

# Anglican Missions to the Japanese in Canada

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[26] The Reverend Timothy M. Nakayama, the author of this paper, is a graduate of the University of British Columbia and of the Anglican Theological College, Vancouver. Born in Canada, he is a Japanese Canadian who has been intimately involved in the life and work of his people and, in himself represents a meeting of oriental and occidental minds. For the first ten years of his ministry he worked in Caucasian parishes and missions in the Diocese of Calgary and has recently become Vicar of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, (predominantly Japanese), Seattle, Washington, (Diocese of Olympia).

This paper follows one entitled "Canada's Contribution to the Building of the Nippon Seikokai, 1873-1900," by Cyril H. Powles, in Vol. VII, No. 2, of the JOURNAL, June, 1965.

**J**APANESE IMMIGRATION TO Canada began in the late nineteenth century and early 1900s. By 1907 large numbers of Japanese were arriving in British Columbia and attempts were being made to exclude them.<sup>1</sup> As they arrived they made their way into the sawmills and to a lesser degree into other occupations.

The first efforts in Christian evangelization were undertaken by the Japanese themselves; some of them had been converted through the work of missionaries in Japan. They had carried the light of the Gospel to their own people and in their ethnic communities they organized themselves into "Christian Endeavours" or Kyorei Kai. The long and steadfast loyalty and devotion to Emperor and nation was transformed into an equally firm commitment to faith in Jesus Christ. Many suffered for their faith with a martyr spirit and like St. Paul they even gloried in their sufferings.<sup>2</sup>

Matsutaro Okamoto, described as "The Apostle to the Japanese in British Columbia," was sent to the region in 1892 by the Japanese Christian Endeavour Society of Seattle. He laboured for three years, mainly among the people in the fisheries on the Skeena River,<sup>3</sup> and also established a Japanese hospital at Steveston, on the south-west tip of Lulu Island at the mouth of the Fraser River. He is also credited with establishing Missions at Union and Victoria. He laboured incessantly<sup>4</sup> and supported himself by

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Peack, *The Anglican Church in British Columbia*, Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> S. S. Osterhout, *Orientalism in Canada*, Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1929, p.133.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.134.

<sup>4</sup> *The Japanese Contribution to Canada. A Summary of the Role played by the Japanese in the Development of Canadian Commonwealth*, Vancouver: The Canadian Japanese Association, 1940, p. 30.

working in laundry and cook houses. As a result of his privations and failing health he contracted tuberculosis and found it necessary to return to Japan in 1895. He died in Los Angeles in 1949.

[27] In the following year Okamoto was succeeded by the Reverend Goro Kaburagi, M.A., of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Columbus, Ohio, and a graduate of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. At first he carried on the work begun by his predecessor without any denominational affiliation but soon found that because of the scattered nature of his work he needed aid. He therefore sought to connect the work with the local Methodist Church.

The Reverend C. S. Eby, formerly a missionary in Japan and then in Vancouver and another Methodist Minister were interviewed by Kaburagi. As a result Eby wrote to the Methodist General Board of Missions who received the proposal favourably and the work at Steveston, Victoria and Cumberland was co-ordinated with Kaburagi as superintendent.

The Anglican Church on the Pacific coast was not unaware of the presence of the Japanese for Bishop Dart, in his charge to the New Westminster Diocesan Synod, 1900, said,<sup>5</sup>

Some of us may be opposed to the influx of Orientals as likely to injure our own people, and it would be well perhaps if the migration from China and Japan could be directed systematically to the vast unpeopled tropical and semi-tropical regions of the world where white people cannot thrive and the yellow races can. But, however we may differ as citizens on this question, there can only be one opinion as to our duty as Christians towards the Orientals resident among us. We have to treat them with kindly consideration, equity and justice, and to remember that we are their debtors, holding in trust for them the blessings of the Gospel of Christ. What we have done for them so far is as nothing in comparison with what we ought to do.

Within the next decade two Anglican Missions to the Japanese were established in Vancouver; one at 430 Cordova Street East, under the auspices of St. James' Church and in 1909 the second in the Fairview district, sponsored by the Diocesan Board of the Woman's Auxiliary.

The work at Cordova Street was begun in the spring of 1903 under the direction of Miss Kathleen O'Melia and by October 1904, three Japanese had been baptized and two confirmed. One of the latter, Gabriel Yosen Fujita, had been licensed as a stipendiary catechist by the Bishop at a salary of \$180 per annum.

[28] Steady progress was reported and soon the Mission had a permanent establishment of its own. One of those baptized in 1907 was Bernard F. Oana who, before leaving Japan, had been influenced by Canadian missionaries at Matsumoto in Nagano Prefecture. Oana was baptized three months after his arrival in Canada and

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<sup>5</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, October 17th, 1900, p. 16.

later enrolled at St. Mark's Hall, an Anglican theological college. He was ordained Deacon in 1915 to assist in the Japanese Mission. Later on he served as Priest-in-charge of what came to be known as the Holy Cross Mission in Vancouver.

During its early years the Mission was lovingly watched over by Father H. G. F. Clinton, rector of St. James' and Chairman of the Mission Committee until his death in 1912. The work he had begun among the men and boys progressed to such an extent that before long larger quarters were being sought.

