AN AMBIGUOUS RELATIONSHIP:
Anglicans and the Japanese in British Columbia, 1902-1949

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On 4 June 1942, when Canada was moving residents of Japanese origin from the coast, a headline in the *Vancouver Sun* read: "Controversy on Jap Treatment Stirs Anglican Synod." The accompanying story reported that a "flare-up over the question of 'Christian-like' treatment for Japanese residents of Canada" had dominated a session of the 49th Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster.[1] Rev. Canon Wilberforce Cooper,[2] chairman of the Committee on Oriental Missions, regretted "that the leader of the anti-Japanese movement in Vancouver" was a member of the synod. Alderman Halford D. Wilson,[3] a lay delegate, member of that Committee, and son of Rev. G.H. Wilson, replied that he had "advocated settlement of the Japanese question in a 'spirit of good will.'"[4] It was an odd sense of "good will." Since at least 1937, Wilson had fought what he called "the peaceful penetration of Japanese into the economic life of the Province [that] …threatens to establish in the not distant future a standard comparable only to the sweat shops of the industrial centres of Japan."[5] Given "the tension and run of feeling in wartime,"[6] the Synod merely expressed appreciation of the "skill, care, and courtesy" with which the British Columbia Security Commission, a federal agency, was moving the Japanese.[7] Whether the Commission acted with "care and courtesy"

[1] The diocese of New Westminster comprised the entire Lower Mainland of British Columbia.

[2] Born in England and educated at Oxford, Canon Cooper came to Canada in 1920. After briefly serving in the Cariboo, he became rector of St. James Church in Vancouver where he served until returning to England in 1952. He died in 1971. At St. James he was known as the "Skidroad Padre."

[3] Halford Wilson was born in Vancouver in 1905. After graduating from a local high school, he worked for the Royal Bank, but quit when his manager objected to his involvement in a local ratepayers' association. He served over thirty years as an alderman with several breaks because of military service during the Second World War and failed attempts to run for mayor. He died in Vancouver, 23 April 1988.

[4] *Vancouver Sun,* 4 June 1942.

[5] *Mt. Pleasant Review,* 16 October 1940.

[6] *The Canadian Churchman,* 11 June 1942.

[7] *Sun,* 4 June 1942; New Westminster Synod, 49th Session, 1942.

is debatable. By implying sympathy for the plight of the Japanese and satisfaction with their removal, the resolution reflected long-standing ambiguity within the Anglican Church, the largest denomination in British Columbia, towards the Japanese in the province.[8]

Few British Columbians spoke in favour of the Asian presence. Among the Anglicans, as in some other mainstream denominations, notably the Methodists (after 1926 the United Church), some leaders saw opportunities for evangelization while others opposed Asian immigration.[9] These divided sentiments carried over from experience with the Chinese with whom the Japanese were often conflated. Among Anglicans, Canon Arthur Beanlands of Victoria's Christ Church Cathedral told the 1902 Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration that the Japanese were "more dangerous" than the Chinese because they were "non-assimilating."[10] Yet, under Kathleen O'Melia, a lay missionary,[11] who believed that "we cannot evade our duty to these heathens," the Church set up English language and sewing classes for Japanese immigrants and day care for their children. Few conversions followed; many clients cared more for social services than Christianity.[12] Yet, in 1940 an unnamed member of a Japanese congregation claimed that Christianity was making progress among those who had attended an Anglican kindergarten.[13]

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[8] According to the 1941 Canadian Census, 30.1% of British Columbians professed the Anglican faith. They were followed by the United Church, 24.6%, Roman Catholics, 13.4%, and Presbyterians, 11.6%. Buddhists represented 1.8% of the population. Canada, *Census, 1941,* vol. 1, 295.

[9] See W. Peter Ward, "The Oriental Immigrant and Canada's Protestant Clergy," *BC Studies* 22 (Summer 1974): 41; Jiwu Wang, *"His Dominion" and the "Yellow Peril": Protestant Missions to Chinese Immigrants in Canada, 1859–1967* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press for Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 2006). The Social Gospel movement was more influential in the Methodist/United Church than in the Anglican Church.

[10] Canada, Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration, *Report* (Ottawa, 1902), 380. When a Commission member asked if he thought they could go to heaven even if servile, he replied, "Oh, yes; we have no class distinctions there." (Royal Commission, *Report,* 29).

[11] Born in England, O'Melia came to Vancouver in 1902 to work in an Anglican hospital. Her work in teaching English to Chinese and Japanese men led to the founding of an Anglican Mission to the Japanese in the city. In 1912, for a variety of reasons, she joined the Roman Catholic Church and as a Catholic sister worked with the Catholic Japanese Mission. See Jacqueline Gresko, "O'Melia San and the Catholic Japanese Mission, Vancouver, BC," *Historical Studies,* 75 (2009): 83–99.

[12] New Westminster, Synod Journal, 8 February 1911. Nevertheless, the Committee in charge of the Mission to Japanese Women and Children was pleased that a family about to return to Japan had asked for a reference to an Anglican bishop there (see Norman Knowles, "Religious Affiliation, Demographic Change and Family Formation among British Columbia's Chinese and Japanese Communities: A Case Study of Church of England Missions," *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* XXVII, no. 2 (1995): 62.)

[13] New Westminster, Synod Journal, 1940 quoted in Roland Kawano, ed., *Ministry to the Hopelessly Hopeless: Japanese Canadian Evacuees and Churches during WWII* (Scarborough, ON:

Language and racial considerations made separate missions to the Japanese in British Columbia necessary;[14] initially the lack of a Japanese-speaking priest hampered the work.[15] The bishop of New Westminster stressed that the missions were "quite apart from our regular parochial undertakings." The significant exception were a few students at the mission who regularly attended Sunday services at St. James Church which was located near Vancouver's Japanese quarter.[16]

When the 1908 Lambeth Conference declared that setting up "churches on the basis of race or colour is inconsistent with the vital and essential principle of the unity of Christ's Church," *The Canadian Churchman,* a national Anglican publication, disagreed. Observing grave objections in British Columbia and Australia to Asians, it replied that Christianity's "modes and instances … must be adapted to ethnical conditions" and even endorsed the idea of separate bishops for different races.[17]

Early in 1907 over 5,500 Japanese arrived in Vancouver and more were expected. William W. Perrin,[18] bishop of British Columbia (Vancouver Island), wanted "to bring them to a knowledge of the true God."[19] Other Anglican clergy opposed an influx of people who allegedly "stole" jobs. Among speakers at the Asiatic Exclusion League rally that preceded the September 1907 riot was Rev. G.H. Wilson,[20] the pastor of St. Michael's Anglican Church in Mount Pleasant, a respectable working class district. He hoped for a peaceful solution to the problem, but was committed to Asian exclusion.[21] A few months later, in a featured speech at a League meeting in Mount Pleasant, Wilson declared that God intended the "Anglo-Saxon race … to head the march of civilization," and concluded by warning, "Let the Asiatics in and they will soon outnumber us and

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The Japanese Canadian Christian Churches Historical Project, 1997), xiii. Both Japanese and white children attended the church's kindergarten in Prince Rupert (*Canadian Churchman,* 5 March 1942).

