

RELINQUISHED: *The Seat of Deitie Supream Us Dispossest*

The Disposition of Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches and Funds: 1942-1949

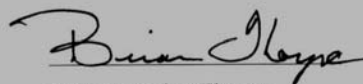
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25 NOVEMBER, 2009

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Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles

21 November 2009

Date

FOREWORD

This is a story of loss and hope. In “Relinquished,” Greg Tatchell describes the losses experienced by Japanese Canadians in the period of the Second World War and several years following the war. Not only are homes and livelihoods lost but, for many, the centre of their community—the church—was taken from them with no thought of restoration in the future.

Greg Tatchell’s narrative also speaks articulately of the loss of innocence experienced by the institutional church. By its actions, the church and several of its leaders are shown to not be immune to the racist inclinations of the dominant culture.

However, this story is also one of hope. In one of the most moving chapters Greg speaks of those prophetic voices within the church who resisted the anti-Japanese hysteria of the time and who called the church to be true to their prophetic voice. He also describes the courageous pastoral care exercised by Anglican women workers among the interned Japanese community.

The story is also hopeful in relation to the process entered into by Greg and the “Japanese Canadian – Vancouver Consultative Council (JC-VCC)” with which he worked. As they engaged with the Anglican church during the period of research and writing, the process and the response of the church engenders hope. When Bishop Michael Ingham encourages Greg and the JC – VCC to be “fearless with the truth,” he reflects a willingness on the part of the church to come to terms with its past. In this resolve there is hope.

There are three dynamics at work in “Relinquished” which are significant. The first is the thorough research which underlies the thesis articulated in this narrative. Like an experienced investigative reporter, Greg traces the history of the Japanese Anglican properties in Vancouver and monies derived from their sale. He is able to give as complete a picture as possible with regard to what actually happened over sixty years ago.

The second significant dynamic is to be found in the fact that the research and the analysis in “Relinquished” has been grounded in the community which was affected most by the history. The JC – VCC has been central to every stage in this project and, as such, this is truly a testimony of a community.

The third thing which needs to be stressed is that this is not only a historical research project. It is deliberately a story about real people. Greg’s use of “additional words” in the mouth of Joy Kogawa’s “Aunt Emily” serves to incarnate historical actions. In “Aunt Emily” we experience the loss of a community and the loss of innocence of a church as something which happened to a neighbor and a fellow Christian. The depth of the loss and hope of this work becomes not just academic but relational in the incarnational dimension of this narrative.

“Relinquished” is a gift to the community and to the church which offers us a unique opportunity to own our past and to commit ourselves to insuring that the losses described herein will not recur in our future.

Brian Thorpe



The JC-VCC '7-Point DECLARATION OF CONCLUSIONS'

"A Racist, Historical Injustice"

和解

- I. **BACKGROUND:** The JC-VCC research project team supporting this work was fully formed by June 26th, 2008, and had its first meeting on the same date. By Oct. 10th, 2008 its objectives had been formally ratified, and the primary objective stated as follows:

"1. WHAT IS THE FOCUS OF THE JC-VCC RESEARCH PROJECT?"

The focus of the JC-VCC research project is the sale of Japanese-Canadian (JC) Anglican Church properties during and after World War II, and the disposition of the funds from those sales."

On Nov. 10, 2009, with research and writing completed, the JC-VCC made its first formal public presentation at St. Augustine's in Marpole. Members of the JC-VCC in attendance at the historic Nov. 10th presentation to the Diocesan Council of the Diocese of New Westminster (hereafter 'Our Church') were the Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles and his wife Marjorie, the Rev. John Shozawa, Joy Kogawa, Basil Izumi, Gwen Lamacraft, Michiko Tatchell, Ross Tamagi and Greg Tatchell. For health reasons, the Rev. Canon Timothy Nakayama of Seattle was unable to make the trip North. The Nov. 10th presentation summarized the research and findings of *RELINQUISHED*, and occurred just six blocks from the *Historic Joy Kogawa House* on 64th.

- II. **RECONCILIATION - 和解:** The JC-VCC team rejoiced at Bishop Ingham's Nov. 10th invitation to return to Diocesan Council in January 2010 to further explore the material of *RELINQUISHED*, and to consider together next steps. The 9 members of JC-VCC are fully committed to this forthcoming process of reconciliation, repentance and redress, as attested by the attached signatures.

- i. **Framework:** The framework for this process, from the perspective of the JC-VCC team, is a document titled 'RECONCILIATION, REPENTANCE & REDRESS: A JC-VCC Theological Framework for Redress: Guiding Principles'.
- ii. **Origin:** 'RECONCILIATION, REPENTANCE & REDRESS' originated as a request from Bishop Michael Ingham for the JC-VCC to develop a perspective on what an appropriate response to their findings might look like. The JC-VCC response to this request was finalized on Ash Wednesday, Feb. 25th, 2009. It was ratified at the *Historic Joy Kogawa House* at a Communion service on Mar. 26th, 2009. We hereby reaffirm it in this Declaration.

- III. **ESSENTIAL TRUTHS:** The JC-VCC, in the course of its 16+ months of deliberations with the *RELINQUISHED* material, arrived at what it believes to be seven truths; the first three we consider to be essential and irrefutable:

1. **Properties (Appendix I):** 'Our Church' held the Vancouver JC Anglican Churches in-trust for their 1500 JC Anglican Parishioners following the exile of those parishioners in 1942. 'Our Church' chose to sell the three JC properties near the end of (22 March & 6 July 1945) and after (19 August 1949) World War II. The Realtor for both parties was a member of the Executive Council.
2. **Funds (Appendix XII):** 'Our Church', for a time, held the JC Anglican funds in-trust for their 1500 JC Anglican Parishioners. Soon after April 1st, 1949, when the exile officially ended and the exiles were allowed to return to Vancouver, our church chose to divert \$8,107.64 of the JC in-trust funds. The JC funds went into the Bishop's Endowment Fund (with a 10 May 1949 Executive Council authorization). Our church Synod records (1950-2008) indicate they still reside in that Fund today.
3. **Abandonment & Betrayal:** 'Our Church' had an opportunity to welcome back their JC parishioners when the exile ended on April 1st, 1949. Unfortunately, they did not. Instead, as it diverted the JC funds it held in trust, our church made a moral choice to abandon and betray their JC parishioners with the 10 May 1949 Executive Council motion "*the need for Japanese Mission Work was nil.*" This statement was made while money for this work continued to be received from back east.

- IV. **A RACIST, HISTORICAL INJUSTICE:** The JC-VCC deems that a racist, historical injustice occurred. We begin our four final conclusions with one on racism. The Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles, & many others, articulate its intensity as 'virulent'.

4. **Intention:** The evidence strongly suggests that the intention behind the actions of 'III' above were grounded in racism. A compelling case for this conclusion is made in the 3 chapters of *RELINQUISHED* which documents racism inside and outside of the church.
5. **Timing:** The conclusion regarding racism is particularly heightened by the haste with which the Executive Council of the Diocese of New Westminster expedited the diversion of JC in-trust funds after April 1st, 1949. Within 75 days of that date, funds which had remained in-trust for 4 years were suddenly diverted to the Bishop's Endowment Fund.
6. **Code of Silence:** The JC-VCC thanks Bishop Michael for his encouragement to be fearless with the truth. In 1953, Rev. Canon Timothy Nakayama approached Bishop Gower, and was told only that the churches had been 'Relinquished.' This was the first example, in Canon Nakayama's phrase, of church authorities being less than forthcoming. What Tim characterizes further as a 'Code of Silence' continued from that day forward.
7. **Truth Telling:** Although in novelistic form, the two pages of *Obasan* accurately summarize the six conclusions above, the sense of outrage of the JC Anglican Community, and the work of *RELINQUISHED*. Except for Aunt Emily in *Obasan*, the JC Community has suppressed its outrage; *shikata ga nai* (it can't be helped). These two derivative pages of *Obasan* provide an essential perspective, and JC-VCC strongly recommends that they be read in conjunction with this DECLARATION. We are grateful to team member Joy Kogawa for her encouraging support in the use of her *Obasan* character, Aunt Emily, the fearless truth teller.



JC-VCC による「調査結果－7ポイント」 「人種差別による歴史的不正義」

和解

I. 背景: この卒論を支援してくれた JC-VCC 調査プロジェクトチームは 2008 年 6 月 26 日に正式に発足し、同日最初の会合を開いた。2008 年 10 月 10 日までは、その目的を正式に採択した。以下に示すのがその主要目的である。

「1. JC-VCC 調査プロジェクトの焦点は何ですか？」

JC-VCC の調査プロジェクトの焦点は、第二次大戦中及び戦後に於ける日系カナダ人 (JC) 聖公会教会の資産売却と、その売却から得た資金の処分についてです。

2009 年 11 月 10 日、調査並びに報告書の完了に伴い、JC-VCC チームはマーボール地区にある聖オーガスチン教会にて最初の公式発表を行なった。ニューウェストミンスター教区 (以後「我々の教会」) の教区委員会の場合において行った、この歴史的な 11 月 10 日の発表に出席した JC-VCC のメンバーは、セロ・パウルス司祭 (神学博士) とその夫人マージョリー、ジョン所沢司祭、ジョイ・コガワ、バジル・イズミ、グウェン・ラマクラフト、美知子・タッチェル、ロス・タマガシとしてグレッグ・タッチェルであった。健康上の理由で、シアトルのキャノン・ティモシイ中山司祭は出席することができなかった。11 月 10 日の発表は、「リリンクイッシュ」の調査とその結果を要約したもので、64 番街にあるヒストリック・ジョイ・コガワ・ハウスから僅か 6 ブロックの場所で行われた。

II. 和解: JC-VCC チームは幸いにも 11 月 10 日の発表に際して、マイケル・インガム主教より、2010 年 1 月の教区委員会に再度出席して、「リリンクイッシュ」の内容を更に検討し、共同で次のステップを考慮するように招待を受けた。そして次ページの承認署名に明らかなように、JC-VCC の 9 人のメンバーは、来たるべき「和解、悔い改めそしてリドレス」の過程に全力を尽くす覚悟である。

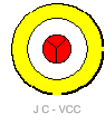
- i. **フレームワーク:** JC-VCC チームの観点から見た、この過程に対するフレームワークは、「和解、悔い改めそしてリドレス: リドレスに関する JC-VCC の神学的フレームワーク: 基本的見解」と題する文献にまとめられている。
- ii. **基点:** 「和解、悔い改めそしてリドレス」は、もともとマイケル・インガム主教の要請によって、JC-VCC が、この調査結果に対する適切な対応がどうあるべきかの見解を示したものである。この要請に対する JC-VCC の対応は、灰の水曜日であった 2009 年 2 月 25 日に最終決定し、同年 3 月 26 日に、ジョイ・コガワ・ヒストリカル・ハウスにて、聖餐式をもって批准したものである。今ここに、この宣言書にて再度確認するものである。

III. 基本的真実: JC-VCC は、16 ヶ月余りの歳月を費やして「リリンクイッシュ」の内容を熟慮し、疑いのない 7 つの真実に到った。そして最初の 3 つは基本的真実で反論の余地がないと考える。

1. **不動産:** 「我々の教会」は、1942 年の日系カナダ人 (JC) 強制移動後、1500 名の JC 教区信徒に代わって委任されていた JC 聖公会教会土地建物を保持していた。そして彼らは、第二次世界大戦の終戦直前 (1945 年 3 月 21 日、7 月 6 日) 及び戦後 (1949 年 8 月 19 日) に、その 3 つの日系教会不動産の売却を選択した。不動産屋は執行首脳部の一員であった。
2. **資金:** 「我々の教会」は、しばらくの間、1500 名の JC 教区信徒に代わって委任されていた JC 聖公会信徒資金を保持していた。1949 年 4 月 1 日に、強制移動が正式に終了して JC がバンクーバーに帰還することが許可されると、すぐに、教会は、JC 信託資金 \$ 8,107.64 を主教寄贈基金に流用することを選択した (1949 年 5 月 10 日認可)。教区委員会議事録 (1950-2008) によると、この資金は未だにこの基金内に存在する。
3. **放棄並びに裏切り行為:** 「我々の教会」は、1949 年 4 月 1 日に強制移動が終了した時点で、JC 教区信徒を歓迎する機会があった。残念ながら、彼らはそれをしなかった。歓迎する代わりに、「我々の教会」は JC 信託資金を流用すると同時に、1949 年 5 月 10 日の教区委員会での「日系伝道の必要性はゼロ」という動議により、JC 教区信徒を放棄し裏切るという道徳に反する道を選択した。この動議は、日系伝道のための支援金が引き続き東部から送られ、受け取っている時期に出された。

IV. 人種差別による歴史的不正義: JC-VCC は、人種差別による歴史的不正義が行なわれたと考える。では、最後の 4 点を人種差別に関わる結果から始めてみることにする。セロ・パウルス神学博士およびその他多くの人々は、この人種差別の凄まじさについて「悪意にみちた」と表現している。

4. **意図:** 上記 III の行動の裏にある意図は、人種差別に根ざされたものであるということが、証拠によって強く示唆されている。教会内外における人種差別を扱った「リリンクイッシュ」の 3 つの章で、この結論にいたる説得力のある事例があげられている。
5. **タイミング:** 人種差別だという結論は、教区委員会が JC 資金を 1949 年 4 月 1 日以降に、急いで処理したという事実によってさらに明白になる。JC 信託資金として 4 年間も保持されていたのが突然、その後 75 日以内に主教寄贈基金に流用された。なぜなのか？
6. **沈黙の掟:** JC-VCC はマイケル主教の「真実を恐れずに」という励ましの言葉に感謝する。1953 年にキャノン・ティモシイ中山司祭がガワー主教に尋ねた時には、JC 教会は「処分」したと告げられただけであった。中山司祭の言葉を借りると、これが教会権力の率直でなくなった最初の例である。彼が名づけた「沈黙の掟」の状態は、その日から脈々と続いている。
7. **真実を語る:** 小説と言う形ではあるが、「失われた祖国」の 2 ページは、JC 聖公会コミュニティの激怒と「リリンクイッシュ」の内容である、上記の 6 点を正確に要約している。「失われた祖国」のエミリーおばさんは別として、JC コミュニティーは、その激怒を「しかたがない」と言って抑えている。「失われた祖国」の派生ページは、本質を突いた見解を示しているため、JC-VCC としてはその 2 ページがこの宣誓文と併せて読まれるべきだと考える。「失われた祖国」の登場人物の使用を励まし、支持してくれた、このチームのメンバーであるジョイ・コガワ氏に深く感謝する。その登場人物、エミリーおばさんは、勇気をもって真実を語る者である。



The seat of Deitie supream, us dispossesst

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII.142

In *Obasan*, Joy Kogawa's quintessential novel of the Japanese Canadian (JC) experience in WW II, she gives her character Aunt Emily, the word warrior, the words that summarized what happened:

"The power of government, Nomi. Power. See how palpable it is? They took away the land, the stores, the businesses, the boats, the houses – everything. Broke up our families, told us who we could see, where we could live, what we could do, what time we could leave our houses, censored our letters, exiled us for no crime. They took our livelihood –"

This is indisputable. Aunt Emily's 'original words' are backed up everywhere by the historical record, and this work will highlight how government by order-in-council imposed this, legally.

For this work, Joy Kogawa gives her blessing¹ to having Aunt Emily expand upon the above paragraph from *Obasan*, with these 'additional words':

" – but they didn't take our churches. No. It wasn't the power of government that did it.

It was the power of our own Church, at the highest level of Anglican leadership on the West Coast.

The Bishop and his Executive Council sold our first church one month before Hiroshima. They sold it without ever asking us; they sold it without ever telling us truthfully afterwards.

The Bishop and his Executive Council sold our second church after we were already coming back to Vancouver, after our seven years of exile were finally over. In a doubly cruel stroke, Bishop Heathcote and his Council sold our last church on the 4th anniversary of the end of the Pacific war, in 1949. We had been freed from exile 5 months previously. We never found out the facts until 60 years later.

What was the intention of Bishop Heathcote and his Executive Council in selling our churches? Do you think, Nomi, that their intention was that we have nothing to come back to? What could they possibly have been thinking when they wrote in their May 1949 Executive Council minutes, two months after our freedom had been granted, "the need of Japanese Mission work is nil"? What was their intention at the time of our return in diverting our hard earned JC funds into the Bishop's Endowment Fund, the fund used to pay his salary? These are more than moral and ethical issues. Where were their Christian souls?

This seems worse than the racial discrimination of government by wartime Orders-in-Council. This seems like virulent, institutional, provincial racism, by our Bishop and his Executive Council, hiding behind closed doors. In the early '50's, in front of Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson, Rev. Timothy Nakayama asked what had happened to our two JC churches. He was given a one word answer; "Relinquished". Gower and Mathewson had complete knowledge of all that had transpired, including the disappearance of our funds, but they would be no more forthright than "Relinquished." This was the beginning of a high level pattern of being dismissive, less than forthright. This has continued for over 50 years, to this very day. We are only now discovering the extent of their silence, of their sin of omission.

In selling our two churches, the Church no longer had the war as an excuse. The Japanese-Americans were already returning home to their waiting churches when our Diocesan Authorities sold our first one. The JC Anglicans were already returning home, four years later, when the same Diocesan Authorities sold our last one. Do you see why I say, Nomi, that the injustices done to us by Anglican leaders is still a live issue?"

On March 31, 1999, Bishop Michael Ingham wrote in a letter to Rev. John Shozawa,

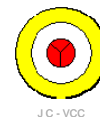
"If the Japanese-Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese back in those days, without any form of compensation, it would be a serious injustice."

There will be two objectives for this work. The first will be to examine the historical records to determine if Aunt Emily's 'additional words' are as indisputable as her 'original words'.

The second objective will be to determine whether the 'If' can be removed from Bishop Ingham's 1999 statement, ending unconditionally with

"It was a serious injustice.

¹ Appendix X, p.187-8, paragraphs 28-32.



JC-VCC

The seat of Deitie supream, us dispossesst

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII.142

第二次世界大戦中の日系カナダ人 (JC) の体験を描いたジョイ・コガワの名作「失われた祖国」(原題「Obasan」)の中で、作者はその要約として登場人物の一人で、齒に衣着せぬ、エミリーおばさんに次のように言わせている。

「政府の権力よ、ノミちゃん、これが権力なのよ。ねえ、まちがいなくそうだとおもわない？彼らは私たちから、土地も、店も、ビジネスも、船も、家も一なにもかも取り上げた。家族をバラバラにして、誰に会えとか、どこに住めとか、何をしたいとか、何時に家を出るとかいちいち命令し、手紙まで検閲した。罪もない私たちを追放したのよ。彼らは日系人の生活を奪ったのよー」

これは動かし難い事実である。エミリーおばさんのこの「原文」はあらゆる歴史的記録によって裏付けられている。今回の調査では、政府が如何にして戦時借置法によって合法的にこのことを行ったかに光を当てます。

今回の調査のため、「失われた祖国」からの上の文章に加えて、エミリーおばさんに次のような「追加文」を言わせることに、ジョイ・コガワ氏は喜んで同意してくれました。

「、、、、しかし彼らは教会までは取り上げなかった。いや、取り上げたのは政府権力ではなく、私たち自身が属している教会の権力、西海岸における聖公会の最高首脳部だった。主教とその評議会は、広島原爆の1ヶ月前に、私たちの最初の教会を売却した。私たちに何の相談もなく売却し、売却の後にははっきりとした説明は何もなかった。

主教と評議会在二つ目の教会を売ったのは、私たちの7年間の追放生活がやっと終わって、すでにバンクーバーに戻り始めていた頃だった。二重の苦痛を与えるかのように、ヒースコック主教とその評議会は、1949年、太平洋戦争終結4周年目に、私たちの最後の教会を売却した。その5ヶ月前に、私たちはすでに追放から自由になっていたが、これらの事実は60年後に初めて明らかにされたんだよ。

ヒースコック主教とその評議会は、どんな意図で、私たちの教会を売却したんだと思う？ノミちゃん、彼らは、私たちの帰って来る所がないようにしたんだと思う？私たちが自由になってから2ヶ月目の1949年5月の評議会議事録に「日本人伝道の必要性は全くない」と書いた時に、彼らは一体何を考えていたんだと思う？私たちが戻って来た頃に、苦勞して集めた日系人基金を、主教の給料を支払う口座に入金したのは、どんな意図があったのだと思う？これは倫理や道徳以上の問題だよ。まったく彼らのキリスト教精神はどこへ行ってしまったのかね。

これは戦時借置法に基づいて、政府が犯した人種差別よりもさらに酷いと思う。これは、密室で行われた、主教と評議会の悪意に満ちた組織的で偏狭な人種差別よ。50年代の初めに、テモテ中山司祭がガワー主教と財務担当のマティソンを前にして、日系人教会はどうなったのかと訊ねたが、たった一言「手放した」としか答えが返ってこなかった。二人とも、私たちの基金が消失したことを含めて、事の次第を全て知っていたのに、「手放した」以上のことは率直に話さなかった。これは最高首脳部から率直さが欠如し、無視するパターンが始まりだった。それがまさに今日にいたるまで50年間続いてきた。私たちは今になってやっと事態の深刻さを悟りつつある。

2つの日系教会を売ったことに関して、戦争は言い訳にならない。教区が最初の教会を売却したのは、すでに、日系アメリカ人が彼らを待っていた教会に帰って来始めた頃だった。教区の同じ首脳部が私たちの最後の教会を売り払ったのは、それから4年後、聖公会の日系カナダ人が西海岸に戻って来た後であった。ノミちゃん、だから、聖公会の首脳部によって行われた不正義は、今日でもまだ現実の問題なのよ、解る？」

1999年3月31日、マイケル・インガム主教は、ジョン・所沢司祭への書簡の中で次のように書いた。「もし日系カナダ人が、その昔、いかなる形の代償も受けずに、教区によって資産を剥奪されたとなれば、それは重大な不正義である。」

今回の調査研究には二つの目的がある。一つは、エミリーおばさんの「追加文」が「原文」と同じように動かし難い事実であるかどうかを検証すること。

もう一つは、インガム主教の1999年のこの書簡から「もし」を取り除き、無条件で

「それは重大な不正義であった。」

という文章にすることが出来るかどうかを決定することにある。

(Translations by Matsuki Masutani, validation by Rev. John Shozawa & Michiko Tatchell)

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Preface

This work began as an April 2008 Vancouver School of Theology (VST) Church History paper for Rev. Dr. Brian Thorpe, titled “7 Years in Exile.” With the encouragement of Brian and others, it became a VST Research Project, under Brian’s supervision, the same summer.

Two previous VST theses on the Japanese-Canadian Anglican Church experience, in 1988 and 1990, and the 100-year history of the Diocese of New Westminster, *Pacific Pilgrims*, suffered from a lack of consultation with the Japanese-Canadian Anglican community. To overcome that shortcoming, a Consultative Council from the community was formed in the summer of 2008.