The Mission faced a major crisis in 1913. Little is recorded but during the sessions of the New Westminster Diocesan Synod that year reference was made to the spiritual condition of the East End Japanese Mission.<sup>6</sup> The reference was to the migration of Miss O'Melia and some of her helpers and followers to the Church of Rome. This seems to be the beginning of Roman Catholic missions among the Japanese in Canada. As may be surmised, Miss O'Melia's action placed the Mission in "exceptional circumstances" to say the least. Progress was impeded but a faithful few continued in the new Mission which continued to grow.

At first most of the Japanese immigrants had been men but by 1909 numbers of women and children were arriving. To meet the new need a committee of the Diocesan Board of the New Westminster W.A. opened a Mission on Second Avenue, Vancouver, in the Fairview district, near the lumber mills. At the time of its opening on June 14th, 1909, there were about three hundred women in the vicinity and this new Mission was intended to minister to them and to their children.

Mrs. Patrick, a certified teacher with experience in oriental work was appointed and her salary paid by the Diocesan Board with the assistance of a number of parishes. A Sunday School was established and had a regular attendance of about twenty-one children. There was also a sewing class for women and girls a reading class for women and an ungraded Day School which included kindergarten and public school studies.

The activity of this Mission seems to have sparked the activity of the Buddhists for the work begun by them four years previously with the coming of a Buddhist Priest was furthered by the setting up of a children's class for moral instruction in the vicinity of the [29] Anglican Mission. The Buddhists built themselves a larger temple in the Cordova street area in 1910.<sup>7</sup>

When A. U. de Pencier became Bishop of New Westminster in 1910 he showed the same interest in Oriental Missions as his predecessor had done and in 1913 he reported to the Synod that<sup>8</sup>

Our Diocese stands pre-eminent among the Dioceses in Canada in the number and extent of our Missions to those who are not of our race but are resident within our borders. This is caused, of course, by our situation on this Pacific coast, and by the immigration of all races into our Province; and so we have our Missions to those of races other than our

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<sup>6</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, June 4th & 5th, 1913, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> *The Japanese Contribution to Canada*, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1913, p. 37.

own that are quite apart from our regular parochial undertakings.

Among the Missions referred to were those to the Chinese, Japanese, East Indians and the Missions to the Seamen.

Realising the progress which had been made in the work among the Japanese, Bishop de Pencier requested the British Columbia Church Aid Society, London, England, for a grant of £200. This was to be part of the stipend of a Japanese-speaking clergyman. At the next Diocesan Synod the Bishop said,<sup>9</sup>

. . . we need a Priest who can speak the Japanese language to supplement and take control of these efforts. On representing the facts to the Board of Management of the M.S.C.C. they consented to the transfer to this city of the Rev. Frank Kennedy, a graduate of Trinity College, Toronto, who has been for twenty years a missionary in Japan, on condition that we pay half the stipend. With the concurrence of the Bishop in Mid-Japan, Dr. Hamilton, Mr. Kennedy is to come to us this autumn, when I hope that we will make a definite advance in the work that we have been doing among the Japanese residents of our city.

By the end of 1914, the Reverend F. W. Cassilis Kennedy<sup>10</sup> and his wife had arrived in Vancouver and on December 8<sup>th</sup> they were formally welcomed to the diocese and to their new work. As Bishop de Pencier said, Kennedy's recall from Matsumoto, Japan, to work among the Japanese in Canada demonstrated<sup>11</sup>

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

[30] Further progress was made in 1915 when steps were begun to co-ordinate the work of the Oriental Missions Committee with that of the W. A. in a Provincial Board. In addition to the two Missions already established a Sunday School was begun at Eburne (Marpole) and by 1919 two hundred families had been contacted and any public meeting held by the Church was crowded.

Concern was also being expressed about the Japanese women and children in other parts of the diocese and an investigation was undertaken to find ways and means of extending the work.<sup>12</sup> In addition, the Diocese of New Westminster also submitted a memorial to the General Synod of 1915 suggesting<sup>13</sup> that the M.S.C.C. "should take over, become responsible for, and carry on (Oriental Missions) as one of its departments of

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<sup>9</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1914, p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of Proceedings, General Synod of the Church of England in Canada*, 1915, p.54, appendix.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1917, p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> *Journal of Proceedings, General Synod of the Church of England in Canada*, 1915, p. 281.

work.”

The memorial from New Westminster to the General Synod may reveal two aspects of a difficult problem. On the one hand there was a genuine anxiety on the part of officials and Church people generally to minister to the Japanese. But, on the other hand there was a reluctance to mingle with them at first hand. Japanese Missions should be undertaken but not in ordinary parish churches which were occidental preserves.

The Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals came into being in 1915 and received the support of the Dioceses of New Westminster, Caledonia, Kootenay and Cariboo as well as from the M.S.C.C. and the Diocesan Boards of the W.A. In addition to the diocesan representatives were the Reverend F. W. Cassilis Kennedy and the Reverend Neville Lascelles Ward, Superintendent of the Japanese and Chinese Missions.

After three years of work Kennedy reported to the Diocesan Synod that<sup>14</sup>

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

By 1920 there were 17,475 Japanese in Canada of whom one-third were female. The Holy Cross Mission, at 430 Cordova Street East had grown to the point where it could be said to be fully organized. It consisted of a hall for meetings, chapel, rooms for English language classes, kindergarten, Sunday School, and a residence for the Priest-in-charge, the Reverend B. F. Oana and his wife.