[14] New Westminster, Synod Journal, 4-5 June 1913.

[15] New Westminster Synod Journal, 10-11 June 1914.

[16] New Westminster Synod Journal, 25 February 1909, 2-3 February 1910, 4-5 June 1913. Rev. Mr. Clinton noted that when converts who had attended services at St. James left the city to take up employment elsewhere, they took advantage of any opportunity to attend church services (New Westminster, Synod Journal, 2-3 February 1910).

[17] *The Canadian Churchman,* 10 September and 22 October 1908.

[18] William Wilcox Perrin, born in 1848 in England, was educated at Trinity College, Oxford. After serving in several English parishes, he was appointed Bishop of Columbia in 1893. He returned to England in 1911.

[19] *Canadian Churchman,* 12 September 1907.

[20] George Halford Wilson was born in Toronto in 1875. He graduated from the University of Toronto and Wycliffe College, the Low Church theological school in Toronto. After briefly serving at Banff, he moved to St. Michael's in 1903 where he remained as rector until he retired in 1947. He died in 1955. *Vancouver Sun,* 14 October 1955.

[21] *Vancouver Daily News-Advertiser,* 8 September 1907.

drag us down."[22] Wilson was not the only Anglican cleric to associate himself with the Asiatic Exclusion League. Rev. St. George Buffam of Holy Trinity parish in the adjacent Fairview neighbourhood told a League meeting that, "instead of trying to Christianize the heathen in foreign lands that money should be spent upon the white men we have at home."[23]

Upset by the riot's bad effect on the Japanese Mission, Bishop John Dart of New Westminster[24] blamed it on "a small but noisy band of extreme Socialists and Anarchists" and American agitators. He claimed "the trouble" was "racial," not cheap labour, and called for a constitutional solution, limits on Asian immigration.[25] Initially, *The Canadian Churchman* said the riot was regrettable, called the "cheap labour" argument fallacious, and asserted that the main offence of the Asians was "being Oriental." A few weeks later, however, it proclaimed, "if the Oriental invasion is a menace to Canada it ought to have been taken in hand before violence was necessary."[26] Not all Anglicans would halt Asian immigration. Rev. Norman Tucker, the retired General Secretary of the General Board of Missions and former rector of Vancouver's Christ Church Cathedral, cautioned that China and Japan's growing armies and navies might not allow Canadians to "shut out the Mongolians."[27]

The Canadian government, greatly embarrassed by the riot, arranged compensation for property losses and negotiated a Gentlemen's Agreement to limit emigration from Japan. That slowed Japanese immigration, but resulted in a shift from predominantly male immigration to mainly female immigration. Then, depression beginning in 1912 and the outbreak of war in 1914 slowed immigration and temporarily put the "Oriental Question" on the back burner. Nevertheless, "race prejudice" had not disappeared. Rev. F.W. Cassillis-Kennedy, who had served in Japan and was in charge of Missions to the Japanese, blamed it, not "hard

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[22] *Vancouver Daily Province,* (hereafter *Province*), 21 November 1907.

[23] *Province,* 7 December 1907. Buffam, born in Ipswich, England, served in Winnipeg and Vancouver before moving to Sausalito, California in 1915. (http://ststephench.org)

[24] Dart was born in England and educated at Oxford. He came to British Columbia, as bishop, in 1895. He died in New Westminster in April 1910.

[25] *Canadian Churchman,* 26 September 1907. Initially, *The Canadian Churchman* echoed that by asserting that the main offence of the Asians was "being Oriental" (3 October 1907).

[26] *Canadian Churchman,* 3 and 31 October 1907.

[27] *Toronto Globe,* 19 October 1910. In commenting on Tucker's statement, the *Victoria Daily Times* agreed that Asians could not be kept out for all time. It suggested the Chinese might be admitted after they had raised their standards of living and education so that they would be "nearer in equality with the people of this country," but it contended while Canada was "laying the foundation for a great nation, it is absolutely necessary that the foundation shall be white" (*Victoria Times,* 25 October 1910).

times" for the failure of British Columbia Anglicans to fund the local mission to the Japanese.[28] By 1917, some British Columbians complained that Asians were exploiting the absence of white men overseas to take up new economic ventures. Responding to fears of a "great conflict between the teaching of Christ and the teaching of Buddha," in May 1917 the Provincial Synod formed a Board of Missions to study ways of extending work among the "Orientals."[29] That fall, at a mass meeting and supper for laymen in association with the Anglican Church missionary movement, Canon Sidney Gould, general secretary of the missionary society, emphasized work overseas, but predicted a flood of Asian immigrants after the war and cited the birth of about 500 Japanese children in British Columbia during the previous year as evidence of a growing Japanese population.[30]

British Columbia churchmen also sought to educate eastern Canadians about their problem. Bishop Alexander John Doull of Kootenay,[31] a region with few Asian residents, echoed anti-Asian agitators when he asked an audience at Toronto's Church of the Redeemer, is: "British Columbia to be yellow and Oriental or white and British?" "If it is to be Oriental," he admonished, "let us take care that it is Christian."[32] Although more concerned about the Chinese, who were present, albeit in small numbers in some of the eastern provinces, eastern Canadian Anglicans were sympathetic to extending mission work among Asians in British Columbia.[33]

At the 1920 Provincial Synod, the Superintendent of Oriental Missions attributed difficulties in converting Asians to the "unsympathetic, if not actually hostile attitude of the white races … even those calling themselves Christian."[34] An example was the complaint of a lay delegate,

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[28] F.W. Cassillis-Kennedy to Rev. Canon Gould, General Secretary, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (hereafter MSCC), 5 May 1916, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, Toronto, (hereafter ACCGSA), MSCC series 3-2, box 58.

[29] Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia, Synod, *Journal of the Proceedings,* 3-4 May 1917. Subsequently, it established a mission to the Chinese in Vernon and to the Japanese in Prince Rupert.

[30] *Vancouver World,* 14 November 1917; *Province,* 14 November 1917.

