter. One acre of land produces some 600 boxes of rhubarb. In 1920, the acreage for this rhubarb growing was 91, but by 1938, it has increased to 572 acres. Practically all the growers of the forced rhubarb are members of the Fraser Valley Rhubarb Growers' Association, which was established in 1925. In 1934, 200 out of 215 members of this organization were Japanese. In 1938 these Japanese and a few others produced and marketed 21,563 boxes at 90¢ to $1.40 per 40 lb. box.

The account of the Japanese farmers in the early period at such places as Surrey, Strawberry Hill, Pitt Meadows, Cloverdale, Mt. Lehman, and many other villages is similar to those which had been related in the foregoing paragraphs. Usually, they began in a very humble way, buying farms on installments or working as day labourers and later settling on a small farm, either rented or purchased. From 1908 until 1918, the average value of uncleared land was $120 an acre. The expense required for clearing an acre of land ranged from $100 to $150. After the land was improved, the farmers generally planted strawberries or raspberries. As to the first good crop, they had to wait one to two years for strawberries and five to six years for raspberries.

In Steveston, the Japanese farmers have a slightly different story to tell. From 1923 to 1927, many fishermen in this town were dispossessed of their occupation. A number of these returned to their native land while others remained in the village and entered farming. These unfortunate fishermen were aided by the Steveston Japanese Farmers' Company which was organized in 1923. The Company bought 80 acres of land and rented it to the fishermen on the installment purchasing plan. Besides, they provided farming implements for them. In time, these fishermen had become prosperous farmers. In this village, there are some fisherman farmers who have been engaged in both fishing and farming. This situation has arisen out of the stringent financial conditions experienced by some fisher folk. At the time of their entry into farming, there were some 700-800 fishing boats, evidently excessive in number. Further, the average gross income in Steveston was $1082, of which $395 was expended for fishing equipment and other miscellaneous expenses incurred. Only $959 was spent for living. Under these circumstances, the fishermen were forced to seek another source of income, and found the solution of their problem in farming.

So far some typical centres of the Japanese farmers have been observed. Now a few facts significant of Japanese farmers in the Fraser Valley may be noted briefly.

For more than forty years, the Japanese have taken an active part in building up the agriculture in British Columbia. In the Fraser Valley, particularly, they have given the prime of their life in the transformation of wild land into productive farms. It is believed that over 70 per cent of the grant by the Department of Agriculture for the purpose of clearing land was utilized by the Japanese and approximately 3000 acres of virgin land in the Municipality of Maple Ridge were brought under cultivition, through the indefatigable perserverance and unceasing labour of the Japanese. The industriousness of these people is eloquently narrated in an incident referred by a White farmer in Port Hammond.

"My mother sold eighteen acres of wild land to a Japanese farmer some time ago. We thought that it would never be of value for it was covered with bush and huge stumps, having been logged over, and in addition, the soil did not seem very rich. Last winter, I went out to this farm to cut wood, and found, to my surprise, that it was nearly all cleared and had been transformed into a highly productive berry farm. I found out that Japanese farmer in eighteen months had cleared four and one-half acres, an area which would take the average farmer three years to clear."

Now Canada stands witness to a fruitful effort of the Japanese pioneers, as carloads of berries are marketed every year in the far Eastern cities of the Dominion, and the processed products are exported to Great Britain.

A notable advance in the organized life of the Fraser Vally farmers in recent years has been the growth of the co-operative movement. In Surrey, for instance, the Japanese farmers were not informed until the end of the season as to the quantities of different grades of the products, and as to prices at which these products had been disposed. Under such conditions, these farmers were seriously handicapped. The need of a change was obvious. Consquently, the Surrey Berry Growers Co-operative Association was organized in 1927 Its total membership in 1935 was 55, including 12 White farmers.

The Association has a packing house through which the products are assembled and distributed. It also purchases fertilizers, plants and boxes for the growers. The maintenance fee of the co-operative is levied on each member according to the amount of products handled and credited to him.

In Mission, in 1934, 80 per cent of the Japanese were members of the Pacific Co-operative Union, and 15 per cent were members of the Associated Berry Growers' Association.

The Maple Ridge Growers' Co-operative Exchange was organized in 1927 by Mr. Y. Yamaga who has been for many years a leader among the Japanese farmers in the Fraser Valley, promoting the friendly relations with the White farmers in matters relating to both social and economic welfare. This Co-operative was formed under the similar conditions that led to the establishment of the Surrey Co-operative, and is operated on the same principles as the latter organization. In 1934, it had 100 members including both Japanese and Whites. The Co-operative has a packing house, a processing plant and storage facilities. The maintenace of the co-operative is financed by funds derived from handling charges and transportation fees. It is highly efficient and controlled entirely by the producers themselves.

In addition to those described above, there are many other organizations of the same nature at the various farming centres. In 1926, all the associations were united into one body and named the Consolidated Farmers' Association of the Fraser Valley, which holds an Annual Meeting at Haney . The delegates are sent from this organization to the annual convention of the B. C. Fruit Growers' Association at Vancouver.

THE OKANAGAN VALLEY

The Okanagan Valley, famous for apples and tomatoes, is the second important farming area for Japanese. In this district, Kelowna, Okanagan Centre, Vernon, and Summerland form the nuclei for the Japanese farmers. As early as 1900, some Japanese labourers were working in the orchards at Vernon, and a group of Japanese were employed for apple picking at Coldstream.

The Japanese have been associated with apple orchards and the trucking farming in the Kelowna district since 1909. In this year two Japanese began to cultivate on separate farms, tomatoes and onions on the half-share basis with the White farmers. In the years following, the number of Japanese increased steadily. By 1914, the Kelowna Japanese Farmers' Association was organized to co-operate socially and economically. In 1934, there were 134 Japanese farmers in this area, cultivating about 1400 acres either independently or on the half-share basis. The principal product consists of tomatoes; the secondary products, onions, cucumbers, cabbages. Fruits are also produced.

In 1934, all the Japanese farmers at Kelowna were members of the Tomato Growers' Association. Through this organization, the farmers marketed their tomatoes, and through the Onion Growers' Association, they marketed their onions, while the farmers producing apples sold them through the Kelowna Growers' Exchange.

Another centre for the Japanese farmers in the Okanagan is the little village of Okanagan Centre situated on the east

shore of Lake Okanagan, about half way between Kelowna and Vernon. The pioneer Japanese in this locality is said to be employed in the Rainbow Ranch in 1907. The first Japanese settler here was Kobayashi, a boss of the Japanese working for the Okanagan Land Company. In 1930,[26] there were 6 Japanese farmers, possessing 112 acres of cultivated land, leasing 25 acres, and investing approximately $33,000. The chief products are fruits and vegetables.

The first independent Japanese farmer in Vernon was S. Oishi. In 1921, he rented about 10 acres of land for $300 annually and began to cultivate vegetables. Others followed him from time to time. In 1934,[27] 15 Japanese families in South Vernon, and 8 in other parts were settled. They owned approximately 500 acres and leased 100 acres. In 1934, these farmers sold 1500 tons of tomatoes.