The author conducted the research, but the Consultative Council was actively involved from the very beginning. The ‘Obasan’ derivatives at the beginning (p. ‘v’) and end (p.97) of this work, developed with Joy Kogawa’s blessing¹, summarizes the findings in a JC format. Page ‘iii’ summarizes them as presented to the Diocese on Nov. 10, 2009.

The specific name chosen for the team was the JC-VCC. JC stands for ‘*Japanese Canadian*’. VCC stands for ‘*Vancouver Consultative Council*’. The first VCC was a minority ecumenical group in WWII that fought the virulent provincial racism of the times, racism that existed both within and without the church. The name was adopted as a reminder that fighting injustice is important, but not necessarily easy, and that we are not the first group to do so. The *Yad Vashem* program *Righteous Among the Nations* will be highlighted as a role model in holding up those who do.

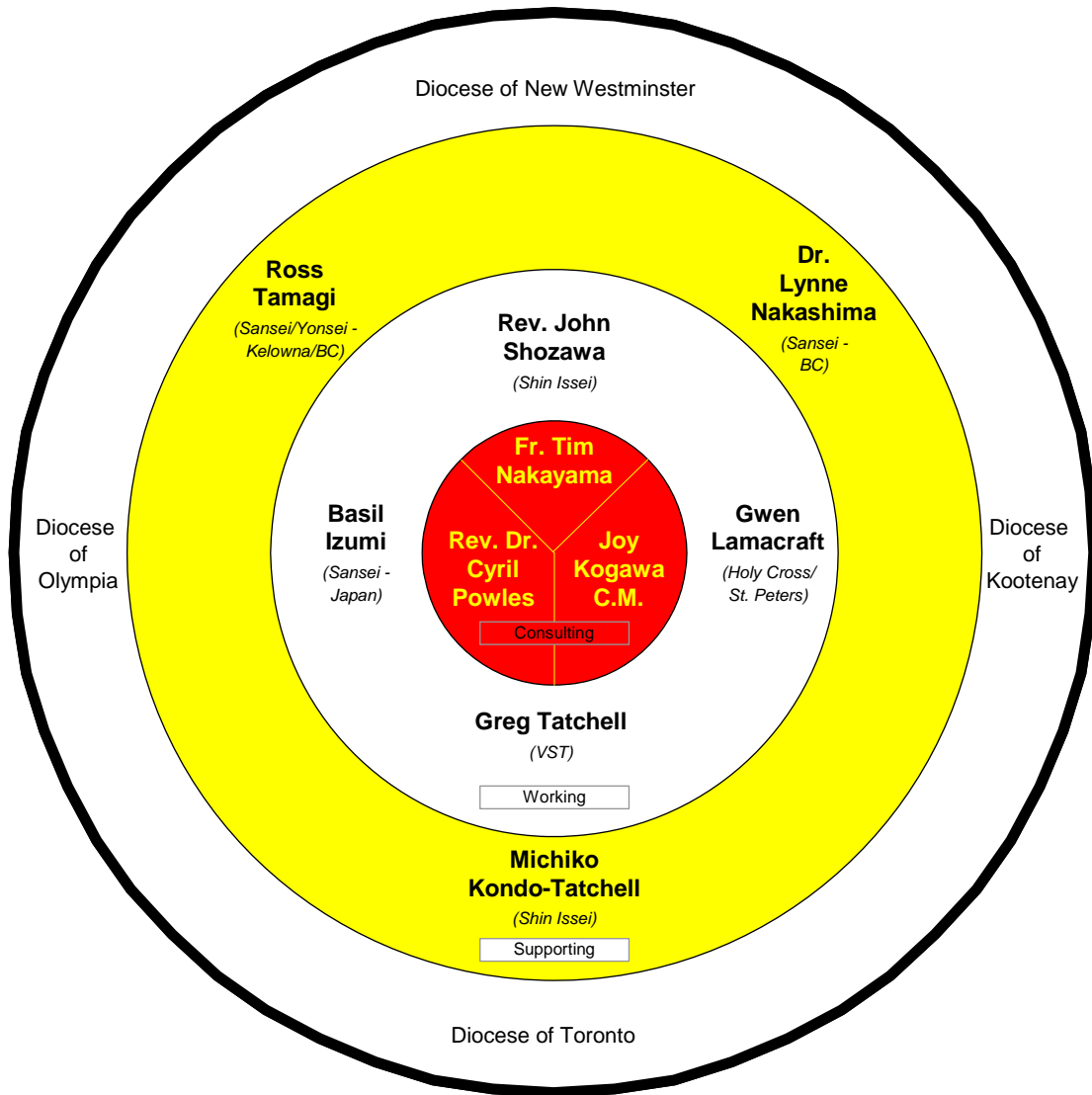
Three of the members of the JC-VCC belonged to the two churches that are the focus of this research project. Basil Izumi was a Sunday School student at Holy Cross Anglican Church, at 430 E. Cordova, prior to the war, and is a Warden of that church today. Joy Kogawa and Timothy Nakayama attended Church of the Ascension Anglican Church, at 1701 W. 3rd, prior to the war, where their father was the Anglican Priest. Joy is an Order of Canada member, while Tim followed his father into Anglican ministry. All three of these members went into exile with their community in 1942. A fourth member of the JC-VCC, the Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles, was a member of the MSCC, based in Toronto, which provided the funding for Japanese lay workers and missionaries in BC up until 1967. As an ordained Anglican priest, Cyril traveled across Canada during WWII, visiting the Japanese-Canadians, and encountering virulent racism in his efforts to educate white Anglicans about Japanese Canadian Anglicans (“my first encounter with the virulence of anti-Japanese Canadian feeling in Western Canada”²).

The JC-VCC remains committed to Bishop Michael Ingham’s encouragement to “*Be Fearless with the Truth.*” As this work will show, the truth of when the churches were sold, who authorized the sales, and what happened to the ‘in-trust’ money from those sales, to the penny, is now known. What to do with that truth will be the job of the JC-VCC once this work has been published. In 1999, Bishop Michael Ingham wrote a letter to the Rev. John Shozawa (co-chair of the JC-VCC) in which he stated “*If the Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese back in those days, without any form of compensation, it would be a serious injustice.*” Given the highest level of authorization for the sale of those properties and the subsequent dispersment of the JC ‘in-trust’ funds, the JC-VCC believes that Milton provides the best summary of the truth as determined by this work, and which will be the sub-title of *RELINQUISHED: ‘The Seat of Deitie Supream us Dispossesst.’*

¹ Appendix X, page 188, paragraphs 28-31.

² Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles, *Some Reminiscences About My Nikkei Relations*, May 23, 2003, p.1

JC - VCC



Japanese Canadian - Vancouver Consultative Council

August 28, 2008 - Version 5

Figure 1 JC - VCC: Japanese Canadian Vancouver Consultative Council Membership



After the Dedication Service of
The Japanese Church of the Ascension,
Vancouver, B.C.
April 7th, 1935

第三街聖公會建堂式
記念撮影

I. INTRODUCTION

*The Japanese-Canadian issue (in the Anglican Church)
has not received the attention that it merits.*

- Rev. Dr. William Harrison

*The story of the wartime discrimination against the Nikkei
must be told in as many forms as possible.
There is no single account.*

- Stephanie Bangarth, *VOICES RAISED IN PROTEST*

3rd & Pine. Very few Anglicans in Canada, even in Vancouver, know that this northwest corner, just west of the Granville Street Bridge, was once the site of a Japanese Canadian Anglican Church, the Church of the Ascension.



Figure 2 Church of the Ascension – 1701 W. 3rd - the Old and the New

Rev. W.H. Gale, the Superintendent of all Japanese Missions in British Columbia, reported on this church to the 1937 General Synod of the Anglican Church in Canada³ as follows:

*“The congregation of the Church of the Ascension, Vancouver,
planned, financed and erected a church building which will seat one hundred people.”⁴*

It was planned, financed and built on a property purchased in 1920 for the Japanese Canadian Anglicans. The purchaser and owner of the 3rd & Pine property at the time of the 1937 General Synod was the Missionary Society of the Anglican Church in Canada, headquartered in Toronto.⁵ It will be seen in Section VII that it was transferred to the Diocese of New Westminster a year later, for \$1.

Five years after the 1937 General Synod, this brand new church would be vacant, when the JC Anglican congregation, along with over 20,000 other JC's, were exiled to the Interior of BC in the spring and

summer of 1942. Three members of the JC-VCC, Basil Izumi (5 years old), Joy Kogawa (6 years old) and Timothy Nakayama (10 years old) were amongst those exiles in 1942. Eight years after Rev. W.H. Gale reported to the 1937 General Synod, the Church of the Ascension would be sold, on July 6, 1945. It would be characterized at Diocesan Synod, in justifying the sale, as 'obsolete'.⁶ It would not be available to the congregation that funded and built it when they returned in 1949. Nor would the two other JC Anglican church properties that existed prior to the exile.

The Missionaries who went into exile with their 1500 parishioners provided the only positive in this story. This is the only part of the story that has been told by the Diocese up to this point. Beyond the missionary support to the exiles, funded and encouraged from Toronto, criticism of the church for its lack of leadership is widespread (Pierre Berton termed it an 'Abdication of Leadership'⁷).

In February 1943, Professor C.R. Feilding at Trinity College in Toronto provided a cover letter to an article in *Canada and Christendom*, in which he expands upon Berton's theme:

"Can anyone in authority in the Anglican Church in Canada do more than venture to hope about these matters (i.e. exile & property sales)? When I ask an Executive Committee member, his reply is that they cannot take any lead for that is interfering with the prerogatives of the Bishops. When I ask a Bishop, he replies 'Our Council for Social Service is doing such excellent work that I leave all matters of this kind to them.' While Bishops and Executive Committees chase each other's tails in this unedifying circle leadership is not given. The result is a travesty both of episcopacy and of constitutional government."⁸

In a secret memo to the Anglican Church during the war, Dr. Hugh E. Keenleyside, the Japanese-Canadian expert in the Dept. of External Affairs, railed against the hysteria and racism in BC in 1942; "not one word of support (to dampen the hysteria and racism) from the Christian Church on the Pacific Coast."⁹ Grace Tucker, a Japanese Missionary, echoed Dr. Keenleyside with "the voice of the Christian Church was not heard, or was a very faint whisper."¹⁰ Pierre Berton expanded upon Keenleyside & Tucker's observations to provide his West Coast perspective; "There is little on the record to indicate that the churches in BC took a militant stand against racial bigotry. Their sin was non-commitment, as it was in California where the churches again remained passive."¹¹ In summary of what happened on the West Coast of BC, Primate Ted Scott, a West Coaster himself in those days, observed "A lot of people in the missions went out and ministered ... but there wasn't much of a hue and cry about the policy position."¹²

The 'Abdication of Leadership' of the Christian Church in British Columbia, and the brave exception of the minority ecumenical VCC group in Vancouver, has, thus, been well documented, and is not the focus of this work. These facts are taken as given.

The focus of this work moves beyond 'Abdication of Leadership', and is provided by the foremost church historian in Canada, John Webster Grant. In speaking of the church catholic in Canada during the war years, he echoes Keenleyside, Tucker, Berton and Scott when he says "they were not prepared to express doubts in public about the propriety of government measures in wartime. Even the forced sale of

Japanese-Canadian properties at confiscatory prices called forth protest from the churches only after a lapse of time that rendered them almost useless.”¹³

The Diocese of New Westminster participated in these protests.¹⁴ That they did so at the same time that they were preparing to sell the three Japanese-Canadian Anglican church properties provides the tight focus of this work, as articulated in the JC-VCC Q&A #1 (page 200);

“The focus of the JC-VCC research project is the sale of Japanese-Canadian (JC) Anglican Church properties during and after World War II, and the disposition of the funds from those sales.”

This work will also attempt to discern why the church properties were sold and the JC ‘in-trust’ funds dispersed, and whether or not the motivation was racism. In considering racism, it is important to have a definition of racism. The definition used in *RELINQUISHED* will be the one received by the March 2004 Council of the General Synod in the form of the *Anglican Charter for Racial Justice*; “Racism is the belief, reinforced by power and privilege, that one race is innately superior to other races.” We will see this belief expressed by perpetrators repeatedly in this work. Further, the Charter suggests the optics by which we might recognize racism in action; “Systemic racism occurs when the power and privilege of one racial group results in the exclusion, oppression or exploitation of other groups of different racial origin.”¹⁵ We will see actions at work to achieve these objectives, especially in Sections III-V. In attempting to determine whether the beliefs and actions behind the sale of the three JC AC properties and the subsequent dispersment of the JC in-trust funds were racist, this definition and this optic from the ACC *CHARTER OF RACIAL JUSTICE* will be the measure.

To give a framework for the whole work, Section II following will provide a critical organizational context. The JC Anglican Churches were not administered or funded by the Diocese of New Westminster. To prepare for a discussion on the sale of the churches, it is important to understand where the funding and national oversight came from (the national MSCC) and where the local oversight came from (the provincial PBMO). This understanding becomes important in understanding the ultimate sale of the three properties, as well as the dispersal of the PBMO ‘in-trust’ funds afterwards.

The next three sections of *RELINQUISHED*, III through V, will leave the organizational perspective behind, and provide insights into West Coast racism before, during and after WW II. Section III will focus on the rare, courageous few that fought racism. Section IV and V will focus on proxy examples of communities and individuals who promoted the virulent brand of racism that infected BC during this period. The framework of Section II and its trinity of MSCC, PBMO and the Diocese of New Westminster will be used to focus the discussion of where racism was resisted, and where it was promoted.

Section VI of *RELINQUISHED* will then compare the only two previous works that have focused on the question of the sale of the JC Anglican churches, and their markedly different conclusions. One of the objectives of this work will be to resolve their differences.

The heart of *RELINQUISHED* will be Section VII, FOLLOW THE MONEY. It will document what has been learned about the sale of the churches, the dispersal of the JC 'in-trust' money, and who authorized these questionable actions.

Section VIII will then provide historical parallels (similar and dissimilar actions) to those taken by the Anglican Church in the Diocese of New Westminster in their sale of the three JC Anglican church properties in Vancouver. These comparisons will include the Vancouver Japanese Language School, the Episcopal Church, and the United Church.

Prior to CONCLUSIONS, Section IX on RECONCILIATION, REPENTANCE AND REDRESS will introduce a Covenant (Appendix XIII) that was developed by the JC-VCC to potentially guide a process of reconciliation. It does need to be emphasized that RECONCILIATION, REPENTANCE AND REDRESS is beyond the scope of this work. The Covenant and a brief discussion are included in *RELINQUISHED* primarily because of the fact that the findings of this work inescapably seem to automatically raise consideration of this subject. Q&A #7 of the October 2008 JC-VCC objectives clearly state the position; "This consideration remains pending until research is completed and writing is concluded."¹⁶

Before embarking upon Section II, it is appropriate to return to a comment made at the very beginning, where it was stated "Two previous VST theses on the Japanese-Canadian Anglican Church experience, in 1988 and 1990, and the 100 year history of the Diocese of New Westminster, *Pacific Pilgrims*, suffered from a lack of consultation with the Japanese-Canadian Anglican community." At the conclusion of *RELINQUISHED*, perspectives on this work will be provided by four members of the JC-VCC who lived through the years covered by it; the Rev. Canon Timothy Nakayama, Joy Kogawa, Basil Izumi, and the Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles. The objective in including their written perspective on this work is to acknowledge their influence upon it, and to help emphasize that it isn't the product of an isolated white man working in a cubicle in the archives somewhere. Tim, Joy, Basil and Cyril are truly living witnesses to the events of this work, and have added immeasurably to its insights and conclusions.

As one example, the first recorded question to the Diocese with regard to what happened to the JC Anglican Churches in Vancouver came from Tim¹⁷ in 1953. The title of this work, *RELINQUISHED*, comes from the one word answer he and Canon W.H. Gale received from the Bishop and the Treasurer of the Diocese in 1953. As will be shown, both of these Diocesan men had intimate knowledge of the property sales in 1945 and 1949, and the subsequent dispersal of the JC 'in-trust' funds in 1949, after the return of the Japanese-Canadians on April 1, 1949. Fifty-five years after that conversation, Canon T.M. Nakayama's July 2008 Declaration documents how he was finally free to talk about it.

Finally, at the beginning of the *Obasan* derivative (p. v), it was stated "Aunt Emily's 'original words' are backed up everywhere by the historical record, and this work will highlight how government by order-in-council imposed this, legally." Orders-in-council are laws signed by the Governor General which issue from the Prime Minister's office. In peacetime, naming of the Cabinet is an example of the use of orders-in-council. During WW II, much of the war effort was run by orders-in-council. Most of the actions against

the Japanese-Canadians in WW II were also done by order-in-council. It is impossible to understand what happened to the Japanese-Canadians during and after WW II without understanding the orders-in-council issued against them. Appendix II summarizes, in chronological order, 30 of the orders-in-council that impacted the Japanese-Canadians the most. It also includes 19 other federal, international, American and Diocesan critical events. In Appendix II, seven of the 49 are highlighted in red as super-critical. One of the super-critical events was index #18, Jan. 19, 1943, Order-in-Council PC #469, *Liquidation of Property*. It was this order-in-council which led to the sale of 1421 private Japanese Canadian properties between 1943 and 1947. Appendix II shows the 49 events in chronological order, Appendix III groups them together by Category, Appendix IV by Authority, and Appendix V sorts them by order-in-council number for ease of reference. There is not the time in *RELINQUISHED* to anywhere near cover the topic of orders-in-council, which could be a book in itself. The four appendices are provided to give the reader who needs it a critical event/chronological summary, which the author had to create for himself. As critical as it is to a proper understanding of the times, it was surprising that no such summary seemed to exist elsewhere. These four appendices will be referred to occasionally throughout *RELINQUISHED*, without going into the details behind all 49 events.

The most important reason for including them, and for concluding this introduction with them (and for beginning the Appendices with them), is to emphasize one essential point. What happened to the Japanese-Canadians did not happen in isolation. They were impacted by political events in Ottawa, London and Washington, and by such wartime events as Pearl Harbour on Dec. 7, 1941, and the Fall of Singapore on Feb. 15, 1942. Appendices II, III, IV and V attempt to provide the essential global context to the story of *RELINQUISHED*, without which the story of what happened to the Japanese Canadian Anglicans in Vancouver, especially in 1941 and 1942, cannot be understood. Even with them, however, understanding what happened to the Japanese-Canadian Anglicans in Vancouver in 1949 will be shown to be unfathomable.

³ The Anglican Church of Canada was known as the Church of England in Canada prior to WWII. The modern nomenclature will be used for this work.

⁴ 1937 Synod of the Church of England in Canada, p.428 of the proceedings.

⁵ The original deed can still be seen in the General Synod Archives in Toronto.

⁶ Journal for the 53rd Session of the Diocese of NW, p.3 of the 1949 YE Treasurer's Report.

⁷ Berton, *The Comfortable Pew*, Chapter I heading.

⁸ C.R. Feilding, Cover letter for R.N. Savary's "Japanese-Canadians," in *Canada and Christendom*, Feb. 1943, Dobson Papers, B24 F15, UCA (Hemmings, p.179).

⁹ March 7, 1942 H.L. Keenleyside letter to Dr. Armstrong, in Canon L.A. Dixon's files at the NAA.

¹⁰ *Pacific Pilgrims*, p.120

¹¹ Berton, *The Comfortable Pew*, p.48.

¹² *Pacific Pilgrims*, p.121.

¹³ Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, p. 152.

¹⁴ "Such people of proven loyalty to the Dominion should not be forcibly dispossessed of their property", Sept. 1944, Oct. 1944, Sept. 1946 (Executive Committee of General Synod, Ecclesiastical Province of BC, General Synod, respectively), Hemmings, p.75, 185.

¹⁵ ACC General Synod, *Charter for Racial Justice*, http://www2.anglican.ca/about/cogs/arwg/charter.htm#_ftnref1.

¹⁶ JC-VCC FAQ's, Q&A #7, ratified October 2008, Appendix XIII, page 200.

¹⁷ July 2008 Statutory Declaration by Tim Nakayama, Appendix VII, paragraphs 2-12, pages 132-134.

II. GOVERNANCE: NATIONAL (MSCC) & PROVINCIAL (PBMO) OVERSIGHT

*We do feel so thankful to know that we have your wholehearted support -
the great tragedy is that you and your splendid co-workers are so far away.*

- Margaret Foster, in an April 8, 1942 letter to the MSCC in Toronto

To understand the story of the Japanese-Canadian Anglican churches prior to, during, and after WW II, it is necessary to know who funded and ran the Japanese (and Chinese) Missions in B.C. in those years. The approach was surprisingly similar for both the Anglican Church of Canada (ACC) and the United Church of Canada (UCC).

In 1942, the Missionary Society of the Church in Canada (MSCC) had national responsibility in the Anglican Church of Canada for foreign and Canadian missions. They funded and oversaw the Canadian foreign missions in India, China and Japan. The Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles and his father both spent their years in Japan under the authority of the MSCC. Not all MSCC responsibilities were overseas. The MSCC managed the Anglican component of the federally funded Residential School program. A second MSCC responsibility in Canada was the funding and oversight of Japanese and Chinese Missions throughout the province of B.C. An equivalent body in the United Church of Canada was the Board of Home Missions, “responsible for supervising and administering all mission work of the United Church in Canada.”¹⁸ Actions of the Home Missions will be considered at length in Section VIII.

Governance of the Japanese and Chinese Missions in B.C. was delegated by the MSCC and the Dioceses of BC to a body canonically established by the ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia. This body was the Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals (PBMO¹⁹). The PBMO was canonically established prior to WW I, and continued for 22 years after WW II, until 1967 (while Home Missions was established in 1925, the year of Union). The Rev. John Shozawa, co-chair of the JC-VCC team, began his 44-year career under the PBMO, the same as had been the case for his predecessors of the previous 50+ years. It was only in 1968 that John finally came under the salary structure and authority of the Diocese of New Westminster. John provides a perspective on the PBMO in his Statutory Declaration of September 14, 2008.