[31] Born in Halifax in 1870, Doull, who was raised as a Presbyterian, received all but his primary education in England and Scotland. He graduated from Oriel College, Oxford with a BA in 1896. Before coming to British Columbia in 1910 as rector of Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria, he held posts in England and Montreal. See F.A. Peake, *The Anglican Church in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959), 171.

[32] *Toronto Globe*, 25 October 1917. Reports of Doull's speech appeared in several British Columbia newspapers.

[33] *Canadian Churchman,* 5 and 26 September 1918.

[34] Report in the Journal of the Provincial Synod, 28-29 January 1920. In 1940, there were only 276 Japanese communicants. Knowles explains, from the viewpoint of the Chinese and Japanese,

J.H. MacGill,[35] about "the sentimental view that white people were remiss in their Christianity if they did not mingle with the Orientals in social and political life."[36] In the hope of assisting its mission work, the Synod pledged "itself (and, as far as possible, the whole Church in B.C.) to exert all possible influence to create that public opinion by which alone missions to the Orientals may have hope of success."[37] A week later, Bishop A.U. de Pencier of New Westminster[38] told the congregation of Victoria's Christ Church Cathedral about the foolishness of sending missionaries to Japan and neglecting those who were here.[39]

The Church paid considerable attention to home missionary work. Its publications reported Confirmations and other religious services and took great pride in the ordination of 1934 of Rev. Gordon Nakayama, a Japanese immigrant and convert from Methodism, but his role in the church appears to have been confined to his own mission. Few whites attended events at the missions. The Japanese consul spoke at a Christmas entertainment at the mission. When both the Japanese and British national anthems were sung, he suggested that the Church was not encouraging assimilation to Canadian ways, but he supported segregation.[40]

Beginning in 1918, Anglican leaders in Victoria and Vancouver conferred with other Christian churches to coordinate their "work among Orientals."[41] In Vancouver, a committee of the General Ministerial Association which included Rev. H.R. Trumpour, a professor at the Anglican Theological College, warned against race prejudice, called for co-operation among missionary boards in Canadianizing the Asians in their midst and making them comply with local standards of living

why conversion work had such limited success ("Religious Affiliation," 72).

[35] James H. MacGill was born in Ontario and graduated from the University of Toronto. He also studied Divinity at Trinity College where he became a good friend of A.U. de Pencier. He was ordained a deacon but did not take Holy Orders. In Vancouver, he practised law and engaged, not always successfully, in a variety of business ventures. His household usually included a Chinese or Japanese servant and he mixed socially with Yip Quong, a prominent Chinese merchant and his white wife. MacGill was married to Helen Gregory MacGill who was well known in her work for women's rights and as a judge of the Juvenile Court in Vancouver. J.H. MacGill died in 1939.

[36] *Vancouver Daily World,* 30 January 1920.

[37] *Canadian Churchman,* 19 February 1920; *Province,* 29 January 1920.

[38] Adam Urias de Pencier was born in Ontario in 1866 of Loyalist stock. After graduating from Trinity University, Toronto, he served in several Ontario parishes and in Manitoba before accepting the rectorship of St. Paul's, Vancouver. He was elected bishop of New Westminster in 1910.

[39] *Victoria Colonist,* 5 February 1920.

[40] *Canadian Churchman,* 20 January 1921.

[41] *Province,* 14 September 1918.

and morality.[42] The concern about immorality was largely directed to the overwhelmingly male Chinese population,[43] not the Japanese who frequently formed families and who were not known for immorality or low living standards. While opposing the deportation of "Orientals" except for cause, the Ministerial Association's committee claimed that the number of Japanese immigrants greatly exceeded that allowed by the Gentlemen's Agreement.[44] It warned that since race prejudice could lead to race hatred, immigration must be selective. "If British institutions are to prevail," it contended, "it is highly desirable that British immigration of the right sort, should be encouraged."[45]

In a supplement to the original report that was also published in *The Canadian Churchman* Rev. Neville L. Ward, superintendent of the Chinese Missions, noted that "the Orientals are human beings, not animals" whose souls in God's sight are "as precious as ours." Yet, he complained of their "unfair" and increasing economic competition and warned that unless they were Christianized, one day there might "be Buddhist and Shinto temples on Shaughnessy Heights and Rockland Avenue" and a Confucian temple on the site of Holy Rosary Cathedral.[46] Given the "tremendous anti-Oriental atmosphere" he wondered how laymen could be expected to support the Oriental missions.[47] Ward contributed to this atmosphere by reportedly saying that racial mixtures were impossible, that Oriental schools taught anti-white and anti-Christian ideas, and, implying a military threat, that Japan was collecting charts and photographs of British Columbia.[48] In Victoria, Anglican leaders

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[42] The committee chairman was Rev. W. Lashley Hall, a Presbyterian with Marcellus Ely of the Disciples of Christ in Vancouver and Prof. Trumpour as members. Dr. S.S. Osterhout, superintendent of Methodist Missions, and N.L. Ward were advisors. Trumpour, a native of Napanee, Ontario, died in Vancouver on 20 November 1947, aged 68.

[43] Because of Chinese emigration practices and Canadian immigration laws, the Chinese population of British Columbia was overwhelmingly male. In 1931, for example, of 27,139 Chinese in the province, 24,900 were male. Charles H. Young and Helen R.Y. Reid with W. A. Carrothers, *The Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938), 207.

[44] The Gentlemen's Agreement was a secret one and had a number of loopholes, the principal one being that it did not apply to most women. See: Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914–41* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), ch. 3.

[45] "Report on Oriental Situation presented to the General Ministerial Association ... and adopted Monday, January 9, 1922" with B.C. Freeman, Secretary, General Ministerial Association of Vancouver to Charles Stewart, Minister of the Interior, 24 January 1922, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Department of Immigration Records, RG76, file 815661, microfilm reel C-10652.

[46] Supplementary report by Rev. N. Lascelles Ward, "The Oriental Problem," in *Canadian Churchman,* 23 February 1922.

[47] *Canadian Churchman,* 11 May 1922. The *Canadian Churchman* (18 May 1922) agreed with him.