On the west side and near the southern end of the Lake Okanagan, a small of town of Summerland is located. Here several Japanese had taken up farming in 1908. By 1930 the number had increased to 19. In 1932, 20 Japanese farmers, ten of whom independent, and ten on the half-share basis, cultivated 85 acres of their own land, and an additional 250 acres of leased land. The major product of those farms is orchard fruit which does not require as much effort as the vegetables. In 1930,[28] it is estimated that the total production value amounted to $43,500. After paying $10,000 to the land owners, these farmers cleared a gross income of $33,500.

The life of the Japanese farmers in Summerland should merit the special attention. More than three decades ago, a handful of these people settled in the heart of British Columbia, completely separated from the more densely populated Japanese commercial area on the coast. In time, they have acclimatized themselves to the new surroudings, and today they enjoy life to a degree envied by some Japanese farmers in other districts. They do not labour as long hours as do the Japanese farmers in Kelowna or those who are engaged in the cultivation of vegetables. They rest on Sundays, and take up recreations on holidays. Moreover, these Japanese people have established a very friendly relationship with the White farmers in the village. On the whole, the Japanese farmers in Summerland enjoy a higher standard of life than others of their own race.

OTHER CENTRES OF THE INTERIOR

The other centres of the interior such as Kamloops, Penticton, Kootenay, are negligible as far as the number of Japanese farmers is concerned.

VANCOUVER ISLAND

On Vancouver Island, the chief community of Japanese farmers is located in the Comox Valley. Here, the first farmer made his way into farming in 1900. Later, two more entered. By 1930, there were approximately 11 Japanese farmers in this valley. At that time, they owned 330 acres, and rented 1,350. They were mainly engaged in dairying and truck farming. At Cordova Bay, near Victoria, two or three Japanese are engaged in producing berries and vegetables.

IV. THE JAPANESE IN MINING

In the early days of their immigration into Canada, Japanese have been prominent also in mining. Their employment, however, has been confined to coal mining in Cumberland, Vancouver Island, and to copper mining in Britannia Beach on the south shore of Howe Sound.

The Japanese coal miners at Cumberland were brought over from Japan as contract labourers for the Canadian Collieries (Dunsmuir) Limited. In 1891, the first shipload of 60 Japanese arrived in Cumberland. The majority of them soon left the town for some other work, for they were disappointed at the failure of the Company to fulfil the contractual agreement and also disgusted at the miserable conditions to which they had not been accustomed. Despite this fact, another group of 70 experienced Japanese coal miners came to the town under the similar contract. This time, they remained there, even after the contract was cancelled on account of a general strike in 1893, in which the Japanese had also participated. Fifteen years after the coal miners strike at Cumberland, an additional group of contracted labourers were imported from Japan for the same Company. This continual importation of labourers aroused an anti-Japanese agitation. Hence, the Canadian Government prohibited the further importation of contracted labourers. From this time, the system was abandoned.

From 1903 to 1924, the number of Japanese coal-miners at Cumberland exceeded 100; since 1927, it gradually declined until there were only 50. By 1935, no Japanese miners were employed in this town. This phenomenon was due to three factors: first, the Japanese miners lacked experience in mining and a knowledge of English, so that they were not qualified to obtain the miner's license, a regulation imposed by the Provincial Government; secondly, the exhaustion of the richest veins in mines compelled the Company to curtail expenses; thirdly, the decreased market for coal had the similar effect as the second factor upon the policy of the Company.

As the result of these conditions, unemployed Japanese sought their work in other industries, while very few remained at Cumberland.

The Japanese at Britannia Beach had a happier experience and their relations with the Company and the Whites in the community were more congenial as compared with their compatriots at Cumberland. The history of the Japanese employees in this company town began in 1903, when 11 workers under a boss of their own nationality arrived there for construction of a wharf and a cable road. The next year, 11 of these were given underground work, while an additional 11 were hired for the highway construction. The number had increased to 340 in 1916. Then it declined to 16 in 1935. At present, some 40 Japanese are employed.

Treatment of the Japanese labourers at Britannia Beach has been reasonable and fair. Here, each single man is provided with a room, well ventilated, heated and furnished. The married people also have enjoyed the use of various facilities and the relative degree of comfort. Besides, the Japanese workers have taken part in the social activities of the community, and have appreciated the friendly attitude of the White employees.

A study regarding the wages of the Japanese shows some variations closely following the economic trends of the period, summarized as below:[29]

YEAR	WAGES
1903-1904	$ 1.50 per day
1905	1.75 "
1906-1907	1.50 "
1908	1.75 "
1909-1915	2.00 "
1916	2.50 "
1917	2.75 "
1918	3.75 "
1934	2.00 "
1935	2.00 "
1939	2.90 "

V. THE JAPANESE IN RAILROADING

The railroading in British Columbia afforded employment for a large number of Japanese immigrants in the early period of the industry. Railway construction, yard work, station and hotel services as well as the dining car service, required many employees. To the call of these occupations, many Japanese labourers responded enthusiastically, especially between 1905 to 1909 when there was a preponderant influx of Japanese to Canada.

The first Japanese appeared in this industry in 1899. From then onward until 1901, he was followed by a considerable number of his countrymen who had been imported under contract by such agents as Honma, Aoki, Hori, and Nishiyama. In 1907, the Canadian Pacific Railways made a contract with S. Goto of the Japanese Immigration Supply Company to import 1000 labourers from Japan for construction of an irrigation system at Calgary, Alberta. This scheme, however, was compelled to be abandoned in the same year after having brought in 370, for, as it had already been related, the anti-Japanese riots of 1907 effectively checked an unrestricted flow of Japanese immigrants into Canada. Despite this fact, the number of Japanese labourers who came to Canada and employed as railroad workers reached the high point of 1284 in that year. This phenomenon was due largely to the arrival of a great many Japanese from Hawaii.

After this year, the Japanese railroad labourers decreased gradually except in 1917. In 1931, their number declined to an estimate of 110. At present, the number is even smaller, for since 1938, all the employees in the Canadian Pacific Railway hotels have been discharged, and many other in different branches of the industry either had been eliminated or had voluntarily left their position in search of steady employment.

In concluding this section, it may be said that the Japanese immigrants had offered their labour, and shared with others the task of building and maintaining the great Canadian railway system.

PART THREE

CANADIANIZATION OF THE JAPANESE.

One of the significant facts concerning the Japanese in Canada, as has been noted, is the concentration of these people in British Columbia. This fact has been the cause of many problems for Canada, particularly for the Province. Many politicians, business men, and labourers have hurled severe criticisms at the Japanese, stating they were unassimilable, therefore, undesirable. Moreover, the Japanese were branded as a "Yellow Peril", or feared by the White people because of their "economic penetration" into industries; hence, creation of barriers preventing them from entering several professions, or adoption of a policy to eliminate them from certain fields such as fishing. These attitudes of the people toward the Japanese have resulted from prejudice.

There are other angles from which one can observe the situation of the Japanese in B. C. Precisely, the following articles have been written with this thought in mind. As preliminaries to the main sections, a statement is made concerning factors which led to the concentration of Japanese in B. C. and also an explanation is given respecting what might be called "a society of Japanese in Canada", or "the Japanese Canadian-society".

Important reasons for the concentration of the Japanese in British Columbia are summarized as follows.