One of my early responsibilities at Holy Cross was to represent our church at the annual meetings of the PBMO (Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals). The PBMO provided oversight for the Chinese and Japanese Missions across the province, from a provincial perspective, with all BC Bishops on the Board. The PBMO had performed this function since the era of the First World War.²⁰

Expanding upon this, he describes the funding arrangements provided by the MSCC:

In addition to providing oversight, the PBMO had its own budget to support the activities for the Japanese and Chinese Missions in the province. I found it interesting to learn where the income for the budget came from. The table following shows the source of income for 5 of the budget years between 1932 and 1948 (from the annual minutes of the PMBO). In that period, nearly 80% of the financial support came from just two National organizations, the MSCC and the WA (the Missionary Society of Canada, and the Women's Auxiliary). Diocesan support from within BC ranged between 1% & 2%.²¹

The forgotten role of the National Women's Auxiliary in supporting the Japanese (& Chinese) Canadian Anglican's in BC is resurrected by John as he describes what the budget of the PBMO was used for:

The PBMO budget covered the cost of all clergy stipends and allowances (over half the budget), Mission support staff in the field (approximately one third), and office, mission and transportation expenses. In addition to funding one-third of the operational expenses of the PBMO, it should be noted that the M.S.C.C. also provided the capital to purchase the Church of the Ascension site in 1920. The funding of nearly half of the operational costs of the Mission by the National Women's Auxiliary is a story that has been lost to history, and I am proud to resurrect it here.²²

Canon L.A. Dixon, General Secretary of the MSCC, clarifies the relationship between the PBMO and the MSCC, in a reply he made to Reg Savary to acknowledge that "I gather(d) that the PBMO had definitely invited you to join their staff in BC." To assist the Rev. Reg Savary in understanding reporting relationships, he went on as follows:

In order to avoid possible confusion later I think it well that we get quite clear on the matter (of) our relationships. The MSCC, as you know, makes an annual grant to the PBMO for its work. The administration of the work is then directly under the PBMO rather than the MSCC. This is exactly the same relationship as in the case of every missionary diocese. In your work in BC, therefore, you will be directly under the PBMO rather than the MSCC.²³

In the crucial year of 1941, prior to Reg Savary's arrival, the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada provides a level of detail that highlight's John's point at the beginning of the top paragraph above. Responding to a request from the General Secretary of the MSCC in Toronto, the Treasurer of the PBMO provided Canon Dixon with a list of all employees under the authority of the PBMO, their addresses, and their salaries for 1941. This list was, strikingly, dated Dec. 1, 1941, 6 days before Pearl Harbour, and so provides a unique perspective into the state of the Japanese Missions in the Province of BC at the precise time that their world changed overnight.²⁴ Basil Izumi was one of the Sunday School children at Holy Cross when this storm descended upon the community. A picture of him at the time shows him in Holy Cross, with Oppenheimer Park in the background through the window. His cap has HCK on it (Holy Cross Kindergarten).

LIST OF WORKERS ON THE PBMO PAYROLL ON DEC. 1, 1941					
Japanese Workers			Chinese Workers		
1	Miss Helen Bailey	\$900	1	Miss M.L. Chadwick	\$1,000
2	Miss Cecilia Baldwin	\$800	2	Mrs. B. Field	\$800
3	Miss Margaret Foster	\$1,100	3	Miss H.A. Hellaby	\$1,200
4	Miss Hattie Horobin	\$900	4	Mrs. F.H. Finch	\$300
5	Miss Elsie Heaps	\$500	5	Mrs. Jennie Lowe	\$300
6	Miss Kathleen Lang	\$1,100			
7	Miss May Owston	\$780	Clergyman		
8	Miss Catherine Jones	\$500	1	Rev. W.H. Gale	\$1,920
9	Miss Gertrude Shore	\$900	2	Rev. G.G. Nakayama	\$1,280
10	Miss Aya Suzuki	\$720	3	Rev. G. Lim Yuen	\$1,200
11	Miss Grace Tucker	\$1,100	4	Rev. Andrew Lam	\$1,000
12	Miss Mae M. Walker	\$1,100	5	Rev. Clarence Lee	\$1,200
		<u>\$10,400</u>			<u>\$6,600</u>

Figure 3 List of Workers on the PBMO Payroll on Dec. 1, 1941.

In a little more than six months, their 1500 Japanese Canadian parishioners would be gone from the West Coast. Most of the Japanese Workers (a euphemism for the female missionaries) went with them. Throughout the war, the salaries of the Japanese Workers and Clergymen would continue to be funded by the MSCC and paid by the PBMO. In his 1942 report to General Synod, PBMO Treasurer W.H. Mathewson wrote

*“It can readily be understood that our finances received a severe jolt with all the moving and extra travelling that has been necessary and the thanks of the Board are extended to the M.S.C.C., the Women’s Auxiliary and the B.C. & Y. Church Aid Society, who by their willing response to our appeals for help have enabled us to reach the end of a very trying year without a deficit.”*²⁵

In offering thanks from the Board, Treasurer Mathewson was speaking on behalf of the five Bishops of the Province of BC, who were all on the Board of the PBMO. In 1944, he was to state even more clearly the critical nature of the MSCC support from back east;

*“Without their financial assistance this work (the Japanese Work) would not be possible.”*²⁶

The truth of this statement can be seen from the 1942 PBMO budget in Figure 4 following. The nature of the financial relationship between the trinity of MSCC, PBMO and the five Dioceses in BC is obvious. Figure 4 incorporates the expenses of the 22 PBMO employees of Dec. 1, 1941 (from Figure 3). It also shows, on the income (revenue) side, the contributions to the PBMO budget from each of the Dioceses.

PROVINCIAL BOARDS OF MISSIONS TO ORIENTALS IN BC				
BUDGET 1942				
Estimated Revenue			Estimated Expense	
1	Dominion W.A. for Japanese Workers	\$11,730	1 Japanese Workers	\$11,620
2	Dominion W.A. for Chinese Workers	\$2,780	2 Chinese Workers	\$3,600
3	M.S.C.C.	\$4,900	3 Clergy	\$6,600
4	B.C. & Y. Church Aid Society	\$880	4 Clergy Pension Assessment	\$105
5	Diocese of Columbia	\$430	5 Mrs. Lum	-
6	Diocese of Kootenay	\$150	6 Secretary	\$200
7	Diocese of New Westminster	\$100	7 Taxes	\$523
8	Holy Cross Mission	-	8 Interest on Loans	\$165
9	Church of the Ascension	-	9 Insurance	\$134
10	Good Shepherd Mission	\$50	10 Water	\$50
11	St. Andrew's, Prince Rupert	-	11 Travelling	\$400
12	Chinese Relief	\$1,200	12 Up-Keep Chinese Mission	\$180
13	Kindergarten Fees	\$45	13 Rent, etc. Victoria	\$150
14	Rentals	\$800	14 Sundries, Audit, Postage, etc.	\$80
15	S.P.G.	\$725	15 Deficit	-\$17
		<u>\$23,790</u>		<u>\$23,790</u>

Figure 4 1942 Budget – PBMO (Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals in BC).

From the material of this section, then, the following clear-cut observations suggest themselves.

1. As PBMO Treasurer W.H. Mathewson stated, the Japanese Work would not have been possible without the financial assistance from back east. This is abundantly clear from even a cursory view of the 1942 budget. From the Rev. John Shozawa's records, it can be shown that the 1942 budget was not an aberration. For five other budgets available (1932-35 and 1947-48), the average contribution by the MSCC and National W.A. was 77%.²⁷
2. The wages of all Japanese Workers who moved into the interior with the Japanese Canadian exiles in 1942 continued to be paid from back east. Lines 1 & 2 on the income side show the scale & the specificity of the W.A. contribution (the National budget of the MSCC and the WA was a combined one, but the distinction between MSCC and WA was maintained).
3. The Clergymen who went with the JC exiles (one of them was an exile himself) continued to be paid by the PBMO. When a third Anglican Clergyman, the Rev. Reg Savary, went to Salmon Arm in the summer of 1942, the "MSCC will be making a grant to PBMO to make it possible for it to have your services,"²⁸ given that the money wasn't originally included in the 1942 budget above.

In terms of the objectives of this section of *RELINQUISHED*, then, it should be clear by now how the trinity of the MSCC, the PBMO, and the Dioceses of the Province of BC interacted.

1. **MSCC** - Over 75% of the funding for the PBMO came from the MSCC budget center in Toronto (which included the Dominion/National Women's Auxiliary). See the specific number of \$19,410 for 1942 in Figure 5 on the following page. The percentage held true throughout the 30's and 40's, the focus of this work. As you read through the MSCC/PBMO archives of General Synod, it is clear how responsive PBMO Treasurer W.H. Mathewson was to requests from the General Secretary of the MSCC, Canon L.A. Dixon in Toronto. The names, addresses and salaries he provided to Canon Dixon on Dec. 1, 1941 is but one of many example of that responsiveness.

2. **PBMO** - Responsibility for the day to day running of the Japanese Mission program in BC was vested by the PBMO canons of the ecclesiastical province of BC in the Superintendent of Japanese Missions. For the war years and beyond this was Canon W.H. Gale. Canon Gale was a former missionary from Japan. All Japanese Workers and Mission Anglican Priest's were paid by the PBMO. The PBMO had their own bank accounts and signing officers. As an example, the Rev. John Shozawa's declaration shows the status of some of those accounts at the end of 1947, including a savings bank account (#17010), a Prince Rupert Trust Fund (#23000), and a Holy Cross Building Fund (#17037).²⁹

3. **DIOCESSES** - The Board of the PBMO included the 5 Bishops of the ecclesiastical Province of BC (Caledonia, Caribou, Columbia, New Westminster & Yukon). The Dioceses contributed as they were able. The \$680 they contributed during 1942 is shown in Figure 5 following. During the critical years prior to 1942, Alderman Halford Wilson was a particularly noteworthy Diocesan representative on the Board of the PBMO, as will become apparent in Section V (Alderman Wilson was from the Diocese of New Westminster). The cross-diocesan nature of the employees of the PBMO can be seen from the addresses of the 22 employees on the PBMO payroll on Dec. 1, 1941; Vancouver, Prince Rupert, Cumberland, Vernon and Victoria.

The discussion of the next three sections of *RELINQUISHED* shifts from the trinity of the MSCC, the PMBO and the five Dioceses of BC to racism in the province of BC. The following diagram will be used to help in visualizing the trinity relationship during those discussions.

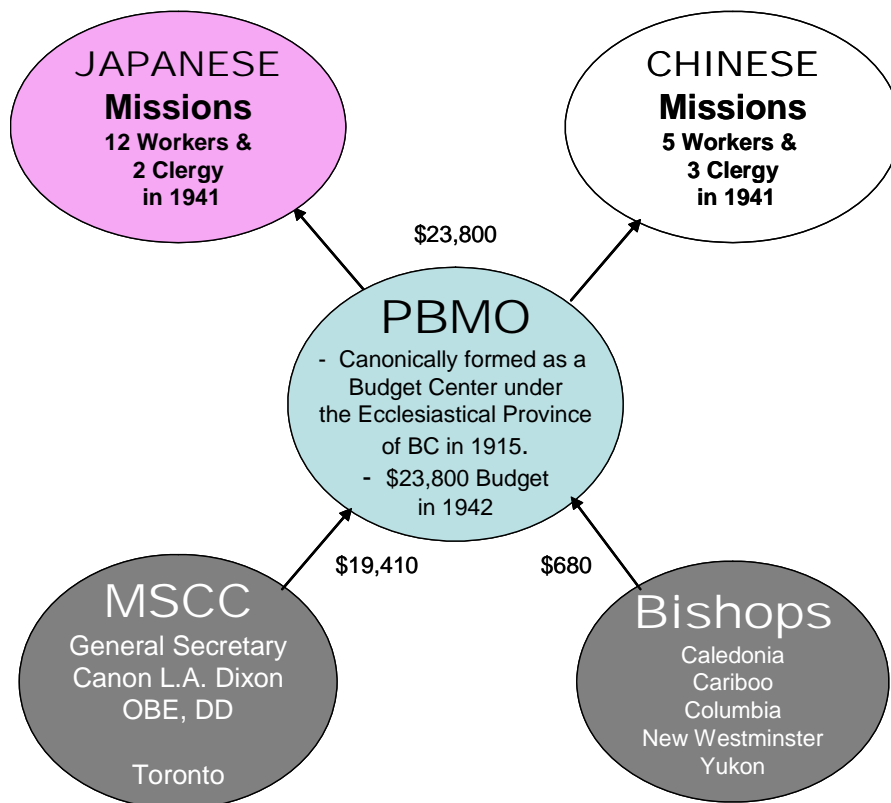


Figure 5 The PBMO-MSCC-Diocesan Trinity, Funding, & Japanese & Chinese Missions (1942).

The letterhead of a Jan. 20, 1943 PBMO Interim Report shows the BC Members of the Board.³⁰

THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF MISSIONS TO ORIENTALS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

	CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD: THE MOST REV. W. R. ADAMS, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF KOOTENAY AND METROPOLITAN OF BRITISH COLUMBIA R.R. 2, VERNON, B.C.	
THE LORD BISHOP OF CALEDONIA	CHAIRMAN OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE: RIGHT REV. SIR FRANCIS HEATHCOTE, BART., D.D. BISHOP OF NEW WESTMINSTER VANCOUVER, B.C.	SUPT. JAPANESE MISSIONS REV. W. H. GALE 3762 WEST 24TH AVENUE
THE LORD BISHOP OF CARIBOO		
THE LORD BISHOP OF COLUMBIA		
THE LORD BISHOP OF NEW WESTMINSTER		SECRETARY-TREASURER W. H. MATHEWSON 307 PROVINCE BUILDING TELEPHONE: PACIFIC 1751
THE LORD BISHOP OF YUKON		

Figure 6 The 1943 PBMO Board in BC, and Serving Officers.

Canon L.A. Dixon, the MSCC member of the Board from Toronto, is not shown on the BC letterhead. The Rev. H.G. Watts provides a perspective on the BC view of the MSCC that might possibly explain this; "The general attitude in BC is that the East, even in Government circles, does not understand the problem, and that applies to the MSCC too."³¹ There is one final point to make with regard to the PBMO in preparation for the following three sections on racism. Most of the Japanese Workers (the euphemistic term of PBMO Treasurer W.H. Mathewson for the Japanese female workers in the PBMO) had worked in Japan at one time. Margaret Foster and Grace Tucker are especially noteworthy in this regard. The experience of these women missionaries in Japan, and connections with the Japanese Canadian community, is amply illustrated by this anecdote from Canon Timothy Nakayama:

My memory of our first days in Slocan City reminds me that we stayed for a while in the big house where the 10 Women Missionaries were already living when we arrived before we moved into the log cabin ... They provided us the hospitality of their living quarters -- and we stayed in rooms on the second floor until the log cabin was made ready for our family to move in.

(A) Missionary among these women that I remember was Alice M. Cox, who was a CMS Missionary from England. She didn't return to England when she left Japan, but she came with other Missionaries, to serve us in the Slocan City area. I remember one day hearing someone speaking perfect Japanese behind a curtain in some area of St. Paul's Church. I was surprised when the speaker appeared from behind the curtain! I was to discover it was Miss Cox, the English Missionary! (After the war she returned to the Osaka area to resume her work as a Missionary.)³²

From his trip to the Camps in the Slocan area in 1945, Cyril Powles provides another insight into these women who came from Japan.

In all of these places I met the dedicated women missionaries – Frances Hawkins, Hattie Horobin, Norah Bowman, etc. – all of whom I had been accustomed as a boy in Japan to address as "Auntie."³³

In addition to the women missionaries, Canon W.H. Gale was a missionary in Japan prior to assuming the role of Superintendent of the PBMO (as had been the case with the previous Superintendent, the

Rev. F.W. Cassillis Kennedy). G.G. Nakayama was originally from Japan. The Rev. Reg Savary, who came to the PBMO after the evacuation in 1942, was a missionary in Japan prior to the war, and was to return there after the war. The Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles, working under the auspices of the MSCC in BC 1945, was to return to Japan after the war (as did his father) as a second-generation missionary in Japan. That their backgrounds would lead all of them to join with those opposed to the dominant racist sentiment of the West Coast in the dark days in early 1942 is the topic of Section III.

¹⁸ UVic fonds

¹⁹ Provincial Board of Missions is sometimes represented by P.B.M.O, and sometimes as P.B.O.M, in the historical record. For this work, P.B.M.O. will be used, to ensure *Orientalis* is not lost at the end.

²⁰ Rev. John Shozawa, Appendix VIII, Sept. 14, 2008, paragraph 18.

²¹ Ibid, paragraph 19.

²² Ibid, paragraph 22.

²³ Letter from Canon L.A. Dixon to Rev. Reg Savary, June 29, 1942, General Synod Archives, Box 72.

²⁴ National Anglican Archives, Letter from W.H. Mathewson to Canon L.A.D. Dixon, G.S. 75-103, Box 72, File 1, dated Dec. 1, 1941.

²⁵ Report of MSCC Board to General Synod, Oct. 1, 1943, page 37.

²⁶ MSCC Board Minutes, Sept. 18-22, 1944, page 49 (General Synod Archives).

²⁷ John Shozawa, Appendix VIII, Sept. 14, 2008, paragraph 19.

²⁸ Letter from MSCC Canon L.A. Dixon to Rev. Reg Savary, June 29, 1942.

²⁹ John Shozawa, Appendix VIII, Sept. 14, 2008, Exhibit 'I', page 24 of 24.

³⁰ Letterhead from a January 20th, 1943 Interim Report by Rev. W.H. Gale, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, Box 72, File 1.

³¹ Rev. H.G. Watts, "Letter to Canon L.A. Dixon," 19 March, 1942, Dixon Papers, AAT.

³² Canon Timothy Nakayama, email to the author, August 19, 2009.

³³ Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles, *Some Reminiscences About My Nikkei Relations*, May 23, 2003, p.2.

III. WHY WERE THERE SO FEW?

Why were there so few?

- Eli Wiesel

*Canadian and American historians ...
show remarkable unity in their belief that few American's and Canadian's ...
sought to protect the rights of Nikkei citizens.*

- Stephanie Bangarth, *VOICES RAISED IN PROTEST*

In reading the records of the period, especially 1942-1944, and talking to the survivors today, one fact is inescapable. The 12 Japanese Workers (of Figure 3) and the three Anglican Clergy (Gale, Nakayama and Savary) who went into exile with the Japanese-Canadians were venerated. In some cases, the Japanese Workers were victims of the same virulent racism experienced by their parishioners. Margaret Foster was evicted in Vancouver on several occasions because of Japanese-Canadian visitors from the Church of the Ascension.³⁴

Into Exile with the Exiled

They went into exile with the exiled. Only 2 of the 15 from Figure 3 who went into exile with the JC Anglicans were Japanese-Canadian. The other 13 were white. They did not have to go. They lived under conditions only marginally better than those encountered by the JC exiles. The report of the MSCC Board in 1943 recorded these words from PBMO Treasurer W.H. Mathewson;

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 in every district 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 effort to look after the Missionary workers.³⁵

Treasurer Mathewson's words come to life for visitors to the Nikkei Museum in New Denver, BC. There, you can see the inadequate wooden huts of 1942, pictures of tents sagging under the weight of the snow, and even one of the tents themselves. While the Rev. W.H. Gale tried to look after his workers in 1942, there was no one to look after the exiles. Tim Nakayama, recalling the day they moved into the log cabin he referred to on page 12, remembers that his sister Joy cried when she

entered what was to be the family home; the cow dung ceiling, the newspapered walls and the outside toilet were a far cry from the home they had left behind in Vancouver. Still, the fact that they had a dwelling of their own was in stark contrast to the thousands of others who were living in tarpapered huts, two families crammed together with only enough room for sleeping and eating. The Nakayama children felt themselves lucky. In retrospect, they feel grateful that because of their father, they were able to live out the winter in a log cabin. The loss of their lovely home in Vancouver (now owned by The Land Conservancy as a heritage site) must have made the cabin feel like a dump, but they were warm and safe from the snow and winds.³⁶

The living conditions of the Rev. G.G. Nakayama and his family would have been mirrored in Canon W.H. Gale's concern for his Japanese Workers as well. The experience of Joy and Tim bring to life Treasurer Mathewson's description that the PBMO staff endured a great deal of personal discomfort, that the circumstances were difficult and exasperating, and that the housing problem was acute. Despite this, even 30 years later, the missionary workers did not complain. In *Pacific Pilgrims*, Grace Tucker only had words for the exiles; "We had hundreds of people under canvas when the snows came."³⁷ Basil Izumi recalls, as a five year old in 1942, looking outside their tent one morning, being cold and in awe of the first snowfall of the year outside, his first conscious memory of snow. Basil can't recall how his Mother felt.³⁸ Grace Tucker describes how the first baby was born in one of those tents.³⁹

The Rev. W.H. Gale's difficulties were not just with housing. His staff was spread over a wide area. The 1943 MSCC report by W.H. Mathewson highlights denominational responsibilities in the camps.

"In the earliest stages of the evacuation the Churches assisted the Commission in several ways. It was arranged that Greenwood be assigned to the Roman Catholics, Kaslo to the United Church, Sandon to the Buddhists and Slocan District to the Anglicans."

He then goes on to explain how W.H. Gale's spread was much wider than just the Slocan District:

*"Our work is now centered in four localities: Slocan City and District with Rev. G. G. Nakayama in charge and seven regular (i.e. paid by the PBMO) and three volunteers ... Salmon Arm: Rev. R.N. Savary ... Kamloops: Miss Kathleen Lang ... Tashme: Rev. Gale attends to this area. There are three Mission workers there, who share a small cottage with two United Church workers."*⁴⁰

The Tashme note is the only specific example in the official record of the acute housing shortage referred to by Treasurer Mathewson. The General Synod archives contain a full file on Reg Savary's experience in Salmon Arm. When he finally secured inadequate accommodation for him, his wife and his four children, far outside of town, they were as pleased as the Nakayama children in Slocan to have anything at all.

