

“I HAVE LOTS OF HELP BEHIND ME, LOTS OF BOOKS, TO CONVINCING YOU”:

*Andrew Paull and the Value of Literacy in English*¹

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INTRODUCTION

ANDREW PAULL (1892-1959), or Chief Andy Paull, as the Vancouver newspapers usually referred to him, was a colourful and well known figure in both Aboriginal circles and the mainstream press from the late 1920s until his death in 1959. A relentless political force in his own right, Paull was known as “Canada’s Indian conscience,” publicly fighting for improvements in the status of Aboriginal peoples in British Columbia, Canada, and the United States. Chiefly wanting to improve equal opportunity of employment and education, to gain legal recognition of Aboriginal rights, and to achieve more efficient and effective ways of ameliorating Native living conditions, Paull’s main (and best known) vehicle for expressing these concerns was his long-time presidency of the North American Indian Brotherhood (NAIB), which he co-founded in 1944.² As the *Vancouver Province* described it in 1956,

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² Paull co-formed (with John Tootoosis, Plains Cree from Saskatchewan; and Jules Sioui, Huron from Quebec) the NAIB (which, decades later, evolved into the Assembly of First Nations) two years after he broke with the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia (in 1942). His break with the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia came after allegations of financial mismanagement on Paull’s behalf. Arguably, however, his difficulties with this group were a legacy of tensions between coastal and interior Aboriginal groups with regard to political

“his approach combines the eloquence of the zealot, the dialectic skill of the lawyer and the shrewdness of the politician.”³ Widely respected as an authority on the law as applied to Aboriginal peoples, Paull often spoke on behalf of British Columbia’s and Canada’s Aboriginal peoples in provincial and federal courts and before commissions. Although he was not formally educated in the law, Paull considered himself “a lawyer without a ticket.” At the age of fifteen, he was placed by his people with a city law firm, where he worked for four years, learning general legal procedures and gaining a special knowledge of the law as it applied to Aboriginal peoples. At the time of his death, Paull’s friend and colleague Maisie Hurley told the media: “[Paull] could not become a lawyer without renouncing his aboriginal rights ... But he had a marvellous mind. He could recite cases chapter and verse. He was considered the greatest authority on this continent on Indian aspects of the law. He would have been one of the country’s most brilliant criminal lawyers if he’d had a degree. He had dignity, drama. He was superb.”⁴ His first appearance before a government commission was in 1927 at the age of thirty-five. At that time, he was with the Allied Tribes of British Columbia and spoke before a joint Senate-Commons committee on the question of Aboriginal title rights in this province.

Paull’s career of advocacy began when he was merely a child, in 1899, when he was chosen by his people, the Squamish, to be “the one to learn the ways of the white man and speak for the Indian.” At this young age he made a solemn oath “to be the eyes, ears and spokesman for the Indians and to serve them faithfully.”⁵ Significantly, when Paull entered school at age seven, he did not speak a word of English. He learned

strategy. Paull’s views and approaches were more popular among interior tribes, and such tensions unfortunately bedevilled the cause of Aboriginal rights in British Columbia during this period.

³ James Roe, “Canada’s Indian Conscience,” *Vancouver Province*, 27 December 1956.

⁴ Mac Reynolds, “None to Take His Place: Death of Courtly Andy Paull Stills Indians’ Voice Forever,” *Vancouver Sun*, 29 July 1959. Hurley’s assertion that Paull would have had to give up his Indian status to become a lawyer in British Columbia was correct, at least prior to 1949. There was no law school in British Columbia at the time, so aspiring lawyers either went to law school out of province (few did) or, like Paull, apprenticed as a lawyer for a number of years before attempting to qualify for the bar. Before 1949, when Aboriginal people in British Columbia were granted the vote provincially, they could not become lawyers because the rules of the BC Law Society provided that persons not entitled to be on the provincial voters’ list could not be admitted to the bar. See Joan Brockman, “Exclusionary Tactics: The History of Women and Visible Minorities in the Legal Profession in British Columbia,” *Essays in the History of Canadian Law: British Columbia and the Yukon*, ed. Hamar Foster and John McLaren (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1995), 523; and Herbert Francis Dunlop, OMI, *Andy Paull: As I Knew Him and Understood His Times* (Vancouver: The Order of the OMI of St. Paul’s Province, 1989) 33, 39–40.

⁵ Roe, “Canada’s Indian Conscience”; See also: Dunlop, *Andy Paull*, 21–24.

English from French-speaking nuns at St. Paul's Residential School in North Vancouver. Paull's residential school experience, unlike that of many Aboriginal children, was overwhelmingly positive, and for the rest of his life he made a point of crediting the nuns and teachers at St. Paul's with providing him with the tools he needed to be a successful writer, speaker, and political organizer. He spent seven years at St. Paul's, from 1899 to 1906.

At the newly opened residential school, Paull's "purpose ... was not to learn how to become a white man. He went there to learn how to use the tools of the white man, and with these tools to speak for and fight for the rights of his people."⁶ Rather than give up his Squamish identity, or assimilate to Euro-Canadian society, Paull used his time at St. Paul's to acquire the tools to communicate with and stand up to the Canadian and British Columbia governments with regard to the rights of Aboriginal peoples. One of Paull's early biographers, Oblate priest Father Herbert Dunlop, who was certainly aware of the many faults and misguided efforts of the residential schooling system in general, wrote of Paull's experience: "Andy would know the good and the bad of residential school life. It is significant that he would fight hard to prevent the closing of the one he went to. It is significant that he would respect the people who taught him throughout his life."⁷ Paull was life-long friends with two of the Sisters who taught him at St. Paul's, and he remained a strong believer in the Roman Catholic faith throughout his life. By all accounts, St. Paul's Residential School and Paull's ties to the Roman Catholic Church were important formative influences. While he never hesitated to criticize government and Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) administrators for their roles in failing to live up to treaty promises, including the provision of proper and adequate schooling for Aboriginal peoples, he rarely, if ever, spoke negatively about the work of missionaries.

As the result of his special training in the history, culture, and traditions of his people, Paull was widely respected as an expert on Aboriginal lore, and he commanded attention every time he spoke. George Manuel, Paull's successor as president of the NAIB, considered Paull a kind of guru and credited him with being "the spark and catalyst" of the contemporary First Nations political movement.⁸ As the *Vancouver Sun* noted at the time of his death, "Tall, built like a prizefighter, endowed

⁶ Dunlop, *Andy Paull*, 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁸ See Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993), 50; and George Manuel and

with a magnificent courtroom manner, Andy Paull dedicated his life to improving the conditions of his people.”⁹

POLITICAL PERFORMANCE AND THE POLITICS OF LITERACY

As president of the NATB, Andrew Paull stood before the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons that was appointed to examine and consider the Indian Act on 27 June 1946 (he literally stood, ignoring an invitation by the committee chair, who asked him if he would “rather sit down”).¹⁰ The evidence that Paull gave to the committee is compelling reading, revealing a well-spoken and highly prepared orator, despite his own self-deprecating remarks asking the committee to “disregard [his] inability to speak and [his] lack of command of the English language.”¹¹ In his plea for greater Aboriginal involvement in Indian affairs, and for the Government of Canada to recognise that it was in violation of the treaties, Paull used the literature of the treaties and subsequent legal studies to make his points, illustrating and effectively reminding the committee that the First Nations peoples who signed the treaties with the British Crown and Canadian government were acting as sovereign powers and were recognised as such by the Euro-Canadians involved:

I have read in the evidence of Mr. T.R.L. MacInnes (Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch) that the Indian had nothing to give when he signed the treaty because he had not colonized the country. Now, we can give you plenty of decisions to contradict that argument, but we know that you are men of learning and I do not think it will be necessary to do that. That is why I did not bring the books here; but we can give you decisions to contradict the statements made by Mr. MacInnes.¹²

Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan Canada, 1974).

⁹ Reynolds, “None to Take His Place,” *Vancouver Sun*, 29 July 1959.

¹⁰ Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider the Indian Act (hereafter sjc), *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, no. 9, 27 June 1946, 420.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 422.

¹² *Ibid.* T.R.L. (Loftus) MacInnes (alternatively spelled “McInnes”) was the grandson of Thomas Robert McInnes (1840–1904), lieutenant-governor of British Columbia (1897–1900) (famously remembered as one of only two lieutenant-governors in Canada to be dismissed from office), and the son of Thomas Robert Edward McInnes, poet, writer, and lawyer (who changed the spelling of his surname to “MacInnes”) (1867–1951). Although T.R.E. (Tom) MacInnes was a complex and often inconsistent figure, his 1909 legal opinion on the nature and status of Aboriginal title with special reference to British Columbia (commissioned by the Dominion

Continuing, in reference to Treaty No. 1, Paull stated: “We see a treaty between two nations with sovereign powers. Perhaps you will disagree with me. Perhaps you will say I do not know what I am talking about, but I have lots of help behind me, lots of books, to convince you.”¹³

Paull presented himself as a highly literate and educated Aboriginal person with a specific intention – to demonstrate that those he represented as president of the NAIB were a capable and thoughtful people, fully able to handle their own political, social, and economic affairs. Paull pushed this point because the popular conception of the Indian at the time was far less flattering, generally portraying Canada’s Aboriginal peoples as incapable and unwilling to adapt or effectively take care of themselves. Paull argued that if there was even an ounce of truth in this conception, it was because the Indian Act served to lower the morale of Aboriginal peoples because it took away much of their democratic power to administer their own affairs.

Part of Paull’s message was that Euro-Canadians had relied on and benefited from the continuing illiteracy and incapacity of Aboriginal peoples – a claim given credence by the generally deplorable state of the government- and church-administered Indian education system, which encouraged and allowed Aboriginal peoples to remain downtrodden.¹⁴ Meanwhile, Paull continued to drive home the colonizing role and influence of Western literacy through what he called “unwritten treaties” and other forms of Euro-Canadian encroachment on Aboriginal rights and powers:

government) entitled *Report on the Indian Title* is historically significant because it concluded that British Columbia had acted illegally in not purchasing Aboriginal lands. There is little doubt that Andrew Paull would have been aware of who T.R.L. MacInnes’s father was and that his 1909 report on Indian title stood in direct contrast to the younger MacInnes’s stance as secretary of Indian affairs. Indeed, one of the “books” that Paull casually refers to in this very quotation is very likely the 1909 report by the secretary’s father. See Hamar Foster, “A Romance of the Lost: The Role of Tom MacInnes in the History of British Columbia Indian Land Question,” *Essays in the History of Canadian Law: In Honour of R.C.B. Risk*, ed. G. Blaine Baker and Jim Phillips, 171–212 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1999).

¹³ Canada, Parliament, sjc (1946), *Minutes*, no. 9, 422.

¹⁴ Paull’s experience at St. Paul’s Residential School was a positive one. While Paull was certainly not alone in having a positive experience at residential school, many Aboriginal people were not so lucky. That the schools were underfunded, poorly staffed, rife with a range of abuses, and built on the unfortunate philosophy of having “the Indian educated out of them” is well documented. See, for example, J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); and John S. Milloy, *“A National Crime”: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

Queen Victoria sent the Marquis of Lorne to Chief Spintlum with a flag and a bible and a sword ... to ratify this early treaty ... Now, the other kind of treaty – and it is not a treaty – is peaceful encroachment. Your ancestors came here and you penetrated into the country, and you sent as your ambassadors people with the bible, with the Book. Now, I am a Christian man and I have no kick against any religion, but that is the way you got in. We can show you court decisions to show you that in the peaceful encroachment you sent as your ambassadors the missionaries I am not going any further in that regard; we can leave it at that. I am merely touching on the different ways in which you people came here.¹⁵

Here Paull argues that, although earlier generations of Aboriginal peoples may have lacked the skills to fully decipher Western texts, they entered the treaty agreements in good faith and assumed the same of their Euro-Canadian counterparts.¹⁶ Through the years, as Aboriginal peoples struggled in government- and church-run Indian schools, most of which offered little in terms of literacy education, subsequent Canadian governments wilfully broke treaty promises.¹⁷ In part, terms of the treaties were broken and ignored because the federal government and Euro-Canadian society in general believed that Indians would one day be assimilated. Thus, the treaties would no longer be necessary. But treaty promises were broken on paper, through legislation and inter-governmental policy changes, with no consultation with or immediate awareness of Aboriginal peoples. The Aboriginal peoples involved usually only learned of the broken promises well after the fact, when Euro-Canadians began encroaching further onto their lands. As an example, Paull cited how the Province of Ontario ignored an agreement relating to Indian lands in order to allow tourists to gain access to areas that treaties had set aside as Aboriginal lands for hunting and fishing.¹⁸

¹⁵ Canada, Parliament, sJC (1946), *Minutes*, no. 9, 423.