[31] Meanwhile, the Fairview Mission, now named Holy Trinity, was also prospering. A large school room and chapel with living quarters for the lady missionary had been built at 1701 Third Avenue West, in Vancouver. Mrs. Frank Brown and Miss Kawai were the kindergarten teachers assisted by Miss Lois Masui Yao (later Mrs. G.G. Nakayama) who came from the Kindergarten Teachers' Training School of the Nippon Seikokai to join them.

The work was further extended with the establishment of St. Andrew's Mission at Prince Rupert, British Columbia, in 1918. A Japanese Catechist, Z. Higashi, was appointed and the W.A. and the Japanese themselves contributed to his support. In addition to the work in Prince Rupert the Catechist visited fourteen points along the Skeena River and held regular services at five of them. There were sixty-eight members of whom thirty-four were communicants. At first the work was hampered for lack of a

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<sup>14</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1917, p. 78.

building but with the assistance of the Anglican Forward Movement this difficulty was overcome by 1924.

The Reverend N. L. Ward returned to the United States in 1926 and Kennedy took over his responsibilities so that for the next few years he was Superintendent of both Japanese and Chinese Missions.

In the year 1927, there were five Missions<sup>15</sup> in the Province of British Columbia, with the Rev. F. W. C. Kennedy as Superintendent. In the Diocese of New Westminster, the work was carried on in several centres. At the Holy Cross and All Saints' Missions, the Rev. B. F. Oana was in charge. Mr. J. C. Ariga, author of several biographies in Japanese of important figures in Japanese work, served at the Holy Trinity Mission and Marpole outstation (St. Augustine's Mission) while he was a theological student at the Anglican Theological College. Women workers who shared in the work in New Westminster Diocese assigned to particular Missions but contributed to the work at the various places included: Miss Ida S. Withers, Miss Mabel Colton, Miss Mae Owston, Miss I. Shetkey, Mrs. E. Brown and Mrs. G. G. Nakayama. In Caledonia, St. Andrew's Mission, Prince Rupert (plus Seal Cove and the Skeena River area) was cared for by the Rev. J. K. Ban (Priested in May, 1926, returning to Japan in 1928). Dr. Eleanor Lennox was the woman worker. As for the work in the Diocese of British Columbia, Mr. C. Osaharu Naito,<sup>16</sup> a recent enthusiastic convert took the Gospel to Japanese centres, lumber and sawmills along both east and west coasts of Vancouver Island (He was made Assistant Lay Reader by Bishop Schofield on July 31<sup>st</sup>, 1928.)

Kennedy's health, however was precarious and as early as 1923 he had undergone serious lung surgery. The Japanese were very much concerned and collected large sums of money for his care and support and for that of his family. When his health was restored [32] Kennedy continued to labour in the Mission and to work for the betterment of East-West relations. He wrote articles, spoke at meetings, and promoted the discussion of Asiatic problems." He also represented Canada at the Pan-Pacific Conferences in Hawaii and Kyoto.<sup>17</sup>

Kennedy's efforts for the Japanese did not only take the form of letters, open and personal, articles in magazines such as the *East and West Review*, editorial comments in papers throughout Canada and the U.S.A. but also helping people in trouble by caring for them and serving as interpreter. His efforts against racial discrimination and his good work for the Japanese were so vigorous that he was accused by some of receiving money from the Japanese government for his efforts.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless his love for the Japanese people did not fade in spite of misunderstanding and abuse, the Japanese respected him and he was a tower of strength to them. His influence was evident in Bishop de Pencier's comments to Synod in 1925.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, Journal of Proceedings of the Eleventh Session*, held in the City of Kingston from September 14th to September 22nd inclusive, 1927, p. 205.

<sup>16</sup> J. C. Ariga, *In Memory of Osaharu Naito* (in Japanese), Tairiku Nippo Sha, Vancouver, B.C., 1932, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup> J. N. Kimura & J. C. Ariga, *The Life of the Rev. F. W. Cassilis Kennedy, the Father of the Japanese in Canada*, (in Japanese), Vancouver: Anglican Japanese Mission, 1931, p. 88.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>19</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1925, p. 36.

The advisability of Oriental immigration is one that may admit of different opinion: but to fit those who are here for citizenship and to teach them what we believe are the only true principles for citizenship in our country—this is unquestionably our duty.

Kennedy became seriously ill on June 22nd, 1930 and was admitted to St. Paul's Hospital. A special prayer meeting was held but on the following afternoon he died while saying, "I must go to North Vancouver to speak about the Japanese problem." He was sixty-three. The funeral at St. James' Church was conducted in English, Chinese and Japanese and attended by seven hundred people. Archbishop de Pencier who had known Kennedy personally from college days said of him that<sup>20</sup>

Few men in Canada had a better understanding of the Japanese character and aims and requirements. No one of our race in our city, stood higher in the esteem of all the Japanese—whether Christian or non-Christian, and the Church in the Diocese, and in the whole of Canada is the poorer because of his passing.

At the time of Kennedy's death there were four Japanese Missions in operation in British Columbia.<sup>21</sup>

Holy Cross Church, where the Reverend Bernard F. Oana was serving as Priest-in-charge, was the mother church of the Japanese in Vancouver. It continued to be supported by St. James' Church and many of the Japanese children attended St. James' Sunday School. Holy Cross had, at this time, 159 members of whom 74 were Communicants, and a Sunday school enrollment of 135.