The gratitude felt towards all of these PBMO Japanese Workers and clergyman has been amply documented, but bears repeating. Grace Tucker received the Order of Canada in 1987 for her work in supporting the Japanese-Canadians through these dark years. Her obituary reads "In honor of

her work during WW II, she was made a member of the Order of Canada."⁴¹ Joy Kogawa, another Order of Canada member, expressed gratitude from a child's perspective; "I remember Miss Foster and Miss Tucker ... who did what they could, and loved the children and who gave me a puzzle to play with on the train."⁴² The official 100th Anniversary History of the Diocese of New Westminster, *Pacific Pilgrims*, summarizes the ultimate effect of the Japanese Workers best; "But wherever they are (the exiles), they remember the women (the Japanese Workers) who went into exile with them, the women they called *Sensei* (teacher)."⁴³

These Japanese Workers, however, felt isolated. They reached out for support where they knew they could find it. Miss Margaret Foster communicated with the General Secretary of the MSCC in Toronto: "we do feel so thankful to know we have your whole-hearted support – the great tragedy is that you and your splendid co-workers are so far away."⁴⁴ There are hints at the effect the hardships were having on the missionaries and their families. Some went back to Vancouver. Margaret Foster was on medical leave for an extended period of time. The wife of a UCC minister died of tuberculosis and overwork at the end of the war, while a UCC minister, Kyuichi Nomoto, broke down during a church service in New Denver, and committed suicide on June 30, 1944.⁴⁵

Throughout these hardships, Canon W.H. Gale and Canon G.G. Nakayama were with their parishioners. Both traveled extensively, and both are acknowledged in *Pacific Pilgrims* graciously. The Rev. Reg Savary is seldomly mentioned, possibly because he came to the PBMO after the exile, upon his return from Japan before the start of the war. His is the only war time written record remaining from ordained Anglican clergy in BC that brings racism out of the shadows. For the most part, it remained in the shadows, as when Margaret Foster writes to Canon L.A. Dixon of the MSCC; "There are many things one would like to say but cannot under the circumstances."⁴⁶ Even forty years after the war, it was difficult for those who lived through it to give it voice. In 1995, Grace Tucker couldn't go far beyond what her good friend Margaret Foster wrote 43 years previously;

"The UCC (and perhaps other churches) realized how wrong was the 'discriminatory laws' ... I can see we failed the JC's – perhaps if we had worked sooner and harder, some of the problems could have been averted. Not easy for A.C.'s in B.C. where some of leading clergy espoused the 'Keep B.C. White' movement!"⁴⁷

SPEAKING UP FOR THE EXILES

There were those, however, who could speak out openly. That they were individuals in positions of power, who suffered nonetheless, may explain why the Margaret Fosters of the world would not. Angus MacInnis was a BC MP for the CCF (precursor to the NDP) and was a lonely voice in fighting the racism of the day. On Feb. 25, 1941, MacInnis spoke in the House in Ottawa: "we must stop discriminating against and abusing our orientals ... if we treat the Japanese and our other orientals aright, we shall get their loyalty."⁴⁸ The MP had been unpopular with the racist crowd in BC for some

time. Alderman Halford Wilson, a member of the Executive Council of the Diocese of New Westminster as well as a member of the Board of the PBMO prior to 1942, wrote the following comments in 1940: "Because of his pro-Japanese utterances, he is probably the most un-popular man today in BC."⁴⁹ MacInnis' attacks on racism did not let up. In 1943 he continued in the House, unabated: "If we deal with them differently (than the Germans or Italians) – and we have done so – we do it on account of racial prejudice." Justice Berger praises MacInnis' courage:

*"MacInnis displayed political courage throughout his political career, but never more so than during the years when he was the lone defender of the Japanese-Canadians in the House of Commons."*⁵⁰

The Few - Anglicans in Orders Speaking Up for the Exiles

It was as rare to find this courage in BC Anglican Clergy as it was to find it in BC MP's. The Rev. Wilberforce Cooper of St. James was one (Rev. Wilberforce Cooper was a future Canon, and will be referred to as such in this work). Rev. Reg Savary with the Japanese Mission in Salmon Arm was another, while Archbishop W.R. Adams, Bishop of the Kootenays and Chair of the PBMO, was a third.

Canon Cooper is an especially noteworthy example of someone with courage in abundance. In the 1940 election for a new Bishop in the Diocese of New Westminster, he was a close second in the voting, right up to the last ballot, behind Sir Francis Heathcote (it has been commented how different things might have been if he had become Bishop). Canon Cooper's courage to fight for what was right was attested to by future Bishop David Somerville: "I learned a great deal from Father Cooper, his enormous pastoral care for people and his absolute fearlessness. He'd wade right into the middle of any situation."⁵¹ Canon Cooper was the Anglican member of the renegade ecumenical VCC group (the namesake of the JC-VCC group that supported this work), chaired during the war by Dr. Norman F. Black of the United Church of Canada (the UCC). He was not only involved in fighting for racial justice through the VCC, though. Canon Cooper will reappear in *RELINQUISHED* again in Section V, A PROMINENT ANGLICAN, when he is shown to fight against racial injustice in a very public way at the 1942 Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, labeling Alderman Halford Wilson as the leading anti-Japanese racist of the day.

Reg Savary was not an established figure like Canon Cooper. He would never be runner-up in an election for Bishop. If Canon Cooper's enduring legacy in this story is as a peace and justice man of action, Reg Savary's enduring legacy is as a peace and justice man who could write. Rev. Tadashi Mitsui provides a UCC perspective on people like Reg Savary; "courageous ministers and missionaries, especially those who came home from Japan."⁵²

Reg Savary was an articulate writer. In his Christmas letter to friends on Dec. 15, 1942, from the Sladen residence on Auto Road in Salmon Arm,⁵³ his outspokenness shows itself for the first time:

Besides the work among the Japanese themselves, when opportunity offers (unintelligible) to "white Canadian" congregations and organizations on the Japanese problem. There is an immense amount of work to be done among them too, combating prejudice and pointing out the hypocrisy of claiming to support the Atlantic Charter and at the same time discriminating

*against all Orientals in our own country. It is worth passing on that in nearly every community the prejudice against the Japanese-Canadians and their parents is dying down unless artificially kept alive by certain people for their own purposes. ... Suffice it to say that our opinion is that we should go much further in trusting them than we do. But more about that later.*⁵⁴

In a letter of support for the JC's that he wrote to the BC Security Commission, Canon L.A. Dixon quotes Reg Savary in February 1943:

*It is worth noting that the Christian boys (amongst the JC camp workers in his district) in the camps are far above the rest in the state of their morale. It is not the faults of the camps as camps that morale is so bad, but the accompanying mental confusion in these boys who are Canadian citizens but are treated in a harsher manner than German or Italian aliens.*⁵⁵

In Reg Savary's Christmas letter of 1942, he documents how close racism was to the surface:

*In the attitude of the ordinary citizen there is more reason and less emotion than there was eight months ago. But it must be remembered that if one Japanese should make a false step, reason would go out again and the whole Japanese-Canadian community would be damned completely. Most of the Japanese themselves realize that and carry themselves accordingly.*⁵⁶

Reg Savary was also willing to write publicly about his views, even when they were unpopular.

In the 17 September 1942 *Salmon Arm Observer*, shortly after his arrival there, he is quoted as saying "the strong prejudice among white people towards the Japanese placed in some places is dying down."⁵⁷ He showed the true strength of his convictions, though, on 24 June 1943 when he wrote a lengthy opinion piece to his town newspaper, the *Salmon Arm Observer*, after citizens had voted 325 to 58 against allowing Japanese workers to come into Salmon Arm for the summer harvest.⁵⁸ This was written after he had received an "uncouth challenge" and been "told plainly by certain authorities in this district that this is none of my business";

*"I do not wish to see Canada, or any part of it, drag its name in the mud by intentional injustice to any group of people, no matter what their racial origin ... I believe that unless we put the Gospel of Christ and the highest citizenship into the problem of racial minorities in Canada ... we will lose the peace. We must proclaim and practice justice toward every racial minority in Canada – Chinese or Japanese, Swede or Finn or Dane. And in no other way will we have a united and self-respecting Canada."*⁵⁹

Reg Savary's 1943 words are strikingly similar to those in the 2004 ACC *Charter for Racial Justice*.

His article in Salmon Arm was not an isolated instance. In Feb. 1943 he had contributed to *Canada and Christendom* on "Japanese-Canadians,"⁶⁰ in Feb. 1944 he contributed "Our Attitude to Japanese-Canadians"⁶¹ to the Japanese-Canadian *New Canadian*, and in the Fall of 1944 he had attended the second UCC Japanese Workers Conference in New Denver.⁶² The Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles knew Reg Savary during the war (a home movie in the National Archives shows him and Savary together at the Camps in the Slocan District), and later in Japan. He writes in recollection of him:

Reg. Savary was a strong supporter of the Nikkei people's civil rights during WW II, and was a good man; honest and straightforward, without any guile. He was a graduate of Wycliffe College, and an evangelical in the old mould. In Japan, I encountered the strength of conviction that Reg Savary demonstrated in Salmon Arm when we clashed over the revision of the Book of

*Common Prayer of the Seikokai in the late 1950's. It is interesting to note that when the Savary's went back to Japan, it was to Tokushima on Shikoku Island. The daughter of the priest of the Tokushima church at the time married Tim Nakayama and Reg probably (I don't have any exact knowledge) had something to do with that.*⁶³

As an interesting JC-VCC aside, Cyril's memory was good. Canon Tim Nakayama concludes the story:

*The Rev. Reginald Savary -- he is indeed our "nakodo" - "baishakunin" ("go-between" who brought Keiko and me together). Reg. knew both of us: Keiko in Japan, ... and - me when our family was interred in the 1940's. He helped initiate an air-mail interchange which went on for three years until, one day, I received an apologetic letter from Reg. He recounted the statement that he gave me about not getting involved in our letter-writing. But he apologized for getting somewhat involved -- because Keiko's family wanted to initiate plans for "arranging" a marriage. So he wanted to ask me if I might be "interested". The rest is history, as they say, and Keiko travelled to Canada, where we were married in Lethbridge, on Sept. 18, 1961.*⁶⁴

From Figures 5 & 6, recall that Reg Savary's ultimate boss in BC was the Chairman of the Board of the PBMO, Archbishop W.R. Adams. His is the third Anglican voice in orders in BC that was willing to speak publicly in defense of the Japanese-Canadians in WW II, on the record. At the 1943 General Synod in Toronto he made the following statement:

*"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 raise objections and make unfounded accusations."*⁶⁵

Trevor Bamford states that Archbishop Adams was able to make this statement because he took an active role in the Slocan community, made frequent visits to the internment sites and took a special interest in the lives of the people. On occasion, he displayed his keen mathematical mind in the classroom, teaching mathematics. He participated in the worship and developed a friendship with the Rev. G.G. Nakayama.⁶⁶ His son Tim corroborates Bamford's observations:

"I have a kind of 'out of the body' recollection of him - of seeing this imposing tall man with a felt black hat, my short Father, also wearing a black hat, and smaller me, about 10 years of age, and the three of us walking down the middle of the asphalt pavement road on the highway through Slocan City."

The interest that Bamford notes Archbishop Adams took in the people is demonstrated in Tim's next recollection.

*"I remember Archbishop Adams talking to me, asking me questions. He asked, 'What's your name?' I replied, 'My name is Timothy'. Then he asked, 'Who is Timothy?' I replied, 'Timothy was a friend of St. Paul.' I was relieved when he didn't expect me to say much more about Timothy and Paul! However, I believe he asked me, 'What are you going to do when you grow up?' I replied, '...to become a Priest.'"*⁶⁷

Individuals like Archbishop W.R. Adams, MP Angus MacInnis, Canon Wilberforce Cooper and the Rev. Reg Savary are role models for those who fight racism and injustice. Stephanie Bangarth explains how their kind were few and far between in the 1940's; "Canadian and American historians ... show

remarkable unity in their belief that few American's and Canadian's ... sought to protect the rights of Nikkei citizens."⁶⁸ Professor Patricia E. Roy, the pre-eminent researcher on racism against the Oriental communities in BC, is more succinct; "These were voices in the wilderness."⁶⁹ The same could be said for supportive communities in the 1940's.

The Few - BC Communities Supporting the Exiles

The best example of the extent to which communities in BC were racist is seen in a 1945 motion, three years after the exile began, that demanded the 'repatriation of all peoples of Japanese origin after the war with Japan'. Forty-eight municipalities or groups endorsed what the *Vancouver Province* called "blind prejudice."⁷⁰ As Reg Savary showed above, this 'blind prejudice' was even more virulent in 1942. There were communities, however, that demonstrated the courage of Adams, Cooper and Savary. Like Adams, Cooper and Savary, these communities were in a minority. In the wasteland that the Japanese-Canadians found themselves in after Pearl Harbour, however, these communities stood out as brightly as did Adams, Cooper and Savary. In the early days of 1942 when the exile began, there were only two BC communities that would voluntarily take the exiles; Kaslo and Greenwood. It was government policy not to send the exiles to a community that did not want them. It was showed earlier how Kaslo was selected as the site for the United Church, and Greenwood as the site for the Roman Catholics. What is missing from W.H. Mathewson's account on page 16 is that Kaslo and Greenwood lobbied with the Government to have the Japanese-Canadians come to their communities. Greenwood was so successful in this campaign that some of the very first Japanese-Canadians to leave Vancouver were shipped to Greenwood (which conveniently was a stop on the Kettle Valley railway line, the route taken by most Japanese-Canadians on their journey of exile into the Interior camps).

The legacy at Greenwood lives on to this day. In 2008, this author was struck by a new sign at the eastern edge of town greeting visitors; おはいり パーク. This is the name of the park, in Japanese; Ohairi Park. In Japanese *Ohairi* means welcome, come on in. The young lady who greeted us at the Tourist Information center was a *yonse* (fourth generation Japanese Canadian). There was a fine museum of the community experience with the Japanese-Canadians during WW II, and many of the Japanese-Canadians had been extra's in an American movie made at Greenwood in 1998 documenting the Japanese-American experience in WW II (*Snow Falling on Cedars*). Over 60 years after Greenwood had opened their arms to the Japanese-Canadians in WW II, it continues to promote their inclusiveness (by comparison, if you go to Tashme, just east of Hope, nothing exists to tell you that 2400 Japanese-Canadians lived there for over 3 years. The site is now incongruously called Sunshine Valley).

Kaslo is the second town that greeted the Japanese Canadian exiles with open arms. Professor Patricia E. Roy writes extensively of Kaslo in her work *A Tale of Two Cities: The Reception of Japanese Evacuees in Kelowna and Kaslo, BC*. Her study was of the contrast between a town that was rabidly racist (Kelowna, to be covered in Section IV), and a town that was the exact opposite (Kaslo). It is a compelling work, and more effectively than almost anything else you can read in the literature, highlights

the polarity that existed within BC when the exiles were being moved from the Coast to the Interior of BC. The mood of Kaslo before their arrival was captured by the local newspaper, the *Kootenaian*;

“Let us not treat them as alien enemies, until they prove themselves as such. It’s a fine chance to demonstrate if Christian British Columbia can practice what it preaches.”⁷¹

At the end of war, the *New Canadian* had high praise for this United Church town; “people would be glad to remain in what is assuredly one of the finest spots in the country.” With regard to race relations, the *New Canadian* stated that Kaslo had been “a graphic illustration of how the artificial barriers of race will crumble under the influence of good-neighborliness.”⁷² Tadashi Mitsui adds detail; “The United Church Japanese worked with the Occidental people, the public school and high school became integrated, and Oriental’s and Occidental’s were treated equally. It was a noteworthy phenomenon in a time of war hysteria.”⁷³ Roy, the *Kootenaian*, the *New Canadian* and Mitsui all seem in agreement.

Patricia Roy’s three seminal works (*A White Man’s Province*, *The Oriental Question*, and *The Triumph of Citizenship*) are exhaustive in their research of archives and newspapers. Her summary remark that the voices of people (in the case of *RELINQUISHED*, Anglicans) like Adams, Cooper and Savary were voices in the wilderness applies equally well to Kaslo and Greenwood. Unfortunately for the Japanese-Canadians, they had few friends. And many enemies. As Roy shows, this racist attitude did not change much as the war ended; “Districts that took them under protest, such as Kelowna and Kamloops, or had none, such as Nelson, were no more sympathetic in 1945 than in 1942 (but communities such as Kaslo, New Denver, and Greenwood accepted them and learned to appreciate them).”⁷⁴ Section IV of *RELINQUISHED* will tell the story of Kelowna as a proxy for all those communities that refused to accept the Japanese-Canadians at the beginning of the Japanese war in 1942, and those that insisted on their removal at its end, in 1945. These three sections on the different faces of racism will conclude in Section V by moving from racist perspectives in Kelowna to those in Vancouver, as the location in which the Anglican Diocese of New Westminster dispersed the Japanese Canadian ‘in-trust’ funds after selling the three Japanese Canadian Anglican church properties in 1945 and 1949.

Summary

In summary, there were very few in the province of BC, during the early war years of virulent racism, who had the strength of character to publicly oppose it. There was a single ecumenical church group, the Vancouver Consultative Council (VCC). While there were others, the three BC males that stood out from an Anglican perspective were Archbishop Adams, Canon Wilberforce Cooper, and Reg Savary. There were only two communities, Kaslo and Greenwood, that took an outspoken stand in support of the Japanese-Canadians. For the most part, the rest of the province was either virulently racist or quiet. For Japanese-Canadians Anglicans, of course, they had their beloved Japanese Workers, and their tireless clergy, and, too far away to help much on the ground, the MSCC.

In terms of the trinity of Figure 5, the MSCC, the PBMO and the Dioceses of BC, the greatest help was the PBMO. It was understood that the MSCC was just as supportive, but as Margaret Foster noted in her

letter to Canon L.A. Dixon, the General Secretary of the MSCC, it was a tragedy that they were so far away. From the third member of the organizational trinity, the Dioceses of BC, the official record is very thin on support. The only names that get mentioned in the historical record are David Somerville's role model, Canon Wilberforce Cooper, and Archbishop Adams of the Kootenays.

Amongst the very few in the province of BC during the early war years of virulent racism who had the strength of character to oppose it (although less publicly than the trinity above) was Mrs. Susannah Wilson. In his *People Tell Me* column, Al Williamson of the *Vancouver News Herald* explains;

*Chuckle: An 18-year-old Japanese girl delivered the address of welcome when 300 members of the Girl's Auxiliary of Church of England Diocese assembled for their annual rally at St. James' Hall. The girl was Kimi Muramatsu and she was chosen to make the speech by Mrs. G.H. Wilson, whose husband is Canon at St. Michael's – and whose son is Ald. Halford D. Wilson, who is usually outspoken in his anti-Japanese remarks!*⁷⁵

Patricia Roy makes reference to the incongruity of this in a footnote of *The Oriental Question*; "In what must have caused an interesting family debate, in 1941 Wilson's mother chose Kimi Muramatsu to give the welcoming address."⁷⁶ Williamson's 'chuckle' and Roy's 'interesting debate' will make more sense after Section V. For this section, however, the focus is on those who opposed racism, and by this small act Susannah Wilson did just that. *Middlemarch* puts her action in context; "the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts."⁷⁷ This is not the end of Susannah Wilson's story. She went on to provide the multi-cultural (anti anti-Japanese) image that represents the essence of what the few Anglican advocates of the Nikkei fought for, and to bring to life the conclusion of *Middlemarch's* sentence above, applicable to 'all the few' of this section; "and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life." The advocates of the Nikkei documented above have truly led a hidden life in this regard up until now.

From the perspective of the 21st century, Susannah's image will not seem so very unusual. From the perspective of the 1940's, however, it was as radical in Vancouver as Professor Feilding's 'travesty of episcopacy' or Canon Cooper's synod condemnation of Susannah's son as the leader of the anti-Japanese movement (upcoming in Section V). The image of this window brings to mind the great Supreme Court Justice of the United States, Earl Warren, an enemy of the Japanese-Americans in WW II. Before his death, he was to write of the children, "Whenever I thought of the innocent little children who were torn from their homes ... I was conscious stricken."⁷⁸ Figure 7 (page 25), Susannah's legacy of a *Suffer the Little Children* multi-cultural stained glass window, will mirror Chief Justice Earl Warren's conscience, as well as speak for Bangarth's brotherhood of the few who sought to protect the rights of the Nikkei citizens of Canada in the dark days of 1942-1949.

In Israel, they recognize their friends with a category called the *Righteous Among the Nations*. Schindler would be an example of someone who received this recognition, and who many would be aware of from *Schindler's List*.

The concept and authority for this program is described by a Remembrance Authority in the National Holocaust Museum of Israel, the *Yad Vashem* site:

*This project is a unique and unprecedented attempt by victims to pay tribute to people who stood by their side at a time of persecution and great tragedy. Based on the principle that each individual is responsible for his or her deeds, the program is aimed at singling out within the nation of perpetrators, collaborators and bystanders, persons who bucked the general trend and helped the persecuted Jews.*⁷⁹

The next two sections of *RELINQUISHED* will focus on the perpetrators. This section, however, has focused on those 'who bucked the general trend and helped the persecuted' Japanese-Canadians. An idea gaining currency amongst the Nikkei is an equivalent recognition for those who tried to help the Japanese-Canadians in their darkest hours. The names of MacInnis and Cooper and Savary and Adams identified in this section would seem to fit the criteria for consideration. Section VIII will identify others from the United Church of Canada. As will be seen, the few in the UCC were as courageous as the few in the ACC.

* * *

If they felt like they had a few friends, the Japanese-Canadians knew they also had many powerful, race-baiting enemies. This section of *RELINQUISHED* has been the story of the few lights in their lives. Sections IV & V will now attempt to tell the story of the many dark forces that plagued the lives of the Japanese-Canadians, and which the light seemed unable to overcome, even as late as 1949.

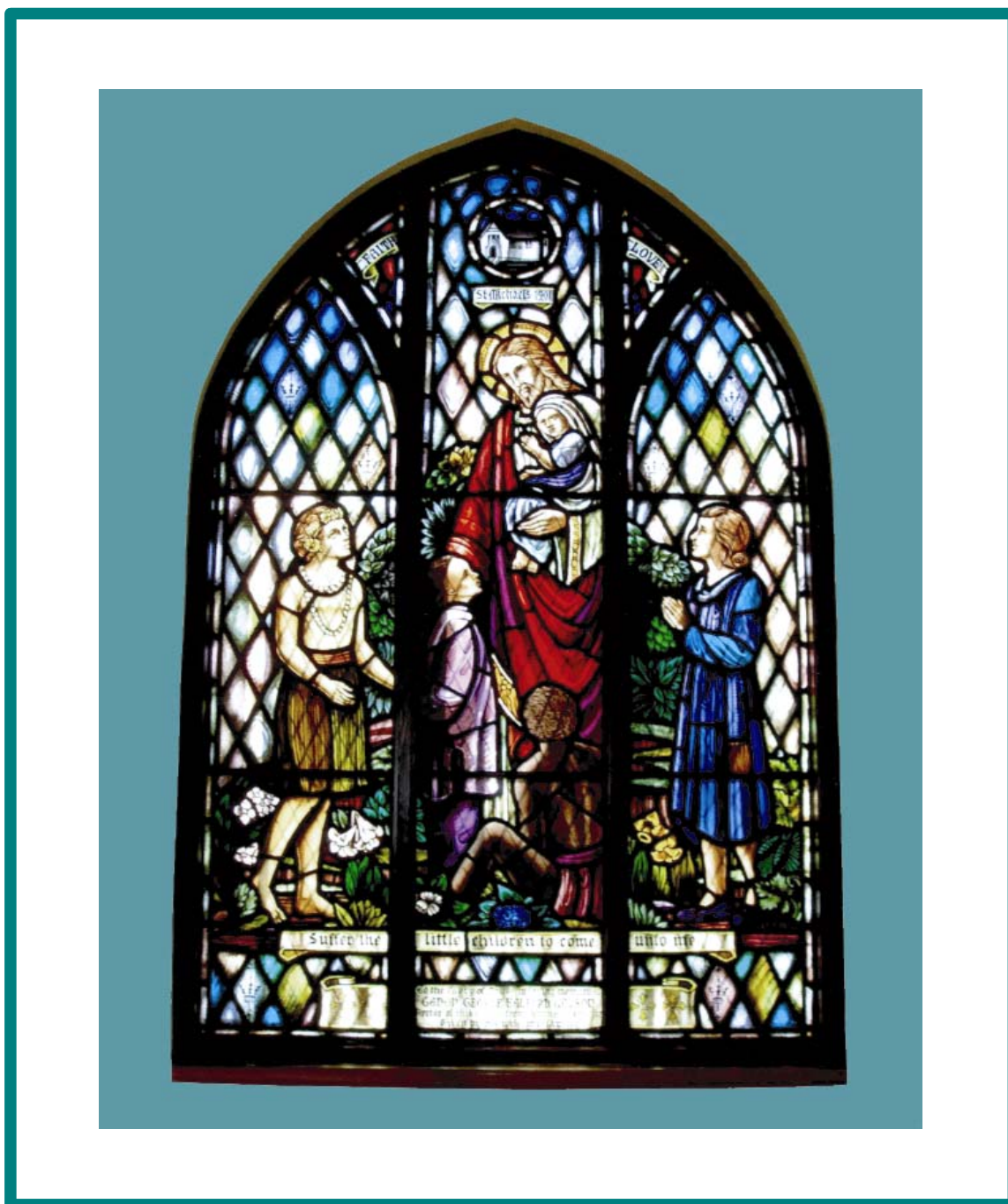


Figure 7 Susannah Wilson's Post-WW II Baptistry Window: *Suffer the Little Children*.⁸⁰

Five Children with 4 discernible multicultural backgrounds; Polynesian (left), Asian (with Jesus' hand on their head), African (at Jesus' feet), and European (right, in prayer).