¹⁶ The relative absence of treaties in British Columbia is duly noted. Paull was speaking generally here, alluding to the larger context of treaties signed in other provinces and regions of Canada and North America.

¹⁷ Although Paull was not alone in having a generally positive residential school experience, most Aboriginal children faced a range of abuses and substandard education in these schools. For further discussion of the generally poor-quality education provided at many of them, see (in addition to works by Miller and Milloy) Brendan Frederick R. Edwards, *Paper Talk: A History of Libraries, Print Culture, and Aboriginal Peoples in Canada* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005).

¹⁸ Canada, Parliament, sJC (1946), *Minutes*, no. 9, 425-26. Paull is speaking here of the dispute between the Province of Ontario, the federal government, and Aboriginal peoples occupying Treaty No. 3 territory regarding an 1894 intergovernmental agreement (An Act for the Settlement of Certain Questions between the Governments of Canada and Ontario

Paull informed the Special Joint Committee members that his people would no longer stand for such encroachments and wilful violations and that Euro-Canadian governments could no longer count on Aboriginal ignorance of the written treaties: “Perhaps I should bring you one of these treaties. Perhaps my words will not convince you. Here is one of these documents with you [sic] representatives of former years, signed on parchment, signed at command of the government, and it is a treaty you broke, and I charge you with having broken these treaties – you and all the members of your committee.”¹⁹ After reading the text of the treaty (Treaty No. 3), Paull continued:

Now that is what the treaty says. That is an original copy. That is what it says. And now, you, the government, has abrogated the terms of that treaty without giving the Indians notice that you were going to abrogate the terms of that treaty. Now that goes beyond the category of common decency. Look at your international law and see what it says about that. I do not need to tell you about that because you are learned in the law.²⁰

To further illustrate his point that Euro-Canadians had wilfully taken advantage of Aboriginal peoples in Canada, Paull (slightly misquoted) a small piece of poetry, prominently featured in Lord Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s historical novel *The Last of the Barons*, to illustrate the brutality and hypocrisy of Euro-Canadian treatment of Aboriginal peoples in the face of Indian generosity: “When the white man was hungry, the Indian brought him food; he brought over deer, he brought over fish, he brought over moose – we have a bit of poetry here: ‘Death to the dove is the eagle’s love and Sharp is the kiss of the falcon’s beak.’ That is what happened, that is why we are here now.”²¹ In Lytton’s novel, this verse appears at least three times. Twice it is sung by a troop of “timbrel girls,” or “tymbesteres,” as a metaphorical warning, illustrating the imbalanced

Concerning Indian Lands) that had resulted in a situation in which Aboriginal fishers were badly outnumbered and overpowered by non-Aboriginal sport anglers. See Claudia Notzke, *Aboriginal Peoples and Natural Resources in Canada* (North York: Captus University Publications, 1994), 68–69.

¹⁹ Canada, Parliament, sjc (1946), *Minutes*, no. 9, 424. The treaty in question, which Paull uses as an example of the Crown’s failure to live up to written promises, is Treaty No. 3 (also known as the Northwest Angle Treaty) with regard to lands in Northwestern Ontario.

²⁰ Canada, Parliament, sjc (1946), *Minutes*, no. 9, 425.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 426. In fact, the transcription of this poem is slightly incorrect. The poem in its entirety reads: “The cushat would mate / Above her state, / And she flutters her wings round the falcon’s beak; / But death to the dove / Is the falcon’s love — / Oh, sharp is the kiss of the falcon’s beak!” See Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart., *The Last of the Barons* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1913 [1843]), 78.

relationship between Sibyll, a poor alchemist's daughter, and William de Hastings, a nobleman and royal chamberlain to Edward IV.

In quoting from Bulwer-Lytton, one of England's most popular nineteenth-century writers, Paull was demonstrating that he was a well read and educated man, countering the familiar image of the Indian as incapable of appreciating, or uninterested in, literature. It is not certain if Paull expected members of the committee to recognise this verse or whether he intended to pass it off as his own. *The Last of the Barons* was Bulwer-Lytton's most critically acclaimed book, although not his most popular. Bulwer-Lytton is undoubtedly one of the Victorian era's principal spokesmen; however, as an author, he was a source of considerable controversy because he often wrote from the perspective of criminals, the underclass, and other less desirable characters of Victorian England.²² Bulwer-Lytton also had a direct connection to the Colony of British Columbia. As secretary of state for the colonies in Lord Derby's government, Bulwer-Lytton reacted to the crisis posed by the discovery of gold on the northwest coast in the 1850s by creating the Colony of British Columbia, with a London-appointed governor to act as an umpire among the competing interests of First Nations, prospectors, and the Hudson's Bay Company. Described as "unusually sensitive to the claims of indigenous peoples,"²³ Lord Lytton's political writing and speeches as a cabinet minister and politician were crucial in the political lobbying and protest headed by Paull and the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia.²⁴

Paull made significant and effective use of written documents in his oral and sworn testimony to demonstrate that the Aboriginal peoples of the late 1940s could no longer be dismissed and that the government could no longer assume that they would soon be assimilated. No longer, he insisted, could it be assumed that the Indians of Canada would sit

²² Bulwer-Lytton's novels and poetry were extremely popular in his time (1803-73), outselling such authors as Charles Dickens. Although rarely read since 1918, when his popularity inexplicably declined, he is credited with coining such popular phrases as, "pursuit of the almighty dollar," "the pen is mightier than the sword," and the now infamous incipit, "It was a dark and stormy night." Today, his writing is routinely mocked, and the whimsical Bulwer-Lytton Fiction Contest annually celebrates the worst fiction writing. See <<http://www.bulwer-lytton.com>>. Bulwer-Lytton's collected works are held in the chief factor's room at Fort Carlton Provincial Park in Saskatchewan – a testament to his widespread popularity in the late nineteenth century.

²³ Leslie Mitchell, *Bulwer Lytton: The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), 214.

²⁴ In 1858, the Hudson's Bay Company's short-lived Fort Dallas at Camchin, or Kumsheen (at the confluence of the Fraser and Thompson rivers in the territory of the Nlaka'pamux people), was renamed "Lytton" in the noble's honour.

idly by while the government neglected treaty promises. Paull and his delegation at the committee hearings sought greater Aboriginal involvement in Indian affairs, particularly with regard to managing the reserves and education: "I submit that you can trust an Indian to be an agent, a superintendent or something like that. I say to you ... that we have Indians qualified to do some of the government work that you men are doing ... We have Indians throughout Canada who have a greater degree of learning than the illiterate Indian agent who supervises and administers your laws over those Indians."²⁵

Retired University of Waterloo historian E. Palmer Patterson II, who has done extensive biographical work on Paull, indicates that Andrew Paull first came to broad provincial and national attention during the hearings of the 1927 Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, which was appointed to inquire into the claims of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia.²⁶ Certainly, Paull's appearance before this Special Joint Committee brought him wide attention in British Columbia and nationally, but he had been active in Native politics well before this. Although much of what the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia asked for during the committee hearings was ignored, Paull, along with Reverend P.R. Kelly (described by historian Anthony Hall as "a Haida aristocrat and Methodist missionary"),²⁷ was openly praised in the committee's report: "The evidence of Messrs. Kelly and Paull was given in idiomatic English, clearly and forcibly expressed, and both the matter of their evidence and the manner of presentation were highly acceptable to your Committee. Due praise should be accorded them, and the Indian members of their organization can be assured of the competent and thorough fashion in which they dealt with the case."²⁸ Patronizing though their comments were, committee members clearly considered Paull and Kelly to be "a credit to their race."

²⁵ Canada, Parliament, sJC (1946), *Minutes*, no. 9, 427.

²⁶ E. Palmer Patterson II, "Andrew Paull and Canadian Indian Resurgence" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1963); E. Palmer Patterson II, "Andrew Paull (1892-1959): Finding a Voice for the 'New Indian,'" *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6, 2 (1976): 63-82; E. Palmer Patterson II, "Andrew Paull and the Early History of British Columbia Indian Organizations," in *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians since Treaty 7*, ed. Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith, 43-54 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1977).

²⁷ Anthony J. Hall, *The American Empire and the Fourth World* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 250. For more on Peter Kelly, see Alan Morley, *Roar of the Breakers: A Biography of Peter Kelly* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967).

²⁸ Canada, Parliament, *Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Inquire into the Claims of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia, as Set Forth in Their Petition to Parliament in June 1926, Report and Evidence* (hereafter *Report and Evidence*) (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1927), v.

Although Andrew Paull and Peter Kelly appeared together several times, fighting political battles on behalf of British Columbia's Indians, they did not see eye to eye on the future of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Kelly envisioned a future in which "Indians must be prepared to be assimilated into the white community, eventually disappearing as a separate race."²⁹ In his biography of Kelly, Alan Morley says: "Andy Paull was a type of Indian contrasting sharply with Peter Kelly, but they worked together well for years, until Paull broke with Kelly in 1947 over fundamental views of the Indians' future role in white civilization."³⁰ Morley characterizes Kelly as a great champion of Aboriginal land rights but as essentially an assimilationist.³¹ When Morley wrote his biography of Kelly in the mid-twentieth century, many Euro-Canadian British Columbians looked upon Kelly as the Aboriginal voice of the future; however, as the late twentieth century progressed, Paull's vision of Aboriginal peoples as a distinct element of Canadian society prevailed. That Kelly and Paull worked together as long as they did, owed something to their strong communication skills. In their speeches and written works, Paull and Kelly were unlikely but effective partners. Alone, each was a powerful voice, but working together they were virtually impossible to ignore. Although their views failed to shape the final recommendations of the 1927 inquiry, that "defeat," as Morley points out, "opened official doors to them that had always been closed before and provided a means of access for the Indians to those who controlled political power in the national Parliament."³²

Paull's first request as a witness in the 1927 inquiry was that "all the proceedings before this Committee be reported in book form, and that the Indians be supplied with that record."³³ Although he later stated that, in British Columbia, "at least 90 per cent of the Indians ... cannot read nor [sic] write,"³⁴ Paull clearly wanted to ensure that all the evidence and issues discussed during the inquiry were available for public consultation on the part of Aboriginal peoples in the future. Paull's request was also motivated by a desire to hold the committee members accountable for their words by ensuring that any promises made or broken would be recorded on paper. Paull knew that many "promises" were broken,

²⁹ Morley, *Roar of the Breakers*, 102-3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

³¹ To label Peter Kelly as an "assimilationist" may be too harsh. Although Kelly favoured integration as a political and social strategy for Aboriginal peoples, he was immensely proud of his Haida heritage.

³² Morley, *Roar of the Breakers*, 117.

³³ Canada, Parliament, *Report and Evidence*, 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

forgotten, or denied by governments when their contents were not clearly written down.³⁵

Throughout his career, Paull was a powerful advocate for the improvement of education. Speaking in 1947 at the Special Joint Committee hearings on the Indian Act, he revealed a consistent theme of his advocacy as he stressed the need to improve Aboriginal education: “The Hon. Mr. Crerar in a conference I had with him asked me if I had any solution to settle these Indian problems and I told him that I had. I said, ‘Hon. Mr. Crerar, I can give you the answer in one word: education.’ Because if the Indian is educated he can fight himself out of his difficulties. He will not feel an inferiority complex. If he has education he would feel that he was equal to anybody. That was the answer I gave to Hon. Mr. Crerar.”³⁶ Earlier, at a June 1943 meeting of the Society for the Furtherance of Indian Arts and Crafts, Paull had also spoken out for Aboriginal education and indicted the federal government for its failure to meet its obligations on this front: “Indians of BC are seeking the fullest education for their children, but that promise made by the Government of Canada has not been carried out ... At present only 100 of the 4000 Indian pupils of the province are in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades. The Indians of BC would like to see their children attend technical and normal schools as well as the University of BC.”³⁷ A year later, at the annual convention of the North American Indian Brotherhood, Paull made headlines when he accused the federal government of repeatedly breaking promises it had made to First Nations. One of the main

³⁵ In writing to the Chiefs and Members of the Interior Tribes of British Columbia in June 1947, Paull encouraged their participation in the Indian Act process by referring to the printed testimony of his appearance before the Joint Committee: “I suggest that you send for the printed record of the addresses made by myself and my colleague Mr. Norman Saylor, who is an Iroquois Indian, and a lawyer, before the Indian Act Committee ... Send for these by air mail to, Edmund Cloutier, Kings Printer Ottawa, Ont. They cost five cents each, so that you will see how I spoke on behalf of the Indians of the Interior of British Columbia.” See Letter from Paull to the Chiefs and Members of the Interior Tribes of BC, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), MG 30, C226, Paull Fonds. It is unclear if Paull is in fact referring to Norman Lickers rather than Norman Saylor. Lickers (1913-87) was an Iroquois from Six Nations who was called to the bar in 1938 and who is credited with being Canada’s first Indian lawyer. Lickers acted as independent counsel at the 1947 hearings on the Indian Act. For more on Lickers, see Constance Backhouse, “Gender and Race in the Construction of ‘Legal Professionalism’: Historical Perspectives,” address presented to a colloquium organized by the Chief Justice of Ontario’s Advisory Committee on Professionalism, 20 October 2003, available on the Law Society of Upper Canada website at http://www.lsuc.on.ca/media/constance_backhouse_gender_and_race.pdf.