[33] Oana also ministered to Sherman, Dollarton, Heaps and Mayne Island. Dollarton and Sherman on the north shore of Burrard Inlet had a Sunday school and at Heaps a kindergarten was begun with Miss Mabel Colton and Mrs. Ohki as teachers. It is interesting to note that the Japanese at Holy Cross began these ventures on their own initiative and sustained them for a number of years before asking for financial or other assistance.

The Church of the Ascension, Vancouver, which had formerly been known as Holy Trinity, had developed and Gordon Goichi Nakayama, a theological student, was serving as Lay Reader in charge. The Mission had 136 members including 44 communicants. There was also a Sunday School enrollment of 132.

Attached to this Mission was an outstation at Marpole with a Kindergarten in charge of Miss I. Schetkey and a Sunday School of 35 children. Nakayama also held regular evangelistic services. Gordon Goichi Nakayama had come to Canada in 1919 to further his education. One of seven children, he was born in 1900 and raised in a devout

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<sup>20</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1931, p. 34.

<sup>21</sup> The information given here is summarised from the Triennial Report of the M.S.C.C., 1931, pp. 67-70, *Journal of Proceedings, General Synod of the Church of England in Canada*, 1931.

Buddhist family in a rural district in the centre of the mountainous terrain of Shikoku. His father died when he was fourteen and as further schooling at home seemed impossible he went to Kyoto where he supported himself delivering papers while he studied.

As he left Japan his mother extracted a promise from him that he would never become a Christian, but in Canada he was greatly helped by his uncle and aunt, the Reverend and Mrs. Y. Akagawa of the Methodist Church. Dr. K. Shimotakahara, a respected medical practitioner, also gave him great help and encouragement. Nakayama helped the doctor in his office and laboratory and was thus able to continue his studies at Britannia High School. His health failed, however, and he was advised to find outdoor employment for a time. He was able to do this in the Fraser Valley and in the Okanagan where some of the Japanese owned fruit farms. As he recovered he began to use his ability to teach by instructing some of his fellow-countrymen English.

Nakayama's conversion to Christianity took place in the early 1920s. On a certain Good Friday he was present at a service in St. James', Vancouver, with other members of the Japanese community. Father Cooper was conducting meditations on the Stations of the Cross. He had come to the scene where the Lord was speaking from the Cross to his Blessed Mother and to St. John, "Woman, behold thy son: son, behold thy mother." Fr. Cooper was explaining in his own inimitable way the beautiful love of our Saviour and how he expressed it, even in His hour of agony, in his concern for his Mother and the beloved disciple.

[34] Up to this point Nakayama, like many Japanese, because of their history and culture, had believed that Christianity had stood for all that was bad in individualism and selfishness, with an utter disregard of family life and filial piety. Now, in the supreme act of Christ in his love manifested towards his mother, as Fr. Cooper expressed it, the young Japanese found the wonderful experience of Christian peace, joy, hope and love.

Soon he was baptised in the Methodist Church of his uncle and in 1926 married Miss Lois Masui Yao, the kindergarten teacher at the Church of the Ascension. For a time they attended each others' churches together but Mr. Nakayama was deeply impressed by the Anglican celebration of Holy Communion and was moved to join his wife's church. Before long, whereas he had been Sunday School Superintendent in the Fairview Japanese United Church, he was filling a similar office in the new Anglican Mission on Third Avenue West, and Pine Street where his wife was also teaching. He enrolled at the Anglican Theological College in 1929 and was ordained Deacon in 1932.

St. Andrew's Mission, Prince Rupert, was under the direction of Mr. T. Matsumoto, who was later ordained, and Dr. Eleanor Lennox. This Mission also included the work at Seal Cove and among the canneries on the Skeena River. In Prince Rupert and Seal Cove there were 170 Japanese with 36 families in permanent residence. These included 46 baptised persons and 15 communicants. The Sunday school enrollment was 56.

Missions were also maintained on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands. During the summer of 1930 the Reverend Mr. Kimura, a priest of the Diocese of Hokkaido studying at the Anglican Theological College, undertook a survey of Japanese



settlements in the area and found 214 families from Cumberland to Victoria, including Alberni, Ucluelet, Tofino and Clayuquot. At Cumberland the United Church had established a Japanese Mission with native pastors and it seemed wise not to interfere. It was also found that a number of clergy on Vancouver Island and especially those at Chemainus and Port Alberni were taking a keen interest in the Japanese.

Following the death of F. W. C. Kennedy no appointment was made for a year and a half when the Reverend William Henry Gale was appointed. Gale, a graduate of Montreal Diocesan Theological College, had just returned from Japan because of the death of his father. He had been a missionary for the past fifteen years in the same general area where Kennedy had served before him. Now he was to succeed Kennedy again. One of his first duties in Vancouver was to baptize Timothy Makoto, the infant son of Mr. and Mrs. G. G. Nakayama on November 15th, 1931.

[35] Shortly after Gale's appointment the depression took its toll in the work of the church as well as among the general populace. Drastic cuts were made in grants from the M.S.C.C. and other sources, except the Woman's Auxiliary which had not reduced its grant. As a result, the Heaps Mission with its kindergarten and Sunday school was closed. The staff was reduced. The Reverend B. F. Oana, the only Japanese Priest, and his wife returned to Japan.

No funds were available for replacements and those who remained had to work under the handicap of a reduction in stipend.