[48] *Cowichan Leader,* 16 November 1922. Ward developed his ideas in a book, *Oriental Missions in British Columbia* (Westminster: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,

met with representatives of the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic churches to discuss how the "Oriental problem" affected their extension work.[49]

To counter prejudice, in both the Church and secular press Rev. F.W. Cassillis-Kennedy recalled how Japan had been a good ally during the recent war and urged Canadians to study about Japan and its commercial possibilities.[50] Privately, he blamed the laity's failure to support the home missions on "race prejudice."[51] He favoured enfranchising the 150 or so Canadian Japanese who served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, but would not enfranchise all Asians and agreed that Asian immigrants must conform to "our customs."[52] After comparing the "polite, thrifty, and law-abiding" Japanese with Mennonites, Doukhobors, and other Europeans who caused "much trouble and anxiety," he endorsed selective immigration."[53] If no obstacles were put in their way, he believed that Japanese, who showed "signs of wanting to be more like Canadians," would be assimilated though not, he insisted, in a biological sense.[54] Kennedy so vigorously opposed race prejudice[55] that his detractors accused him of being in the pay of the government of Japan.[56]

Kennedy's superiors were not sympathetic to the Japanese. In 1922, the year that Parliament debated the policy that preceded the passage of the exclusionary Chinese Immigration Act in 1923 and to revisions of the Gentlemen's Agreement, the Bishop of British Columbia advised his diocesan synod to do its best to serve the Oriental, but to "bombard our governments" until they returned these people to Asia or trained "them for citizenship in this country of their adoption."[57] Similarly, in a speech to the Women's Canadian Club in Victoria, Bishop de Pencier

1925) that was written for circulation in Britain and Canada. Given his work with the Chinese, it gave only brief mention to Japanese and "Hindu" immigrants.

[49] *Province,* 13 March 1920.

[50] *Canadian Churchman,* 28 November 1918.

[51] F.W. Cassillis-Kennedy to S. Gould, 5 May 1916 quoted in Knowles, "Religious Affiliation," 62.

[52] *Vancouver Sun,* 22 March 1920.

[53] *Canadian Churchman,* 17 August 1922 and 16 October 1924.

[54] *Vancouver Star,* 6 May 1925; F.W. Cassillis-Kennedy, "Assimilability of Orientals in Canada," *The British Columbia Monthly*, 26 (November 1926), 4.

[55] *Victoria Colonist,* 5 February 1920.

[56] Gordon Nakayama, "Anglican Missions to the Japanese in Canada," *Journal of Canadian Church Historical Society,* VIII (June 1966), 32. A selection of Cassillis-Kennedy's writings and a partial biography of him is included in Chiyokichi Ariga and Shin'ichi Kimura, *The Rev. Frank Cassillis-Kennedy: Elder to the Japanese Canadians,* trans, JCCHP, (Toronto: Japanese Canadian Christian Churches Historical Project, 1998).

[57] Diocese of British Columbia, Synod Journal, 1922, 20, quoted in Trevor C. Bamford, "The Unwelcome Stranger: The Anglican Church's Relation to the Japanese Canadians in British Columbia, 1900-1942," Vancouver School of Theology, MTS Paper, 1988, 16.

warned that "unrestricted, uncontrolled immigration" would retard the Canadianization of immigrants. He feared "dangerous conditions" resulting from "our sons and daughters [being] married to members of the Oriental races" and urged the need to "be rock-like in our opposition to the insidious forces and demoralizing influences which may sweep in on the tide of immigration."[58] Two months later at the annual diocesan synod, he alleged that some parts of the province were already in the hands of the Chinese and the Japanese. While calling for measures to prevent the admission of "undesirable aliens," he emphasized the need to take steps to Christianize the "strangers within our gates" so they might carry the Gospel back to their homelands. In short, he wanted "a province that will be white; that will be British and that will be Christian."[59] At the synod, the acting Japanese consul, Shinro Ishida, a Christian, called it "unchristian to make statements of this nature from a pulpit."[60] De Pencier, however, continued to proclaim that "the conflict of races, 'the rising tide of colour,' and the growing strength of the Eastern nations" were great world problems although he expressed confidence "that our Empire and our race are called by God Himself to play a great part in teaching righteousness among the nations of the earth."[61] Moreover, his metropolitan, Rev. Frederick Herbert Du Vernet,[62] agreed it might be wise to limit "the invasion of foreign races." He emphasized "our Christian duty to the Orientals whom we have allowed to settle amongst us" and the importance of teaching them "the principles of Canadian citizenship."[63]

After the exclusionary Chinese Immigration Act and revisions in the Gentlemen's Agreement reduced Asian immigration to a trickle, overt anti-Asian agitation declined. In 1931, a layman, who served on the executive of the Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals, thought that church people were "becoming more sympathetic towards oriental work and in those parishes in which there are Japanese communities, in Vancouver, the clergy gladly assist our workers." However, he observed that while some parishes welcomed the Japanese, "race prejudice on the

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[58] *Victoria Daily Times,* 6 December 1922; New Westminster *British Columbian,* 6 December 1922.

[59] *Province,* 8 February 1922.

[60] *Vancouver Sun,* 4 May 1923.

[61] New Westminster Synod, Journal, 19-20 May 1925.

[62] Du Vernet, a native of Quebec, served in the dioceses of Montreal and Toronto and taught at Wycliffe College, Toronto, before becoming bishop of Caledonia in northern British Columbia. In 1914, the House of Bishops elected him Metropolitan of British Columbia and he became Archbishop of Caledonia. He died in 1924.

[63] Provincial Synod, Journal, 3-4 May 1923; *Canadian Churchman,* 17 May 1923.

part of the occidental, and shyness, a fear of being slighted, causes the oriental to hold back, and the missionaries are left to solve the problem as best they can."[64]

Concern about the Japanese turned to the Canadian-born. The Gentlemen's Agreement had shifted the preponderance of immigrants from men to women. Since most of the women were in their child-bearing years, the Japanese population of the province grew rapidly. The number of Japanese children in provincial schools steadily rose from 1,422 in 1923 to 5,176 in 1934.[65] In the mid-1930s, the first Canadian-born and educated Japanese reached their majority and sought the franchise. Despite some sympathy for giving them citizenship rights, the 1935 Provincial Synod only referred the matter to a committee.[66] Rev. W.H. Gale,[67] Superintendent of the Japanese Missions and former missionary in Japan, told the New Westminster Synod that resentment over the denial of citizenship privileges tended to prevent the assimilation "civilly or religiously" of the Canadian-born. He repeated his warning that "a rising tide of Buddhism and Shintoism is sweeping British Columbia" at the General Synod of the Church in Canada where he observed that the second generation were no longer "at home" in a Japanese service.[68] As a counterweight, the missions let young Japanese meet "in Christian fellowship" with the Anglican Young Peoples Association to promote understanding and break down "race prejudice."[69]

By the fall of 1937, with the increasing intensity of the Sino-Japanese war and rumours of Japanese spies in British Columbia, anti-Japanese feelings rose dramatically.[70] In his charge to the Synod, Harold E. Sexton, Bishop of British Columbia, warned that given increasing tension across the Pacific, western Canadians could no longer regard themselves "as remote as to hold completely aloof and live our own life in this pleasant

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[64] ACCGSA, Box 58, MSCC series 3-2 G.L. Schetky, Secretary-Treasurer, Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals in BC, 29 August 1930.