³⁶ Canada, Parliament, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons Appointed to Continue and Complete the Examination and Consideration of the Indian Act, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, no. 18 (Ottawa: Edmund Cloutier, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1947), 887.

³⁷ “Future of Race: Indians Seek School Rights,” *Vancouver Province*, 12 June 1943.

promises broken, said Paull, was with regard to education: "In 1927, after years of agitation, the government had agreed to make provisions for higher education for Indian students who showed promise ... The Indians considered this a great achievement and visualized the day when there would be Indian technicians, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and among the women, trained nurses." Yet, Indian interest in education had decreased since that time. The blame, he said, lay in part with the DIA, which had taken away incentive for Aboriginal parents to send their children to school: "The way it is now, what is the use? My son goes to school and ends up the same as I, as a fisherman, longshoreman, or logger." Paull strongly asserted that the government did not want Aboriginal peoples to become educated.³⁸ Ten years later, upon the announcement by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration of a \$300,000 boost to support higher education for Aboriginal peoples, Paull noted: "We are gradually breaking down racial prejudice against the Indians. Education is one of the important steps in this process ... But there are scores of Canadian Indians who have had to go to the United States to practise as doctors, lawyers, judges and professors because of racial prejudice in Canada."³⁹

The disastrous failures of Aboriginal education in the first half of the twentieth century have been well documented. Not only were few Aboriginal people properly educated, but few were exposed to books in French or English that might have inspired literacy in those languages. At the same time, Aboriginal children were punished for speaking or communicating in their mother tongue. In many instances, Aboriginal communities lobbied the DIA for increased literacy education and libraries, but until well into the 1950s they were largely stonewalled.⁴⁰ The DIA may have feared the consequences of Aboriginal peoples becoming fully literate in the languages of Euro-Canadians. The primary intention of the Indian schools, funded and administered by the federal government and missionaries, was to produce productive, assimilated Aboriginal workers to support the Canadian economy, not young Aboriginal intellectuals to challenge the dominant Euro-Canadian society. Thus, little thought, effort, or funding was put into literacy programs

³⁸ Ray Gardner, "Beware White Man' Says Indian Orator: 'Broken Promises' Strew Record on Army Service, Taxes and Education," *Vancouver Sun*, 16 November 1944.

³⁹ Stanley Burke, "Andy Paull Lauds Indian Education," *Vancouver Sun*, 28 October 1953. Paull's assertion that there were "scores" of Indians who went to the United States to practise as doctors and lawyers and so on appears to be an unfounded exaggeration meant to get people's attention.

⁴⁰ See Edwards, *Paper Talk*, passim.

or into placing schools or public libraries in Aboriginal communities.⁴¹ Even worse, literacy education and access to books were often withheld by school and government officials.

During the Special Joint Committee hearings in 1927, the Honourable H.H. Stevens (a prominent MP from Vancouver) was particularly vehement, if not openly hostile, regarding the evidence of Arthur O'Meara, a lawyer and clergyman who co-founded the Conference of Friends of the Indians of British Columbia in 1910 and eventually acted as legal counsel for the Allied Tribes of British Columbia.⁴² According to historian E. Brian Tittley, in his critical analysis of the administration of Indian affairs in Canada, Stevens's

treatment of the representatives of the Allied Tribes throughout the hearings virtually amounted to harassment. British by birth and an ardent Methodist, prohibitionist, imperialist, and member of the Orange Order, he shared all the proverbial prejudices associated with such a background. In his determination to keep his province British, he was an unrelenting foe of oriental immigration and native rights. As the self-proclaimed expert on British Columbia, he tended to dominate the proceedings with his hostile cross-examination of the Indians and their lawyers and with his frequent outbursts of indignation. He was an unfortunate choice for the committee, and his presence banished any semblance of objectivity that the inquiry might otherwise have displayed.⁴³

As counsel for the Allied Tribes, O'Meara was treated with remarkable discourtesy. As he presented a historical argument for Aboriginal title and cited legal precedents, Stevens interrupted him frequently with remarks such as "Piffle," "Rubbish," "Rot," "Nonsense," and others equally rude.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² For more on O'Meara's influence and role in BC Indian activism of the day, see Robert Exell, "History of Indian Land Claims in BC," *The Advocate* 48 6 (1990): 866-80; Hamar Foster, "We Are Not O'Meara's Children: Law, Lawyers, and the First Campaign for Aboriginal Title in British Columbia, 1908-28," in *Let Right Be Done: Aboriginal Title, the Calder Case, and the Future of Indigenous Rights*, ed. Hamar Foster, Heather Raven, and Jeremy Webber, 61-84 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 61-84; Mary Haig-Brown, "Arthur Eugene O'Meara: Servant, Advocate, Seeker of Justice," in *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal relations in Colonial Canada*, ed. Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock, 258-96 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006); and E. Palmer Patterson II, "Arthur E. O'Meara, Friend of the Indians," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58, 3 (1967): 90-99.

⁴³ E. Brian Tittley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), 155.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

When O'Meara attempted to make a point about the relevance of Section 109 of the British North America Act to the Allied Tribes' claim, Stevens badgered him about the accuracy of his statements.⁴⁵ When asked to give the volume and page citation for a particular statement, O'Meara replied, "My quotation has been taken from the actual historical record that is in the Parliamentary library."⁴⁶ Stevens, for the umpteenth time, cried foul: "No. I cannot help but object, Mr. O'Meara, for what is a common practice of yours of taking a simple sentence and erecting upon it a claim for your clients, a claim which is so serious that it will affect every particle of land in British Columbia if your claim is sustained, and which is not sustained by the very document from which you presume to quote."⁴⁷ When O'Meara was ordered to run off and retrieve the precise volume from which he quoted to support his claims, Andrew Paull interjected:

May I be allowed to interrupt for a moment? There is a book that has been published many years ago, which contains all the dispatches in colonial days with the Imperial Government. All those dispatches are contained in that book and we have been trying all the time since I have been associated with this matter to get a copy of it. I have been to the Department, and Dr. Scott could not let me have it. I have been to the Library, and they have not got it there. I know that Commissioner Ditchburn has that book; and I would ask to have access to it.⁴⁸

After continued discussion about how Mr. O'Meara had gained access to the book in the first place, another member of the committee asked if a copy of the book was in the room, at which point Duncan Campbell Scott was obliged to answer: "I have no copy of this book, but this one for myself. I have no objection to allowing them to look at this book. I thought Mr. O'Meara was referring to something original from the Imperial Government."

In the meantime, O'Meara had returned empty-handed from the Parliamentary library. Commissioner Ditchburn and Duncan Campbell Scott had a copy of the book in question, yet, until asked specifically whether a copy existed in the room, they had remained silent about its presence. Ditchburn interjected, "I do not want that book to be put in

⁴⁵ The quotations under question are, in fact, statements made by Lord Lytton when he was the British secretary of state for the colonies in 1858. See Canada, Parliament, *Report and Evidence*, 219-31; Canada, Parliament, sjc (1946), *Minutes*, no. 9, 426.

⁴⁶ Canada, Parliament, *Report and Evidence*, 222.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 225-26.

and impounded. It is my personal copy and I do not know where to get another copy of it.”⁴⁹ Stevens, perhaps satisfied that his diversionary tactic had successfully disrupted the Allied Tribes’ counsel, then jumped in, asking Ditchburn to do what he had previously prevented O’Meara from doing: “Read the section into the record, then you will have it.” The committee chairman, who could have had the Ditchburn/Scott copy of the book put into evidence, instead ordered O’Meara to read the relevant section: “We want you to read what you are referring to now, Mr. O’Meara, into the record, because the book from which you are taking it belongs to the Indian Department, and they have only one copy of it, and they cannot let it go.” O’Meara then read the passage in question, which was exactly as he had read from his notes only moments before.⁵⁰ Thus, O’Meara, Paull, and representatives of the Allied Tribes were pettily denied access to documents that were important to their case.⁵¹

This was not the only occasion on which information was withheld from members of the Allied Tribes. In 1943, Paull complained of a similar situation in which information was intentionally withheld. In writing the band representative from Shuswap with regard to lands affected by the Douglas Treaties, 1850–54 (undertaken by James Douglas, chief factor of Fort Victoria and governor of the colony, on behalf of the Hudson’s Bay Company), Paull observed: “We cannot get the James Douglas survey that you wanted years ago. Lots of other Indians wanted it, but it seems the government was so ashamed, that they destroyed all the James Dougla [sic] survey maps, and in every case where an Indian had it, his house burnt, in the days gone by, so now we cannot find any record of

⁴⁹ Ibid., 226.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ The record of this discussion does not clearly state whether more than one copy of the book was present in the room (in my reading, there was just one copy, shared by Ditchburn and Scott); however, as Paul Tennant characterizes the incident: “White politicians and officials, in contrast, including Stevens, Scott, and Ditchburn, could routinely possess copies [of the book in question] and found it useful to carry with them for ready research.” See Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849–1989* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), 108. The book to which Paull and representatives of the Allied Indian Tribes were denied access is *Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question*, published by the Province of British Columbia in 1875. This volume is a compilation of documents providing an authoritative record of early First Nations land claims in British Columbia. Tennant notes that *Papers* was, in fact, not published on the initiative of the BC government but, rather, was compiled by members of the Opposition as part of a committee to examine all papers relating to the Indian land question in British Columbia (Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples*, 47–49). The volume, however, did not have a wide distribution and was not readily available to the public until 1987, when it was reprinted by the provincial archives. See British Columbia, *Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850–1875* (Victoria: Queen’s Printer, 1987 [1875]).

it.”⁵² Internal government documents relating to Aboriginal land claims in British Columbia, during Paull’s years of activity, often spoke of the benefits of withholding information from the Indians.⁵³

ANDREW PAULL: THE STATESMAN/SPORTSMAN

Paull biographer E. Palmer Patterson II notes that, in addition to his work as a political protester and Indian activist, Paull was also heavily involved with organizing sporting activities for young Aboriginal people in British Columbia. His interest in sport continued throughout his life, and, as Patterson notes, it also “contributed to his public image and his relations with the news media.”⁵⁴ Paull received as much attention, if not more, for his sporting interests and organizing as he did for his role as a statesman. He was a household name in Vancouver sporting circles in the 1930s. There was hardly a week during the lacrosse season that Paull was not quoted or mentioned in the *Vancouver Province*. The Squamish Braves were a popular and often winning team in the mid-1930s, and Andy Paull, sometimes coined “Chief Many-Words” or “Chiefie,” was a darling of the Vancouver sport writers. Paull was variously portrayed as wily, unpredictable, tricky, and always entertaining:

So Chief Many-Words, who was gifted with more than ordinary Indian education, who serves as an interpreter of justice for his fellow men, a sort of intermediary between red and white; organized his humbled [sic] braves into teams and sent them against the very race which had bound them with shackles of civilized stuffiness. Not with animosity, not with hostility did he send his brothers but more as a link of friendship and an attempt to prove the capable being of his men.⁵⁵

⁵² Letter from Paull to Mr. Ben Alexander, 11 March 1943, LAC, MG 30, C226, Paull Fonds. It may be that James Douglas’s survey maps were destroyed, as Paull states, perhaps on the orders of Joseph William Trutch (chief commissioner of lands and works for British Columbia in the 1860s); however, there is also a possibility that such documents were never created in the first place. As Hamar Foster outlines, using the opinions of Reserve Commissioner G.M. Sprout as evidence, Douglas was “negligent in the extreme” when it came to keeping records of reserve allotments. See Hamar Foster, “Letting Go the Bone: The Idea of Indian Title in British Columbia, 1849-1927,” *Essays in the History of Canadian Law: British Columbia and the Yukon*, ed. Hamar Foster and John McLaren (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1995) 45.