At the time of the windows dedication, this Church was still a traditional white Anglican congregation, of which the Wilson family had been pastoral and lay leaders for over 50 years.

- ³⁴ Bamford, Trevor C. *The Unwelcome Stranger: The Anglican Church's Relationship to the Japanese Canadians in British Columbia, 1900-1945*. Master of Theological Studies paper, Vancouver School of Theology, March 1988, p.23.
- ³⁵ W.H.Mathewson's 1943 PBMO Report to the Board of Management MSCC, p.37.
- ³⁶ Emails from Joy Kogawa and Canon Tim Nakayama, Aug. 18 & 19, 2009.
- ³⁷ *Pacific Pilgrims*, p.123.
- ³⁸ Conversation with Basil Izumi, August 19th, 2009, on the 60th Anniversary of the sale of Holy Cross Church.
- ³⁹ *Pacific Pilgrims*, p.123.
- ⁴⁰ W.H.Mathewson's 1943 PBMO Report to the Board of Management MSCC, page 38
- ⁴¹ www.thefreelibrary.com/grace+tucker-a0112797925 (originally published in the Anglican Journal, Jan. 1, 2004).
- ⁴² *Pacific Pilgrims*, p.125.
- ⁴³ Ibid, p.125.
- ⁴⁴ Letter from Margaret Foster to Canon L.A. Dixon, April 8, 1942, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, Box 72.
- ⁴⁵ Roddan, *Batter My Heart*, p.97.
- ⁴⁶ Letter from Margaret Foster to Canon L.A. Dixon, April 8, 1942, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, Box 72.
- ⁴⁷ Roland Kawano, *Ministry to the Hopelessly Hopeless*, 1997, p.111.
- ⁴⁸ Justice Berger, *Fragile Freedoms*, p.106 & 111.
- ⁴⁹ H.D. Wilson letter, 8 Jan. 1940, Hemmings, p.214.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid, p.111.
- ⁵¹ *Pacific Pilgrims*, p.154.
- ⁵² Mitsui, Tadashi, *The Ministry of the United Church Among the Japanese in British Columbia, 1892-1949*. Master of Theological Studies paper, Union College, 1964, p.247.
- ⁵³ "He has rented the Sladen home on the Auto Road, and hopes to be in residence there in a few days", Salmon Arm Observer, Sept. 17, 1942, p.1
- ⁵⁴ December 15, 1942, Salmon Arm Christmas letter from Reg Savary, General Synod Archives, Box 72
- ⁵⁵ February 1, 1943 letter from Canon L.A. Dixon to Mr. E. Trueman, General Synod Archives, Box 91.
- ⁵⁶ Included in Rev. W.H. Gale's Interim PBMO report of Jan. 20th, 1943, General Synod Archives, Box 72.
- ⁵⁷ Salmon Arm Observer, "Missionary For Our Japanese," Sept. 17, 1942.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid, "District Council Accepts Decision of Ratepayers," p. 1, May 27, 1943.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid, "Ballot on Japanese Labor," June 24, 1943, page 6 & 7.
- ⁶⁰ Hemmings, p.179, note 15.
- ⁶¹ Hemmings, p.189, note 7.
- ⁶² Kawano, p.31.
- ⁶³ Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles email of August 22, 2009.
- ⁶⁴ Canon Tim Nakayama same day email response to Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles email of August 22, 2009.
- ⁶⁵ General Synod Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting, Sept. 9-17, 1943, p. 147.
- ⁶⁶ Bamford, p. 32.
- ⁶⁷ Canon Tim Nakayama email, August 22, 2009.
- ⁶⁸ Bangarth, Stephanie, *Voices Raised in Protest: Defending North American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry: 1942-1949*. Vancouver, UBC Press, 2008.
- ⁶⁹ Patricia E. Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese & Chinese in Canada, 1941-1967*. Vancouver, BC, University Press, 2007, p.24.
- ⁷⁰ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese & Chinese in Canada, 1941-1967*, p.139.
- ⁷¹ Ibid, p.107.
- ⁷² Ibid, p. 108.
- ⁷³ Mitsui, *The Ministry of the United Church Among the Japanese in British Columbia, 1892-1949*, p.288.
- ⁷⁴ Roy, p.113.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid, p.107.
- ⁷⁶ Roy, *The Oriental Question*, p.312, note 48.
- ⁷⁷ George Elliot, *Middlemarch*, Bath, England, The Folio Society Ltd, 1998, p. 837, last paragraph.
- ⁷⁸ Wikipedia, Chief Justice Earl Warren
- ⁷⁹ http://www1.yadvashem.org/righteous_new/about_the_program.html
- ⁸⁰ Baptistry Window, *Suffer the Little Children*, St. Michael's Anglican Church, Vancouver, BC.

IV. VIRULENT RACISM - SHOOT THE BRUTES

T. Kobayashi, whose family had lived in the area for many years, told the founding convention of the JCCA in September 1947 that the people in Kelowna had been very anti-Japanese.

- Patricia Roy, *TALE OF TWO CITIES*

In March of 1942, Sir Francis Heathcote, the Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster, wrote to an eastern member of the PBMO Board

There are two forms of hysteria out here – one which says ‘shoot the brutes’ and the other which says, ‘why can’t we treat them in a Christian way’⁸¹

It seems a sad insight that a leader of the PBMO would characterize as ‘hysteria’ proposals by ‘the sympathetic people’⁸² to treat the Japanese-Canadians in a Christian way. One can’t help but believe that the Chairman of the PBMO Board, Archbishop W.R. Adams, or fellow Board member Canon W. Cooper, would have found a way to express it so that the ‘other’ didn’t appear to be so much on the periphery.

As was shown in the previous section, those who fought to ensure that Japanese-Canadians were treated in a Christian way, even amongst the Christians, were voices in the wilderness. Those against them were legion; “Antipathy to Asians was widespread.”⁸³ Those who Sir Francis described as wanting to ‘shoot the brutes’ were characterized more accurately by Muriel Kitagawa as “a vociferous group of race-baiters.”⁸⁴ The broadest perspective of all is provided by Patricia E. Roy, the pre-eminent scholar on the Oriental Question in British Columbia, who expresses it a third way, as a question;

Why were white British Columbians so hostile to Asian Immigrants?⁸⁵

In her work, Roy summarizes by making two observations with regard to this hostility. First was the striking shift in attention between 1914 and 1941 from the Chinese to the Japanese.⁸⁶ Her second observation was to show how the hostility happened in waves, with peaks happening in 1907, 1921, and, the subject of this work, 1937-1941 (and beyond). Roy’s conclusion with regard to the extent of the hostility was provided above with her comment above that antipathy to Asians was widespread. Roy’s analysis of the reasons for the antipathy is summarized in just two points; the desire to keep BC white, and economic competition (TIME magazine, near the end of the war, described racism as “a paying racket,” while a BC journalist summarized it as “deeply rooted in the pocket book”).⁸⁷ The *Vancouver Sun* concluded with Roy’s two points in a Sept. 26th, 1942 editorial celebrating the removal of the Nikkei from the West Coast, under the headline ‘*REMOVED FOR THE DURATION – AND PERMANENTLY?*’:

*We have won one fight for a **white** British Columbia.*

*The Japanese have been removed from the **vocations** they pre-empted*

*It is our business to see that they stay evacuated.*⁸⁸

The editorial listed the vocations; “the Japanese have been ... eliminated from salmon fisheries, logging, wood-cutting and other industries where they had gained a footing ... at the expense of our own people.” Roy notes that regional variations developed re: vocations; agriculture was the focus of concern in the Okanagan, and the retail trade in Vancouver.⁸⁹ This section of *RELINQUISHED* will focus on a community in the former, Kelowna, and Section V following on an individual in the latter, Alderman Halford Wilson.

In Roy’s three-volume study of how white British Columbians acted towards Asians, and why they acted as they did, she relies on empirical evidence. She states clearly that her work relies on three sources; the papers of politicians, the records of relevant government departments, and the newspapers of the time.⁹⁰ This and the previous section on racism in *RELINQUISHED* have relied on the same three sources. The groundedness of her conclusions can probably be no better demonstrated than by her statement “I have not read every page of every newspaper published in the province between 1914 and 1941, but I have read the major dailies ... and most weeklies.”⁹¹ Her ‘meticulous research’ in this area earned her admission in 2006 as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, the most prestigious academic society in Canada.

This section, then, builds on the ‘meticulous research’ of the Oriental Question laid by Roy in her lifetime of work. The base Roy has laid, with its broad strategic view, allows this work to focus on a few specific examples, Kelowna and Alderman Halford Wilson, to show with specificity the virulence of the racism faced by the Japanese-Canadians. These three sections on racism are especially important in this work, as they lay a big piece of the groundwork for when the question of why the Diocese of New Westminster sold the 3 JC AC properties is addressed at the end of Section VIII.

Before telling the two racism proxy stories using Kelowna and Vancouver Alderman Halford Wilson, a final explanation on why they were chosen. Ken Adachi influenced the initial consideration of Kelowna with his 1986 quote; “Kelowna, in fact, symbolized the hostility in many localities across Canada.”⁹² Patricia Roy further suggested the choice with her 1990 work *The Tale of Two Cities*. A week at the library in Kelowna confirmed beyond doubt that rich material existed to show virulent racism throughout the war, in a city that had over 400 Japanese-Canadians when the war began. There was also an interesting foil, a ‘Kaslo’, just 30 miles north in Vernon (coincidentally, from the PBMO letterhead of Figure 6, it can also be seen that Vernon was the home of Archbishop Adams). Vancouver Alderman Halford Wilson was chosen for more diverse reasons. Solid sources like Adachi, Roy and the *New Canadian* gave him considerable attention. He even had a movement name after him; the Wilsonites.⁹³ Muriel Kitagawa, in the unrestrained context of a private letter, seems to summarize the Japanese Canadian consensus with her angry “God damn his soul,”⁹⁴ a phrase that was to appear in the mouth of Aunt Emily in *Obasan*.⁹⁵ In the context of this paper, however, possibly the most important consideration of all was his role as a “prominent Anglican.”⁹⁶ He was a member of both the Executive Council of the Diocese of New Westminster, and of the Board of the PBMO. His Father, Canon Wilson, served with him on the Executive Council. First, though, Kelowna.

Kelowna

Kelowna was clearly in the camp Sir Francis described as 'shoot the brutes.'

An initial reading of the award winning weekly newspaper, the *Kelowna Courier*, could certainly have left the impression that Kelowna in fact belonged in Sir Francis' other hysterical camp. In a 26 June 1941 editorial, R.P. McLean states his belief in the Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments. Reassuringly, he explains that he is not easily swayed by hysterias, which 'excite and mislead city people.' Mr. McLean purported to have a code of ethics, to be led by reason, and to be able to differentiate between news and propaganda. The *Kelowna Courier* was a multi-year winner of National awards for weekly newspapers, so it is hard to be sure whether he was writing with an eye to future awards, the population of the Okanagan Valley, or both. After reading four years of the *Kelowna Courier*, the only thing that seemed certain was his next line; "(I am) like every human being in the community, heir to the frailties with which all mankind is endowed."

As Adachi states and Roy concurs, and as this work will show, McLean and his community displayed a level of hostility that, if it was typical of many localities, is difficult for us to comprehend today.

Before Pearl Harbour, Kelowna already had a sizeable Nikkei population. Between Kelowna, Rutland and Westbank, there were 464 Japanese-Canadians. One of the families was JC-VCC member Ross Tamagi's family. His father grew up in Kelowna and was a teenager during the war. They had an orchard in Rutland which was owned by the family until the 1980's. It is now a municipal park. It was not sold under order-in-council PC #469 because it was not in the zone from which the Nikkei were evacuated. Continuing to live on the property on which he had grown up, Ross' father says of the mood in those days, "you didn't go into town unless you had to."⁹⁷

Prior to order-in-council PC #469, the evacuation of the Nikkei was authorized by order-in-council PC #1486, passed on Feb. 24, 1942, another one of the super-critical events of WW II highlighted in red in Appendix II. Just as Roy documents waves of Asian hostility that peaked in 1907, 1921 and 1937-1941, Kelowna was to indulge in four waves of Nikkei hostility; in early 1942, the Spring of 1943, early 1944, and, finally, again in early 1945. It is hypothesized here that these four waves of hostility seem to have coincided with major national debates regarding the next step in the fate of the Japanese-Canadians, and could be interpreted as an attempt to influence them. As will be shown, the following four orders-in-council roughly coincide with the four waves of hostility in Kelowna; PC #1486 in 1942, PC #946 in 1943, PC #3797 and the campaign re: Dispersal in 1944, and what eventually became PC #7355 in 1945 (see Appendix II, index #'s 11a, 19a, 22 & 23, and 30a).

Wave 1 - We Don't Want them in Kelowna - early 1942

The order to evacuate all Japanese-Canadians from the West Coast was contained in order-in-council PC #1486, signed into law on Feb. 24, 1942. This was part of a North American strategy; an equivalent order for the Japanese-Americans was signed into law by President Roosevelt five days earlier (see index 10 in

Appendix II). What was unknown when these orders were signed was where the Nikkei would go. There was only panic to get them away from the Coast, in both Canada and the US, as soon as possible.

Kelowna almost immediately began to make it clear that they didn't want them. For a seven-week period, from January 22nd to March 19th, the *Courier* documented the fight to declare the Okanagan Valley a protected area, exempt from receiving Japanese Canadian evacuees. On January 22nd, they started their offensive with the headline of BETTER SMALL CROP OF ONIONS THAN LARGE CROP OF JAP TROUBLE. By Feb. 19th, in much more threatening tones, there was "much talk of vigilantes" and "taking the law into our own hands if the government won't protect us." Their objective was clear; "No Japs are going to take up land or go into business in this district." A week later, an editorial talked of "resorting to the West's most traditional habit of taking the law into its own hands." On March 12th & 19th, the *Courier* reported signs saying "Coast Japs ... Get Out" and "Coast Japs, You Are Not Wanted." Possibly this extremism had an effect. Despite initial difficulties in finding placement for about 12,000 evacuees, the Commission responsible for moving them would not "arbitrarily place Japanese in locations where the sentiment of the resident population was adverse to them."⁹⁸ Kelowna (and the South Okanagan) had made it crystal clear what their sentiment was.

Not every community in the Okanagan Valley was as virulent as Kelowna, though. Immediately after Pearl Harbour, a *Vernon News* editor stated "The Japanese, an entirely agricultural community, form an extremely important element in the economic setup of Vernon, and we hope that none of the hatred for their Imperial cousins will be visited on these hardworking, industrious people."⁹⁹ A week later, under the headline of RACE PREJUDICE IN OKANAGAN VALLEY, an editorial spoke against "intolerance, that spirit of fierce determination to look on other races as lesser breeds within the law."¹⁰⁰ A month later, under the headline JAPANESE SITUATION – FACT AND RUMOR, the editor continued to argue for tolerance and personal liberty; "no one should forget that this is a country professing British ideals of freedom, tolerance, and personal liberty ... persecution is a very different thing from adoption of sensible precautions."¹⁰¹ There was to be no such tolerance from the *Kelowna Courier* in over three years of virulence. Ending a seven week campaign of virulent hatred, the *Courier* editor concluded on March 19th with "the brown boches will creep into our valley ... let us repeat and keep on repeating every Jap is an alien enemy ... every Jap is a menace to our security." The campaign was successful. Kelowna did not have to take any West Coast evacuees. The first of them would arrive in Greenwood on April 25, and in Kaslo on May 11th. By May 21st, 1,021 men were preparing the five ghost towns for habitation.¹⁰²

Having achieved their objectives, things fell quiet in Kelowna. At least until the next ugly round of hostility, which was to begin in the spring of 1943.

Wave 2 - The Fight to Keep Central Okanagan White - Spring 1943

On Feb. 5, 1943, PC #946 was signed into law giving the Minister of Labor the authority to move Japanese-Canadians "to any other place in Canada at such times and in such manners as he may prescribe." This meant that, like Canadians under the National Selective Service, the Minister of Labor

could move manpower around the country as the war effort required. One Nikkei expressed his objections; "Sure, we're Japs, but only Canadians when it's convenient for them to consider us Canadians."¹⁰³

On page 19, Reg Savary was shown to have written an opinion piece in the *Salmon Arm Observer* to object to the 325-58 vote to keep Japanese-Canadian laborers out of that town. Kelowna's reaction was to be much more violent than what Reg Savary encountered in Salmon Arm. On April 15, 1943, the editor of the *Courier* was warning of "Activities by vigilantes ... a minor civil war." He ended with one of Patricia Roy's two characteristics of the anti-Japanese movement; "If the Okanagan is to remain a white man's country." The newspaper reported "Anti-Japanese action in Kelowna on Thursday caused considerable stir both here and at the Coast." The week following, on April 22, 1943, page 1 read

JAP FAMILY GIVEN TWELVE HOURS TO DEPART FROM CITY LIMITS.

The vigilante action threatened the week before happened when "two members of City Council, two members of the Canadian Legion, and two members of the Junior Board of Trade" went down to the United Church Japanese Mission and advised the four member family to be gone the same day. The Higuchi family of four, including two teenage boys, caught the 6:00 ferry that evening. The same edition headlined NO MORE SCHOOLING FOR JAPS. Two weeks later, an editorial expresses hatred for the Nikkei in the form of "a Frankenstein defying eradication."¹⁰⁴

Vernon continued to take an opposite course and had distanced itself from what it saw as the extremism in Kelowna a year earlier; "we disassociate ourselves from their extreme views," and asked that "a distinction (be) made between this district and those parts of the Okanagan" that didn't want the Nikkei for summer labor.¹⁰⁵ Over the last six weeks of Spring in 1943, the Kelowna extremism continued; "this local Japanese War,"¹⁰⁶ that the Coast Japanese presence "could only lead to violence,"¹⁰⁷ and the refrain highlighted by Patricia Roy, "The fight to keep Central Okanagan white."¹⁰⁸ Roy's focus on 'Central' Okanagan is important. The gap between the two neighboring communities of Kelowna and Vernon became so great that Vernon and district, in the North Okanagan, had long since "broken away from Kelowna and the Okanagan Valley Security Committee."¹⁰⁹ The impression of the Japanese-Canadians in Vernon reflected the views espoused by their newspaper. The Japanese Canadian Citizens Association of Vernon was to write after the war; "Wartime Vernon was quite peaceful. There was no sign of ill feelings on either side."¹¹⁰ It is unknown how much Archbishop Adams, with his Diocesan seat in Vernon, had to do with this peace. While the peace might have been true for the permanent resident, it probably wasn't quite the same for Coast Japanese who moved into the Vernon area; "they sensed that the war-time atmosphere was a bit unfriendly." Compared to Kelowna, however, as shown above with the ferry eviction, and as will be shown in 'Kill Japs' following, the contrast was great; "T. Kobayashi, whose family had lived in the area for many years, told the founding convention of the JCCA in September 1947 that the people in Kelowna had been very anti-Japanese."¹¹¹ For 1943, however, Kelowna had again fully achieved their racist objectives, and things fell quiet. Again, though, racial

hostility would rise the following year, and bring with it the most virulent language that was to be seen during the war.

Wave 3 - Kill Japs - early 1944

In some ways, the virulence of 1944 is the hardest to understand. The editorial of the *Courier* on Feb. 3, 1944 was the most violent, racist one of the war. Find it shown here in its entirety as Figure 8 on the next page, so that the reader can form their own opinion (note especially the last paragraph). In the next section on Vancouver Alderman Halford Wilson, the *New Canadian* will refer to a campaign of hate in the 1930's. If any of the 400+ Nikkei who had resided in Kelowna prior to the war had read this editorial in 1944, how must they have felt? When the last paragraph of the editorial was read to a Nikkei during the writing of *RELINQUISHED*, they reflected that the Japanese-Canadians back then must have wondered "why people hate us so much." To the credit of the *Courier*, however, for the first time they allowed letters to the editor to speak against the paper. A writer from Victoria referred to the persecution of the 'Canadian Japanese' in Kelowna, and makes the accusation of "nominal democrats and Christians; those who give lip service to democracy and Christianity."¹¹² A second writer, from the air force, accused the editor of increasing bitterness and hatred, submitting that the editor should use restraint instead of inflaming public opinion. The editor, of course, had the last word. Taking almost a verbatim quote from Sir Francis, the editor begins by saying that "both letters maintain that Christian races should try to convert the Japanese ... and treat them with kindness." He ends with the same sentiment he ended with in the editorial of Figure 8: "Our contention is that expulsion of all Japanese is the only real solution."¹¹³ It will be shown that this was the same theme as that of Alderman Wilson and the Vancouver Wilsonite's, and forms the theme of the sub-heading following.