The year 1931 seems to be the first time that Japanese lay delegates attended the New Westminster Diocesan Synod and in 1934 Mr. Gale expressed their appreciation in being allowed to participate. He also reported that there were now 507 baptized members of whom 185 were communicants. Sunday School attendance had passed 400.<sup>23</sup>

Reference has already been made to the Mission in the west end of Vancouver which had been established to meet the needs of Japanese living in the area. A building was rented at Third Avenue West and Pine Street and the usual parochial activities were carried on: W.A., J.W.A., Boys' and Girls' clubs, and Sunday School.

The new Superintendent showed an insight into the Japanese situation when he stated:

The growing problem is that of the second generation, Canadian born Japanese. Educated in our public schools they are not at home in a Japanese service. The organizing of a senior branch of the A.Y.P.A, and later on of a junior branch, in our Missions, and the meeting of these young people with other branches in Christian fellowship is helping them to understand one another better and is breaking down race prejudice.

The Church's work was progressing and all things seem to point to continued advancement. In the three years, 1934-1937, 190 persons were baptized and 42 confirmed. In 1939 the Church of the Ascension celebrated its 30th anniversary and a number of improvements were made to the property. The Reverend G. G. Nakayama had been at work in the district for ten years. From time to time, in addition to his work

there, he was called upon to minister to the Japanese in other areas from Prince Rupert and Port Essington in the Skeena River country to Vancouver Island, the Gulf Islands and the Lower Mainland in the south.<sup>22</sup> Similar progress was marked at Holy Cross Mission where, in 1939, 24 were baptized and 19 confirmed.<sup>23</sup> During this [36] period two young nisei women entered the service of the Church, Miss Hisae Hirano (later Mrs. Frank Hayashi) and Miss Aya Suzuki (later Mrs. Saegusa).

In spite of this progress, however, the political situation in the world was very unstable and this was soon to be felt more immediately in Canada and in the work of the Church. Gale reported in 1940:<sup>24</sup>

We have in the province of British Columbia, over 20,000 Japanese, and in Vancouver itself about 8,000. They are quiet, law-abiding citizens, welcoming our King and Queen with quite as much enthusiasm as that shown by any white subject. These last years have been very hard on our Canadian Japanese fellow-subjects, because this nominally Christian country is shocked at the war tactics of the Japanese Empire. They have been given the cold shoulder, and in many cases known to us have found it most difficult or impossible to get employment. Who is to blame if the Japanese Empire seems lacking in Christian ideals? The number of Christians among the Japanese is small, and of these 600 or more are Anglicans by baptism.

In Japan changes were also taking place. The Mission in Japan was the most flourishing overseas work of the Canadian Church but by 1940-1941 there were no Canadian missionaries left in Japan. In 1940, the Reverend V. C. Spencer cabled the M.S.C.C. on behalf of the Canadian staff asking for permission to transfer the property of the M.S.C.C. to the Diocese of Mid-Japan and for the withdrawal of the Canadian missionaries. By April 1941, all but two of the missionaries had returned to Canada and these followed a year later. Many of them came to work in British Columbia. Among the others, Canon P. S. C. Powles, who afterwards became Assistant Bishop in Mid-Japan, went to Montreal and the Reverend H. G. Watts, afterwards Bishop of Caledonia, became Field Secretary of the M.S.C.C.; the Reverend W. W. Waller became a British Army chaplain and Dr. R. K. Start undertook work in the Essex County Sanatorium at Windsor, Ontario. The Reverend V. C. Spencer, after twenty-nine years of devoted service in Japan, suffered ill health and died in 1942. The Reverend R. N. Savary undertook work in Ontario but moved to British Columbia when "evacuation" began.<sup>25</sup>

When Canada declared war on Japan British Columbia looked upon itself as the front line and anti-Japanese feeling arose. Later, the federal government decided, for security reasons, to evacuate all 23,000 Japanese, Canadian born and otherwise, from the Pacific coastal area. The Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals, concerned lest untoward action be taken passed the following resolution which was forwarded to the

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<sup>22</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1934, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> *Journal of Proceedings, General Synod of the Church of England in Canada*, 1937, p. 428.

<sup>24</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1940, p. 77.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

government:<sup>26</sup> [37]

That this Board realizing the present National peril affirms that the safety of the Country is the first consideration.

And provided that the National Security is duly safeguarded trusts

1. That the true British tradition of justice and fair play will operate in any protective measures the Government may feel necessary to adopt towards the Japanese residents of the country—and
2. That whatever changes may be adopted full facilities be afforded the Christian missionaries for the continuation of their work.

The government eventually set up the British Columbia Security Commission and later appointed a Custodian of Enemy Alien Property to look after the Japanese and their possessions.

In these new conditions the quiet work among the Japanese which the Anglican Church had maintained for forty years became of real value and importance. The missionaries volunteered to go with the Japanese wherever they might be sent, and the M.S.C.C. promised full co-operation and financial support. In addition, the Anglican, Roman Catholic and United Churches and the Salvation Army set up an inter-church committee which appointed the Reverend W. H. Gale as its representative on the B.C. Security Commission. A scheme was thus being worked out which would enable the Church to continue its ministrations to the displaced Japanese.<sup>27</sup>

For the next few years the Canadian-Japanese became displaced persons in their own land and no part of the missionary effort of the Canadian Church was more completely disorganized than the work among the Japanese. The Missions in Vancouver, Prince Rupert and elsewhere were closed but the handicaps were largely overcome by the devotion and concern of the missionaries, some of whom had been in the work for many years while others had but recently come from Japan.