⁵³ See Edwin May, “The Nishga Land Claim, 1873-1973” (MA thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1979), 110.

⁵⁴ E. Palmer Patterson II, “Andrew Paull,” *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6, 2 (1976): 70.

⁵⁵ Hal Straight, “Wherein We Discuss History of Paull: Which Makes His Oust from Lacrosse Seem Unfair,” *Vancouver Province*, 10 February 1937. (Clipping supplied by the Sun-Province

Paull's sporting and public image was further enhanced by the columns he wrote on box lacrosse for the *Vancouver Province* (entitled "Andy Paull on Boxla" or "Boxla Banter by Andy Paull") in the early 1940s.

In his writing about Paull's life during the 1930s, Herbert Francis Dunlop describes Paull's sporting activities as "no place for a man of his talents."⁵⁶ However, in focusing the bulk of his energies on coaching and managing lacrosse, baseball, music, and sports writing, Paull was performing an important service for the Squamish. Paull's successes as a coach inspired a positive image of Indians in the eyes of the public at large, and his working association with the *Province* ensured that he was recognized by reporters when he gave up coaching for politics.⁵⁷

As a major figure in several sports, Paull was warmly portrayed as a colourful and likeable character. In December 1945, the *Vancouver News-Herald* went so far as to claim: "The Indian about whom the most fabulous tales are told among the redskin bands of Canada today is not Tecumseh, or even Pontiac. He is the wise-cracking, politically canny, Squamish tribesman named Andy Paull."⁵⁸ Paull even made the papers in eastern Canada when he visited Toronto or Ottawa, and this not merely for political reasons. He was often cited in *Globe and Mail* sportswriter Jim Coleman's column. In October 1943, Coleman said of Paull:

Toronto's most distinguished sporting visitor of the week was Chief Andrew X. Paull, business agent for the Squamish tribe of Indians on the Pacific Coast, who paused here briefly Wednesday night on his way to Ottawa where he plans to burn down the Federal Parliament Buildings. By now, Chief Paull and 100 other Indian braves, fully equipped with feathered headdresses and war paint, are encamped in the national capital. They are ki-yi-ing that Canada's Indians are conscripted arbitrarily for military service, despite the fact the Indians aren't permitted to vote. Chief Paull says that unless the Federal Government makes some compromise, the Indians will have no alternative but to raze the capital and scalp all Cabinet Ministers and Senators under the age of 87.

Infoline.)

⁵⁶ Dunlop, *Andy Paull*, 205.

⁵⁷ As his one-time journalist colleague, Bill Dunford, often remarked in his Talk of the Town columns during the 1950s, Paull was affectionately, if not patronizingly, known as "Chiefie" during his days as a fellow writer in the *Province's* sport department. See, for example, Bill Dunford, "Talk of the Town," *Vancouver Province*, 22 January 1954.

⁵⁸ "People Tell Me," *Vancouver News-Herald*, 31 December 1945.

The Chief is noted chiefly in the sporting world for his intimate connection with lacrosse. For many years he was manager of the Squamish Indian Lacrosse Club in Vancouver.⁵⁹

Coleman's colourful description of Paull's non-sports-related activities highlights the broad appeal of the statesman/sportsman. Coleman's short piece also highlights the humour that was one of Paull's trademarks. As Patterson notes, "Paull's own sense of humour and enjoyment of sports, and his contacts with the newspapers produced a generally happy relationship. He was sensitive to social conventions touching upon Indian-white relations and sometimes used humour as a way of commenting on the Indian condition in Canada."⁶⁰ Dunlop notes that Paull was "loved" by the feature writers in the big Vancouver dailies: "When things were dull on the sports horizon Andy often furnished good copy for a grateful scribe. Nearly every writer on the *Sun* or *Province* sooner or later took a bearing on Andy's past ... and offered it as fare for his reading public."⁶¹

Paull's sporting activities were not without controversy and a tinge of politics. Due largely to Paull's popularity and influence with Aboriginal peoples nationwide, he regularly recruited Aboriginal players from the lacrosse-rich and talented territory of the Six Nations in Ontario to play for the Squamish Braves. Due, no doubt, to the success of the Squamish Braves, in 1937 other BC lacrosse teams protested Paull's out-of-province recruiting to the Intercity Lacrosse Commission. The eligibility of two of Paull's recruits, "Beef" Smith and John Squires, both from Six Nations, was disputed because the two men were reported to have returned to Brantford during the season. Despite protest, Paull continued to play Smith and Squires in an unsuccessful attempt to get

⁵⁹ "By Jim Coleman," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 22 October 1943. The middle initial, "X," mentioned here in relation to Paull, presumably stood for "Xavier," a Jesuit-inspired name. The "ki-yi-ing" in Ottawa by Paull and other Native leaders to which Coleman refers in fact led to the eventual formation of the North American Indian Brotherhood. Paull, along with outspoken Aboriginal leaders John Tootoosis and Jules Sioui, formed the Brotherhood after meetings in Ottawa in October 1943 and June 1944. Coleman is correct in stating that the impetus for the Native convoy that marched on Ottawa was the conscription of Indian men during the Second World War. Wartime issues provided the catalyst for this particular Native political organization, but such grievances bespoke long-standing Aboriginal concerns. See R. Scott Sheffield and Hamar Foster, "Fighting the King's War: Harris Smallfence, Verbal Treaty Promises and the Conscription of Indian Men, 1944," *University of British Columbia Law Review* 33, 1 (1999): 53-74; and R. Scott Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the "Indian" and the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

⁶⁰ Patterson II, "Andrew Paull," 70.

⁶¹ Dunlop, *Andy Paull*, 189 (see also 191, 205).

into the 1937 playoffs.⁶² And, at the opening of the 1938 season, Paull's Braves included no fewer than ten players from the east, drawing further protest and criticism (including unrest from within the ranks of the team itself). Sporting politics aside, Paull regularly combined trips east with his (often winning) lacrosse team and political visits to Ottawa.⁶³

USING "THE WHITE MEN'S PEN FEARLESSLY
IN THE INTEREST OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS"

Paull used the written word to promote his political causes and to reach out to the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities of British Columbia. His writing in the sports pages of the *Vancouver Province* was read by a largely Euro-Canadian audience, but Paull was also the editor and publisher of two Aboriginal periodicals in British Columbia, the *Thunderbird* and the *Totem Speaks*. The *Thunderbird* ran from June 1949 to approximately 1955, and the *Totem Speaks* began in July 1953 and continued until 1957, when Paull suffered a heart attack.⁶⁴ Thereafter, Paull wrote for other papers and maintained his position at the *Vancouver Province* as an occasional columnist.

The *Thunderbird* was intended to provide "a compilation of news and commentary of special interest to North American Indians and their many friends":

The Thunderbird makes its bow today as a result of persistent requests by native Indians throughout Canada, that I publish a paper that would print news of interest regarding the many activities in the diversified lives of the Indians, and which would also publish legislation by the federal and provincial governments and the new policies formulated by the law makers.

⁶² See: "'Beef' on Boxla Carpet Tonight," *Vancouver Province*, 16 August 1937; Don Tyerman, "Burrards Protest Indians' Victory: Squires and 'Beef' under Fire Again," *Vancouver Province*, 18 August 1937; Don Tyerman, "Commission Likely to Step in as Redskin 'War' Continues," *Vancouver Province*, 5 May 1938; Don Tyerman, "All Ten Easterners Set to Perform with Paull," *Vancouver Province*, 6 May 1938.

⁶³ As Paull's own notes indicate in early 1933, "I was in Ottawa, last October, I went with our lacrosse team as manager, they returned from Winnipeg but I and another Squamish man Gus Band kept on going to Ottawa, so I am still in the fight." Letter from Paull to Mr. Ben Alexander, 1 February 1933, LAC, Paull Fonds.

⁶⁴ Surviving copies of the *Thunderbird* can be found in the Rare Books and Special Collections division of the University of British Columbia Library, the British Columbia Archives, and the Department of Indian Affairs Library. Copies of the *Totem Speaks* are held at LAC and the Glenbow Museum. See James P. Danky, ed., *Native American Periodicals and Newspapers, 1828-1982: Bibliography, Publishing Record, and Holdings*, comp. Maureen E. Hady (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), 414.

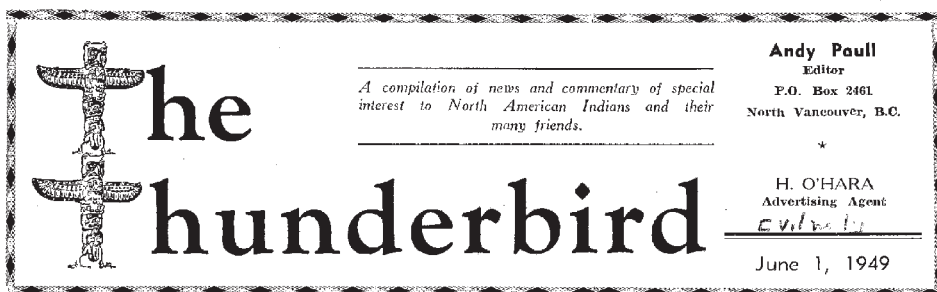


Figure 1. Masthead of the *Thunderbird*, compiled and edited by Andrew Paull (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Library, Periodicals).

I had repeatedly refused former offers to use my name on such a newspaper, unless I was in control of the editorial department [sic] and formulate the policies to be pursued. These important contingencies are now an actuality and *The Thunderbird* will lay aside the tomahawk, and use the white men's pen fearlessly in the interest of the North American Indians.⁶⁵

The well written *Thunderbird* included a broad range of advertising sponsorship, a crucial financial resource that its predecessors were never able to secure. Articles from the *Thunderbird* were regularly reprinted in the large Vancouver dailies and provide further proof of Paull's wide-ranging influence and media connections. Before his death in 1959, Paull was given the distinction of honorary membership in the Newspaper Writers' Old Timer's Club.⁶⁶

In July 1953, when the first issues of the *Totem Speaks* rolled off the presses, the *Vancouver Sun* and the *Vancouver Province* ran stories on Paull's new venture as managing editor, describing it as fulfilling Paull's "lifelong ambition to run his own publication about Indian affairs." Some three thousand copies of the first issue were printed and were "on their way to contacts throughout Canada and the US." Paull was described glowingly as "the only full-blooded Canadian Indian editing a publication in the interests of the native Indians."⁶⁷ The *Totem Speaks* was a monthly publication, containing "news, items and commentaries of interest to North American Indians and their friends."⁶⁸ Remarkably, Paull appears to have distributed the *Totem Speaks* free of charge.

⁶⁵ Andy Paull, "Editorial," *Thunderbird*, 1 June 1949.

⁶⁶ Dunlop, *Andy Paull*, 179.

⁶⁷ "Indian Chief Deep in Printers' Ink," *Vancouver Sun*, 30 July 1953.

⁶⁸ "Chief Takes Over as Boss: Andy Helps the Totem Speak," *Vancouver Province*, 30 July 1953.

His interest in founding it was motivated mainly by his desire to be managing editor of his own publication. With the *Totem Speaks* he had total editorial control, whereas with the *Thunderbird* he was merely an editor who seemingly had to reach compromises with other editors and financiers of the publication. As managing editor of the *Totem Speaks*, Paull characterized himself as “the only full blooded Canadian Indian editing a publication in the interests of the native Indians.”⁶⁹

Less than two months after the first issue of the *Totem Speaks*, both the *Sun* and the *Province* ran stories about it, noting that a small controversy had arisen as a result of an article in the first issue. Paull had claimed that Chief Capilano (Ki-ap-a-la-no) had led forty war canoes out to meet Captain Vancouver in Burrard Inlet in June 1792. However, Vancouver city archivist Major J.S. Matthews took issue with Paull’s version of history,⁷⁰ claiming that it would not have been possible for Capilano to have met Vancouver in 1792 because the former “wasn’t born until about eight years after Vancouver sailed in to the harbour.” Matthews, in a letter to the *Totem Speaks*, called Paull’s story “tommyrot” and said that “there [was] not a word of truth in it.” Paull responded in the next issue of the *Totem Speaks*, claiming that he stood by his story and that “he [knew] the facts because he [had been] among a chosen few selected to learn local Indian history for the purpose of handing it down to the next generation as his forefathers [had] before him.”⁷¹ According to the *Province*:

Andy, a descendant of a Squamish chief ... chosen as a child by the leaders to be trained and educated for such a job, has spent a lifetime fighting white lawyers, lacrosse commissioners and baseball umpires ... He goes on to tell how he was trained to be the recipient of tribal history, and how, the way he heard it, Chief Capilano saw the white men sailing into the harbour, called his warriors together and said: “You know this is the seventh generation and during every seventh generation something very good or very bad always happens. We must treat these new arrivals with kindness so that they may not bring us evil.”⁷²

⁶⁹ Andy Paull, “An Announcement,” *Totem Speaks*, July 1953, 1.