Wave 4 - Total Repatriation - early 1945

The duration of the waves of hostility diminished as the war moved towards a close. This flash of hostility was only to last one week, on January 25, 1945. While not nearly as violent as in 1944, it still had a decidedly strong racist slant to it. The objective as stated by the editor was the same; they were "on record as desiring the total repatriation of all Japanese after the war," adding that the feeling in Kelowna was just as intense as it was in 1942. A reporter was as unalterable in his views, and asked for "complete repatriation." He finished with a theme that was almost unchanged from the words that Rev G.W. Wilson used at the 1907 anti-Asian riot (to be covered in the next section); "intermarriage is a thing which should be avoided at all costs ... that it was a mistake to mix races the results of every racial intermingling had been disastrous in every country when it has happened."

Ten days before the sale of the first Japanese Canadian church property in Vancouver, T.B. Pickersgill, Commissioner of Japanese Placement in Vancouver, issued a March 12, 1945 (Appendix II, index 25) NOTICE to Japanese-Canadians:

*Japanese-Canadians who want to remain in Canada should now re-establish themselves
East of the Rockies as the best evidence of their intentions
to co-operate with the Canadian Government in carrying out its policy of dispersal.¹¹⁴*

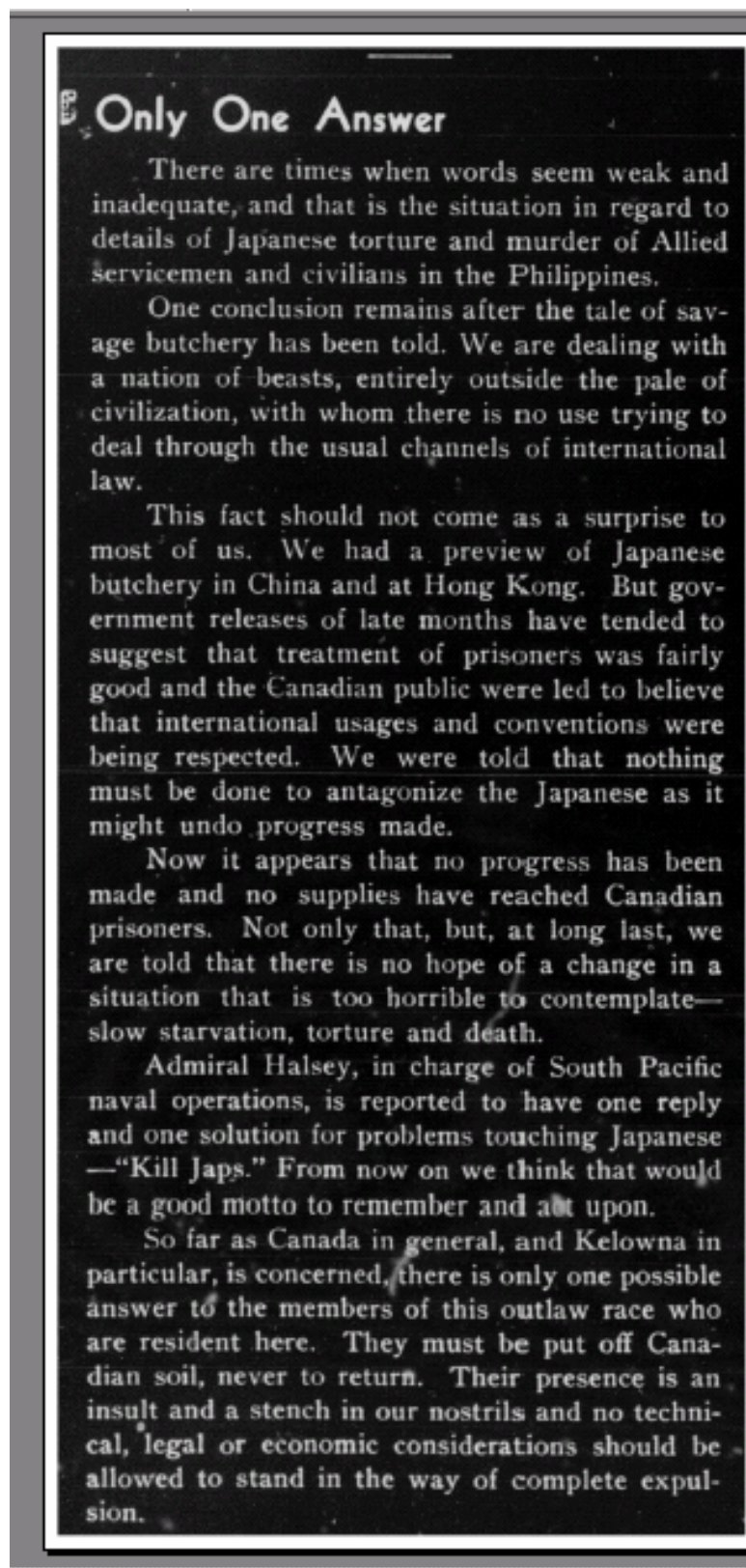


Figure 8 "Kill Japs" Editorial – Kelowna Courier – Feb. 3, 1944

From the perspective of the Kelowna's of the world, the NOTICE, while not the complete repatriation they wanted, and though not an order-in-council (that would come in December as PC #7355, and would, finally, unleash a storm of protest across Canada), once again achieved Kelowna's essential objectives. The ultimate effect on 3,964 Nikkei was harsh. Basil Izumi, a member of the JC-VCC and a warden today of Holy Cross, was an 11-year old Canadian citizen amongst the 3964 people PC #7355 legally deported to Japan in 1946. An oft published photo shows him and his family on a railway station platform in Japan, after he and his family had disembarked from the *SS General Meigs*. The war had been over for a year.

Set Aside as a Closed Book and Forgotten - April 1949

There were 21 such hate-filled editorials and news article between 22 January 1942 and 25 January 1945, out of the 57 that are found in the *Kelowna Courier* in the same period. A one-page summary of the 21 can be found in Appendix XI. With the possible exception of 1944, the virulent attacks seemed to have political objectives. In 1942, Kelowna was able to keep evacuees out. In 1943, Kelowna was able to keep Nikkei summer workers out. In 1944, in the most hate-filled language they used during the war, they let it be known that they wanted the Japanese-Canadians off Canadian soil. In 1945, Kelowna must have felt that they were rid of the Japanese-Canadians, and that they would be East of the Rockies.

On April 1, 1949, four years later, the Japanese-Canadians were finally allowed to come back home. The Japanese-Americans had started returning home four years earlier (and had homes and churches to return to). The *Courier* did not have much to say, other than to try to forget the whole thing. There was no repentance. No apology. 10 days after the Japanese-Canadians could start to come back, R.J. McLean wrote in an 11 April 1949 editorial that he hoped only for the desirable ending that it would be forgotten:

*“ one of the most distressing incidents in the life of this community
... the unpleasant ‘Japanese Incident’ can be set aside as a closed book and forgotten ...
That would be the most desirable ending for a most unpleasant incident.”*

As always, Kelowna's neighbor to the north took a more humanist approach. A page one headline in the 7 April 1949 issue of the *Vernon News* announced:

SEVEN YEAR EXILE FROM COAST AREA ENDS FOR JAPANESE

They had interviewed the local Japanese Canadian Citizen's Association, quoted a member as saying “Now, legally, we have the same rights as anyone,” and observed that others in the district regarded it as a “new lease on life.” The ‘other’ had no such voice in Kelowna.

A month after these two markedly different responses to the end of the SEVEN YEAR EXILE, the Diocese of New Westminster would state as policy in Executive Council minutes that the need for Japanese Mission work was nil, and would begin the process of moving Japanese Canadian ‘in-trust’ funds from the PBMO to the Diocese. The denizens of Kelowna might have understood these actions more than they would have in Vernon. This leads to the second proxy on racism in *RELINQUISHED*, Vancouver Alderman Halford Wilson, the ‘Prominent Anglican.’

- ⁸¹ Sir Francis C.C. Heathcote, "Letter to L.A. Dixon," 30 March 1942, Dixon Papers, AAT (Hemmings, p. 223).
- ⁸² Ibid, 13 March 1942; "so far as I could see we met the demands of the sympathetic people".
- ⁸³ Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province: 1914-1941*. Vancouver, BC, University Press, 2003, p.5.
- ⁸⁴ Patricia E. Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.307.
- ⁸⁵ Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question*, p.231.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid, p.235.
- ⁸⁷ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.195.
- ⁸⁸ The Vancouver Sun, *Removed for the Duration – And Permanently*. Sept. 26, 1942, p.4.
- ⁸⁹ Roy, *The Oriental Question*, p.5.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid, p.12.
- ⁹¹ Ibid, p.13.
- ⁹² Ken Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians*. Toronto, Ont., McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991, p.255.
- ⁹³ Muriel Kitagawa, *This Is My Own*. Vancouver, BC, Talonbooks, 1985, p.87.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid, p.91.
- ⁹⁵ Joy Kogawa, *Obasan*.
- ⁹⁶ Rev. H.G. Watts, "Letter to Canon L.A. Dixon," 19 March 1942, Dixon Papers, AAT.
- ⁹⁷ Conversation with Min Tamagi, father of JC-VCC member Ross Tamagi.
- ⁹⁸ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.74.
- ⁹⁹ The Vernon News, editorial, Dec. 11, 1941.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid, editorial, RACE PREJUDICE IN OKANAGAN VALLEY.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid, editorial, JAPANESE SITUATION – FACT AND RUMOR.
- ¹⁰² Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was*, p.252; the five towns referred to as 'ghost towns' were Greenwood, Kaslo, New Denver, Slocan City and Sandon. Tashme, a newly built facility, would become the sixth, and is the only one which doesn't exist today (except as Sunshine Valley).
- ¹⁰³ Ibid, p.263-4.
- ¹⁰⁴ Kelowna Courier, editorial, May 6, 1943.
- ¹⁰⁵ Vernon News, *Four Areas Break With Ok. Committee*. Aug. 27, 1942, p.1.
- ¹⁰⁶ Kelowna Courier, editorial, June 17, 1943.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid, editorial, June 24, 1943.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid, editorial, June 17, 1943.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid, *Four Areas Break With Ok. Committee*. Aug. 27, 1942, p.1.
- ¹¹⁰ Vernon Japanese Senior Citizen's Association *TIL WE SEE THE LIGHT OF HOPE.*, p.58.
- ¹¹¹ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*.
- ¹¹² Kelowna Courier, Letter to the Editor, Summer, 1944..
- ¹¹³ Kelowna Courier, editorial, Summer, 1944.
- ¹¹⁴ Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was*, Appendix X, paragraph 2, page 438

V. VIRULENT RACISM - A PROMINENT ANGLICAN

For everyone who sought to help, there were thousands who didn't.

- Joy Kogawa, *OBASAN*

God damn his Soul!

- Muriel Kitagawa

The two writers above, Joy Kogawa and Muriel Kitagawa, both appear in the Canadian Imperial War Museum in Ottawa (although not these particular quotes). They are two of the three voices selected by the War Museum as representative of the Japanese Canadian experience in WW II. They both point to the theme of this section. As stated earlier on page 28, one of the reasons for selecting Vancouver Alderman Halford Wilson as a proxy for those characterized as “diehard racists”¹¹⁵ was that he was also an Anglican. Not only was he an Anglican, he was what future Bishop H.G. Watts referred to as a “prominent Anglican.”¹¹⁶ Before delving into the actions that led Roy to label him a diehard racist (and Muriel Kitagawa, during the war, to single him out and curse him), it is important to first try and understand why Watts called him a prominent Anglican, and whether or not he was right.

A Prominent Anglican?

Was Alderman Halford Wilson really a prominent Anglican? Diocese of New Westminster Synod records from 1927 to 1949 would seem to suggest so. The Standing Committees of Synod to which he belonged in that time frame, including his Father and other *RELINQUISHED* associates, are summarized in Figure 9.

DIOCESE of NEW WESTMINSTER - STANDING COMMITTEES of SYNOD - 1927-1949

Alderman Halford D. Wilson Membership, plus *RELINQUISHED* Associates

		1927	1931	1934	1936	1938	1940	1942*	1944	1946	1948
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL	Canon H.G. Wilson - Appt'd (<i>ret'd in '47</i>)	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
	Canon W. Cooper	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Ald. Halford D. Wilson (<i>Alderman in 1936</i>)	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	*	-	-	-
	W.H. Mathewson (<i>Treas. of Diocese</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Rev. Gower (<i>Bishop in 1950</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓
GENERAL SYNOD	Canon W. Cooper	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Ald. Halford D. Wilson	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-
PBMO <i>(down from 12 to only 2 members from 1944 forward)</i>	Canon W. Cooper	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
	Rev. W.H. Gale (<i>Supt. of Japanese Missions</i>)	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
	Ald. Halford D. Wilson	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	-	-	-
	W.H. Mathewson (<i>Treas. of PBMO</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓
REL. EDUC.	Ald. Halford D. Wilson		✓	✓	✓	✓					

* Ald. Wilson entered the armed forces in the summer of 1942, & next attended Synod in 1946 as Maj. Wilson. He never held office in a Standing Committee of Synod again.

Figure 9 Alderman H.D. Wilson - Diocesan Committee Membership from 1927-1949

Included in Figure 9 are the names of some of Alderman Wilson's associates on those standing committees. Note especially his membership on the Executive Council. Next to Synod, which met every

two years, it continues to this day to be the highest decision making body in the Diocese of New Westminster.¹¹⁷ It is this body which will make the decisions with regard to Japanese Canadian churches and 'in-trust' funds, and which will be the subject of Section VII. Note also the PBMO. Figure 5 in Chapter II showed the centrality and mandate of the PBMO group in managing and directing the Japanese and Chinese Missions in the Province of British Columbia. While Wilson's associates Canon W. Cooper and Treasurer Mathewson should be familiar names by now, the 4th name is not. Canon G.H. Wilson has been included because he was Alderman Wilson's father and a prominent Anglican in his own right. Understanding of the father's standing in the Anglican community has been included in the attempt to discern whether Alderman Wilson was a prominent Anglican himself.

Several points bear emphasis with regard to Canon Wilson, one of which can be seen in Figure 9. Note the designation after Canon Wilson's name – 'appt'd' (this started in the 1938, and continued up until his retirement in 1947). What does it mean? Two members of the Executive Council are 'appointed' at the prerogative of the Bishop. Canon Wilson was one of his appointees. Further evidence suggesting the close association between the Bishop and Canon Wilson was his occasional role as Commissary during the Bishop's absence. One of the letters appointing him Commissary is in the Vancouver City Archives.¹¹⁸ His rank in the Diocese can be further suggested by the ordering of names in the official Synod documents. In lists of officers, he is always first after the Bishop. Canon Cooper is always next after Canon Wilson, and, if he is not on the list (as in the case of the PBMO), Canon Cooper is first.

Taken together, the evidence of Alderman Wilson's involvement in key Diocesan committees and the standing of his father, while not definitive, would strongly suggest that the description of Alderman Wilson as a prominent Anglican was essentially correct. Also of importance to this story was his membership in the two decision making bodies that are most central to *RELINQUISHED*; the PBMO & Executive Council.

Before moving on to the story of Alderman Wilson in the context of racism in Vancouver, one further background item bears expansion. His father, Canon G.H. Wilson, had been a priest in Vancouver since 1903. He was to serve at St. Michael's Anglican Church in Mount Pleasant for 44 years. Then Rev. G.H. Wilson had a high profile role at the infamous anti-Asian riots in Vancouver in 1907. The *New Canadian* gave context to those riots after Pearl Harbour; "the Japanese community is taking the worst beating since the riots of 1907."¹¹⁹ Wilson, speaking at the rally which preceded/precipitated the riot, was quoted extensively the next day by the *Vancouver Sun*. His speech is also noteworthy for the way it articulates, as far back as 1907, the two themes that Roy cites as the motivation for all anti-Asian attitudes; economic competition and a white mans province.

Rev. G.H. Wilson ... deprecated in strong terms the need of cheap labor.

In the proposal to place the Anglo-Saxon and Oriental races side by side there was a situation fraught with the greatest danger before the country.

The races could not by the very nature of affairs amalgamate.¹²⁰

The title of Roy's book from this era was *A White Man's Province*; at the 1907 riot the 2000 marching men carried small flags inscribed "A white Canada for us."¹²¹ If in 1937-41 Alderman Wilson ended up repeating what his father had said, his father had only voiced what his Bishop of three decades (1910-40) had been saying. Bishop A.U. de Pencier stood for an immigration policy that would make the province white, British, and Christian, and was to state that except in rare instances "the Occidental and Oriental cannot successfully intermarry."¹²² His successor, Sir Francis (1940-50), seemed to be of the same mold. More important to the point of this work is what this background reveals of the culture and attitudes that Alderman Wilson grew up with. It was articulated again by Rev. Wilson's White-British-Christian words 2 months after the riot, when he again spoke publicly at another meeting of the Asiatic Exclusion League.

If the Anglo-Saxon race is to head the march of civilization, if they are to be in the vanguard of the movement that will evangelise the world - and I believe that God intended that they should - then it is necessary for them to control the Pacific seaboard, for here will the line of competition be drawn ...

We cannot come down to the place of the Asiatics without sacrificing all that has been accomplished during the past century, and that is what it will come to if the Asiatics remain here.

We can do ... more towards Christianizing the Asiatics in their own land.

*There we can seek to bring them up to our level,
rather than have them here and be brought down to their plain.*

Leapfrogging off of the 1907 riot Adachi moves ahead to the 1937 anti-Japanese Vancouver agitation spearheaded by Alderman Wilson, "who gave direction and vehemence to the general hostility that had existed for decades in the area,"¹²³ an obvious reference back over the 30 year span marked by the 1907 anti-Asian riots. This will be the starting point with Halford Wilson, recalling that Roy indicated that while the first great wave of anti-Oriental sentiment was 1907, the third one was 1937-1941. Roy's third wave covers the years in which Wilson was a member of City Council, the PBMO Board, and the Executive Council of the Diocese of New Westminster. The transition in 1940 from one prominent Anglican, Bishop de Pencier, to another, Bishop Heathcote, likely changed the culture little; Sir Francis had relieved de Pencier for four years in WW I when he went to Europe to serve as a chaplain. It is not just as a prominent Anglican that *RELINQUISHED* focuses on Halford Wilson, though. It is also as the "most prominent"¹²⁴ member of the anti-Japanese group.

Campaign of Hate – the late 30's

Before beginning with what the *New Canadian* described as the anti-Japanese campaign of hate, it is helpful to reflect on the locale in which Halford Wilson grew up. St. Michael's Anglican Church, of which his father was rector, and their family home, were in the center of Mount Pleasant. The church was integral to the community. Major church events and the goings and comings of Canon Wilson and his family were often in the *Mount Pleasant News*. The great secret of the area, invisible to those who moved into the community after 1942, were the 1200 Japanese-Canadians who lived, worked and owned businesses in the area. During an interview with one of the parishioners from those days, Ms. Eleanor Jones (a recent winner of the Order of the Diocese of New Westminster for a life time of service to St. Michael's), she was asked if any of those Japanese-Canadians went to St. Michael's. With all the self-

assurance in the world, she helped the interviewer understand that that just wasn't done in those days. So, in summary, just as Kelowna took all of the racist actions it did despite the 400+ Japanese-Canadians in its community, it would appear that despite 1200+¹²⁵ Japanese-Canadians in his neighborhood community, Halford Wilson in Mount Pleasant did precisely the same thing.

Long before it did in Kelowna, things were starting to heat up in Mount Pleasant and Vancouver in 1938. The *New Canadian*, the English Japanese Canadian newspaper for the *nisei*, provides the most material about Alderman Wilson during the late 30's.

In the early years of Wilson's membership on the Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals (PBMO) and the Executive Council, a 24 November 1938 editorial of the *New Canadian* mentions "his drive is against the Orientals," and, in frustration, observed that "As long as he is hitting at the Orientals he is satisfied." After 13 JC bellboys were dismissed from the Hotel Vancouver on 5 March 1939, the same paper states in another editorial "No more unreasoning, unjust and inexcusable act (in) the entire history of the Japanese in British Columbia (of) racial discrimination has ever been perpetrated." All, they state, because of an organized campaign of hate "directed against innocent people residing in Canada, people who are in no way responsible for developments of an international nature" (in all likelihood this was a reference to international outrage against atrocities committed by the Japanese Army in Nanking, which became known in 1938). The theme of hate was recognized outside the Japanese Canadian community, plus the fact that it wasn't only Wilson who promoted it. A *Vancouver Sun* columnist was to characterize it as "the hatred of some of our white citizens against our brown citizens," and was to attack the racial prejudice that BC's white economic interests had established with the help of politicians like Wilson and Liberal MP Ian Mackenzie. Bruce Hutchison of the *Winnipeg Free Press* was to write a damning critique of "sheer racialism" and was to focus on Mackenzie and the BC MP's, "who hate the Japanese simply because they are Japanese."¹²⁶ Included with Mackenzie and his ilk was Yale Conservative MP Grote Stirling. The *Kelowna Courier* had high praise for these two; "and I have Mr. Stirling's word for it that Mr. Mackenzie has been doing his damndest to help. If the Japanese problem is not straightened out, I do not think it is because these two men have fallen down on the job."¹²⁷

On April 1st (a date to become important in 1949), reaching outside the province for support, a reprint from the *Ottawa Journal* in the *New Canadian* stated "Neither should we maintain prejudice against the Japanese-Canadians." Two weeks later, on April 15th, 1939 a headline proclaims that WILSON URGES LICENCE RESTRICTION, to discriminate against Orientals, and to carry on the anti-Oriental drive. Wilson is then quoted as saying

"he was in a position to doubt the loyalty of Orientals. They are a people whose loyalty cannot be counted on, if Canada were to be involved in world difficulties".¹²⁸

He says these words as an elected member of the Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals (see Figure 5). At this point in time, Alderman Wilson had held the position for twelve years, and attended a church in a neighbourhood that included 1,200 of these 'people'. Finally, on May 1st, taking the high road (it must have been hard), the *New Canadian* carried a handsome picture of their persecutor, their Saul,

noting that he had been invited to address a meeting of *nisei*'s. It is unknown if he attended. Whether he did or not, it must not have bothered them that Saul lost the federal Conservative nomination referred to in the caption under the picture. In his career, Halford Wilson was never to attain a level of political leadership above Alderman.

Wilson's campaign against the local Japanese-Canadians paralleled an international and national campaign against Japan during 1938 and 1939 to stop the shipment of strategic materials like scrap iron. Some of the federal MP's who were Wilson's bedfellows in the anti-Japanese campaign took an active part in that campaign; Grant MacNeil and Howard Green both advocated the embargo. The *B.C. Federationist* carried a sarcastic cartoon of WE STAND ON GUARD FOR THEE which showed a freighter labelled SCRAP IRON leaving for Japan following a Japanese flagged ship, under the expensive guns recently installed in Vancouver Harbour. The Prime Minister, however, on this occasion at least, would not give in to the BC MP's and support them on this issue.¹²⁹ Giving in would only start to happen after Pearl Harbour.