[65] Young and Reid with Carrothers, *The Japanese Canadians*, 27 and 213.

[66] Provincial Synod, Journal, 24-25 September 1935.

[67] William Henry Gale, a graduate of Montreal Diocesan Theological College, had spent fifteen years in Japan.

[68] *Province,* 13 May 1936; *Vancouver Sun*, 13 May 1936. Miss K. Lang who directed the Japanese Mission at Prince Rupert declared that the church "must meet the challenge of those young people who ask for fair play in the name of their Christian religion and British traditions in which they have been brought up." *Canadian Churchman,* 8 June 1939.

[69] General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, Journal, 29 August-8 September 1937.

[70] Ironically, the intense agitation was triggered by exaggerated newspaper reports of a statement made by Archdeacon F.G. Scott of Montreal to the Ontario Command of the Canadian Legion about the lack of defences on the Pacific Coast. For details see Roy, *The Oriental Question,* ch. 6.

corner of the world."[71] Some delegates at the New Westminster Synod in February 1938 said that racial and cultural differences must be considered; the Synod urged "fair and just treatment" for Orientals in the province.[72] Alderman Wilson agreed that church and state must study "the Oriental problem" in order to devise a "fair and equitable" solution for "all concerned."[73] "All concerned" were presumably those who shared his Japanophobia. Wilson's anti-Asian campaign started in 1937 against small Asian businesses. After the outbreak of the European war, it escalated to include allegations that local Japanese were fifth columnists who would help Japan's armed forces attack British Columbia. Wilson so inflamed anti-Japanese sentiment that in the fall of 1940, the federal government endeavoured to censor him lest the hostility he generated lead to violence against the Japanese.[74]

In reporting to the General Synod in the spring of 1941, Grace Tucker, a former missionary in Japan,[75] observed that while the missions sought to help young Japanese Canadians "find Church-homes in the Canadian churches," the problem was not educating them, but rather, "the clergy and people of our own Churches." She cited the example of men who believed Japanese boys could not "become good Canadians" and so would not work with them.[76] A member of the Women's Auxiliary agreed that many Christians, "shocked at the war tactics of the Japanese Empire," gave "a cold response to the Japanese Canadians" and discriminated against them in industry.[77]

Yet, within the laity some were sympathetic to the Japanese. Anecdotal evidence suggests that families could be divided on the issue. Many years later, for example, Archbishop Michael G. Peers, then the primate of the Church in Canada, who had grown up in Vancouver, recalled the "painful" memory of his father "who shared the most racist attitudes

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[71] *Canadian Churchman,* 10 March 1938. Sexton, a native of Australia, received his higher education in the United Kingdom and served the Church in Australia and England before coming to Victoria as co-adjutor bishop of British Columbia in 1935. He died in 1972.

[72] *Victoria Daily Times,* 25 February 1938; *Vancouver Sun,* 26 February 1938. The synod bestowed the honour of "Canon" on Rev. G.H. Wilson.

[73] Halford Wilson to A.H. McRobbie, 13 December 1938, City of Vancouver Archives, Halford Wilson Papers, vol. 551-A-6.

[74] Roy, *The Oriental Question,* 208-11, 221-26.

[75] After graduating from the Church of England Deaconess House in 1930, Grace Tucker spent several years in Japan learning the language. She returned to Vancouver in 1934 to work among the Japanese and in 1942 moved with them to Slocan. She was godmother to many Japanese children. She died in 2003 at the age of 100.

[76] Report on Japanese Missions, April 1940 to April 1941, Anglican Archives of British Columbia, (hereafter AABC) GS 75-103, Box 72, file 1.

[77] A.M. Hilliard, WA representative on Oriental Board in *The Living Message,* November 1941, 391.

prevalent in B.C. at the time," but took solace in the fact that his mother's views "were very different" and, fortunately, influenced the later attitudes of her children.[78]

Anti-Japanese agitation intensified after the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941. Apart from Rev. Mr. Cooper's comment at the Synod meeting there is scant record of any Anglican chastising Wilson.[79] The bishops did no more than call for the "true British tradition of justice and fair play … in any protective measures" the Government might impose on the Japanese and asked that Christian missionaries be allowed to continue their work.[80] Despite curfews and uncertainty, they saw a "Golden Opportunity," for conversions, not a "Yellow Peril."[81] Not only did they have additional workers as missionaries returned from Japan and coastal missions closed, but with the Buddhist temples closed, Rev. Gordon Nakayama advised that people were "looking for something which gives them real hope." His parishoners at the Church of the Ascension, though in "a time of testing and trial," with many having lost their jobs or businesses, set out to raise $500 to improve the church while Sunday School students sent gifts to British children whose homes had been bombed.[82]

Many Anglicans, however, shared the widespread, but unfounded, suspicion that the Japanese might not be loyal to Canada and were concerned about "the safety of the country."[83] The Bishop of Caledonia agreed that the Japanese were law-abiding and industrious and many were Christian, but feared that some "were strongly national." The principal of the Anglican Theological College said, "while some might suffer," the removal of the Japanese "was necessary for the self-defence of Canada." A member of the Women's Auxiliary asserted, "we had to remove them primarily for their own sake, secondarily for absolute assurance of security against a very few possibly disloyal."[84] Although referring to

[78] Michael G. Peers, Archbishop and primate to Rev. Timothy Nakayama, 4 January 1989, ACCGSA, GS-89-5, Box 3 F 11 J-110 Japanese Canadian Redress.

[79] John Godwin, a Vancouver resident, to H.D. Wilson, 4 January 1942, British Columbia Archives, H.D. Wilson Papers. In his 1965 critique of the mainstream Protestant churches, Pierre Berton said the sin of the Anglican leadership was non-commitment in relation to the government's action in moving the Japanese away from the coast (*The Comfortable Pew* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965], 48).

[80] Francis Northcote to Ian Mackenzie, 9 January 1942, LAC, Ian Mackenzie Fonds, vol. 24.

[81] G.H. Cockburn, "Golden Opportunity or Yellow Peril?" *Canadian Churchman,* 30 April 1942.

[82] *The Living Message,* February 1942.

[83] Francis Heathcote to W.L.M. King, 9 January 1942, LAC, Department of External Affairs Records, vol. 2798.