⁷⁰ Matthews was an author who was concerned with Aboriginal issues in his own right. See J.S. Matthews, *Conversations with Khahtsablano, 1932-1954: Conversations with August Jack Khahtsablano, Born at Snaug, False Creek Indian Reserve, circa 1877, Son of Khaytulk and Grandson of Chief Khahtsablano* (Vancouver: Vancouver City Archives, 1955).

⁷¹ “Archivist, Indian Split: 2 Historians Paddle Their Own Can-Who’s,” *Vancouver Sun*, 26 September 1953.

⁷² Bill Dunford, “Talk of the Town,” *Vancouver Province*, 25 September 1953.



Figure 2. Andrew Paull in Indian costume, featured in the July 1953 edition of the *Totem Speaks* (Library and Archives Canada, AMICUS No. 19939898).

Matthews claimed to have written evidence from two of Capilano's grandchildren to the contrary, but even the *Province* noted that, as Paull had pointed out, "the remains of Chief Capilano and his daughter ... are marked by a monument that says, in part ... 'Chief George Capilano who met Captain Cook in AD 1782 and was the first to meet, welcome and escort Captain Vancouver into Burrard Inlet on the 14th of June AD 1792.'" ⁷³ And Paull, as the managing editor of the *Totem Speaks*, would, of course, have the last word – a pleasure he undoubtedly often sought in his political activities: "With all due deference to Major Matthews, for who [sic] I have the greatest respect, I must unequivocally contradict him and state my article is historically correct." ⁷⁴

Two years later, in 1955, shortly after the completion of the Cleveland Dam and the creation of an artificial lake in the Capilano River Canyon, Paull wrote to the *Province* arguing that this new water body should be named in honour of Chief George Capilano, "who met and escorted

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Andy Paull, "Vancouver City Archivist Errs!" *Totem Speaks*, September 1953, 1. The dispute between Paull and Matthews may have been an artificial one in that Aboriginal names are often hereditary. The "Capilano" to whom Matthews was referring may have been a son or nephew of the "Capilano" to whom Paull was referring.

Captain George Vancouver into Burrard Inlet ..., because of [sic] his actions and his leadership made a great contribution, not only to Vancouver but to the British Commonwealth.” Paull went on to note that it was Chief Capilano who gave Stanley Park to the British and that it was his leadership that led to peace between the warring coastal tribes. Further, “Chief Capilano did all this and much more for the British without payment for his work ... The above was told to the writer by the chief’s daughter ... and many of the Indians now gone to their eternal rest, who knew the history of the Indians better than your Cheechako historians.”⁷⁵

CONCLUSION

Paull saw it as his duty to educate Euro-Canadians about the historical and contemporary reality of British Columbia’s and Canada’s Aboriginal peoples. Through political performance, letter writing, and writing for and editing his own newspapers, Paull had some success in reaching the masses. He was something of a celebrity in Vancouver, his image and words commonly in the pages of the major daily newspapers – so much so that some people worried he gave the impression that the Squamish were understood as the only “Indians of BC.” A letter to the editor in the *Province* in 1955 reflects this concern: “Sir: Without any desire to disparage Chief Andy Paull ... it should be said that his tribe (the Salish) [sic] is only one of many tribes in BC ... It is a pity that the people of BC should get the idea that Andy’s tribe in southern BC constitutes generically ‘the Indians of BC.’”⁷⁶ Perhaps more a complaint against the big Vancouver dailies for not giving more attention to other Aboriginal spokespersons and groups in British Columbia than a complaint against Paull directly, this letter also paid Paull a great compliment, noting: “Andy is right about the Cheechako historians who know nothing of the Indians of BC.”⁷⁷ This was a clear reference to Paull’s many battles, politically and in the papers, to have Aboriginal history, ideas, and rights recognised. Furthermore, this response is a clear indication of Paull’s successes as a spokesman. He was rarely ignored and never failed to capture the attentions of his desired audience.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ “Lake Memorial for Noted Chief?” [Letter to the Editor, signed by Andy Paull], *Vancouver Province*, 21 February 1955. The artificial lake, formed by the construction of the Cleveland Dam, was indeed eventually named Capilano Lake.

⁷⁶ “BC’s Indians” [Letter to the Editor, signed “Old Timer”], *Vancouver Province*, 2 March 1955.

⁷⁷ Note: “Cheechako” is Chinook Jargon, meaning “a newcomer or tenderfoot,” or alternatively, “acts like a white guy.”

⁷⁸ “BC’s Indians,” *Vancouver Province*, 2 March 1955.

Paull was known among his people as the “Quoitchequoi,” or snake-slayer, a name he was given as a young boy by the chiefs of his community. Paull’s friend and biographer, Herbert Francis Dunlop, observed that Paull’s weapon was not the arrows of the legendary figure whose name he bore; rather, it was the written word:

Andy’s weapon was the battered old typewriter. He hunched over it like a dracula [sic], especially in later years when his eye-sight was failing him. He hunched over it like a dracula [sic] and attacked it with two fingers. He hammered out the letters of the alphabet like a stream of machine gun bullets. He pounded his protests onto each page and weighted them down with ponderous verbiage. And when he had finished he would rip the page out of the typewriter as though he were actually tearing the perfidious heart from the bosom of some mischievous official hiding behind the barriers of red tape.⁷⁹

Both the *Thunderbird* and the *Totem Speaks* were venues within which Andrew Paull flailed at the government, discussed court cases, and informed the Aboriginal population of new developments in Indian policy. Indeed, the *Totem* did speak through Paull’s journalistic efforts.

Meanwhile, Paull’s regular appearances in the sport pages of the Vancouver dailies during the 1930s, and his own sports writing, served to highlight his abilities in that they appealed to the everyday British Columbians unconcerned with Aboriginal land claims or treaty rights. Paull’s sporting activities showcased him as a man of action and passion, regardless of the cause for which he was fighting – and much of his protest was expressed through writing and publishing. Paull was a prolific writer of letters, pamphlets, and newspaper columns, through which he (often successfully) sought to reach out to the Euro-Canadian governments and public at large and to influence positive change on behalf of the Squamish people and First Nations throughout Canada. And he did this without financial compensation for his writing, as is consistently highlighted in his regular pleas for financial support. As he wrote to Ben Alexander, band leader of the Nesconlith Reserve, Shuswap, British Columbia, in October 1946: “I have so much writing to do, and some travelling, and I would really appreciate financial assistance at this time from my friends in your district.”⁸⁰ A talented and charismatic individual, Paull might have used these skills to attain personal wealth; instead, his entire life, he worked tirelessly and often pennilessly to serve his people.

⁷⁹ Dunlop, *Andy Paull*, 174.

⁸⁰ Letter from Paull to Mr. Ben Alexander, 3 October 1946, LAC, Paull Fonds.

HOWARD CHARLES GREEN AND JAPANESE CANADIANS¹

DANIEL HEIDT

It's only natural that ... [they] should be worked up over the war and the proper place for every one of them is a detention camp.

—Howard Green

IN 2007, THE HOWARD GREEN BUILDING, located at 401 Burrard Street in Vancouver, was renamed for Douglas Jung (a former Conservative MP for the riding of Vancouver Centre and the first Chinese Canadian MP). Howard Charles Green (1895–1989), after whom the building was first named in 2006, was also a Conservative parliamentarian. He was an MP from 1935 to 1963, serving in the Opposition as well as in a variety of cabinet posts in the Diefenbaker government.² Public protests spawned by the initial naming decision focused on Green's discriminatory attitudes towards Japanese Canadians during and after the Second World War as well as on his support for evacuation, repatriation,³ and exclusionist immigration policies thereafter. All of

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge the financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and thank Drs. P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Robert Wardhaugh as well as the peer reviewers and editor of *BC Studies* for examining drafts of this article.

² Howard Green was a life-long public servant of Canada. Born in 1895 and raised in Kaslo, British Columbia, he served in the First World War, joining the 54th Kootenay Battalion and completing his wartime service at 6th Brigade in Second Division's headquarters as a staff learner. In 1935, he was elected to the federal Parliament as a Conservative for Vancouver-South and continued to represent his city and province until 1963, serving for decades in the federal Opposition and for almost six years in the Diefenbaker government. His roles in government included: house leader, acting prime minister, chairman of caucus, minister of public works, acting minister of defence production, and secretary of state for external affairs. It was for this unusually long and prestigious service to Canada that a naming committee selected Green's name for 401 Burrard Street.

³ For a discussion of the terms "evacuation" and "internment," see: Roy Miki, *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2004), 51ff; Patricia E. Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941–67* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2007), 15. It is because of its familiarity that the term "evacuation" is used in this article to describe the removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia's "security zone." Debate also continues regarding the term "repatriation." See Miki, *Redress*, 101ff. Though



The Douglas Jung building in Vancouver. Photograph by the author.

this led the minister for public works and government services Canada to change the name of the new eco-friendly building.

According to the protestors, Green “hated” Japanese Canadians. Grace Eiko Thomson, president of the National Association of Japanese Canadians, claimed that Green harboured a “hostile and relentless hatred of the Japanese Canadians.”⁴ Roy Miki stated similarly that, “from a Japanese Canadian point of view, he [Green] was one of the

“deportation” or “expatriation” are more accurate, “repatriation” is also used in this article because of its familiarity.

⁴ Ben Hamamoto, “Japanese Canadians Urge Removal of Racist Politician’s Name from Building,” *Nichi Bei Times Weekly*, 2 November 2006.

most feared politicians in Canada because he was pretty relentless in his hatred of Japanese Canadians.⁵ Other critics were even more explicit in describing Green's beliefs and actions as "exceptional."⁶

Historians have focused, with good reason, on the unjust suffering of Japanese Canadians during and after the Second World War, whether they were naturalized (Issei) or Canadian born (Nisei). The confiscation of fishing vessels, homes, and personal belongings; the inadequate accommodations to which internees were consigned; the low pay they received; the general reluctance of Canadians to accept evacuees into their communities; and other wrongs have been documented in considerable detail. The subsequent efforts to disperse or deport the evacuees have also received attention. As Stephanie Bangarth points out, the injustices Japanese Canadians suffered need to be recognized and fully understood so that they will never be repeated.⁷

However, focusing on the suffering of Japanese Canadians tends to homogenize the individuals who favoured discriminatory policies. Ken Adachi, in *The Enemy That Never Was*, lists pro-evacuation BC MPs but emphasizes quotations from the most outspoken supporters, such as Thomas Reid (Liberal – New Westminster) and Ian Mackenzie (Liberal – Vancouver Centre). His allegation that the vast majority of BC politicians harboured the same "single-minded extremism" lacks careful scrutiny.⁸ Despite considering Green "one of the most feared politicians in Canada because he was pretty relentless in his hatred of Japanese Canadians," Miki homogenizes BC MPs and does not mention Green by name in his book *Redress*.⁹

The propensity to label tends to limit a more thorough understanding of the situation. Howard Green held racist views. While little evidence of his childhood racial beliefs survives, he grew up in British Columbia where the desire to create a "white man's province" was "endemic."¹⁰

⁵ Lena Sin, "Japanese Canadians Want MP's Name Removed from Building," *The Province* (Vancouver), 25 October 2006.

⁶ Ben Hamamoto, "Vancouver Building Renaming Aborted after Outcry from Canadian Nikkei," *Nichi Bei Times Weekly*, 15 March 2007. For similar sentiment, see also Tim Reid, "Letter to the Editor," *Globe and Mail*, 1 November 2006.

⁷ Stephanie D. Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest: Defending Citizens of Japanese Ancestry in North America, 1942-49* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 194.

⁸ Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 202-5, 297.

⁹ Miki, *Redress*. Ann Sunahara similarly groups BC MPs and fails to mention Howard Green by name. Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1981), 11, 117.

¹⁰ Peter W. Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 167.