1. Proximity of Japan to British Columbia.
   Japanese immigrants entered the Dominion at the ports of Victoria and Vancouver, the nearest points from Japan. They remained in the Province not travelling further, because their financial conditions prevented them.

2. The climate and geographical features have influenced the Japanese in their decision to settle in B. C.

3. The influence of the number of Japanese who had settled in the early period in the Province. The precursors of the Japanese immigrants have led the way for later comers, who were mostly relatives and friends. At least half of the immigrants in the later period had come to B. C. as a result of information given by earlier ones. The survey of 1934 indicated that out of 309 immigrants considered, 158 or 51.1 per cent had relatives and friends in the Province.

4. The economic condition of the Province have been probably the greatest factor in inducing the Japanese immigrants to seek their residence in B. C. The Province shared the boom period of 1896-1911. It was from 1905 to 1911 that some 11,910 Japanese migrated to Canada. The capitalist, no doubt, took advantage of the so-called "cheap labour" supplied by the Japanese immigrants who were in the position to be exploited on account of their ignorance regarding Western ways of life, and their inability to speak the English language.

The concentration of the Japanese immigrants in B. C. tended to develop what might be loosely termed "a society of Japanese in Canada", or "the Japanese-Canadian society" as it is named, in the work, by Mr. Charles H. Young and others. When the immigrants first came to Canada, they were a hundred per cent Japanese. But from the time of their arrival, these had undergone a considerable change. In the course of time, some predominant Japanese characteristics have receded into the background, while they have acquired Canadian customs, manners, and ideals. It is also true that many Japanese immigrants have now ceased to live, while the Canadian born Japanese are taking the place of their forebears. These Canadians of Japanese birth, or the Second Generation, are imbued with Canadian culture, being brought up wholly in the Canadian atmoshpere, though the influence of their parents, who are Japanese to the greater extent, cannot be denied. This brief explanation of the Japanese-Canadian society is an attempt to indicate a tendency of Japanese people towards Canadianization.

To give some evidences, the next few sections are devoted to the analysis of the social changes of the Japanese-Canadian society.

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THE RISING GENERATION.

A knowledge of the characteristics of the Japanese immigrants would greatly aid in understanding the present conditions of the Japanese society.

One of the outstanding characteristics and one that had a very important influence upon the present Japanese in B. C. was the transient nature of the early immigrants. They came to Canada with a dream of golden opportunities and a hope to return home as soon as they had earned enough money to build their homes and purchase farms in Japan. In the course of years, they have learned that this attitude towards the life in the New Land had created the situation detrimental to the welfare of the Japanese society. Consequently, they were compelled to abandon it, and many have decided to remain permanently in this country, though a number had returned to their native land.

The immigrants from Japan were young. A study in 1934[30] revealed that out of 335 male immigrants, 99 came to Canada between 15-19 years, 89 between 20-24, and 76 between 25-29 years. They were naturally healthy, strong, ambitious and full of hopes. Moreover, it should be noted that these youths deserved credit for their courage to leave Japan and to face a new life in the strange land, defying the difficulties and obstacles that confronted them.

Before the coming of the Japanese women to this country, these men were more or less rugged and coarse in their character, and often immoral in their conduct, as had been common to almost all the immigrants from various countries to this Continent. But such state had gradually disappeared after the establishment of their family life, which had begun in the third period of the Japanese immigration to Canada. Since then, they have become sane and sound in outlook of their life, and not inclined to be contaminated with such ideas and movement as communism, or any other "isms" that might disturb the stability of life.

As to the intelligence of these young immigrants, they were average, but skilful and agile in their work. Reporting on the education of these people, the Continental Daily News revealed that of 3,543 immigrants studied 93.5% were graduates of the elementary schools, and the rest had been in the higher schools.

One of the most serious problems the Japanese immigrants had to face was that of language. A few had overcome this linguistic handicap, while the majority remained unable to speak or write English. But this state of the immigrants had a favourable effect upon their children as we shall see later.

When these Japanese came to Canada, a very small number of them was able to speak or understand English. Even in the later period, the similar condition had existed. A survey[31] of the Daily Continental News reported that out of 3,480, 73.8 per cent. were unable to read, write or understand the language, 8.13 per cent. were able to understand daily conversation in English, and only .72 per cent. were able to read the "Canadian Fifth Reader". Such condition was not contrary to the general standard of immigrants, for almost all had come from the lower classes, not in the position to provide them with means of acquiring the English language and custom.

The young Japanese immigrants, however, being intelligent and literate, were very ambitious to learn English and to become acquainted with Western culture. Their impelling desire was answered in two ways. One was to be employed as a school-boy in the Canadian home. In this way, he was able to attend a public school, while out of school hours, he made himself useful in general house-work. Another method of acquiring the knowledge of English was attendance at night schools of the Christian Churches. The most important of these was operated by the Methodist Mission in Vancouver from 1912 to 1933. A significant fact is that a number of the Japanese graduates from the University of British Columbia and other universities had been associated with this institution either as students or instructors. Prominent among them were Rev. K. Shimizu, M. A., present pastor of the Vancouver Japanese United Church, and Dr. K. Shimotakahara, M. D., influential medical man in the Japanese community in Vancouver and vicinity. So far, it has been observed how the minority had attained the mastery of English.

Those Japanese immigrants who had no opportunity to learn English and also who did not attend to this task had clearly shown their desire to educate their children so that they should not experience the same inconvenience and handicap as their parents did. As a matter of fact, the Japanese as a whole have been very eager to give them as much education as possible. The reflection of their desire concerning the education of the Second Generation has been indicated in different ways. A survey of the Second Generation in B. C. carried out in 1934 by the Canadian Japanese Association pointed out that out of 7,004 young people ranging in ages from 5 to 19 years, 4,902 were attending the educational institutions of the Province. The existence of numerous organizations for training young people is another mark of the parents' desire to have their children well prepared for life's struggle. Moreover, there are 55 graduates up to date from the University of British Columbia, and 56 students attending the same institution at present.

Thus the characteristics of the Japanese to learn and study has influenced the rising generation to a wide extent.

Another distinctive feature of the Japanese has been the enduring loyalty to group and institutions. Ancestor-worship and extreme devotion to family life are manifestations of this quality. Moreover, because of this fact, there are numerous societies and clubs in the Japanese society as we shall see later.

II. CHANGES IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE JAPANESE.

Study of the behaviour pattern of the Japanese in regards to their religion is interesting in that they have undergone a considerable change during their residence in British Columbia.

There are to be observed; first, the extent and activities of the Buddhists, and a phase of the modification they have undergone in the process of adjustment to the new environment; secondly, the influence of Christianity among the Japanese immigrants and the state of Christian Japanese movement in B. C.; thirdly, the religious situation of the Second Generation.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism has been the dominant faith of the Japanese for centuries in their native land. They have been reared, educated, and trained in the atmosphere saturated with the spirit, rites, and customs of Buddhism. When they arrived in Canada, naturally, they have brought with them bundles of the spiritual attributes rich in the tradition of Buddhism.