[84] G.H. Cockburn, "Golden Opportunity or Yellow Peril?" *The Canadian Churchman*, 30 April 1942.

them generally, Hugh Keenleyside,[85] the official in the Department of External Affairs most concerned with the Japanese, scolded the Christian churches for not calming the "hysteria" that forced the government to remove the Japanese.[86]

Under pressure from British Columbia to remove all Japanese from the province or at least the coastal region, the federal government announced in mid-January 1942 that male Japanese Nationals of military age must leave the coast. Then, in late February it decreed that all Japanese, no matter their nationality, gender, or age, must move at least one hundred and sixty kilometres inland.[87] Almost immediately, the government began moving the Japanese to an assembly centre at the Hastings Park Exhibition Grounds in Vancouver before sending them to the interior of the province. A joint committee of representatives of the Salvation Army, and the Anglican, Roman Catholic and United churches secured permission from the Security Commission to operate kindergartens at Hastings Park. By April, two female church workers who had ministered to the Japanese at Port Alberni had established a kindergarten and a club for older girls.[88]

Representatives of the main Christian churches also persuaded the Security Commission to settle the Japanese in denominational groups to avoid a duplication of work.[89] The plan had limited effects: most Japanese were Buddhists or had no religion and the number of adherents of a particular faith did not match the availability of accommodation. The Commission assigned "the English Church" to Slocan.[90] There, Anglican missionaries held Sunday School classes and services in the local church and established a high school.[91] The outnumbered local congregation soon

[85] Keenleyside was raised as a Methodist.

[86] H.L. Keenleyside to Dr. Armstrong, 7 March 1942. With Keenleyside's permission, Armstrong forwarded a copy of this "personal and confidential" letter to Rev. L.A. Dixon, field secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, ACCGSA, MSCC series, Box 72, file 2. Robert Wright attributes the failure of Canadian Protestant leaders to act on behalf of the Japanese Canadians to "their denial of pluralism as a viable basis for the new world order and their reconsolidation, on both the national and the international levels, of an exclusionist world-view." *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918–1939* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 247.

[87] For details see Patricia E. Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941–67* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), ch. 1.

[88] *The Living Age,* July 1942.

[89] The Commission also allowed the churches to operate kindergartens at Hastings Park.

[90] J.B. Shirras to Kemp et al., 29 April 1942, LAC, B.C. Security Commission Records, vol. 7, file 144.

[91] The B.C. Security Commission established elementary schools for the Japanese in the interior, but left the provision of high schools to the churches. For details see Patricia E. Roy, "'Due to their keenness regarding education, they will get the utmost out of the whole plan': The Education of Japanese Children in the British Columbia Interior Housing Settlements during

warmed to the newcomers. One Slocan woman, unhappy about their coming, changed her mind when some of the women came to services wearing W.A. badges.[92] When the primate, Archbishop Derwin Owen,[93] along with other senior Anglican officials, visited Slocan, he had simple advice for the staff there: "help the people – cannot do anything about Gov't regulations."[94] In addition to Slocan, the Anglicans had Rev. Reg Savary, a former missionary in Japan, serve the Japanese who lived in several communities in the northern part of the Okanagan Valley and along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Because the United Church had a man serving construction workers, Savary concentrated on Japanese families, many of whose breadwinners were employed in sawmills and related forest industries. Savary also made a special effort to speak to white Canadian congregations about the situation of Japanese Canadians. Within two months of settling with his wife and family in Salmon Arm, Savary reported that the feeling of white Canadians towards the Japanese appeared to be moderating. Whereas in the spring, the presence in town of Japanese from the road camps caused trouble at nearby Revelstoke, by year's end, when teams from the camps played against the basketball team of the Revelstoke High School, they were cheered. Yet, in relaying this message, W.H. Gale cautioned, that if "one Japanese should make a false step, reason would go out again and the whole Japanese-Canadian community would be damned completely."[95]

The interior settlements were temporary housing. The Church agreed that the government's policy of scattering the Japanese throughout Canada would help dissipate hostility.[96] One early plan was to assist young women to move to eastern cities and secure employment as domestic servants. The scheme immediately ran into difficulties because the Security Commission initially refused to give them permits, probably because of the reluctance of some eastern cities to accept Japanese; the real problem was that few of "our girls … offered" to do such work.[97]

World War Two," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'Histoire de l'Education,* 4:2 (1992), 211–31.

92 Miss Horobin in *The Living Message,* September 1942. About 45 Japanese and 15 white women from the Anglican and United Churches participated in a World Day of Prayer at the Anglican Church (*Canadian Churchman,* 25 March 1943; *The Living Message,* May 1943).

93 Owen was born in England, but educated at Trinity College, Toronto and served in Ontario.

94 Grace Tucker, "A Perspective," in Kawano, *Ministry to the Hopelessly Hopeless,* III.

95 An interim report on the Japanese missions probably prepared by W.H. Gale and dated 20 January 1943 appears to have drawn, at least in part, on Savary's Christmas circular letter. Reg Savary and his wife to friends, 15 December 1942, ACCGSA, MSCC Series 3, box 72.

96 *The Living Message,* July 1943.

97 *Canadian Churchman,* 16 April 1942; Report of Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals, 30 April 1942, AABC Box 72, file 1; W.J. Gale to L.A. Dixon, 25 July 1942, ACCGSA, MSCC series

The Church remained keen to assist the Japanese to resettle east of the Rockies. Though noting the need to ensure "the safety of the country," Canon W.W. Judd, general secretary of the Church's Council for Social Service, counselled that there was no "need for fear" as he urged Anglicans outside British Columbia to assist "these unfortunate people [who] are members of the Christian household of faith" by helping them to find jobs and housing.[98] As the war continued, the hierarchy repeatedly urged people to befriend the resettled Japanese and asked the government to grant them the same rights as all Canadians.[99] Yet, Judd complained that even "inside church circles" he saw "a great deal of ugliness and hostility."[100] This continued.

In the spring of 1945, the Missionary Society of the Church commissioned the recently ordained Rev. Cyril Powles to examine the situation among the Japanese in the east. The son of a Canadian Anglican missionary who had served in Japan, Powles was fluent in Japanese. The Missionary Society feared that so much was being written "about the Japanese not being wanted in different places that they do not know where to turn for help." It worried that unless they were welcomed they would "be lost to the Church."[101] Powles found only two parishes in which the Japanese newcomers had been integrated into the local congregation. After visiting many congregations during the spring and summer of 1945, Powles reported that while some clergy were willing to work privately with the Japanese, he regretted their "unworthy timidity in public to expressing fellowship to the newcomers." He concluded that anti-Japanese attitudes were the "rationalization of possibly unconscious, but nevertheless deep-rooted feelings of race prejudice and jealousy."[102]

3, box 72.