Green was taught to discriminate against individuals based on socially constructed stereotypes pertaining to both culture and appearance. His peacetime antipathy to Japanese Canadians in British Columbia, however, was soon eclipsed by security concerns. Beginning in the 1930s, Green, like most in British Columbia, feared that imperialistic powers such as Japan or Germany might strike at Canada. He also worried that immigrants from these countries might constitute a fifth column.¹¹ His conceptions of race and ethnicity thus led him to judge both white and non-white immigrants as potential security threats. After Japan's defeat in 1945, Green's concerns regarding BC security receded only gradually, and his more general aversion to Japanese Canadians remained. Green's consistent espousal of security concerns were genuine; and his views were more complex than his present-day critics allege.

Although progress was slow and incomplete, Green's beliefs did moderate. In 1959, he expressed regret about the repatriation of Japanese Canadians and indicated that he enjoyed working with the Japanese government on international disarmament. Describing Green's racism as "relentless" ignores these changes in his beliefs. The label "hater" also obscures the complexity of racial views.¹² In Parliament, Green was one of the speakers who most frequently discussed Japanese Canadians. Rather than counting the number of pages containing his comments in *Hansard* or in newspaper articles, it is more useful to understand what he actually said and why he said it. We should examine how and why intelligent and prominent politicians such as Green continued to cling to racist beliefs and what caused them to change.

¹¹ A "fifth column" is a group of locals who support invading forces.

¹² Throughout the debates described in this article, Green's diction was much milder than that of his exceptionally racist peers. Green generally used terms like "Japanese Canadians," "Japanese," or the "Japanese problem" in the House of Commons, only very occasionally using the term "Jap" (although in his personal letters he used the latter term less sparingly than he did in the House). Other MPs were far more derogatory. A.W. Neill famously commented: "Once a Jap always a Jap" (Canada, *House of Commons Debates* [hereafter *Commons Debates*], 25 February 1941, 1017). In what Angus MacInnis would later describe as a "flesh-creeping speech" Neill also referred to Japanese Canadians as "heathen" worshippers of a "heathen god," a "cancer," and further commented that "you cannot breed a white man in a brown or yellow hide" (*Commons Debates*, 30 June 1943, 4208-9, 4212). T.J. O'Neill asked: "How much longer are we going to pussyfoot with those yellow devils in the west [BC]?" (*Commons Debates*, 19 June 1942, 3480). And Thomas Reid opined: "I am just wondering how these foolish professors and unwise teachers really can believe in their own hearts that we have produced in this country a group of completely civilized human beings who are only one generation removed from savagery" (*Commons Debates*, 22 November 1945, 2416). Green's diction did not compare to that of these men.

1

Howard Green's security concerns were consistently apparent. In 1931, British Columbians took note when the world failed to act against the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Green's first campaign as a federal candidate in 1935 included anti-Japanese policies in its platform. In doing so, he joined candidates from both the Liberal and Conservative parties in British Columbia.¹³ He was particularly worried about defending Canada's Pacific coast. In 1936 and early 1937, Green expressed a desire for more anti-aircraft emplacements as well as mounted naval guns, without identifying any particular threat to justify defensive initiatives.¹⁴ At this stage his activism remained limited; he recognized that there was no imminent threat to Canadian security, but he was concerned nonetheless.

When Japan began its military campaign in China in 1937, Green grew "very much concerned about what might happen on the west coast."¹⁵ Japan was rapidly annexing territory in the western Pacific, and Green worried that these attacks would eventually include North America. The new tone and level of detail in Green's suggestions is worth noting. He urged the immediate construction of a strong Canadian navy and encouraged its presence on the Pacific coast. He advocated borrowing reserve ships from Britain until Canadian replacements could be constructed. The construction of highways to quickly move soldiers and material was also a concern.¹⁶ In addition, Green advocated joining a defensive alliance with Pacific Commonwealth countries as well as with the United States.¹⁷ He hoped that such measures would deter an external threat or, failing that, make a war more winnable. Although overall defence spending was increased, few in distant Ottawa took Green's suggestions seriously.¹⁸ Green's continuing demands during defence debates demonstrated his dissatisfaction with Canada's level of

¹³ Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-41* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 157.

¹⁴ *Commons Debates*, 28 May 1936, 3170-72; 22 February 1937, 1097-98, 1120-21.

¹⁵ Howard Charles Green interview by Dr. R.H. Roy, interview 221, 16 December 1971, George R. Pearkes Collection, file 8.5, University of Victoria Special Collections, Victoria, 2.

¹⁶ *Commons Debates*, 13 May 1938, 2872-73.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2875; 3 April 1939, 2555.

¹⁸ Howard to John (son), 15 May 1938, City of Vancouver Archives, Add. mss. 903 (hereafter Howard Green Fonds), 608-F-1, file 4, 6; James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada: Appeasement and Rearmament* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 2:146-53.

preparedness for a war in the Pacific.¹⁹ His concern regarding Japanese expansion was not unique.²⁰

At the beginning of 1938, Green entered the long-standing debate on Japanese immigration. In doing so he demonstrated that his anti-Japanese views were not limited to strategic concerns. When A.W. Neill led BC MPs in demanding a halt to further Japanese immigration in February of that year, Green was the first of many BC MPs to offer support. He, like others, noticed that Japanese immigrants tended to settle within their own ethnic communities, that Japanese workers concentrated in a few select industries such as fishing and lumber, and that Japanese children continued to attend Japanese-language schools after their English classes were complete. In short, Japanese Canadians resisted Canadian assimilation and were thus a “state within a state.”²¹ Given the alleged continuing high birth rate in Japanese Canadian families, he feared that further immigration would make “assimilation” impossible. Significantly, Green did not consider Japanese immigrants inferior to whites:

That nation [Japan] deserves the greatest credit for what it has done, for the way it has progressed. Probably no nation in the history of the world has done so well in so short a time. The Japanese race are merely different from our race; perhaps in some things they are not as good, in others are better. But our problem is simply the question of whether or not we can assimilate the race in this nation we are trying to build.²²

Green respected the Japanese “race”; however, like most Canadians at the time, he desired immigrants who “assimilated.” In the same debate, former prime minister R.B. Bennett (Conservative – Calgary West) went further than Green by drawing attention to the fifth column potential of Japanese Canadians.²³ Even Angus MacInnis (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation – Vancouver East), an advocate for Japanese Canadians and equal rights generally, was drawn into the racially charged debate: “Any measures adopted by the government to put an end to oriental immigration will have my support and approval.”²⁴ Liberal prime minister Mackenzie King also agreed with the arguments provided by Green

¹⁹ See, for example, *Commons Debates*, 16 May 1939, 4108; 14 March 1941, 1545.

²⁰ For more on this subject see Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 143; Adachi, *Enemy That Never Was*, 184–86.

²¹ *Commons Debates*, 17 February 1938, 557–59.

²² *Ibid.*, 559.

²³ *Ibid.*, 565. Green made this association a few months later in similar speeches (1 April, 1938, 1966–67; 13 May 1938, 2871).

²⁴ *Commons Debates*, 17 February 1938, 564.

and others, at one point suggesting that the distinction was a question of “civilizations rather than race” and that, as long as this difference persisted, “there is bound to be unrest.”²⁵ Instead of supporting Neill’s bill, however, King insisted that diplomatic obligations to the British Empire took precedence over the arguments put forward.²⁶ Indeed, as Bangarth points out, until 1944, “liberal” Canadians generally accepted and supported the expectation that non-whites would “assimilate” into surrounding cultures.²⁷ Again, though repugnant by today’s standards, Green’s comments were not exceptional for the time.

Given the recent controversy, it is ironic that, early in the war, Green most feared the fifth column potential of German and Italian Canadians who were suspected of supporting the Axis cause. He recognized that most German and Italian Canadians were loyal to Canada, and he hoped to allay fears regarding their allegiance by supporting a variety of policies. First, he advocated self-policing. German and Italian communities should work to ensure that no one in their community committed acts of sabotage or violence against the state.²⁸ Second, he advocated the creation of “naturalization textbooks” and clubs as well as a more elaborate naturalization ceremony. He hoped that these measures would intensify the loyalties of immigrants while decreasing suspicions of subversion.²⁹ Green had a simple solution for Axis sympathizers:

It is the duty of the government to detain – to detain, I repeat – every man or woman who is for the enemy or who aims to wreck our institutions. Once they are detained they are no menace. Leave them loose and you need all the way from ten to a hundred men to watch each one effectively ... Further, the people who are interned should be put to work.³⁰

Green also advocated deporting extreme sympathizers.³¹ He demanded that neither naturalization nor country of birth should shelter people from accusations of disloyalty. “Naturalization is no obstacle to a follower of Hitler,” he asserted. “It is an excellent cloak to hide his activities.”³² Green had been wary of German Canadians for some time. The quotation with which this article begins actually states: “It’s only natural that *the Kaslo*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 570.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 568.

²⁷ Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest*, 43, 76–77, 80.

²⁸ *Commons Debates*, 11 June 1940, 677.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 3 March 1941, 1184; 22 February 1943, 608–9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 11 June 1940, 676–77.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 6 August 1940, 2563–64. For the same sentiment, see 22 February 1943, 609.

³² *Ibid.*, 11 June 1940, 677.

Germans should be worked up over the war and the proper place for every one of them is a detention camp.”³³ According to Green’s father, some German Canadians in Kaslo had appeared to support Germany during the First World War.³⁴ Green believed that “Canadian volunteers overseas have the right to insist that their loved ones and the homeland shall be free from treachery.”³⁵ When trying to ensure Canadian security, Green used race and ethnicity to judge individuals of all descents, not just those of Japanese descent.

II

Unsurprisingly, Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbor, Hong Kong, and other Allied Pacific territories in December 1941 dramatically sharpened Green’s fears. He worried that

today or tomorrow Japanese invaders may be on Canada’s Pacific coast, in my own province of British Columbia, tying up Canadian prisoners of war and bayoneting them to death, and raping and murdering our women as they did in Hong Kong. The province of British Columbia should be treated as a war front, just as Great Britain is treated as a war front.³⁶

Every new Japanese victory, from the fall of Singapore to combat in the Aleutian Islands, heightened the BC fear that the province would be next.³⁷ Green noted Japan’s repeated radio announcements threatening a major attack on North America, and he feared that the west coast’s defences were insufficient to do more than allow a “strategic retreat” to the Rockies.³⁸ While this would ensure the defence of the rest of Canada, such action would leave “the people on the coast to their fate.”³⁹ The Vancouver MP was “glad” to have experienced the air raid drills and believed the gravity of the situation would heighten pressure on Ottawa to pay

³³ Emphasis mine. Howard to Dad, 3 January 1915, Howard Green Fonds, 608-R-4, file 4, 1.

³⁴ Dad to Howard, 16 December 1914, Howard Green Fonds, 608-F-3, file 6, 1-2.

³⁵ *Commons Debates*, 11 June 1940, 678.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 23 March 1942, 1559-60.

³⁷ For Pearl Harbor, see *Commons Debates*, 29 January 1942, 152. For the fall of Singapore, see Howard to Folks (parents), 15 February 1942, Howard Green Fonds, 593-E-4, file 5, 1. For the Battle of Coral Sea, see Howard to Folks, 8 May 1942, Howard Green Fonds, 608-F-2, file 1, 4. For Aleutian Islands, see *Commons Debates*, 19 June 1942, 3483-84. Yet again, Green’s fears were far from unique. See Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 156-57.

³⁸ For instance, in an article minimizing an announcement from Tokyo that an attack was “within the realm of possibility,” Green highlighted the threat rather than the Allied response. See “Tokyo Predicts Invasion of US,” *Vancouver Sun*, 9 January 1942, Green family collection.

³⁹ *Commons Debates*, 29 January 1942, 185.

more attention to the Pacific war.⁴⁰ Green believed the threat of Japanese bombing, raids, or even invasion to be imminent, and he heightened his efforts to secure stronger defences on the Pacific coast.⁴¹

Howard Green's advocacy of defensive measures was so adamant that the minister of defence, J.L. Ralston, met with him for over an hour to discuss Pacific defences. Afterwards, Ralston offered to arrange for Green to speak with Canada's chief of staff, Lieutenant General Kenneth Stuart. As a result of these meetings, additional troops were stationed on the west coast. Green was sufficiently appreciative to write to others about the event as well as to recall it in considerable detail in 1950, 1971, and again in 1980.⁴² His concern for the security of the coast was sincere, and, if working behind the scenes promised greater success, then that was the approach he pursued. In voicing these concerns, Green was expressing the views of the majority of British Columbians and certainly the vast majority of those residing along the coast.⁴³

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Green joined the chorus of BC MPs demanding the evacuation of Japanese Canadians from the coast because he believed that many were Axis sympathisers.⁴⁴ Rumours that Japanese Hawaiians had assisted in the attack on Pearl Harbor were rampant, stories of Japanese atrocities in Asia were widespread, and fears of their repetition in British Columbia abounded.⁴⁵ Although he agreed that some Japanese Canadians were loyal to Canada, Green feared that most were not. He equated government passivity with negligence:

On the Pacific coast no one knew whether or when Japan might attack; no one knew what the Japanese living there would do in the event of attack, and no one knew which Japanese could be trusted and which could not. So it was only natural that in Canada, as in the United

⁴⁰ Howard to Folks, 15 December 1941, Howard Green Fonds, 593-E-4, file 4, 2-3.