Many of the Japanese were moved east of the Rockies to the prairies and the eastern provinces but every effort was made to link them with the church in the communities to which they had moved. At first the M.S.C.C. served as the liaison office but this work was later taken over by the staff of the Council for Social Service. Many difficulties were experienced, particularly in the east, because the Japanese often moved from place to place and it was hard to keep in touch with them. By June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1943, however, 117 persons had [39] been commended to the clergy through the C.S.S.<sup>28</sup>

In addition representations were made to the Canadian government in the name of the Church for the Japanese Canadians.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Journal of Proceedings, General Synod of the Church of England in Canada* 1943, p. 156.

<sup>28</sup> *Journal, Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster*, 1942, p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The work in British Columbia was maintained on an inter-church basis in cooperation with the B.C. Security Commission. Quite early in the programme of evacuation it was agreed that the Roman Catholics should have Greenwood; the United Church, Kaslo; and the Buddhists, Sandon. Slocan City and district was assigned to the Anglicans. By 1943 Anglican work among the Japanese in British Columbia was centered in four localities as follows:

- (1) *Slocan City and District* with the Reverend G. G. Nakayama in charge, and seven regular and three voluntary women workers engaged in evangelistic work, kindergarten, young people's work, and other church activities. There were 7,000 Japanese in the area.
- (2) *Salmon Arm* where the Reverend R. N. Savary cared for those in scattered points at road camps between Sicamous and Revelstoke, and in the "self-support" settlements.<sup>30</sup>
- (3) *Kamloops* where scattered Japanese families were ministered to by Miss Kathleen Lang who had returned after five years' service in Japan.
- (4) *Tashme* a settlement about 115 miles from Vancouver and thirteen miles from Hope on what is now the Hope-Princeton Highway. Here the Reverend W. H. Gale, Miss Frances Hawkins, Miss Helen Bailey and Miss Mae Walker, and a Japanese helper maintained the Sunday services, Sunday School and kindergarten for a community of about 2,000. In 1943, 54 were baptized and 36 confirmed.

Commenting on these activities, W. H. Mathewson, secretary-treasurer of the Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals reported:

We cannot help recording the faithful work of the Mission Staff who have had to endure a great deal of personal discomfort and carry on as best they could under most difficult and exasperating circumstances. The housing problem has been acute and it is only fair that these workers among the Japanese during this uprooting and transplanting period should receive credit for what they have done and are doing, and this also applies particularly to the Rev. W. H. Gale, our Superintendent, who was most unstinted in his efforts to look after the Missionary workers and care for the distressed Japanese as well.

[39] In the interior towns the government provided, after some procrastination, elementary education but high schools were not provided and the Church took the opportunity to fill the need. At Slocan City the Mission established a high school with Miss Nora Bowman as Principal. Miss Bowman, during her years in Japan, had been Matron in charge of St. Mary's Girls' School and Hostel in Matsumoto. Assisting her were Miss Hattie M. Horobin and Miss Elsie Heaps. Also active in the work of the Mission at Slocan was Miss Alice M. Cox who, for forty years, had been a

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<sup>30</sup> *Journal of Proceedings, General Synod of the Church of England in Canada*, 1943, p. 257.

missionary of the C.M.S. She spoke Japanese fluently and was able to enter fully into the lives of the people. Miss Margaret Foster, an energetic and cheerful worker, did much for the children of kindergarten age. Miss Grace Tucker was invaluable in maintaining a liaison between the government authorities and the people.

Archbishop Adams of Kootenay took an interest in the work and made several visits to the Japanese centres in his Diocese. In a report he said:<sup>31</sup>

Those who are in touch with these our Oriental brothers and sisters are wholly convinced of their sincerity and pro-Canadian attachment. Local municipal authorities of places where they are resident without exception do not wish them to be moved elsewhere. It is those who have not been in contact with them or their home life who raised objections and make unfounded accusations against them.

During 1943 the Reverend G. G. Nakayama undertook an extended tour of eastern Canada and the Maritimes visiting, comforting and helping the Japanese people in the communities, large and small, to which they had moved. He made a similar tour shortly after the end of the war.

In 1945, with the end of the war, the picture of work in interior British Columbia was changing. The government was increasingly pressing a policy of dispersal of the Japanese away from the Pacific coast and was inviting those who desired it to "repatriate" to Japan with promises of free passage. These changes necessitated movements in staff. The Reverend R. N. Savary was appointed to Slocan and New Denver. Miss K. Lang continued her widely scattered work in the Kamloops area while Mr. Gale remained at Tashme although with greatly diminished numbers.

Because of these great changes the M.S.C.C. asked the Reverend Cyril H. Powles, an experienced missionary in Japan, to make a survey of the needs of the Japanese in Canada. As a result of his careful six-month study, the Reverend G. G. Nakayama was transferred to southern Alberta; Miss Grace Tucker and Miss Aya Suzuki [40] moved to Toronto, and Mr. H. Nishimoto who had begun to help in the work at Slocan went to Montreal.

When plans were being made to move Mr. Nakayama and his family to Alberta much assistance was given by the Diocese of Calgary and its Bishop, H. R. Ragg, but there were also many difficulties. Legal restrictions prevented the Nakayama family from living in Lethbridge or in nearby Taber and they had, perforce, to take up residence in the village of Coaldale, ten miles east of Lethbridge. Even here they were prohibited from buying any land or house but means were found to afford them the use of a one-room house which served as both residence and Mission. As events turned out Coaldale was more centrally located for work among the Japanese.