[98] The congregation in Schreiber in northern Ontario welcomed Japanese forest workers to their services and arranged recreational facilities and entertainments for them (*Canadian Churchman,* 16 April 1942).

[99] *Canadian Churchman,* 21 and 28 September 1944; *Vancouver News-Herald,* 22 September 1944; *Vancouver Sun,* 19 September 1944. The resolution specifically said the government should not follow through on the sale of Japanese property until the courts had decided its validity and that the Japanese should eventually be allowed to hold real property, presumably elsewhere than British Columbia. When Rev. W.W. Judd, who represented the Church on the Interchurch Advisory Committee, asked church leaders on the coast to protest the sale of Japanese properties in British Columbia, they advised him not to act. See General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, Journal of Proceedings of the 15th session, Toronto, September 1943 quoted in Bamford, "The Unwelcome Stranger," 29.

[100] *Canadian Churchman,* 17 September 1942.

[101] W.H. Gale, "Work among the Japanese in B.C.," *The Living Memory* 56 (June 1945): 187.

[102] Cyril Powles, "Japanese Canadians East of the Rockies: Report to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, 1945," transcribed by Richard Mammana, 2014 Project Canterbury; Cyril Powles, "The Future of Our Japanese Christians," *The Living Message* 57 (February 1946). Many years later, Rev. Timothy Nakayama, the son of Rev. Gordon Na-

Despite some competition for converts, the mainstream Christian churches tended to co-operate with each other in dealing with Japanese Canadians during and immediately after the war. Judd joined representatives of the other major Christian Churches in a National Interchurch Advisory Committee on the Resettlement of Japanese Canadians. The Committee condemned discrimination on the basis of colour or race, supported the scattering of Japanese Canadians, and urged that they be allowed to "be re-absorbed into productive life."[103] Believing that "fear" explained "harsh and unjust attitudes," the Committee stressed that "the majority" were loyal, which could be interpreted as saying that some were not. Repeated requests to the laity for assistance with resettlement went largely unheeded.[104] With so much being said about them not being wanted, many Japanese feared moving to eastern Canada.[105] Rev. Mr. Nakayama photographed successful Japanese families in eastern Canada to show the Japanese in BC that a satisfactory life could be had in the east. The effects of his efforts are unknown.[106]

There is no evidence of British Columbia Anglicans wanting to see the Japanese return to the coast. Bishop Francis Heathcote of New Westminster[107] commended the Missionary Society for assisting the Japanese who moved to the East;[108] the provincial synod supported a national resolution favouring dispersal.[109] D.S. Catchpole, Archdeacon of

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kayama, who was bitter about the fate of the church buildings used by the Japanese before 1942, regarded the appointment of Powles as a "curious irony" because Powles "may have had some familiarity with things Japanese, but not of things Japanese Canadian." Powles, a graduate of McGill and the Montreal Diocesan Theological College, served in the Montreal diocese from his ordination in 1943 until 1949 when he went to Japan as a missionary. Apart from time spent in advanced studies in North America, he remained in Japan until 1970. In the 1980s, he was active in the Redress Movement which led to Japanese Canadians receiving an apology and some cash compensation for the wartime actions of the Canadian government. Maryka Omatsu, *Bittersweet Passage: Redress and the Japanese Canadian Experience* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1992) 153-54.

[103] National Interchurch Advisory Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Canadians, "Planning Resettlement of Japanese Canadians," April 1944. In an open letter, the Archbishop of Toronto and other Christian leaders reminded people that "prejudices based on race or colour have no place within the Church of Christ" (*Canadian Churchman,* 15 June 1944).

[104] *Canadian Churchman,* 3 May 1945.

[105] W. H. Gale, "Work among the Japanese in British Columbia," *The Living Age* 56 (June 1945), 187-88.

[106] *Canadian Churchman,* 2 August 1945. Although it was not generally known until later when he admitted it to church authorities, Rev. Gordon Nakayama sexually abused young boys in his care. The bishops of Calgary and New Westminster, in whose dioceses he had served, formally apologized for this in 2015. See Diane Swift, *Anglican Journal,* 17 June 2015.

[107] Heathcote was born in England in 1868 and migrated to Canada in 1882. He was educated at Trinity College, Toronto and came to British Columbia in 1913.

[108] *Canadian Churchman,* 13 July 1944.

[109] Journal, Provincial Synod, 17-19 October 1944.

Okanagan, where Asians had never been welcome, urged Prime Minister Mackenzie King to "deal justly with children whose only fault is that they happen to be born with yellow skin and slant eyes," but admitted that he was "no more anxious than anyone else to have this country filled with Orientals."[110] Evidence about the views of the laity is limited, but two letters to the editor of *The Canadian Churchman* early in 1945 suggest that opinions were still divided. One writer would give them "full citizenship rights so they could raise their standard of living";[111] another would accept the Japanese as citizens only if they adopted "our Christian standard," but otherwise would return them "to their own ancestral home" and its standard of living.[112]

The latter comment was a reference to the government's plan to "repatriate" the 10,813 Japanese, many of them Canadian-born, who signed to go to Japan rather than move to eastern Canada. Civil liberties and church groups, including Anglicans, protested the violation of the rights of Canadian citizens by birth or naturalization as well as of Japanese Nationals who had been unquestionably loyal to Canada during the war. Several Anglican clerics participated in the Vancouver Consultative Council which condemned the deportation of Japanese as "wicked and preposterous," but recognized local concerns about "the implications of the sudden reappearance of thousands of poverty-stricken Orientals returning to homes and occupations no longer available to them."[113] Nationally, the Executive Council of the General Synod and many individual Anglican groups wrote to Members of Parliament decrying the deportation of loyal people as "inconsistent with liberal British tradition," causing "hardship, heartbreak and injustice" to many individuals, and seriously harming missionary efforts in Japan.[114] A lay delegate to the Toronto synod, Andrew Brewin, was the chief lawyer for the Toronto-based Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians, "an umbrella group" of individuals and organizations concerned about the human rights of Japanese Canadians, that fought in the courts

[110] D.S. Cathchpole to W.L.M. King, 14 February 1946, LAC, W.L.M. King Papers, #361712. Catchpole was born in London, England in 1900 and died in Victoria, 28 January 1991. There is a brief obituary in the Okanagan Historical Society *Annual Report*, vol. 56 (1992), 163.

[111] Mrs. Freda Davies to editor, *Canadian Churchman,* 10 April 1945.