⁴¹ See, for example, *Commons Debates*, 23 March 1942, 1560-61.

⁴² Howard to John, 10 February 1942, Howard Green Fonds, 608-F-3, file 3, 2-3; Howard to Folks, 15 February 1942, Howard Green Fonds, 593-E-4, file 5, 2; *Commons Debates*, 9 June 1950, 3147-48; Howard to A.J. Cowan, 11 February 1942, Green family collection; Howard Charles Green interview by Dr. R.H. Roy, 16 December 1971, George R. Pearkes Collection, file 8.5, University of Victoria Special Collections, 2-3; Howard C. Green interview by J. Edwin Eades, 21-22 October 1980, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC) MG 32, B-13, vol. 13, file 4, 58-59.

⁴³ Roy, *Triumph of Citizenship*, 19-24, 46-50.

⁴⁴ *Commons Debates*, 29 January 1942, 156-57.

⁴⁵ J.L. Granatstein and Gregory A. Johnson, "The Evacuation of the Japanese Canadians, 1942: A Realist Critique of the Received Version," in *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity, and the Canadian State, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988), 109, 116; Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 156-57. The rumours regarding Hawaii were inaccurate. See Adachi, *Enemy That Never Was*, 204-6.

States, there was insistence that all Japanese be moved away from the Pacific coast. It was not a matter of persecution; it was a matter perhaps of life and death for the Canadian people.⁴⁶

Fear motivated Green to advocate the evacuation. Though ill-informed and racially based, Green's approach was logical:

There has been treachery elsewhere from Japanese in this war, and we have no reason to hope that there will be none in British Columbia. If we were in a similar position, if it were Canadians in Japan, we might feel much the same; we would be only too willing to assist British troops should they attempt to land on the Japanese coast. The only complete protection we can have from this danger is to remove the Japanese population from the province.⁴⁷

These views were not unique. Bangarth and others have noted the considerable support across Canada for the evacuation of Japanese Canadians.⁴⁸ While some writers claim that BC politicians intentionally raised and exaggerated fears of a fifth column to permanently remove Japanese Canadians from the coast, Patricia Roy aptly describes Green as "genuinely frightened."⁴⁹

Roy is less sympathetic towards Green's actions later in the war. Ironically, one of the BC towns that received Japanese Canadian evacuees was Green's hometown of Kaslo, which he visited annually and where his parents still resided. Roy quotes a letter from Green that states: "if you ever get them [Japanese Canadians] into Kaslo you will never get them out for I believe the families will go [to Kaslo] too."⁵⁰ He went on, however: "Strictly speaking they [Japanese Canadians] should all be moved out of the Province because some day we are going to be right in the battle front there."⁵¹ In the remainder of the letter he continued to describe Japanese Canadians as a threat. Green's assessment of Japan's ability to project military force at Kaslo was incorrect, but his views reflected the paranoia and fears of many in 1942. Green did not want the Japanese Canadians in his hometown, and fear continued to be his primary motivation for opposing their evacuation to Kaslo.

⁴⁶ *Commons Debates*, 30 June 1943, 4203.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 29 January 1942, 156.

⁴⁸ Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest*, 34; Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 148-55.

⁴⁹ Roy, *Triumph of Citizenship*, 33-36, 66; Escott Reid, *Radical Mandarin: The Memoirs of Escott Reid* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 163; Adachi, *Enemy That Never Was*, 202-4, 208-9; Miki, *Redress*, 49-50.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 106-8; Howard to Folks, 22 March 1942, Howard Green Fonds, 593-E-4, file 5, 3.

⁵¹ Howard to Folks, 22 March 1942, Howard Green Fonds, 593-E-4, file 4, 6-7.

Green's attitudes towards individuals associated with belligerent countries were complex and, at times, contradictory. For example, Green never advocated the wholesale internment or evacuation of German or Italian Canadians. He understood that most were loyal to Canada. But he did not believe Canada could safely allow Japanese Canadians the same opportunities to prove their loyalty or to enjoy the same rights as did Canadians from other belligerent states.⁵² He feared that the threat posed by Japanese Canadians was fundamentally different from that posed by German or Italian Canadians because he believed they were less "assimilated" and, therefore, still loyal to Japan.

III

With the Allied victories at Coral Sea and Midway in 1942 and 1943, respectively, debates in the House of Commons moved to planning postwar policies for Japanese Canadians. The proposals varied dramatically. Many extremists advocated the total repatriation of all Japanese Canadians, whether foreign or Canadian born. A.W. Neill had advocated repatriating all Japanese Canadians to Japan as early as June 1942.⁵³ George Cruickshank (Liberal – Fraser Valley) did not want Japanese Canadians to return to British Columbia and therefore also asked for wholesale deportation.⁵⁴ Although he was not a vocal supporter, Angus MacInnis advocated dispersal, but he was unequivocally opposed to repatriation. He assumed that British Columbia would also "take its share" of Japanese Canadians once the war ended.⁵⁵ MacInnis was against repatriation because "it would not be repatriation in the proper sense; it would be the deportation or exile for these people [Japanese Canadians]."⁵⁶

Grace Eiko Thomson claims that "Mr. Green sought deportation of all Japanese, regardless of citizenship, as the 'ideal' solution."⁵⁷

⁵² Howard Green did suggest that Japanese Canadians sign up for construction work in order to prove their loyalty, but this was a far more limited and less desirable option than were those he was willing to give German or Italian Canadians. See *Commons Debates*, 29 July 1942, 4937.

⁵³ *Commons Debates*, 19 June 1942, 3487. See also *Commons Debates*, 4 August 1944, 5943-44, where Neill provides some rationale for his stance.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 August 1944, 5947.

⁵⁵ Angus MacInnis and Howard Green, MPs, "Should We Send the Japs Back?" *Maclean's*, 1 December 1943, 12, 34-38; *Commons Debates*, 30 June 1943, 4215-16.

⁵⁶ *Commons Debates*, 30 June 1943, 4215. It also bears mentioning that the ccf's MPs initially disagreed regarding the repatriation question. Not all supported MacInnis's egalitarianism. See Roy, *Triumph of Citizenship*, 121, 143-44.

⁵⁷ Grace Eiko Thomson, "Naming of Federal Building," *Pan Asian Canadian*, 30 October 2006, <http://freewebs.com/panasian2/campaigns.htm> (viewed 25 February 2009). This statement

This assertion is incorrect. Green advocated a two-part program that, although drastic, racially based, and repugnant by modern standards, was less extreme than were policies advocated by many MPs. If the other provinces could be persuaded to accept more Japanese Canadians (which, at the time, seemed unlikely), Green favoured the dispersal of all Japanese Canadians deemed loyal to Canada in order to prevent their re-integrating into Japanese Canadian communities. If Japanese Canadians were spread across the country, he believed that they would embrace their surroundings and more fully abandon their Japanese culture (which Green equated with nationalist sympathies if not outright allegiance). He also asked that the current immigration ban be continued after the war. Green expected that the supposed split allegiance of Japanese Canadians would subsequently evaporate.⁵⁸ He was aware of obstacles to a successful dispersion policy, however, and, in 1944, noted:

The Prime Minister said the government proposed to encourage the movement of Japanese to other parts of Canada ... Under the present law Japanese in eastern Canada cannot acquire land. They cannot buy a business. They cannot set themselves up in business and yet many of them are merchants. Unless some provision is made to allow them to resettle on a permanent basis, the Prime Minister will be disappointed in his attempt to spread them across Canada.⁵⁹

Green recognized that dispersal was only viable if Canada provided Japanese Canadians with the basic opportunities required to rebuild their lives. He was against the geographic concentration of Japanese Canadians.

Repatriation was also part of Green's platform. He was particularly wary of Japanese Canadians who did not move east of the Rocky Mountains or who signed the government's repatriation survey. In his assessment, those who refused to disperse planned either to return to Japan or to settle on Canada's Pacific coast.⁶⁰ In Green's eyes, Japanese Canadians who requested passage to Japan had renounced their British nationality (10,632 in all, although 4,720 later asked that their request

is paraphrased from Adachi, *Enemy That Never Was*, 297.

⁵⁸ *Commons Debates*, 30 June 1943, 4200-4206; 4 August 1944, 5925; MacInnis and Green, "Should We Send the Japs Back?" 35.

⁵⁹ *Commons Debates*, 4 August 1944, 5925. In subsequent years Green also asked that Japanese Canadians receive "adequate, in fact generous" compensation "as quickly as possible" for financial losses resulting from the undervalued sale of their properties. See *Commons Debates*, 22 April 1947, 2319.

⁶⁰ *Commons Debates*, 4 August 1944, 5925; MacInnis and Green, "Should We Send the Japs Back?" 35.

be cancelled).⁶¹ Subsequent research has shown that a large number of Japanese Canadians signed the government survey for reasons unrelated to allegiance: some no longer trusted the federal government because it had sold their property well below its 1942 value; others hoped that requesting repatriation would allow them to stay in British Columbia rather than be dispersed; pressure and financial incentives (such as paid passage) from the federal government provided additional incentives.⁶² Green was aware of some of these grievances, but, as a proud British subject, he still found the renunciation of British status (or, in the case of naturalized Japanese Canadians, an interest in returning to Japan) unacceptable as well as threatening; therefore, he advocated the repatriation of Japanese Canadians whose loyalty was considered suspect.⁶³

The Canadian government's initial Japanese Canadian policy was markedly similar to Green's. Prime Minister King argued that a small number of Japanese Canadians were disloyal; however, he went on to say:

It has not ... at any stage of the war been shown that the presence of a few thousand persons of Japanese race who have been guilty of no act of sabotage and who have manifested no disloyalty, even during periods of utmost trial, constitutes a menace to a nation of almost twelve million people.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, King agreed that allowing Japanese Canadians to return to British Columbia would be "unwise." Those who had demonstrated disloyalty (including those requesting repatriation) would be transported to Japan. "With cooperation on the part of the other provinces," in order to prevent renewed distrust, the remaining majority would be encouraged to resettle "more or less evenly throughout Canada" rather than in a concentrated area. In addition, Japanese immigration was halted for the years immediately following the war.⁶⁵ King's motivations differed from those of Green. King's primary concern was domestic politics, while Green, although wanting an "assimilated" provincial populace, continued to justify his support of dispersal and repatriation due to his security concerns. Both Green's peacetime and wartime concerns stemmed from racism, but the complexity of his views led him to advocate a more limited repatriation policy than did many of his peers.

⁶¹ Adachi, *Enemy That Never Was*, 303.

⁶² Miki, *Redress*, 101-3, 257-58; Adachi, *Enemy That Never Was*, 302.

⁶³ *Commons Debates*, 30 June 1943, 4205.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 August 1944, 5916.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 5915-17.

IV

Historians stress how the advent of the United Nations and the notion of universal rights led many Canadians to discard traditional racist beliefs in the years following the Second World War.⁶⁶ They also note, however, the continuation of racism among a significant portion of the population of British Columbia.⁶⁷ According to Ken Adachi:

While anti-Japanese hostility east of the Rockies generally abated after the end of the war, political and public pressure from British Columbia remained a constant – and was the chief reason for restrictions [prohibiting the return of Japanese Canadians to the “security zone”] being held over until March 31, 1949.⁶⁸

Green did not immediately follow the progressive trend and, for several years, remained firmly committed to his past convictions. For example, during the 1945 federal election, Green campaigned against allowing Japanese Canadians to return to British Columbia and urged that they not be empowered with the franchise.⁶⁹ In an oft-quoted comment made after the election, Green asked that Japanese Canadians not be allowed to return to the Pacific fisheries because racial tensions would revive and result in “bloodshed.”⁷⁰

More generally, Green continued to perceive persons of Japanese descent as a security threat. He described all Japanese as “emperor-worshippers,” and while he agreed that some Japanese Canadians were undoubtedly loyal to Canada, he asked: “how can we expect the vast majority of them to be loyal Canadians first?”⁷¹ He therefore continued to ask for the dispersal of those who were willing and deemed loyal, while continuing to request that the remainder be repatriated.⁷² A variety of BC MPs including George Parkes (Progressive Conservative

⁶⁶ Mary Taylor, *A Black Mark: The Japanese Canadians in World War II* (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 2004), 181; Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest*, 180.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Patricia E. Roy, “Reopening the Door: Japanese Remigration and Immigration, 1945-68,” in *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, ed. G. Donaghy and P. Roy (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 159; Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest*, 112, 188.