In his new sphere Nakayama was charged with the care of all the Japanese in southern Alberta and they were scattered over a radius of one hundred miles in twenty or more centres. The missionary did much of his visiting by train and bus but he would

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<sup>31</sup> See *Reports of the Council of Social Service, Church of England in Canada*, 1942-46.

often travel thirty or forty miles on a bicycle, going from farm to farm.

One of the first tasks to be undertaken in Coaldale was the provision of a church and this was done by moving a building which had formerly been in use as a kindergarten at Bayfarm near Slocan City. With the help of Isamu Philip Matsumoto, a boat-builder who later moved to Vancouver where he became a Church-Warden at Holy Cross, the building was dismantled and loaded on to a flat car for transport to Coaldale. On arrival it was re-erected under the direction of Torazoh Mototsune, another carpenter and faithful Christian, who later moved to Hamilton, Ontario. The church was opened for public worship on Christmas day, 1947.

The Church of the Ascension, as it was called (named after the Japanese Mission that had existed in Vancouver, B.C.,) continued to grow and in April 1955, it was formally constituted as a parish church by the Bishop of Calgary, G. R. Calvert. Thus the Reverend G. G. Nakayama was charged with the care of all the Anglicans in Coaldale. Hitherto there had been many instances where an occidental parish had invited the Japanese in their midst to join with them but in Coaldale a unique situation occurred where the Japanese Mission invited the occidentals to share their fellowship. All indications point to a happy union.

In addition to his work in southern Alberta Nakayama was also in demand for visits to his own people in other parts of the world. In 1947 he visited Japanese congregations in the U.S.A, whose members had experienced similar if not worse upheaval because of evacuation and relocation. Two years later he was able to visit Japan where he shared in ceremonies commemorating the 90th anniversary of the beginning of Christian evangelism. The year 1950 saw him in Okinawa [41] where he worked with missionaries of the Episcopal Church to establish a Mission. His most thrilling experience was to go to an adjoining island, Izena Jima, where Christianity had never before been preached.

During Nakayama's absence in Okinawa and Japan the Reverend Gennosuke Shoji who had ministered for many years at St. Peter's Episcopal Mission to the Japanese, in Seattle, came to Alberta. He carried on the work of the mission for several months. Timothy Nakayama, now a student at the University of British Columbia, was at home during the summer and worked among the young people and assisted Fr. Shoji wherever possible, not least in driving him about the country for visiting and services.

Meanwhile, Miss M. Foster who in pre-war days had been a kindergarten teacher at the Church of the Ascension, Vancouver, and afterwards at Slocan City, continued to use her talents by carrying on kindergarten work in Crow Creek near Opatatika, a northern Ontario pulp and paper community to which some Japanese had gone.<sup>32</sup>

Elsewhere in Ontario the Japanese were also moving in. There were some in Toronto as early as 1942 and among them were some Anglicans. The Right Reverend H. J. Hamilton, the retired Bishop of Mid-Japan, began to hold services for them in 1944 and was assisted in the work by Miss E. G. Lennox who had worked among the Japanese in Prince Rupert. Several others were also involved including Mrs. Aya Saegusa (née Suzuki), Miss Grace Tucker, Miss Mae Walker, Miss Alice M. Cox and the Reverend R. N. Savary.

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<sup>32</sup> *Journal of Proceedings, General Synod of the Church of England in Canada* 1943, p. 138.

When the war ended the Savary family and Miss Alice Cox returned to Japan. Miss Walker was appointed to Hamilton to work among the Japanese in the Niagara peninsula. The Reverend H. Nishimoto arrived but left two years later for California. For a time the Reverend W. H. Gale went to Toronto. During this time the Sunday services were held in Holy Trinity Chapel and the A. Y. P. A. with a membership of 55, met at St. George's. In 1951 33 persons were baptized and 28 confirmed. Much of the seed sown in British Columbia before the war and in the "ghost towns" of the interior during the war was now ready for the reaping in Toronto.

The return of the Reverend W. H. Gale to Vancouver in October 1952, left the Japanese congregation once more without a Priest who could minister to them in their own tongue. For the next few months the Reverend John Toyooka who was studying at Montreal Diocesan Theological College, visited Toronto twice a month for the Holy Communion.

[42] At length the Reverend Paul Ken Imai accepted the invitation of the M.S.C.C. to come to Toronto to care for the second largest congregation of Japanese outside Japan, the largest being St Mary's, Los Angeles. He and his family arrived in February 1953. While serving in Toronto Imai was also pursuing his studies at Trinity College. The Toronto congregation showed its active spirit by purchasing a rectory for their Priest.

The work in Toronto continued to develop so that by 1954, the tenth anniversary, the Mission was vigorous and well-organized. Eight districts were set up with a number of the church committee responsible for each so that the Church might keep more closely in touch with the people, their moves, social changes, illnesses and the like. The Reverend A. I. Yonemura who had come from Kure, Japan, to take post-graduate work at Wycliffe College, helped in this work as long as he remained in Toronto. The Reverend P. Kurose, who afterwards became Bishop of Mid-Japan, visited Toronto in 1954 and took part in the anniversary celebrations by preaching on Friday, September 17<sup>th</sup>, at evensong.