As early as 1905, the Buddhist temple was opened in Vancouver for worship, and services were conducted by a priest who was called to Canada by a group of important Japanese in the Province. Another temple, larger than the previous one, was erected in 1910 on Cordova Street, Vancouver. The contributing members of the temple were about twenty. During this period, only one priest served the whole Japanese community. By 1928, the temples were established at Steveston, Haney, and another in the Fraser Valley. In 1934, the Buddhist temples numbered six with their branches at several localities in B. C. In 1934, the total paid up membership was 4,235 and the Buddhist population occupied approximately 60 per cent of the total Japanese in the Province. Associated with these temples and their branches were numerous women's and young people's organizations together with kindergartens and Sunday Schools. These affiliated institutions numbered over 30 out of some 250 Japanese organizations of B. C. in the same year.

Of greater concern in treating the subject of the Japanese religion in B. C. is a degree to which the organized Buddhists had modified their activities. Undoubtedly, they have felt the influence of Christianity. The "Buddhist temple" has yielded its place to a "Buddhist church". They have adopted the method of Christian education, establishing Sunday Schools, kindergartens, and various organizations for training their children and young people. Even songs used in their Sunday Schools are variations of the Christian hymns.

Further, the Buddhist church conducts marriage ceremonies somewhat modelled on the Christian type. Aside from these examples, one can readily recognize the modified state of Buddhism wherever the temples are found.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE JAPANESE

The life of the Japanese immigrants had been deeply rooted in the teachings, rituals, and customs of Buddhism. Yet, their religious living was greatly influenced by Christianity as it has been already related. Moreover, the Japanese were not adamant to the forces of the Christian principles and service. Indeed, John Oxenham sang in adoration of the universal truth that;

"In Christ there is no East or West,
In Him no South or North,
But one great fellowship of love
Throughout the whole round earth.

"In Him shall true hearts everywhere
Their true communion find.
His service is the golden cord
Close binding all mankind."

As a matter of fact, the Japanese people are readily susceptable to virtues of Christian teaching and living, for there are some underlying precepts, common to Christian life and the Japanese; notably the emphasis is on the value of sacrifice, loyalty, generosity and love, truthfulness, honesty, and obedience.

The process of evangelization among the Japanese in British Columbia began in 1890 in the hands of the Christians from the United States. In 1892, Mr. Matsutaro Okamoto was sent by the Japanese Christian Endeavour Society of Seattle to carry on the missionary work in B. C. He laboured incessantly among his fellow countrymen, preaching the Gospel, helping to establish a hospital at Steveston, and instituting the Missions at Union and Victoria. Because his work proved to be so successful, that by 1896, the Sunday services were conducted, and a night school had been established in Vancouver. Between 1900 and 1939, ministers and laymen have succeeded in converting many Japanese immigrants from their former religion to Christianity. In 1931, the number of Japanese Christians in British Columbia was as follows in relation to the number of those in other religion.

RELIGION OF THE JAPANESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.[32]

Religious Sect	Number	Percentage
Buddhist and Shintoist	14,707	66.1
United Church	4,789	21.6
Anglican Church	1,240	5.6
Other Sects	570	2.6
Roman Catholic	208	.9
No Religion	178	.8
Not stated	511	2.4

As shown in the above table, 66 per cent of the Japanese people were Buddhists, while over 30 per cent being Christians.

Of the three major denominations of the Christian Church, the United Church of Canada occupies the foremost position. In 1938, the number of Japanese under the eight pastoral oversight in B. C. was 5,994 with the total membership of 1,048. The strength of the Church for the future lies in the fact that the various activities of the Church have been participated by the younger people. In 1938,[33] there were 18 Sunday Schools with 1,161 pupils enrolled, and 47 through-the-week organizations with 834 members. To maintain and extend the work in eight pastoral fields, the total of $20,450 was expended in that year.

The Churches of other denominations also endeavoured to Christianize the Japanese. A special mention should be made of the Roman Catholic Mission which has instituted a nursery for Japanese children.

The success of the Christian Church in the evangelization of the Japanese has been due to at least three factors. One is the character and the cultural background of the Japanese. This fact has been previously stated. Another is the unreserved devotion of the Canadian workers in the missionary service among the Japanese. The third is the influence and the leadership of the Christian Japanese ministers who had acted not only as friends, but also as interpreters, employment agents, and confidential advisers. In this manner, the Gospel preached by the ministers had appealed more vividly and realistically to the Japanese immigrants.

The religious situation of the Second Generation Japanese is quite different from that of the First Generation immigrants. Unlike their parents who had become Christians often at the sacrifice of old ideals and customs, the Canadian born are educated in the environment permeated with the Christian influence. For this reason, the Japanese Canadians are apt to choose Christianity if confronted with the problem of adopting one of the two religions, Christianity and Buddhism. On the other hand, if the parents are Christians, the sons and daughters are most likely to follow the faith of their fathers and mothers. Paradoxically, even if the parents are very devout Buddhists, their children are being sent to the Christian Sunday Schools. An investigation conducted by certain minister in 1931 proves that "65 per cent of the total Japanese belong to Buddhist parents, while only 16 per cent belong to Christian parents; but among the children, we find that 65 per cent are in Christian Sunday Schools and only 15 per cent are in Buddhist Sunday Schools." According to the finding of the Committee for the Survey of the Second Generation in B. C., out of 10,774, the total considered, 45.7 per cent were Buddhists, and 43.6 per cent were Christians. The tendency, therefore, is definitely towards the adoption of Christianity, if the general trend is observed throughout the history of the Japanese religion in B. C.

Of vital importance to the religious life of the Second Generation is the presence of Sunday Schools, kindergartens, and various organizations maintained by the Church. In 1934, the number of Japanese pupils enrolled in the Christian Sunday Schools in B. C. was 1,602, and the members of the training organizations at those places totalled 1,189. These belonged to such clubs and groups as Bible Classes, Young People's Societies, Canadian Girls in Training, Canadian Standard Efficiency Training groups, Saturday Club, Golden Key, Mission Band, Explorers and others.

Through these organizations, the Canadian-born are being brought into intimate contact with the social and religious life of Canada. For example, the Young People's Society of Vancouver Japanese United Church has been the member of the Greater Vancouver Young People's Union for many years. Members of the Society have been enjoying the friendship of Canadians of other races, through social, educational, religious, and recreational meetings. Recently, this Young People's Society won the highest honours at the Eighth Annual Greater Vancouver Young People's Union Drama Festival.

A special attention is due to "The Women's Missionary Society" of the former Methodist Church, now affiliated with the United Church of Canada, for its work in the Christian-Japanese Kindergartens. This Society has laboured assiduously in the education of the Japanese children, teaching them English language, training them in Canadian traditions and ideals, as well as in Christian living. For the purpose of this work, the kindergartens were opened in 1910 and 1912, at Powell Street and the Fifth Avenue, respectively, in Vancouver. The other Churches and the Buddhists also followed the example. Since then, all these institutions have been assisting in the valuable work of preparing the Japanese children for entrance into public schools, and laying the foundation for the development of character and personality of individuals.

This short review of the changes taking places in the religious life of the Japanese in B. C. evidences that eventually the Japanese Canadians would become functionally as part of Christian Society of Canada, provided nothing impedes the progress.