[112] E.W. Abraham to editor, *Canadian Churchman,* 29 March 1945. In reply to the letter of Mrs. Davies, Abraham said that only if the Japanese did not wish to conform to Christian principles should they be returned to Japan (*Canadian Churchman,* 24 May 1945).

[113] N.F. Black et al. to W.L. Mackenzie King, 29 May 1944, LAC, W.L.M. King Papers, #308236-8.

[114] Rev. W.W. Judd to Members of the Senate and Commons, 7 December 1945, LAC, John Bracken Papers, vol. 22. (Other copies of the letter are in the papers of other politicians.)

against "repatriation."[115] When the government cancelled repatriation, *The Canadian Churchman* praised it for yielding to public pressure.[116]

As of 1 April 1949, the Japanese could move freely to the coast. Expecting few returnees, the New Westminster Synod transferred the proceeds of the sale of three churches held in trust for their Japanese congregations to the Bishop's Endowment fund.[117] Relatively few Japanese returned to the Vancouver area and those who did tended to live in various areas of the city and its suburbs. Some of the Anglicans among them joined their neighbourhood parishes.[118]

A study of Anglican thought in North America observed that "the Anglican myth of comprehensiveness was rife with potential contradictions in its recognition of diversity within a broadly assimilationist framework."[119] That generalization applies to Canadian Anglicans in their dealings with the Japanese.

Did High versus Low Church considerations explain the contradictions? *The Canadian Churchman* claimed in 1920 that in British Columbia the High Church School of thought was "probably as great, or greater, than in any other part of Canada."[120] The available biographical evidence is too thin to permit definitive conclusions, but such divisions do not appear to have influenced attitudes towards Asians. Both Norman Tucker and G.H. Wilson, for example, were identified with the "low church" but had very different views on Asians; Frank Cassillis-Kennedy and Bishop de Pencier had High Church connections as graduates of Trinity College in Toronto but Kennedy was a stout defender of his Japanese congregation while de Pencier shared many of the anti-Asian attitudes of his fellow British Columbians. The evidence for a division between the English and the Canadian-educated clergy is even thinner because of their predominance in different eras. Until the first years of the twentieth century, British-born and educated clerics dominated the hierarchy in British Columbia; by the time of the First World War, the Canadian-born and educated were taking the lead as bishops and prominent missionaries to the Asians in British Columbia.

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[115] Stephanie Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest: Defending North American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry, 1942–49* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 41.

[116] *Canadian Churchman,* 6 March 1947.

[117] Details about the sale of these church buildings may be found in Gregory R. Tatchell, "Relinquished: The Seate of Deitie Supream us Dispossest: The Disposition of Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches and Funds, 1942-1949," Vancouver School of Theology, MDiv, 2009.

[118] Archdeacon of Vancouver to Rev. R.T. Nishimura, 20 May 1958, AABC, Box D34/2.

[119] William H. Katerberg, *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880–1950* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 213.

[120] *Canadian Churchman,* 25 March 1920.

Like other Canadians, they spoke of British justice and fair play and of "Canadianization" and "Christianization" which implied assimilation, but ambiguities were rife. Many, particularly among those who worked as missionaries with the Japanese in Japan or at home, were sympathetic to the Japanese in Canada. Perhaps as Hamish Ion suggests in his study of Canadian missionaries in Japan, it was out of their self-interested concern that discrimination in Canada harmed efforts overseas;[121] and it may have been inspired by the hope that converts would return to Japan and spread the gospel there. Others wanted to halt immigration from Japan, and disperse, or even expel the Japanese from Canada. Those who favoured "Canadianization" limited it to economic considerations and possibly enfranchising the Canadian-born. As for intermarriage, even the missionaries N.L. Ward and Frank Cassillis-Kennedy found the idea repugnant.

For most of the laity, assimilation was an abstract idea. Occasional social events such as Women's Auxiliary teas and AYPA gatherings were about the only opportunities for interaction between Japanese and Caucasian Anglicans. Initially, separate missions were necessary to attract immigrants with social and educational services and to serve converts who were not fluent in English, but with limited exceptions, the Church made little effort to integrate the Canadian-born and educated people into its regular parishes until racial prejudices faded after the War.

The greatest failure of the Church was in educating the clergy and white congregations. In March 1945, Grace Tucker complained that "the voice of the church has been silent – or extremely feeble" on evacuation and relocation.[122] In 1949, when she was based in Toronto, she regretted, as on previous occasions, that there was still a trend "towards the easy way of segregation, which requires no vision and no effort, either on the part of our churches or by this minority group … Even our W.A. members are far from convinced that 'their' churches should be called upon to welcome Christians of other races."[123] Years later, she sadly recalled "cruel discrimination" of Holy Communion being refused to Japanese Canadian people – where the superior Canadian Anglican would not kneel beside their Japanese brethren at the altar rail – where priests refused to marry young couples (only because of their race) – where

[121] A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872–1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1990), 183.

[122] Grace Tucker to Rev. H.G. Watts, 27 March 1945, LAC, Grace Tucker Papers.

[123] Grace Tucker, "Work among the Canadian Japanese, Toronto, 1949," AACGSA, GS 20/03-18, box 9.

baptism of babies was refused.[124] After the Murakami family returned to Salt Spring Island, Rose Murakami recalled how "a very senior person of the Anglican Church" told them not to attend services because they "were seen as evil people."[125]

The laity is not wholly to blame given the silence of many leaders and the anti-Asian proclamations of prominent churchmen such as the Wilsons whose prejudices, that found much currency in the province, trumped any sense of Christian charity towards the Japanese. The Wilsons were not the only ones so disposed. Many bishops opposed Japanese immigration as much as other British Columbians. Thus, in 1942, the New Westminster Synod, the diocese with the most Japanese in Canada, gave lip service to humanity while endorsing the removal of over 20,000 people from their homes just because they were Japanese. In 2013, the Council of the General Synod, in endorsing a 2010 apology for the sale of the three churches, acknowledged "injustices and racism experienced by Japanese Canadian Anglicans at the hands of the Church during and after World War II," and confessed "the error of our ways."[126] That an apology took so long is not surprising given the history of the ambiguous attitudes of Anglicans to the Japanese in their midst.

[124] Grace Tucker, unpublished memoirs, 1968, LAC, Grace Tucker Papers.
[125] Rose Murakami, *Ganbaru: The Murakami Family of Salt Spring Island* (Salt Spring Island: Japanese Garden Society, 2005), 33.
[126] Marites N. Sison, "'Injustices' toward Japanese Canadian Anglicans Acknowledged," *Anglican Journal,* 19 March 2013.