⁶⁸ Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was*, 336.

⁶⁹ “Green Urges Ouster of Japs, Housing for War Veterans,” *Vancouver Daily Province*, 17 May 1945, 16.

⁷⁰ *Commons Debates*, 5 April 1946, 619. In a letter to his wife, Green explained that he used the word “purposely because I believe that is what there will be.” He was not fear-mongering. Howard to Marion, Spring 1946, Howard Green Fonds, 608-F-2, file 2, 5. Roy, *Triumph of Citizenship*, 204-5.

⁷¹ *Commons Debates*, 22 November 1945, 2417.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 2416-22.

– Nanaimo), Davie Fulton (Progressive Conservative – Kamloops), and James Sinclair (Liberal – Vancouver North), made similar requests.⁷³ In the end, nearly four thousand Japanese Canadians were deported to Japan before increasing public opposition caused the King government to cease the practice.⁷⁴

Green also asked that Japanese Canadians who had been in Japan when war was declared and who had served in the Japanese military be prevented from immigrating to Canada.⁷⁵ Not differentiating between volunteers and conscripts (towards whom Green might have been expected to be more sympathetic), he repeatedly asked that they be stripped of their British citizenship and that new Canadian citizenship regulations not create a loophole for their re-entry into Canada. Paul Martin Sr. (Liberal – Essex East), secretary of state, agreed with Green's belief that individuals who had served in the Japanese military were undeserving of Canadian citizenship. However, Martin insisted that the Canadian government, like the governments of other countries, would only revoke the citizenship of an individual if that person acquired an alternative nationality.⁷⁶

Why did Green continue to fear Japanese Canadians after Japan had been defeated and his security concerns should have abated? During his service in the First World War, Green witnessed the defeated German armies, and his letters gushed with youthful pride.⁷⁷ Two decades later, Germany rebuilt, and Canadian blood was again spilled, this time in the Second World War. Japan's defeat and unconditional surrender, therefore, did not preclude its reascension. Still believing that the majority of Japanese Canadians would undertake fifth column activities if requested, Green thought that allowing them to return to British Columbia would be foolish.⁷⁸ If Japanese Canadians were allowed to return to the province, they would be "again in contact with Japanese merchant ships, going back and forth to Japan, again under domination to the Japanese consul, still worshipping the Japanese emperor and still a menace."⁷⁹ On another occasion he warned:

I do not think Canadians in other parts of the country have the right to expect Canadians on the Pacific coast to face the possibility of such

⁷³ Roy, *Triumph of Citizenship*, 204-5.

⁷⁴ Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest*, 180.

⁷⁵ Roy, *Triumph of Citizenship*, 247-49.

⁷⁶ *Commons Debates*, 2 May 1946, 1150-52; 3 May 1946, 1181-82.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Howard to Sister, 9 December 1918, Howard Green Fonds, 593-E-2, file 11.

⁷⁸ John Green, interview by author, 15 December 2007.

⁷⁹ *Commons Debates*, 5 April 1946, 618.

happenings [i.e., a Japanese Canadian fifth column] ten years from now or even a hundred years from now. We were nearly caught once; let us not get into a position where we can be caught again.⁸⁰

Patricia Roy describes Green's continued emphasis on security themes as "odd given the country's [i.e., Japan's] thorough defeat."⁸¹ His concerns were steeped in racial ideals, but they were also based on experience. As it turned out, Japan did reascend, but as a Western ally. It took Green longer than most to understand that there would be no future war with Japan.

As years passed Green slowly accepted that Japan was a Western ally, and his security concerns diminished. In June 1952, he delivered his last statement on Japanese Canadians, and it was clear that his racism persisted. He demonstrated extremely modest progress during a debate regarding the Japanese peace treaty that would end Japanese "enemy-alien" status and thus remove a hurdle to their immigration. For instance, he acknowledged that "a fresh page is turned now, and we are welcoming Japan back into the brotherhood of nations." He also recognized the contributions Japanese Canadians, now dispersed across the country, were making to Canadian society. But he remained staunchly opposed to "substantial" Japanese immigration because he claimed it would reinvigorate racial tensions.⁸² Other MPs did not participate in the discussion because they did not share Green's convictions. Green's specific concerns were therefore "exceptional." However, the government's reply to Green's comments, made by Lester B. Pearson (then secretary of state for external affairs), provides important context: "There is no desire on the part of the [Canadian] government ... to ease in any way the possibility of Japanese emigration to Canada; to make it any easier in the future for them to get here than it has been in the past – and it has not been very easy in the past."⁸³ By this time, statements such as Green's were increasingly rare in the House of Commons. That said, government immigration policy remained "racist" for more than a decade.⁸⁴ The difference between requesting a policy and maintaining one that already exists is important, but the similar policies espoused by both parties is noteworthy. Canada continued to be a country in which racially discriminatory immigration policy was the norm.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 22 April 1947, 2322.

⁸¹ Roy, *Triumph of Citizenship*, 212.

⁸² *Commons Debates*, 16 June 1952, 3300–3301.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 3302.

⁸⁴ Roy, *Triumph of Citizenship*, 250–62.

V

Howard Green remained a prominent member of the Opposition until 1957, when he became minister of public works (among other portfolios) in the Diefenbaker government. On 4 June 1959, he was appointed secretary of state for external affairs. Between 1952 and 1959, Green's racial beliefs moderated but by no means disappeared. Almost exactly a month after his appointment, he signed his first international agreement: a pact with Japan for cooperation in the peaceful use of atomic energy. Although an ironic coincidence, it set the tone for Green's subsequent relationship with Japanese dignitaries. Under his supervision, Canada worked with Japan in the continuing disarmament negotiations in Geneva as well as in the United Nations General Assembly, and Green frequently referred to Japan as one of Canada's "best friends." He later commented: "I cannot remember one issue upon which they [Japan] took an active part against us and on many the two nations stood together ... [they] were always particularly strong in their support of resolutions dealing with the need for disarmament negotiations and the dangers of radiation and nuclear testing."⁸⁵ An example of this cooperation was a United Nations General Assembly resolution, co-sponsored by Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Iran, Japan, Norway, Pakistan, and Sweden, petitioning the USSR to abandon plans for a fifty-megaton thermo-nuclear test.⁸⁶ Although the Soviets later detonated the device, the mutual attempt to rally world opinion was significant.⁸⁷

As secretary of state for external affairs, Green also met with foreign dignitaries. In letters to his mother describing two visits by members of the Japanese government (one including the Japanese prime minister), Green described his visitors as "very intelligent" and "very friendly." More specially, he commented that the Japanese foreign minister, Zentaro Kosaka, had a "very good sense of humor [sic]."⁸⁸ Of course, Canada's good relations with Japan owed much more to international context and the passing of time than it did to Green's initiative, and his position required that he be cordial in public. Green's private expressions

⁸⁵ Howard to Mother, 24 January 1960, Howard Green Fonds, 593-E-5, file 7, 5; Howard Green, "Speech – International Affairs Night at the Annual Meeting of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada," 26 February 1960, LAC, MG 32, B-13, vol. 12, file 19, 23-24; Howard Green, "Staunch Friend," 9 January 1964, *Victoria Colonist*.

⁸⁶ "Continuation of Nuclear and Thermo-Nuclear Tests and Obligations of States to Refrain from Their Renewal," UNGA Res. 1632 (xvi), UN Doc. A/C.1/L.288, 27 October 1961.

⁸⁷ Office of Public Information. *The United Nations and Disarmament: 1945-1965* (New York: United Nations Publication, 1967), 162.

⁸⁸ Howard to Mother, 24 January 1960, Howard Green Fonds, 593-E-5, file 7, 2-3; Howard to Mother, 18 September 1960, Howard Green Fonds, 593-E-5, file 8, 2.



Howard Green (right) greeting Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi (left) in June 1960. Newspaper unknown, Howard Green Fonds, 605-D-4 File 8.

of enjoyment, however, indicate his sincerity, and it is difficult to envision him expressing such satisfaction ten years earlier.

In 2006, Grace Eiko Thomson asked: “why did Mr. Green not, in his long life, reconsider his past and offer an apology?”⁸⁹ Historians frequently quote a 1967 interview, in which Green defended the “internment” of Japanese Canadians as “a matter of life and death,” to demonstrate the continuation of Green’s racist beliefs.⁹⁰ However, in a 1959 interview, although Green defended the evacuation he regretted having advocated repatriation because, “since then, the Canadian-Japanese people have done extremely well; they are making a splendid contribution [to Canadian society].”⁹¹ Green’s beliefs moderated with time; he was not a “relentless hater” of Japanese Canadians.

That said, it must be recognized that Green’s more enlightened attitude towards Japanese people did not dispel his concerns about Japanese immigration to Canada. In 1961, a Japanese person could only

⁸⁹ Grace Eiko Thomson, “Naming of Federal Building,” *Pan Asian Canadian*, 30 October 2006, <http://www.freewebs.com/panasian2/campaigns.htm> (viewed 25 February 2009).

⁹⁰ “WW II Anti-JC Politician Green Reaffirms JC Evacuation Decision,” *New Canadian*, 7 October 1967.

⁹¹ A.C. Forrest, “Has Howard Green Got It?” *United Church Observer*, 1 December 1959, 10.

immigrate to Canada if she or he were the spouse or a child (under the age of eighteen) of a Canadian resident. Even individuals who satisfied these requirements were admitted on a case-by-case basis. The Japanese government asked Ottawa to allow a few hundred Japanese workers and their families temporary entry as trainers and managers at Japanese financial ventures located in Canada. As secretary of state for external affairs, Green opposed approving this limited request because “it would [have] restrict[ed] the Government’s freedom of action in this situation.”⁹² Green continued to fear a “flood” of Japanese immigrants and, therefore, avoided any measures that would “open the door.” By the end of the year he was overruled, and Ottawa approved the entry of up to 150 Japanese employees and their families for up to three years at a time. Yet, some in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration continued to be wary of Asian immigration, and it was not until the advent of the 1967 points system that ethnic discrimination was, “at least in theory,” removed from Canadian immigration policy.⁹³ The number of individuals desiring similar policies to Green was dwindling, but he was not alone. Moreover, his beliefs were contradictory. He valued the existing Japanese Canadian population while continuing to oppose its increase through immigration. Green’s progress was modest, but it should not be dismissed.⁹⁴

VI

Both the evacuation and the repatriation of Japanese Canadians, along with immigration limitations, were morally reprehensible; but analysts must venture beyond this conclusion in order to properly understand the attitudes behind these actions. There is no question that Green judged individuals based on racial stereotypes. However, “relentless hatred” does not accurately describe his beliefs. Green’s position reflected attitudes common in British Columbia during much of his life. That his concerns also applied to immigrants from other belligerent countries demonstrates a certain consistency. The fact that he judged Japanese Canadians as a group rather than as individuals should not obscure either his earnestness or the fact that he did not advocate total repatriation. While he did not completely overcome his prejudice against the

⁹² Director of Immigration to Deputy Minister, “Japanese Non-Immigrants,” 21 March 1961, LAC, RG 26, vol. 128, file 3-33-19, pt. 2, 1; Roy, “Reopening the Door,” 159.

⁹³ Roy, *Triumph of Citizenship*, 262.

⁹⁴ It should be noted that Howard Green’s children and grandchildren insist that he never imparted such feelings regarding Japanese Canadians during his later years.

Japanese, Green's beliefs did moderate and he eventually repented having advocated repatriation. The extent of Green's concerns was increasingly exceptional after the Second World War, yet Canadian governments hesitated to remove immigration barriers until 1967. The unwillingness of Green's critics to understand the complex nature of his racism has led them to misrepresent both its extent and its nature.

Should Green's conduct regarding Japanese Canadians have led to the public shaming caused by the erasure of his name from the building at 401 Burrard Street? Historians argue that individuals need to be judged within the context of their time. Today, race is understood as a social construct and as an unjust motivator for action. This was not always so. Green's critics focus on his actions prior to 1946, when, by today's standards, his beliefs were indeed most reprehensible. Yet, this was also the period when they were the most widely accepted. Today, those familiar with 401 Burrard's initial name are unlikely to be aware of the complexities of Green's views, how they compared to those of others, or how they moderated with the passage of time; rather, they will simply remember him as a racist.