III. INSTITUTIONS IN THE LIFE OF THE JAPANESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

In recent times, there has been developed over 250 secular and religious organizations in Japanese-Canadian society. They may be broadly classified into five major divisions, namely, social, business, religious, educational and athletic. Many of these, however, take interest in two or more fields. An association classified as business may also carry on social activities, while a religious organization is social as well as educational.

These societies and clubs serve two purposes, of which one is to further and promote better understanding, and friendly and peaceful relations between the Japanese on one hand and the Canadians of other races on the other. Another is to advance the general welfare of the Japanese, giving them aid whenever required, and encouraging them for higher standard of living.

Some significance is attached to the urban institutions. In Vancouver, there were about 84 Japanese associations,[34] representing 37 per cent of the total Japanese organization in B. C. in 1934. Since over one third of the Japanese population of B. C. resided within the city and represented various occupational populace, they served as basis of establishment of numerous organizations. These were characterized by at least two features. First, some institutions

such as the Canadian Japanese Association and the Camp and Mill Workers' Union have been the organizing centres integrating the rural branches. Secondly, the associations formed by the press and cleaners, the barbers, the lodging house proprietors, and the gardeners, are marked by the highly specialized nature both in their structure and function. We also note that the existence of clubs and societies in the city for advancement of educational, literary, and recreational interests distinguishes Japanese as capable of adapting themselves to those pursuits. In fact, all these organizations serve general and particular purposes.

As we have already mentioned of some organizations in religious and business fields, the following description concerns the three representative organizations of the Japanese-Canadian society, namely, the Canadian Japanese Association, the Camp and Mill Workers' Union, and the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League.

Among the social organizations, the Canadian Japanese Association is the largest body and perhaps the most influential in the society for forty years. The Association was formed in 1897 and had become an authorized body in 1910.[35] It acted as a social, political, economic, and educational organization for all Japanese in Canada. In early days, the Association aided many Japanese immigrants in finding work, setting up facilities for learning English. It always endeavoured to improve the moral character of the Japanese, both the First and the Second Generations in Canada. It struggled to obtain the franchise for naturalized as well as for the Second Generation. This effort is still being made. Furthermore, the Association has been acting as medium for furtherance of amicable relationship between the Japanese and the Canadians. It is well known that through its effort the Japanese unit of the Greater Vancouver Welfare Federation was established. In January 1934, this Society was re-organized purporting to include all Japanese in Canada. In 1939, its total membership exceeded 3,900.

Of special importance to the Japanese, for the majority being labourers, is the Camp and Mill Workers' Union which was founded in July 1920 with approximately 50 members. At the same time, the Union began to publish a weekly advocating the cause of the labouring class. Since 1924, the weekly became the Daily People, a full-fledged daily publication.

In 1927, the Union was affiliated with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and changed its former name "the Japanese Labour Union" to the present one. It is also a member of the Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labour Council. The present membership of the Union is 550, including those of its affiliated units at Ocean Falls, Port Alberni, Okanagan, Great Central and other places.

Among its notable achievement, the Union deserves credit for the recognition, in effect, by the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada of the equality and inclusion in the labour movement of all races assimilable into the national life of Canada. At the convention of the Congress held in Vancouver in 1931, the ninth section of the platform of the Congress was amended striking off the phrase "the exclusion of all Asiatics from Canada", and inserting in its place the clause to read "the exclusion of all races that cannot be properly assimilated into the national life of Canada."

Besides this amendment, the Union has succeeded in bringing about the adoption at the convention, of two other resolutions; the first one requesting the Government of the Province of British Columbia to amend the Provincial Elections Act to insure that "every native-born Canadian shall receive equality of treatment and full rights of citizenship;" the second, to make "such representations as may be necessary to the Government of Canada to the end that the applications for naturalization by Japanese may be considered and treated on an equal basis with that of other aliens."

It should also be mentioned that the Union has been largely instrumental in leading up the Japanese labourers at Ocean Falls, B. C. to organize the Japanese Section, Local 312, of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Mill Workers.

A representative organization embracing all classes of the Second Generation in Canada is the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League.

In order to understand its position and function in the life of the Canadian-born Japanese, some knowledge of their situation and conditions is of much aid. Up to this point some facts have been already observed, but in the next few paragraphs, social, occupational, and political conditions of the Second Generation shall be related in the condensed form.

The social problem of the Second Generation, the majority of whom reside in British Columbia, is of dual nature. One aspect concerns their relations to the First Generation. Being born in Canada and educated in the Canadian Schools, they are permeated with Western culture. They are individualistic, materialistic, and democratic. On the other hand, parents are essentially Japanese in every concepts of life. Often, because there are noticeable differences between the East and the West, a conflict arises between the two groups. In morals, in social customs, in habits, in language, and in religion, there are to be found points on which the parents and their sons and daughters differ in opinion and behaviour. A Second Generation himself expresses the same thought as in this excerpt:[36]

"There is a definite break and conflict between the first and second generation because of the great difference in our respective cultures. We go to school, learn the English language and acquire the culture of the Westerners. We participate in Canadian games and similar social activities. The influence of Canadian environment has dominated much of the Nisei's life.

"Naturally we are inclined to criticize the first generation and the inevitable result is conflict. The break causes unhappiness but it is necessary to assist assimilation socially.

"Not understanding Western culture and adhering strongly to their own, they look with disapproval on our actions. Understanding their situation we sympathize with their feelings but it must not affect ours or our goal of citizenship. The qualities which enabled our forefathers to succeed in their way are in us but only need to be aroused and stimulated to action. If we have patience and courage we will ultimately achieve our goal."

Happily, however, the younger generation retain a due regard for their parents and their wishes. Conversely, the majority of the parents do tolerate the views and conduct of their children.

The second aspect of the social problem of the Second Generation has to do with their relationship with the Canadians of other races in B. C. It is quite plain that the Canadian-born Japanese do desire to assimilate, and they are being Canadianized to a greater extent. They think, speak, write, and act as other Canadians do. The degree and rapidity of assimilation, however, depend largely upon the attitude of the Canadians of other races.

Since the legal-political problem is closely connected with the occupational problem of the Second Generation, these two questions are jointly presented. They involve the vital matters of citizenship and of economic service. In 1934,[37] first of these concerned more than 11,011 Canadian-born children, and about 4,576 naturalized British subjects of the Japanese race. To-day, these people and many more are still struggling for the right to full citizenship, for not only do they believe in the complete enjoyment of their birth right, but also they are confronted with economic difficulties entailed, because of the absence of such rights.

A synopsis of the status of the Second Generation respecting these two problems is given here.[38]

The Revised Statute of B. C. of 1924, Chapter 76, Section 5(a) disqualify "and person of Japanese, naturalized or not" from voting at any election. The effect of this law not only exclude the British subjects of Oriental race (Japanese) from voting at municipal, provincial, and Dominion elections, but also prevent them from entering certain occupations by the use of the voters list as the basis of qualifications. By this means, British subjects of Oriental origin are excluded from;

1. Election to the Provincial Legislature;
2. being nominated for municipal office;
3. being nominated at election of school trustees;
4. and jury services.

The absence of same or similar qualifications also exclude British subjects of Asiatic origin from;

1. legal profession;
2. pharmaceutical profession;
3. obtaining a license for hand-logging;
4. the employ of contractor of any public work;
5. and the employ of any buyer of "crown timber" for logging such timber.