This sub-section has dealt with the early years of Roy's anti-Oriental wave of 1937-1941. The war in Europe had not yet begun, and the war with Japan was over two years away, although the war in China, especially after the Rape of Nanking, was trending public opinion in favour of the Chinese-Canadians and against the Japanese-Canadians. The next period covered will be the time when this trend escalated, up to the beginning of the Japanese War on Dec. 7, 1941.

A Symbol of Discrimination - the beginning of the European War

In September and December of 1939, the *New Canadian* again reports on Alderman Halford Wilson's continual campaign of discrimination. It headlines on Dec. 15 WILSON URGES ANTI-ORIENTAL DISCRIMINATION and reports his efforts to discriminate against Orientals in issuing trade licenses. On 19 January 1940 the editors of the *New Canadian* resorted to an open letter, under the headline TO ALDERMAN WILSON, stating, with eloquence,

*"But here in Vancouver, completely disregarding fundamental human rights and liberties ...
a city alderman again took up his club of legal persecution to arouse racial conflict*

"he has again attacked a well nigh defenceless minority on grounds of race

*"Even the most casual examination of his claims
(of very serious inroads being made upon the commercial life of Vancouver by Oriental's)
discloses his charlatanism and political demagoguery."*

The *Mount Pleasant News* showed little sympathy. It reported on 4 April 1940 that Alderman Jones agreed with Wilson on the Oriental Question, and about removing the menace of Oriental competition. It was a campaigning point for Wilson. In his campaign biography for 1940 he was described as "a vigorous foe of Oriental penetration," and Roy describes how it did him little harm with the white voters; he headed the 1940 aldermanic poll.¹³⁰ What politician wouldn't feel empowered by this? The Wilsonite's surely celebrated.

More than the *New Canadian* was noticing Wilson's demagoguery. The *Vancouver Province* noted "that he is trying by devious means to discriminate, unjustly and unlawfully against Orientals."¹³¹ In answering attacks from the "Japanese baiter" Alderman Wilson, the Japanese Consul General Tomii asserted "the Japanese-Canadians and the Japanese residents have proved themselves good citizens." In Consul Tomii's farewell interview with Foreign Affairs before returning to Japan, he drew attention to the "unfair treatment" of the Japanese in British Columbia. The legal authorities in the province were recognizing Wilson's role in this. Assistant Commissioner F.J. Mead (the 'me' in the naming of Tashme) of the RCMP interviewed Alderman Wilson. Roy observes that he had received a similar warning from Attorney General Maitland. Regardless, Wilson would only promise to consult Mead before taking any "immediate steps," and continued to beat the drum that "Japanese competition had so destroyed Canadian standards that a vigorous campaign was needed to restrict it."¹³²

Alderman Wilson had targets other than just Oriental competition. He was also trying to close their schools. In Section VIII, the story of the Vancouver Japanese Language School (VJLS) will be returned to in more depth. There is an aspect to its story, though, that Wilson brought to life in January 1941 and which should be dealt with as part of Wilson's story. At City Council on January 13 he urged Ottawa to "Investigate Japanese national schools with a view to outlawing them." He argued that the schools perpetuate Japanese culture to a point "where it sets up a barrier between British born and Japanese born Canadians," and that "Until we take action to suppress (these schools) there can be no real harmony between the two races in Canada."¹³³ The Principal of the VJLS, Mr. Sato, wrote of this incident in his 1977 memoirs;

*The attack was led by Alderman Wilson whose name has become an anathema to the Japanese people, a symbol of discrimination and prejudice.*¹³⁴

Next day, the anti-Japanese *Vancouver Sun* phoned Mr. Sato, and he invited the reporter, Gar MacPherson, to his home. On January 15th the *Sun* devoted most of a page to the VJLS, with the sub-headline NISEI LEARN TO BE 'TRUE CANADIANS'. Mr Sato "was pleased with the sympathetic tone of the article."¹³⁵ Over two months later, the threat was ended when the schools (VJLS and the 53 others in the province) were 'temporarily approved' to remain open. The German and Italian language schools had already been closed. Alderman Wilson eventually had his way, though. They were closed on the day that Japan attacked Pearl Harbour with a simple phone call from the RCMP to Mr. Sato, who informed the other 53 schools immediately.

After the campaign against the Japanese Language schools, the *New Canadian* had probably had enough. A week later, in their 19 January 1941 edition, they printed a cartoon specifically about Wilson. He was holding a rope with a noose around the neck of a Japanese Canadian - notice Wilson's pant leg in Figure 10 on the page opposite. Again, it is insightful to remain aware that this was the same man who also sat on the PBMO Board overseeing Anglican Japanese Missions in the Province of BC.

Wilson's allies in the campaign against Japanese-Canadians were active at the Federal level. Vancouver South Conservative MP Howard Green told parliament of Japanese residents in strategic locations, and in a flash of foreshadowing of one of the iconic images of the evacuation, at least twelve hundred fishing vessels that "might have to be dealt with in the event of hostilities with Japan." Roy summarized the focus of the press at the time; "For the moment, the (English) press was mainly concerned with the external threat," and that Prime Minister King had long agreed that the external threat existed. In November 1941 he correctly predicted war with Japan within the month.¹³⁶

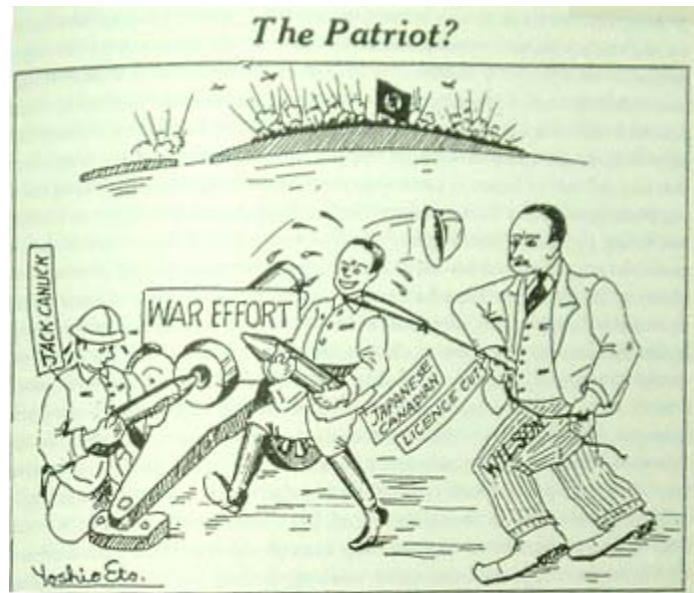


Figure 10 "The Patriot?" *New Canadian*, January 19, 1941.

A Heated Anglican Exchange – Wilson encounters Opposition

With the beginning of the Japanese war, the lives of the Japanese-Canadians changed instantly. As Mr. Sato of the VJLS wrote, after hearing the radio flash the news that Japanese warplanes had attacked Pearl Harbour, he rushed home, "wondering what was in store for us." That must have been the thought of all Japanese-Canadians. That evening, Mr. Sato sat around the dining room table until midnight, waiting for footsteps at the door. Fortunately, "I was not arrested,"¹³⁷ but he heard that forty other Nikkei had been that day. Within 80 days, order-in-council #1486 would be law, and the evacuation would begin.

Wilson, it must be emphasized again, was not alone. He is being used as a proxy for what the *Vancouver News-Herald* called "race-baiting politicians," which included BC MP's Ian Mackenzie (Lib.), Howard Green (Cons.) Grote Stirling (Cons.) and Tom Reid (Lib.), with their "full reservoir of anti-Japanese" arguments.¹³⁸ And, it must be noted, this prejudice was not restricted to these race-baiting politicians. As the Prime Minister was to write in his diary on 19 February 1942, "Public prejudice is so strong in BC that it is going to be difficult to control the situation."¹³⁹ He knew of what he wrote. He was the federal

Commissioner in 1907 that adjudicated claims for damages resulting from the 1907 anti-Asian riot. Feb. 19th was an inauspicious date. It was four days after the Fall of Singapore. And, it was the day that President Roosevelt signed into law EO 9066, the authority for evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast of the United States. Prime Minister King was to sign order-in-council PC #1486, authorizing the same action in Canada, five days later.

The fear of invasion that drove the pressure to evacuate the West Coast was not a fabrication. It was real, probably abetted by the Wilsonite's (as an example, see Wilson's Navy story that was suppressed by the censor, on the next page). A Canadian Institute of Public Opinion poll in June revealed that 50 percent of Canadians believed that a Japanese attack on the West Coast was likely within a year.¹⁴⁰ The percentage was surely much higher in BC. The Japanese occupation of a few Aleutian Islands would undoubtedly have added to those fears. G.E. Trueman's conclusion that "mass hysteria and race prejudice" drove the evacuation¹⁴¹ was partially echoed in the Bird Commission report of an "atmosphere of public hysteria induced by war."¹⁴²

Despite the overwhelming worldwide upheaval, and this real fear of invasion, not everyone was filled with hate. The United Church passed perhaps the most empathetic resolution of the times, despite deep divisions within that church on the issue:

*We would also express to the Japanese citizens of our Province, who during their long residence among us have proved to be law-abiding and industrious people, our regret that the exigencies of war necessitate this complete disorganization of their way of living. We deprecate attempts made by anyone to exploit this unhappy situation for their own personal advantage.*¹⁴³

Vernon, as was shown, argued for tolerance within the bounds of safety. The PBMO did the same thing in January of 1942, passing an eloquent and oft quoted resolution.¹⁴⁴ It is repeated here because it will be referred back to when *RELINQUISHED* reflects on the sale of the three JC AC properties and the disposition of the 'in-trust' funds in Section VIII.

THAT this Board (the PBMO) realizing the present National peril affirms that the safety of the Country is the first consideration.

AND PROVIDED that the National Security is 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.*

It does not seem possible that this could have been drafted by Board member Alderman Wilson (or the one from the UC above), who was becoming an ever-bigger problem for the authorities. Within six months he was to leave with the armed forces. But before that it will be seen that he would become more rabid than ever. With regard to the deplorable conditions at Hastings Park, he accused the authorities of "the mollycoddling of these people at Hastings Park,"¹⁴⁵ and with regard to his ultimate objective "We must hold on to the determination that after the war they shall not return."¹⁴⁶ By May, his detractors could only resort to sarcastic letters of support; "I believe that if you were given the chance you could beat him. Hitler of course is a Nazi. You are a Christian ... I believe you would be more human."¹⁴⁷

For the first time he began to encounter solid opposition from several quarters. This section will document that opposition, ending with a very public “heated exchange”¹⁴⁸ within the highest chambers of his own church.

The first opposition of this period was also very public, and was from his Mayor on City Council. Mayor Cornett was quoted in a front-page headline of the 7 January 1942 *Province*, RABBLE-ROUSING AGAINST JAPANESE DENOUNCED BY MAYOR CORNETT. An editorial in the same edition, under a headline of “A Plea for Calmness” pleaded “In the name of decency ... we should within the limits of military necessity accord these Japanese fair and proper treatment.” Mayor Cornett’s denunciation was applauded; Dr. N.F. Black (who will appear in some detail in *COMPARISONS*) of the VCC wrote to the Mayor two weeks later about “the noisiest demagogue of the hour (Wilson)” and encouraged the Mayor to “continue your efforts to prevent him from inducing his fellow citizens to abandon all the principles of Christianity and fair play.”¹⁴⁹ The censor was also at work on Alderman Wilson; he “killed” Wilson’s unfounded story of two navy men and three Japanese fishermen being killed in a skirmish at Prince Rupert.¹⁵⁰ On 21 April 1942 Roy records that “Wilson’s outbursts led the censor to suggest that, since he had recently joined the reserves, the army should send him ‘to some point in Northern BC where he could not make a nuisance of himself’.”¹⁵¹ Wilson would be gone that summer.

Before he left with the army, however, opposition to him even from within his own church appeared in the press. The attack was led by one of the lonely anti-racist trinity of Anglicans (Archbishop Adams, Canon W. Cooper and the Rev. R. Savary) from Section II. Bishop Somerville’s role model, Canon Cooper had been serving with Alderman Wilson on two different diocesan standing committees (the PBMO for eight years and the Executive Council for four years; see Figure 9). Their differences came to a head at the 1942 Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster at Christ Church Cathedral. The 4 June 1942 *Vancouver Sun* story ran with a top headline of “Ald. Wilson Figures in Heated Exchange.” The main headline below it read CHURCHMAN ADVOCATES CHRISTIAN LIKE POLICY, the churchman being Canon Cooper. Canon Cooper attacked his fellow Executive Council & PBMO member with the words that he

*“regretted that the leader of the anti-Japanese movement in Vancouver should sit here as a member of this synod”*¹⁵²

In his 1990 thesis, Michael Hemmings was to state that some Anglican clergy were anti-oriental and suggested that these comments were not aimed at just Alderman Wilson, but rather at the whole synod.¹⁵³ As reported in the *Sun*, Canon Cooper then went on at Synod that day to defend the Japanese-Canadians “You don’t see the Japanese drunk in the streets; neither did you see them in our penal institutions.” Like Alderman Wilson, he lived amongst the Japanese-Canadians; his St. James parish was adjacent to “Little Tokyo.”

The sad part of this story is its aftermath. The minutes merely noted that the Oriental situation “was a very live issue.”¹⁵⁴ Instead of a resolution on anti-Orientalism, a resolution was passed praising the evacuation process and the reviled¹⁵⁵ (by JC’s) Security Commission; members of synod “expressed its appreciation of the good work done by the Security Commission, under Major Austin Taylor and his

associates, for the skill, care, and courtesy with which they have dealt with the difficult problems connected with the evacuation of Japanese.”¹⁵⁶

In another two months, there would be no Japanese Canadian communities left in Vancouver; the Hastings Park Collection Centre was closed on September 30th because the evacuees were all gone.¹⁵⁷ “Little Tokyo” next door to Canon Cooper’s St. James church would be empty. Terry Cutforth, a six-year-old boy at St. James at the time, remembers the ghost town as “Jap Town.” As Basil Izumi was having fun in the country as a six-year-old exile in the Slocan District, Terry and his six-year-old friends were having fun exploring the empty residences and businesses Basil and all the others had left behind. Alderman Wilson’s Mount Pleasant neighbourhood a mile up Main Street had been emptied of its 1200 Nikkei. Marg Cutforth, a life long member of St. Michael’s Anglican Church, would move into the neighbourhood three years after the evacuation and rightly has no recollection of Japanese-Canadians ever having lived in the area.

Mr. Sato’s Vancouver Japanese Language School (VJLS) was empty, and would have no students until he returned 11 years later. But he would return to his school from the beet fields in Alberta.

And the Japanese Canadian Anglican churches? They too were empty and open to Terry and his friends. But no one was to return to them. They were to suffer a far different fate than the VJLS.

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- ¹¹⁵ Patricia Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.9.
- ¹¹⁶ Rev. H.G. Watts, "Letter to Canon L.A. Dixon," 19 March 1942, Dixon Papers, AAT.
- ¹¹⁷ It is now known as Diocesan Council.
- ¹¹⁸ Canon Wilson files, Vancouver City Archives.
- ¹¹⁹ *New Canadian*, December 1941.
- ¹²⁰ *Vancouver Sun*, Sept. 1907
- ¹²¹ *Vancouver Province*, Sept. 9, 1907.
- ¹²² Roy, *The Oriental Question*, p.29, 33.
- ¹²³ *Ibid*, p.185.
- ¹²⁴ *New Canadian*, from the Ottawa Journal.
- ¹²⁵ *Seven Years in Exile*, p.5.
- ¹²⁶ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.213.
- ¹²⁷ Kelowna Courier, editorial, March 12, 1942.
- ¹²⁸ *Vancouver Sun*, April 1939.
- ¹²⁹ Roy, *The Oriental Question*, pp. 176-77.
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p.211.
- ¹³¹ *Ibid*.
- ¹³² *Ibid*, p.225.
- ¹³³ *Vancouver Province*, January 14, 1941.
- ¹³⁴ Sato, Tsutae, *Building the Bridge: Teaching Japanese – Canadians for 50 Years*. Tokyo, Nichibo Printing Company, 1976, p.238.
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p.237.
- ¹³⁶ Roy, *The Oriental Question*, p.182-187.
- ¹³⁷ Sato, *Building the Bridge*, p.234.
- ¹³⁸ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.213.
- ¹³⁹ W.L.M. King Diary, 19 February, 1942.
- ¹⁴⁰ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.68.
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid*, p.245.
- ¹⁴³ Vancouver Presbytery Meeting Minutes, "Resolution re Japanese", March 10, 1942, p. 673.
- ¹⁴⁴ Hemmings, Bamford, *Pacific Pilgrims*.
- ¹⁴⁵ H.D. Wilson, "Letter to L. Leighton," 29 April 1942, Hemmings, p. 215.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, "Letter to G.M. Phillips," 29 April 1942.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, A.J. McKinley, "Letter to H.D. Wilson," 12 May 1942, p. 216.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Vancouver Sun*, June 4, 1942.
- ¹⁴⁹ Dr. N.F. Black, "Letter to Mayor Cornett," 23 January 1942, Hemmings, p.218.
- ¹⁵⁰ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.324.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.333.
- ¹⁵² *Vancouver Sun*, *Churchman Advocates Christian Like Policy*, June 4, 1942.
- ¹⁵³ Hemmings, p.248.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.43.
- ¹⁵⁵ Grace Tucker quote from Kawano.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁵⁷ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.71.

VI. DUELING THESES - “*Why this has remained a secret for forty years*”¹⁵⁸”

My parents would have longed for their children and grandchildren and the whole Japanese Canadian community to walk the earth with freedom and joy, with courage and truth-telling, healed of their wounds. The task of setting the prisoners free from the cage of silence, is one action in the calling to greater wholeness for the Anglican church.

- Joy Kogawa, Variations on A FLOWER IN THE SHADE¹⁵⁹

Two figures emerge for me. Silence and breaking the silence. Darkness and light shining to overcome the darkness. Would breaking the silence enable light to shine so that the darkness is overcome? Would breaking the silence shine the light, and bring the Bishop and others into the light of truth?

- Canon Tim Nakayama, 18 September 2008 Theological Reflection

Before moving on in Section VII to the fate of the Japanese Canadian Anglican churches, *RELINQUISHED* will review the only other extensive pieces of work that have been done on the subject. The contention of one of those works was that what happened to the churches has been kept a secret. This theme is articulated further by Canon Tim Nakayama; that a code of silence has been practiced by the Diocese of New Westminster since they sold the three JC Anglican properties in 1945 and 1949. This section will investigate these claims before moving on to the sale of the churches in Section VII.

The first clear-cut example of this code of silence, documented by Canon Tim Nakayama, was in 1953, and provides the title for this work. Canon Gale, it seems, was never informed or consulted on the sale of the 3 JC church properties.¹⁶⁰ Canon G.G. Nakayama’s son, Tim Nakayama, was a seminary student under the supervision of Canon Gale in 1953. At a meeting with Bishop Gower, Tim Nakayama asked the Bishop what happened to the JC churches. Instead of answering, the Bishop led Tim and Canon Gale out of his office to confer with W.H. Mathewson, the Treasurer of the PBMO. Tim asked his question a second time, and received the simple answer, “They were relinquished.” Tim’s declaration of 1 October 2008 provides his reasoned perspective on this event.

Given the irrefutable documentation of paragraph 9 (in his declaration), I can now characterize the reply given to me in 1953 by Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson when they told me “They were relinquished.” They were practising a code of silence.

One definition of 'code of silence' is when a person "opts to withhold what is believed to be vital or important information voluntarily or involuntarily." ... Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson were partners in this example of the code of silence in action. They both withheld vital and important information.

*This code of silence ... I believe has been practised by the Diocese of New Westminster since they sold our churches in 1945 and 1949, and most especially since the diversion of our funds at the Diocesan Executive Council Meeting of May 10, 1949 ... when both Bishop Gower (who was a priest at the time) and Treasurer Mathewson were present.*¹⁶¹

In Canon Tim Nakayama's two declarations of Sept. 14th and Oct. 1st, 2008, he documents four additional experiences that he characterizes as the 'code of silence in action'. The Rev. John Shozawa in his Declaration of 14 September 2008 documents two additional examples of this silence, and concludes "By not sharing these results, it leaves open the interpretation that the Diocese of New Westminster was continuing to hide a shameful chapter in its history."¹⁶² Bishop Michael Ingham, in a letter to John Shozawa on 31 March 1999 references another; "Thank you for a copy of Joy Kogawa's note to (Primate) Ted Scott in 1985. It's distressing to hear she received no reply. I'll follow up with the Primate."¹⁶³

Canon Nakayama documents how he became a part of that code of silence when he was told in the 1960's, by a retired Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, that he "must not say anything to anyone about any injustices I suffered from the Anglican Church." He went on to say that "this was a private conversation with the Primate, triggered when I had solicited his opinion on the treatment of Japanese-Canadians as 'enemy-aliens.'"¹⁶⁴ Tim ends his declaration with the following statement; "As a member of the JC-VCC team, I am committed to ending the code of silence that existed for over 60 years."

In John Shozawa's Sept. 14, 2008 Declaration he quotes the concluding line from a 1988 VST thesis by Trevor Bamford:

*'Why this has remained a secret for forty (sic) years
is a question which needs to be addressed.'*¹⁶⁵

This section of *RELINQUISHED* addresses this question, and Canon Nakayama clearly declares his position with respect to it:

*"This declaration is my avowal to do all in my power to ensure that there are
no more secrets with regard to what happened to the two Japanese Canadian churches
disposed of by the Diocese of New Westminster in 1945 and 1949."*

John Shozawa's reference to the 1988 VST thesis by Trevor Bamford is to one of two theses that were written at VST. In addition to Bamford's 1988 work, Michael Hemmings wrote a thesis in 1990 with a wider focus, but which devoted time to the same issue as Bamford; the sale of the Japanese Canadian Anglican churches in the 1940's. Neither of these works is well known. None of the members of the JC-VCC team knew of them before 2008. In the books of the bibliography written since 1990, there was but a single reference to them (Bangarth). Despite this lack of exposure, the remainder of this section of

RELINQUISHED is devoted to a comparison of these two works. Why? The reason is simple. They are the only detailed work done on this subject, prior to this work.

Bamford & Hemmings come down on opposite sides of the argument. Given the information that is available today that was not available then, it can be stated that neither of them proved their case. Bamford, though, was closer to the truth than Hemmings. Thus the use of Bamford's concluding line by Canon Nakayama in his Declaration of Oct. 1, 2008,¹⁶⁶ and as the sub-title and theme of this Section.