Mrs. F. Hayashi (née Hisae Hirano) observed that the work in Toronto could be seen in terms of four classes needing the ministrations of the Church. These were

- (1) the older people who have their language barrier;
- (2) the young people with Sunday School training but who have not fitted into the life of the occidental parishes into which they have moved;
- (3) the non-Christian young people who will not even attempt to go to the parish churches;
- (4) the children of Sunday School age.

Mrs. Hayashi had seen the great need to such a point that she suggested another woman worker be added if possible.

Meanwhile the work in British Columbia in the immediate post-war years was concentrated largely in the interior districts in widely scattered localities. The Reverend W. H. Gale did what he could to keep in touch with isolated families as did the Reverend G. G. Nakayama whenever he passed through the area.

Two events in that period had a marked effect on the Japanese Missions. The first

was the lifting of the “protected area” ban which enabled the Japanese to return to the Pacific coast if they wished. [43] Some availed themselves of the opportunity, but often they were not the original Vancouver Japanese but people who might have lived at Prince Rupert or on Vancouver Island. Also they were widely scattered; “Li'l Tokyo” no longer existed.

The other event was the decision of the M.S.C.C. to transfer its original work to the dioceses concerned.<sup>33</sup> It would seem that this policy took form as far as the Japanese work was concerned in the diocese of New Westminster. Thus the Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals in British Columbia which had been set up with great vision and foresight was no longer effective. The Japanese were to be cared for on a diocesan rather than a provincial basis.

When, therefore, the Reverend W. H. Gale returned to Vancouver in 1952 he was faced with the almost impossible task of searching out the Japanese who had returned to Greater Vancouver. It was a slow, tedious and seemingly unrewarding chore but gradually people were found and a Japanese service was held in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in St. James' Church where Japanese work in Canada had begun so many years before. The clergy and people of St. James' were again helpful and cooperative and placed their facilities at the disposal of the Japanese congregation. St. George's Church also opened its doors to the Japanese Nisei young people and eventually a group was formed in association with the Diocesan A.Y.P.A.

During the summers, 1953-1955, Timothy M. Nakayama, son of the Reverend and Mrs. G. G. Nakayama, and a student at the Anglican Theological College, undertook field work under the direction of the Reverend W. H. Gale. This consisted of visiting the people, assisting at the services and working with the young people. On occasion he also accompanied Gale as he visited Japanese families and communities in the interior.

The Japanese Mission in Vancouver took a significant step forward in 1955 when it became possible to have a building of its own. In February of that year the Catholic Apostolic Church, 849 East 11<sup>th</sup> Avenue, which had been given to the diocese of New Westminster was turned over to the Japanese Mission. Shortly afterwards the congregation was re-organized and a church committee set up.

The work in Vancouver was now concerned with three main groups. There were older people who had come originally from Japan; the Issei Japanese. Then there were those who had been born in Canada and had always lived here—the Nisei. But in between there was a group of Canadian-born, the Kika Nisei who had been taken or sent by their parents to be educated in Japan where they had been stranded by the war. As Canadian citizens they were able to return to the land of [44] their birth but once more found themselves lonely and isolated, relating neither to the Issei nor to the Nisei. Naturally they felt little need of the Church and no attraction towards the Gospel. The task of the missionaries in these circumstances was seen as helping these three groups to understand each other in the light of the Gospel.

The Reverend W. H. Gale, who had been made an honorary Canon a little while before, died suddenly in the summer of 1955 and once more the Mission was left without Priestly ministrations. Fortunately, the Reverend A. I. Yonemura who was still in

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.



Toronto agreed to come temporarily.

Even before Canon Gale's death plans were being made for the Reverend John H. Araki of St. Timothy's Church, Sakai City, in the Diocese of Osaka to undertake studies at the Anglican Theological College for one year. In spite of the sudden death of Canon Gale these plans were not altered and for a time the Japanese Mission had the services of two clergymen of Nippon Seikokai. In addition, Timothy Nakayama continued to assist.

In retrospect we may see two turning points in the history of Japanese Missions in Canada. These were the two world wars which have been blessings in disguise for the Japanese in Canada and for missionary work among them.

In the 1914-1918 struggle Japan was one of the allies fighting against the Teutonic forces and was therefore in a position to be treated as an equal or at least on a better standing than before. As a result serious attention was paid to Japanese work which was carried out more effectively by the appointment of the Reverend F. W. Cassilis Kennedy as Superintendent of a Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals in British Columbia which was established.

The second war, though it created hardships, enabled the Japanese to know Canada at first hand, and the rest of Canada to know the Japanese Canadians. The Japanese who came to Canada settled largely on the Pacific slope due largely to economic and geographical factors; few went further inland. Following the Canadian declaration of war on Japan all Japanese, Canadian-born or otherwise were forcibly removed from the coastal strip. As a result, in spite of dislocation and hardships, many of them found new and interesting lives in other parts of Canada.

During the evacuation, settlement and dispersal the Church did not cease her missionary work. It was the most difficult period for the Church but because of the loyalty and devotion of the missionaries and of the Japanese Christians many were brought to love God and to serve Him in his Church.

[45] Before, during and after these major catastrophes the work of the Church among the Japanese Christians has continued in faith. It is the prayer and earnest hope of the writer that this work may continue so that many more will be brought to a true knowledge, love and acceptance of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.