Furthermore, there are defacto exclusions from the public service as specialists and from holding municipal office.

Such position of the Japanese British subjects has not been materially altered under the Dominion Franchise Act 1934 and the Dominion Elections Act 1934, and since it has remained unchanged.

Again, the attention is called to the fact that since 1923, the Dominion Government has been pursuing the policy of eliminating Canadians of Japanese birth from the fishing industry, though it was exercised intermittently.

It may be pointed out here that this peculiar situation relating to the legal-political aspect of the Japanese British subjects in British Columbia does not exist in other provinces of the Dominion.

Under these circumstances as we have just seen, it was felt that an all-inclusive organization for the Second Generation was needed to secure the right of citizenship, to improve their conditions, and thus to elevate their status. Consequently, in 1932, the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association was instituted. After four years, this association ceded its place to the present body named the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League. It is comprised of 8 local chapters, with the total membership of 1,000.[39]

The League, as stated in its constitution, aims "to foster good citizenship among the Canadians of Japanese origin, to protect and further the general welfare of Canadians of Japanese origin, and to promote goodwill between Canada and Japan."

In order to achieve these ends, the League has been engaged in various activities. These may be classified for convenience, into two divisions; the work among its own members and the work mainly associated with the Canadians of other races.

In connection with the first of these, the League has carried out a program of both social and educational interests. There has been sponsored on several occasions the oratorical and essay contests for the Second Generation. Also, lecture meetings and round table conferences have been profitably conducted. For the purpose of cultivating closer friendship and mutual understanding among its own members, and of attracting non-members, socials are been held from time to time. By these methods, the position of the League has been greatly strengthened.

The activities which had been carried on in association with the Canadians include some memorable events, and participation in the Canadian youth movement. In April 1936, four delegates from the League were sent to Ottawa to make representation before the Dominion Government of the actual situation of the Second Generation in B. C. To share views and opinions of young Canadians, the League has been sending representatives to the National Youth Congress since 1938, and has co-operated with the local Youth Council. Recently, the League has arranged and conducted a series of radio broadcast to make more frequent contact with the Canadian public. Last year, (1939) on the visit of the King and Queen, it has taken an active part in the welcome for their Majesties. Early this year, the Red Cross Benefit Concert was held under the sponsorship of the League in Vancouver. It was supported by the entire local Japanese community to make the occasion an unprecedented success. The net income from the concert was forwarded to the Red Cross Society. This review of the League's past work serves to shed light on the tendency of the Japanese Canadians toward co-operation with White people.

The Japanese-Canadian society has progressed to a stage that bears witness to the publication of the New Canadian, the only newspaper in English among the Japanese in Canada. It was first published in November 1938 as

bi-monthly paper. In February 1939, it has become a regular weekly newspaper. The New Canadian is "an independent Nisei paper pledged to uphold truth, justice, and freedom, and to advance the cause of Second Generation Japanese in Canada."

The following excerpts are reproduced from this paper; they represent the opinion and views of the Second Generation on some topics of vital importance.

ON CANADIANIZATION

The Niseis in British Columbia sincerely believe that they are part and parcel of the Canadian society as one expresses in this quotation. "Having been born and bred in this country, he naturally would be Canadianized. He would have Canadian ideas, customs, and beliefs, yet strangely enough, -----."

Further, they believe in the more complete Canadianization of the Niseis as stated below

"We Must Lose to Win" - M. Yuasa, November 17, 1939.

"It is our duty to assimilate further with the people of Canada, not only because it will further our cause but also it will be necessary if we are to remain in Canada. Already we have taken on much of the Western ways of living, their customs and manners, language and speech, styles of dress, et cetera. Nevertheless, there is much to be done in adjusting our mental, social, physical and economic outlook. Time shows improvement."

They accept this task as a great challenge, and grimly determine to pursue the end set before them, as there are examples of other racial groups whose problem of assimilation is being successfully solved. A Nisei student at the University of Saskatchewan, on having observed a remarkable degree of Canadianization being reached among Germans, Scandinavians, Poles, Russians, Jews, Hungarians, and Roumanians in the Prairie Province, summed up that though "our task in B. C. may be infinitely more difficult than that of these other immigrant groups, there is an underlying similarity." This statement implies that there is all the possibility for the Nisei to become true Canadians.

NISEI'S FUTURE IN CANADA

The Japanese Canadians, though lively aware of the existing restrictions and discriminations, do feel that their destiny is in Canada, and that they must share responsibility with others. Two excerpts illustrate this point.

"Our future, our destiny lies right here in Canada. It is our task by means of integrity, sincerity and loyalty to earn the right to share equally with the Canadian people. It is our task to measure up in every way to Canada's expectations and to be a definite asset to this country of ours."

"There are restrictions imposed upon us even in the matter of earning a living. Some are forced to content ourselves in occupations which offer little, if any, chance

for advancement. This, of course, causes us to turn impatiently and fretfully to ask 'Have we no purpose in life?' 'Must our youthful dreams vanish suddenly into thin air?' But calm and patient contemplation will tell some of us that there is a work, a duty, an aim in life for every Japanese-Canadian, a task especially allotted to us, something which we alone are capable of performing and that is the bringing of friendship between East and West."

NISEI RESPONSIBLE TO CANADA

"We, the Second Generation, compose pact of the youth of this country, we too, are responsible for the progressive growth and peace of the Dominion of Canada. Therefore, all Canadians, regardless of racial origin, have at least one common ground of endeavour, which means that must pursue those ways that lead to the good of Canada."

N.B. Taken from a prize speech entitled "Are You An Encourager?", by Norah Fujita, delivered at the First Oratorical Contest held in November 1938 by the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League and appeared in The New Canadian, November 24, 1938.

IV. THE SOCIAL SERVICE WORK IN THE JAPANESE-CANADIAN SOCIETY

The social service work performed by the Japanese in co-operation with the municipal and provincial authorities and institution is briefly noted.

First we shall discuss an aspect of the work contributing to the improvement of general health condition of the Japanese in British Columbia and particularly in Vancouver, for the health of any race is an important factor which influences vitality of settlers and their success. Furthermore, it reflects to some extent the standard of living of the people. Since there has been no conclusive studies made in regard to this problem of health, our observation on the improvement of the Japanese condition is very general and historic in nature.[40]

In the early period of the immigration into Canada, it is natural to suppose that Japanese immigrants entered this country as healthy human beings. After a decade or so, the population of these people had become sufficiently large to demand the medical service of their own countrymen, for as we have seen, that majority were not able to speak English; hence, the need of a doctor with the native language. Solution of this problem was reached when Dr. K. Shimotakahara M. D., medical graduate from the University of Chicago, and now a prominent professional of Vancouver became the first authorized physician and surgeon in the Japanese community in B. C. To the wisdom and foresight of this man owed the inception of several movements to sustain and improve the health condition of the Japanese especially in Vancouver and Fraser Valley, though the part played by the others should not be passed unnoticed.

Among the major work attributable to the health service rendered by the Japanese in co-operation with the Canadian public, there are several which deserve special mention. In 1918, when many Japanese in Vancouver were

attacked with an epidemic of flu which was rampant on this Continent at that time, an emergency hospital was set up at Strathcona Public School for these and other patients to alleviate the congested state in the other institutions of the city, due to the great number of epidemic cases. In 1929, probably for the first time in the city of Vancouver, 2,000 Japanese children were immunized of dyphtheria by toxoid injection. A definite result was shown as there was a drop in the number of cases reported by the Japanese of nearly 80 per cent in 1930 from 1929.[41]

Of more recent development is the establishment of free clinical work extending over wide area in Vancouver and the Fraser Valley. The most important unit is in Vancouver where the Japanese Hospital Clinic continues to serve the community since 1932. In that year, Dr. MacIntosh of the City Health Department, being alarmed at the increasing number of T. B. cases among the Japanese, approached some organizations to initiate a free clinical service. It was responded by a few members of the Vancouver Japanese United Church where the work was carried on for two years. In 1934, the City Health Department came to their aid. With the support of the city, and of the Vancouver Welfare Federation in matters of finance, the Japanese Hospital Clinic became an invaluable social agency in meeting the need of the community. Now it has both moral and material backing of various Japanese organizations.

With its portable X-ray apparatus donated by Mr. E. Kagetsu, a prominent lumberman, and medical supplies as well as the services of four Japanese doctors, the members from the Victorian Order of Nurses and others, the Clinic administers medical examination of T. B. patients and those of other ailments, and dispenses smallpox vaccine and diphtheria toxoid. In addition, it serves as prenatal clinic and as medium for health and hygiene education among the Japanese.

The primary function of the Clinic to prevent and control T. B. cases has been gaining its objective, as the statistics reveals.

ORIENTAL STATISTICS - 1938[42]
CITY OF VANCOUVER

Deaths From Tuberculosis
Rate per 100,000 Population.

Year		Japanese	Chinese	Other Races
1931	-	333.30	-	-
32	-	217.90	-	-
33	-	213.50	-	-
34	-	254.30	180.40	52.80
35	-	174.20	320.40	55.20
36	-	82.14	270.44	48.42
37	-	129.08	244.69	49.85
38	-	149.69	256.15	40.30
Populations 1938		8,685	7,806	243,494.

The population shown above is as estimated by the City Assessment Commissioner. According to the Census, the

population in 1931 was; Japanese - 8,328, and Chinese - 13,011. The population of these two races in the City varies according to the season, for many being engaged in fishing and farming out of town.

The death rates of Japanese tubercular patients for years 1931 to 1933 were computed specially for the table.

Though the death rates of Japanese from tuberculosis has decreased, it cannot by any means be regarded with optimism when compared with those of other races except Chinese. There has been a definite decrease from 1931 in the years following 1932.

In addition to combatting the "white plague" the Japanese entered into the Dominion wide movement for the control of cancer. Commenting on the formation in 1939 of the Japanese Unit, No. 59, of the Canadian Society for the Control of Cancer, the Bulletin issued in May 1939 by the Society contained the clipping; "Under the leadership of Dr. Shimotakahara, the Japanese Colony has organized the largest unit in Vancouver with 116 members. A canvasser among Japanese families is being added this summer."

Another department of the social service work in the local community of Japanese is the unit of the Vancouver Welfare Federation. Its organization is of recent origin. In 1932, the Canadian Japanese Association was consulted by an official of the Federation for support in the annual campaign to raise fund from the public. Having realized the importance of the whole matter as it concerned the entire Japanese of the city, the Association made a strong appeal to the various societies requesting them to send representatives to a meeting for consideration of the question.

When the delegates of twenty-four organization convened and discussed the business set before them, they unanimously accepted the suggestion of the Federation, and decided to co-operate with the institution. Consequently, necessary steps were taken for organization forming the Board of Committee comprised of 24 members each representing one's respective society, and also setting up an elective body of 10 executives. The newly founded local of the Federation was named "The Japanese Welfare Association" with its office at the Canadian Japanese Association.

The main activities of the Japanese unit consists in raising of fund from their own group in Vancouver, and in apportioning of the total contribution to the head office and to the local purposes. Almost 65 per cent of the amount retained by the Association is expended in the clinical work while the small portion is allotted to the use of emergency cases.

In 1933, 25 per cent of the total raised in the community was forwarded to the Vancouver Welfare Federation; this percentage was reduced to 20 per cent in 1934 and subsequent years. The following table shows the annual amount of contribution to the fund. In this table, the amount raised in 1939 greatly exceed all other years. This is due to the effort made to raise for both Welfare Federation and the Red Cross Society.

Year	Amount [43]
1933	$ 811.00
34	1,043.00
35	1,077.00
36	1,129.00
37	1,491.00
38	1,488.00
39	2,484.00

V. JAPANESE CANADIANS AND CANADA'S WAR EFFORT.

"This country is now at war with Germany" - these same words of Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain probably had been on the lips of many British people twenty-six years ago on August 4, 1914, when Great Britain declared war on Germany. Then the colossal struggle had continued for duration of four years. During this fearful and weary period many died hoping that one day there would emerge a world of eternal peace and happiness. After the conclusion of the War, the disarmament conferences were held, the peace movement was initiated, the Reparations were re-adjusted, for the world was appalled at the tremendous impact of the War upon all phases of life, and determined not to re-enter upon the second venture. But all the effort had brought no result. Last September, again, the same major powers plunged into the conflict that appears to be of different character than the one before, probably effecting the greater economic, political, and international disalignment in the years to come.

In this hour of national emergency, many of us in British Columbia are reminded of the vigil and protection accorded by Japan along the coast during the last Great War, in observance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty which was fortunately in existence at that time.

Besides, veterans of the Great War recall to their mind memories of heroic deeds and untold sacrifices. The Japanese war veterans of Canada are not exception to this frame of mind, for they too possess a record to which they may turn with pride.

In 1914, when Great Britain declared War on Germany, the Japanese through the Canadian Japanese Association sent a message to Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Robert Borden, requesting permission to enlist themselves into active service in the Canadian Army. They received a return telegram from the Premier appreciating the offer, but there was no reply to the request.

In the late autumn of 1915, Captain Calquehoon of the Canadian Army Service Corps approached the Canadian Japanese Association suggesting the organization of the Japanese volunteers. The Association, immediately taking up action, initiated the campaign asking for volunteers. The local newspaper joined in the movement, urging the youths to enlist. The mass meetings were held in Vancouver, New Westminster, Steveston and other places.

As a result of this vigorous campaign and pressing appeal, many responded promptly and applied for enrollment in the Army. Of these, 202 men had passed the physical examination and formed the Japanese Volunteer Corps.

The training commenced on January 17, 1916 at Cordova Hall, Vancouver, under the command of several officers.

After three months of intensive training, the men were ready for the front, and waited for order from the headquarters to leave for France. As word had not come to them in the meantime, a delegate was sent to Ottawa to enquire of the circumstance. But the visit was of no avail.

The waiting, however, did not end in disappointment. Some weeks later, a certain recruiting officer from Bremore, Alberta advised the Canadian Japanese Association that the Japanese volunteers were welcome to his battalion. When the confirmation from the Canadian Government had come, they left for Alberta.

The Japanese volunteers who served overseas in 1916 and after were included in the 209th Battalion; the 13th Cavalry Battalion which later became the famous Princess Pats; the 192nd; 175th and 191st Battalions.

The number of Japanese enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force was 197, of which 131 were wounded in action, and 54 were killed. Of those who returned, 45 resided in Vancouver at the time of the Royal visit to Canada and took part in the Veterans' Guard of Honour. The occasion was, indeed, a signal honour testifying their loyalty to Canada.

Besides, the voluntary service offered by the Japanese in the Canadian overseas force, many had subscribed to the Victory Loan. In fact the Japanese responded so enthusiastically that the result was an oversubscription of its quota among them in Vancouver. For this outstanding attainment, the Prince of Wales' flag was presented to the Japanese Community of Vancouver In presenting, Mayor Gale stated:

"At the beginning of the campaign the Japanese were assigned $50,000 as their amount but it was soon perceived that this quota was too small, and another $50,000 was added. As a result of the enthusiasm which has been put into the work, this community has gone 10 per cent over its quota, having to its credit $110,950.

"This is not the first time that we Canadians realize that in the Japanese, we have our warm friends." 44

To Canadians at large, the study of attitude, sentiment, and action of the Japanese Canadians in face of the present war ought to be of considerable interest. Even before the Canada's stand was declared, the Japanese Canadians clearly indicated their will to share responsibility with their fellow citizens should Canada participate in the struggle of maintaining democratic principles. Early in the autumn of 1939, following immediately upon the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Germany, an editorial appeared in The New Canadian made this comment anticipating the forthcoming event.

"But dependent upon the decision of our leaders, the time may not be far distant, when we may be called upon to assume a more active role in the service of our country. Then it is that we must make our own decision.

"True, indeed, that our country has not been willing to accept our services as citizens in time of peace, that we do not have the assurance that we will be accepted as citizens when peace is again restored.

"True, indeed, that aspiring politicians and editorial writers have found in us a convenient stock of political capital, that legal restrictions and public prejudice have barred and even expelled us from many professions and occupations, that our democratic rights and a voice in our own government have been denied to us.

"True, indeed, that constant attacks upon our character, our loyalty, our citizenship, could not have but left deep scars upon the surface of our corporate being.

"But in a national emergency of this kind we must forget these things, just as we would dismiss them from our minds immediately were Canada to be threatened with invasion.

"If and when Parliament lays down a national policy of participation in this conflict, we must be prepared to assume our burden and fulfill our part in that policy--for the sake of our country, for the sake of those whom we hold dear to us, for the sake of future generations of Japanese Canadians."

Despite the fact that they are "under-priviledged" people politically, economically, and socially, as remarked in this excerpt, they have resolved to perform their duty in the course of Canada's war effort, unmolested by complications arising out of such unjust conditions. On September 3, 1939, even ahead of the appearance of the above editorial, the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League dispatched a telegram to the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of the Dominion, pledging their loyalty to the country of their birth. The message stated;

"In this hour of national need, the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League unites with our fellow citizens in pledging our deepest loyalty and devotion to our country and the British Empire. We are fully prepared to act in the preservation of our Canadian democratic ideals."

Furthermore, the Japanese Canadians have been well aware of the importance of national unity especially in time of war. Last year in October, when the French Canadian development over the question of conscription drew the attention of the whole Dominion, the Niseis also voiced their opinion on the problem, stating that such "challenge against the Dominion's war effort points to a grave and serious weakness in our national unity." It continued, "This problem of French Canada is by far the most difficult and important question in the establishment of an effectively united nation. But Canada's Pacific Province, with its own so-called Oriental minority problem, must play its part in the welding of a united people of Canada." However, they claimed that, "There can be only one course, consistent with reason, justice, or national policy. Every section of the people must be admitted into free and equal citizenship, must be permitted to work and live in security and freedom, to be united in times of national emergency."[45]

These passages which have been inserted in the preceding paragraphs are introduced to present some points of view of the Japanese Canadians on their own situation in relation to Canada's part in war.

Now we come to summarize material contributions made by the Japanese Canadians towards the Canada's war fund since her decision to assume the state of the belligerent, up to the present. When Canada's first War Loan Bonds were issued last January, the Japanese Canadians were given an opportunity to prove their word by deed. According to the report published in the Continental Daily News, they have subscribed to the amount of $55,800.[46] Moreover, the Japanese Canadians

have quietly gone their own way, contributing individually and collectively towards the war fund. The total thus sent in to the Government at Ottawa was estimated to be over $3,400[47] at the beginning of March, this year. Nor should the effort of the Japanese communities in aiding the Red Cross Society be overlooked. When the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League sponsored the Red Cross Benefit Concert early in the year, it is not an exaggeration to state that almost entire community of Japanese in Vancouver rallied forth to its support. The net proceeds amounting to $443.93 from this concert was forwarded to the Canadian Red Cross Society. Also, various activities in the cause of the same Society were initiated by the Japanese Canadians at such centres as Chemainus, Duncan, Mission, Maple Ridge, Strawberry Hill and Ocean Falls. These instances, as above noted, bears testimony of their loyalty and love of Canada, though their part may be inconspicuous from the standpoint of the Dominion.

C O N C L U S I O N

In conclusion of this cursory study, attempt is made to recapitulate some outstanding features of the contribution by the Japanese to Canada and to comment on the future of the Japanese in this country.

To recapitulate:

In the first place, early Japanese immigrants deserve special credit for their role in the development of the fishing industry in B. C. They discovered numerous fishing grounds along the coast of the Province, introduced new methods of fishing, and established several branches of the industry. Surely, their courage and effort cannot be overlooked. In the second place, industry and perseverance of the Japanese farmers should not be ignored as they toiled for the growth of agriculture. It is mainly to their labour that vast and wild land was transformed into the fertile and neatly cultivated farms producing much that contributes to the enjoyment of Canadians as well as the people across the seas. In the third place, the value of labour supplied by the Japanese in lumbering, mining, and railroading cannot be disregarded as merely a passing event; for have they not immigrated into this country during the period when the young nation needed every available manpower to develop her industries?

Also the degree of assimilation of the Japanese and their children should not be considered lightly, for it is well known that Canadianization of all immigrant races is of foremost importance to the national unity. The desire and effort of the Japanese especially the Canadian-born to become Canadianized is noted in one of the preceding sections.

As to the future of the Japanese Canadians, there are at least three determinants which may direct their course. One of them is dependent upon the attitude, thoughts, feeling, and behaviour of the rising generation. Undoubtedly, they desire to maintain the higher standard of living, to acquire higher culture, to associate with Canadians of all races on equal basis and to enjoy rights in the government of the nation. In order to realize their vision and to achieve these objectives, they are striving forward to the best of their ability. The second factor which might influence the future course of the

Japanese Canadians may be found in the attitude of the White Canadians. However, intensive is the desire and effort of the other to become acculturated, if there exist a force to resist them or nullify them, Japanese Canadians can accomplish little. Therefore, responsibility lies in the Canadians of other races as well. Finally, peace and happiness of the Japanese Canadians depend largely upon international relations between Japan and Canada. It is a hope of every Japanese Canadian to bear witness to furtherance of friendship, understanding, and co-operation between the two nations, particularly in face of the present situation as one struggles for the defence of democracy and the other for the "new order."

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