From their work, the following two conclusions can be stated:

1. Neither solved the puzzle of the sale of the 3 JC Anglican church properties. This would only be possible after the legally assisted analysis of over 170 pages of Land Registry documents. What Bamford called a 'secret' was almost certainly a secret in his time. By 2008, however, none of the principals were alive anymore, and it was a 'secret' only in the sense of what Canon Nakayama termed as 'they took these secrets to the grave.'¹⁶⁷ The secret was now only accessible through dusty documents.
2. Beyond the 'secret' of the sale of the churches, neither Bamford nor Hemmings made a concerted effort to find out what happened to the money. Without '1', it must have felt like this was impossible. In fact, this was one of the few points they could both agree upon; "Bamford also says, 'Unfortunately there are no records of where the money went.' This is quite true."¹⁶⁸ But, as will be seen in Section VII, FOLLOW THE MONEY, all of the records required to figure out what happened to the money were available to them in the Diocesan Executive Council and Synod minutes in the Archives. One explanation may be simply that they did not know Holy Cross was sold in 1949 (they both point inconclusively to 1946).

What is even more puzzling is Hemmings' strong and personal critique of Bamford; he accuses Bamford of being 'entirely negative' and of 'breast beating,' and states that his own work would be 'more objective and scholarly.'¹⁶⁹ The criticism continues throughout his work. As the next section of *RELINQUISHED* will show, however, and as Canon Tim Nakayama states, Bamford's conclusion of a forty year secret was bang on from the perspective of the JC-VCC team. Equally puzzling is that Bamford chose not to publish. He was strongly encouraged to do so by the Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles, but would not agree to, under any circumstances. Even stranger, the copy of his work that was circulated 20 years later was a truncated version which did not include his conclusion about the 'secret for forty years'. It was only when the bound copy from the VST library was consulted that it was discovered what was missing.

These observations are not meant as criticism of Bamford & Hemmings. They do lead to the realization that a lot has changed in twenty years. Twenty years ago, Canon Tim Nakayama was still sworn to secrecy. Twenty years ago, some of the players involved in the sale of the churches were still alive. As Bishop Michael said to the Rev. John Shozawa and the author, what *RELINQUISHED* was bringing to light in 2009 would have been much more difficult 20 years ago. It is hard not to come to the conclusion that

this is what Bamford & Hemmings faced 20 years ago. From reading the archive files, it is equally hard to escape the feeling that they knew what happened, but didn't know what to do with it. Bamford suppressed his conclusions and would not publish. Hemmings, for whatever reason, trashed what Bamford had done, even if it wasn't published.

Possibly fear was a factor? The JC-VCC team, when the revelations first started to become clear, felt fear and talked openly about it at one meeting. Until Bishop Michael Ingham encouraged the team to "Be Fearless with the Truth," that fear did not dissipate for some of the team members. It is hard to believe that Bamford & Hemmings could be impervious to the same feelings. And, 20 years ago, it seems a sure bet that there was no Bishop telling them to be fearless with the truth.

So, the reason for this section on the *Dueling Theses* is not in the slightest way to judge Bamford & Hemmings. The reason is to show how hard it has been to crack the code of silence referred to by Canon Nakayama. What will be shown in the next section tells a dark story. Who wants to tell such a dark story about the Anglican Church, when the times seem dark already, with schism and declining attendance? Will telling the truth of this story improve any of that?

Ultimately, though, there are four reasons to proceed that didn't exist in Bamford & Hemmings time. One, the people remaining who suffered from the loss of their churches are in their seventies and eighties now. Like Canon Tim Nakayama, they want to speak up and they want the truth told before it is too late. That mind set did not exist in Bamford & Hemmings time. The Basil Izumi's of the JC Community now ask the question, 'I wonder what happened to our churches?', and expect an answer. Two, the peace and justice movement is much stronger than it was 20 years ago. The 1988 Federal Redress for Japanese-Canadians was the first instance of our country trying to right historical wrongs. That watershed moment in Canadian history had only just happened when Bamford & Hemmings wrote in 1988 & 1990 (& surely was the motivation for their work). Three, the church is more receptive to the need for reconciliation than it was 20 years ago. The ongoing experience with First Nations and the Residential School Program has taught the church much. Four, it is not as dangerous to do this in 2009 as it was in 1988 and 1990. The participants who authorized the sale of the three JC Anglican church properties were powerful Anglicans. They are no longer alive today.

An important point to note re: Bamford & Hemmings was that they had very few published sources they could draw on. His strong and personal critique of Bamford aside, the work by Hemmings is magisterial in the wealth of new material he culled from the archives; his 150+ pages of end notes and appendices were an important beginning point for this work. Three days in Toronto culling the same archives revealed how thorough he had been. At the time, however, he had to do this because there just wasn't much else available. By comparison, the wealth of published books that are available in 2009 far exceeds what was available 20 years ago. As just one example, University of Victoria Professor Patricia E. Roy's three volumes on *The Oriental Question* (the title of her second volume) were indispensable resources for this work. Dr. Roy was made a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (RSC) in 2006 in

recognition of her work in this field. It is impossible to understand the shifting mood of racism in BC towards Orientals in the previous century without her ‘meticulously researched’¹⁷⁰ work. The previous two sections of *RELINQUISHED* are informed throughout by Ms. Roy’s seminal trilogy.

In defense of Bamford & Hemmings as well are the 66 pages of personal Declarations by Canon Tim Nakayama, Father John Shozawa, and Joy Kogawa. They make up a significant part of the Appendices of this work. 20 years ago, Japanese Canadian Anglicans, especially those under orders, both could not and would not go on the record; Canon Nakayama could not, and Bishop Gower,¹⁷¹ like in 1953, would not. In addition to the three Japanese Canadian Anglican declarations, Cyril Powles and Basil Izumi gave openly and unstintingly whenever approached by the author, as the reader must surely have noticed by now. In addition to the 66 pages of personal Declarations, the five of them have provided hundreds of emails. Their commitment to and involvement in this work is probably best illustrated by the day Joy Kogawa spent at the National Archives during research, as well as their individual testimonies at the end of this work.

With all of this as background, then, Section VII following will finally answer the question asked of Bishop Gower by seminary student Tim Nakayama in 1953, wrestled with by Bamford & Hemmings 20 years ago, and asked again by Basil Izumi ten years ago; what happened to the 3 Japanese Canadian Anglican church properties in Vancouver in WW II, and to the funds accruing from their sale? Section VII is like a good mystery; can you be sure? Section VIII following that will then attempt the more difficult task of attempting to discern why it happened, drawing on the racism perspectives provided in Sections III, IV and V.

¹⁵⁸ Bamford, p. 38.

¹⁵⁹ Kogawa, Appendix X, Exhibit ‘C’

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Canon Tim Nakayama Declaration of Oct. 1, 2008, paragraphs 10 through 16.

¹⁶² Rev. John Shozawa, Appendix VII, paragraph 38, page 7 of 24, Sept. 14, 2009.

¹⁶³ Ibid, Exhibit ‘A’, paragraph 2, page 16 of 24.

¹⁶⁴ Canon Timothy Nakayama, Appendix IX, paragraph 37, page 7 of 12, October 1, 2008.

¹⁶⁵ Bamford, p.38.

¹⁶⁶ Canon Timothy Nakayama, Appendix IX, paragraph 46, page 9 of 12, October 1, 2008.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, paragraph 8, page 2 of 12.

¹⁶⁸ Hemmings, p. 79.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p.3,4,5.

¹⁷⁰ RSC citation at www.rsc.ca

¹⁷¹ Rt. Rev. G.P. Gower, “Letter to M.A. Hemmings, 31 May, 1988.

VII. FOLLOW THE MONEY: 75 DAYS

It was a racial action because, even after the entire Japanese population on the west coast had been uprooted and incarcerated, further repressive measures were taken, such as the sale of property.

- Stephanie Bangarth, VOICES RAISED IN PROTEST

The research of the last year has established seven essential, irrefutable findings with regard to the sale of the Japanese Canadian Anglican Church (JC AC) properties, and the disposition of the funds accruing from those sales, in 1945 and 1949.

1. *Three Japanese Canadian Anglican Church properties were sold by the Diocese of New Westminster, on 22 March 1945, 6 July 1945, and 19 August 1949. The agreement for sale on the third one was in early 1947.*
2. *The three properties were originally purchased in 1905, 1920 and 1929.*
3. *The three properties were transferred to the Diocese on 30 Oct. 1937, 25 April 1938, and 22 Dec. 1941, for \$0, \$1 and \$1 (Holy Cross Expansion property, Church of the Ascension, and Holy Cross Church, respectively).*
4. *Proceeds from the sale of 2 of these properties were initially deposited 'in-trust' to the PBMO, where they remained for four years, while the third was deposited 'in-trust' in a Diocesan fund, where it remained for two years.*
5. *In 1949, the four-year-old 'in-trust' fund for Church of the Ascension was transferred from the PBMO Japanese Mission to the Diocese of New Westminster, along with accrued interest since 1945. It went into the Bishop's Endowment Fund. The rationale given was that the need for Japanese Mission work was 'nil'.*
6. *In 1949, at the same time, the two-year-old 'in-trust' fund for Holy Cross Church was transferred from the Japanese Mission Fund. It too went into the Bishop's Endowment Fund. The rationale was the same; the need for Japanese Mission work was nil.*
7. *Authorization for, and transfer of, the two 'in-trust' funds occurred after April 1, 1949, the date that the Japanese-Canadians were legally allowed to return to the West Coast.*

This section of *RELINQUISHED* will explain how these seven sets of facts, undeterminable by Bamford & Hemmings in 1988 and 1990, were arrived at over the last year.

The remainder of this section, the heart of *RELINQUISHED*, will deal with these seven categories in the three step order in which they were discovered; first, the three properties, second, the Bishop's Endowment Fund (BEF), and, third, the routes the funds took in arriving at the BEF.

There are two reasons for this approach. First, the VST supervisor of this work, Rev. Dr. Brian Thorpe, believed that the narrative of 'how' the story was pieced together was important. Two, the author believes that revealing the process will remove any blame from the 1988 and 1990 authors when it is understood how expensive and time consuming the process of the last year has been.

Before delving into the details, though, it is important to deal with a misconception.

Who Sold Private Japanese Canadian Properties in BC?

The Federal Government, during and after WW II, legally sold over 1,400 privately owned properties held by Japanese-Canadians who had been exiled from the West Coast in 1942, the first year of the Japanese war. Legal authority was vested in the Secretary of State, and the sales were perfectly legal. This legal authority was provided on 19 January 1943 by order-in-council¹⁷² PC #469¹⁷³ (see Appendix II, index 18), after the Japanese-Canadians had already left the West Coast. Ken Adachi characterized this and the other wartime orders-in-council as 'unprecedented actions', while on page 2, John Webster Grant was quoted relative to PC #469; "Even the forced sale of Japanese-Canadian properties at confiscatory prices called forth protest from the churches only after a lapse of time that rendered them almost useless."¹⁷⁴

An Anglican example of PC #469 at work was the sale of the home of the Anglican priest of Church of the Ascension. Located at 1450 W. 64th Ave. in Vancouver, the Rev. G.G. Nakayama was forced into signing it over to the government on 13 Nov. 1942. On 21 August 1944 the Secretary of State instructed Land Registry in Vancouver as follows: "requests that the title of the said land or interest therein be transferred into the name of 'The Secretary of State.'"¹⁷⁵ When the property was sold on 22 September 1944 the party listed as the owner was not G.G. Nakayama, but rather the Secretary of State.¹⁷⁶ The family was to discover the date on which it was sold 64 years later, as a result of this work.¹⁷⁷ By an interesting coincidence, the Redress agreement between the Federal Government and the Japanese-Canadians was signed 44 year later, on the same date; September 22. How many Japanese Canadian Anglicans lost their homes or farms in the same manner as their priest, with no say, and no knowledge? While no Anglican breakdown exists,¹⁷⁸ the total numbers do. In the Lower Mainland the number is available, precisely, from the post-war Bird Commission,¹⁷⁹ as shown on the page opposite in Figure 11.

	Category			
	1	2	3	
	Real 'Protected Area' Property situate in:			
	Greater Vancouver (Nakayama)	Rural Areas (other than 1 and 3)	Fraser Valley	
1943	173	-	-	173
1944	210	232	572	1014
1945	52	92	-	144
1946	34	52	-	86
1947	2	2	-	4
	471	378	572	1421

Figure 11 Sales of 'Private' Japanese Canadian Property on the West Coast.

By way of summary, 471 JC homes, like Canon G.G. Nakayama's, were sold in the Greater Vancouver area. In addition, 572 JC farms were sold in the Fraser Valley in 1944, 1043 private properties in total. Muriel Kitagawa, the inspiration for Aunt Emily in *Obasan*, gives these lifeless numbers some perspective; "You, who deal in lifeless figures, files, and statistics could never measure the depth of hurt and outrage dealt out to those of us who love this land. It is because we are Canadians, that we protest this violation of our birthright."¹⁸⁰ Like the unshakeable misconception that Mary Magdalene was a prostitute, most people believe that this violation was committed, in all cases, by the Federal Government. This is no truer than Mary Magdalene was a prostitute.

It is true that 1421 privately held Japanese Canadian homes and farms on the West Coast of BC were sold by the government, as was the case with Canon G.G. Nakayama's home.¹⁸¹ The law engendered in PC #469 however, did not apply to property held by organizations. The Vancouver Japanese Language School (VJLS) at 475 Alexander is an example of this. It was not sold during the war, and was returned to the Japanese Canadian community after the war. Land Registry documents clearly show that the property never changed hands.¹⁸² The story of the VJLS will be told in more detail in Section IX, COMPARISONS. The VJLS is the only Japanese Canadian property owned by the Japanese-Canadians before the war that is still owned by them today.¹⁸³ Its significance to the JC community was highlighted in the summer of 2009 during a visit to Vancouver by the Emperor and Empress of Japan, when they included the VJLS in their itinerary (the security was presidential).

Just as PC #469 did not apply to the VJLS, it did not apply to the Christian Churches of BC, including the three Japanese Canadian Anglican church properties in Vancouver. These three properties had been owned by the Diocese of New Westminster since they were transferred to it in 1937, 1938 and 1941. After those dates, no law or order-in-council was passed in Canada with regard to Japanese Canadian property, or otherwise, that imposed restrictions or took away any legal right from the Diocese of New Westminster.

With this clarity, then, the remainder of this section of *RELINQUISHED* will document the five categories of findings presented at the beginning of this section, in the order in which they were discovered, in three steps:

- I. *The 3 Japanese Canadian Anglican church properties.*
- III. *The Bishop's Endowment Fund.*
- II. *How the Money Got From 'I' to 'III'.*

The model which this section will be referring to throughout is Appendix XII. The Roman Numerals in the three items above correspond to those along the left-hand side of Appendix XII, which is organized according to the 'flow of money'. This section will be organized according to the 'discovered' sequence, which explains the 'odd' ordering above.

The process over the year that this work developed was somewhat akin to the piecing together of the Dead Sea Scrolls from a collection of fragments. The process in arriving at Appendix XII drew on 'fragments' from the PBMO, the MSCC, General Synod, Land Registry, Diocese of New Westminster Council Minutes, and Diocese of New Westminster Synod Minutes.

The Three Japanese-Canadian Anglican Church Properties

In response to a letter to the Primate from Bishop Michael Ingham in 1999, the General Synod Archives wrote "The City of Vancouver Land Registry Office records should show when and to whom the Diocese sold the property."¹⁸⁴ It was acting upon this recommendation that, after 60 plus years, finally brought to light the history of the 3 JC Anglican Church properties in the Diocese of New Westminster. Father John Shozawa and the two Wardens of Holy Cross, Basil Izumi and Gwen Lamacraft, began the process, independently of this work, by following that advice from 1999. They began by doing a Land Registry search, not on Holy Cross, but on the only one of the 3 JC AC properties that was identifiable by its old address, Church of the Ascension at 1701 Ascension) W. 3rd (the other two properties had been amalgamated into a larger property, and were no longer searchable by the old addresses). Upon realizing that the work was the same, efforts were combined. This was the first step. The second step, absolutely essential for the expensive Land Registry searches that were to follow, was a \$3,000 dollar research grant. This allowed more extended Land Registry searches, going back to original purchase dates, and for the Land Registry researcher to 'troll' through the dusty old Land Registry archives inaccessible to citizens. It also provided the financial wherewithal to have lawyers check assumptions in the summary of essential facts documented in Appendix VI.

It is worth noting the troubles at the beginning of the process. After several visits to the Land Registry office, the City, and others, progress was at a stand still because nobody had Land Registry ID's going back to World War II. An address was useless to Land Registry. They work on ID's, not addresses. There were only *lapsed* addresses available, which the City of Vancouver could no longer ID.

This Catch 22 was broken one day when a representative of the Land Registry office in New Westminster, after saying once again that she could not help, turned in desperation to one of the Land Registry search consultants who happened to be walking by, and suggested she might be able to help. This ended a month of frustration. Within another month, there were 12 sets of documents for 5 different properties, as summarized in Figure 12 (from paragraph 2 of Appendix VI).

		Land Registry					
Property		Index #	Document #	# of pages	Date	Exhibit	Lot or Section
1	Holy Cross (430 E. Cordova)	1	222992	3	Aug. 19, 1949	'B'	Lot 7 & East 1/2 Lot 6, Block 57, D.L. 196, Group 1, N.W.D
		2	23118	4	Oct. 30, 1937	-	
		3	23117	6	Oct. 30, 1937	-	
2	Church of the Ascension (1701 W. 3rd)	4	127243	6	July 6, 1945	'C'	Lots 21, 22, 23 & 24 Block 228, D.L. 526 Group 1, N.W.D.
		5	27477	7	Apr. 25, 1938	-	
		6	56900	7	Oct. 11, 1920	-	
3	Holy Cross Expansion (immediately West of 430 E. Cordova)	7	120692	4	Mar. 22, 1945	'D'	Lot 5 & W 1/2 Lot 6, Block 57, D.L. 196
		8	70038	9	Dec. 22, 1941	-	
4	VJLS (475 Alexander)	9	35418	4	Aug. 5, 1927	'H'	Lots 21, 22 Bl 38, DL 196
5	Nakayama Home (1450 W. 64th)	10	110342	4	Sept. 22, 1944	'I'	Subd. 3, North 1/2 of Lot 2 Blk. "B", DL 319, 324 & part of 323, Group 1, N.W.D
		11	110341	3	Nov. 13, 1942	'J'	
		12	19850	4	June 23, 1937	-	

Figure 12 Land Registry Documents for 5 Properties.

The VST Archives have agreed to take the 170+ pages of Land Registry documents into safekeeping and to make them available for those who may want to consult them in the future. They represent a resource that was not available to Bamford & Hemmings in 1988 and 1990. Without time and a healthy endowment, it is unlikely they would exist today. Without them, this project could not have continued.

All of the findings derived from the documentation of Figure 12 were summarized in a table in Appendix I. A sub-set of that table, for the 3 Japanese Canadian Anglican Church properties, follows on the next page in Figure 13. The essential facts for *RELINQUISHED* can be found in PROPERTY PARTICULARS (rows D, E & G), LIQUIDATION (rows H & K), and PROCEEDS (N, O & P).

The work associated with organizing the material from the 170+ pages of Land Registry documents in preparation for legal review can be found in the 23 July 2008 Statutory Declaration of Appendix VI. Two different lawyers reviewed the Statutory Declaration along with the 170+ pages of documents. The 23 July 2008 Certificate of Opinion from Tim Yao-Yuan Xia can be found in Appendix VI at page 23 of 24. As an example of the extensive input made by the two

lawyers, the following corrections and observations with regard to the Holy Cross Land Registry documents are noted (column 1 in Figure 13), originally misinterpreted by the author.

APPENDIX I			INSTITUTIONAL		
			1	2	3
PROPERTY PARTICULARS	A.	Type	Holy Cross Church	Church of the Ascension	Holy Cross Expansion Property
	B.	Picture			
	C.	Address	430 E. Cordova Vancouver	1701 W. 3rd Ave. Vancouver	428 E. Cordova Vancouver
	D.	Occupants	Transferred to Diocese	Transferred to Diocese	Transferred to Diocese
	E.	Possession/ Acquisition	Oct. 30, 1937	Apr. 25, 1938	Dec. 22, 1941
	F.	Land Registry #	23118	27477	70038
	G.	Cost	\$0	\$1	\$1
LIQUIDATION	H.	Body in Authority	Diocesan Bishop - Executive Council		
	I.	Sold or Not?	SOLD	SOLD	SOLD
	J.	Land Registry #	222992	127243	120692
	K.	Date	Aug. 19, 1949	July 6, 1945	Mar. 22, 1945
	L.	From	Diocese of New Westminster	Diocese of New Westminster	Diocese of New Westminster
M.	To	Sam Lee	Louis Goldberg	Noey, Sing & Lang	
PROCEEDS	N.	Appraisal	\$6,200	\$5,250	\$2,400
	O.	Sale	\$3,000	\$5,250	\$2,400
	P.	Disposition of Proceeds	BEF: Bishop's Endowment Fund	BEF: Bishop's Endowment Fund	Diocesan Account ????????

Figure 13 Land Registry Details for the 3 Japanese Canadian Anglican Church Properties.

1. **APPRAISED vs SALE PRICES:** Exhibit 'B' on page 13 of 24 of Appendix VI shows a dollar amount of \$6,200. This is not the sale price, as assumed by the author. It is the appraised price. The sale price was \$3,000, and was found on page 2 of the 7-page Land Registry file 222992.
2. **FIRE SALES:** Both lawyers, independently, questioned the gap between the sale price of \$3,000 and the appraised price of \$6,200. All other documents had sale prices and appraisal prices that were equal, or close to equal. For readers with experience in these matters, you can ask yourself the question "would I sell a property I owned for less than half the appraised price?" Both lawyers looked at the data and independently characterized this sale as a 'fire sale.' This work needs to wrestle with the question "Why was Holy Cross sold at a 'Fire-Sale' price?"
3. **SALE DATES:** As explained to the author by the two lawyers, the official date of sale on any property is always the date on which documents are registered at Land Registry. Until the property title legally changes hands at Land Registry, a bank won't advance funds to the buyer, because a mortgage can't be secured against the title. The title does not legally change until Land Registry fees are paid and the

documents are time and date stamped by the Land Registry clerk. Taking Exhibit 'B' on page 13 of 24 of Appendix VI as an example, is the sale date August 15th, or August 19th? The author assumed August 15th. The lawyers both said that the official transfer date for Holy Cross is not the written date on the document, but the date indicated by the time and date stamp on the top left hand corner of the document. Thus Holy Cross was transferred to Sam Lee, not on August 15th, but on August 19th at 3:00 in the afternoon.

4. **NET SALE PRICE:** As is the case today, the sale price is never what the seller receives for the property. When a property is sold, sellers receive the net sale price (i.e. gross sale price less Real Estate commission, and Land Registry fees). The Land Registry fees can be seen on Exhibit 'B', handwritten, as 22.20 (no dollar sign, which raised some initial confusion as to what it really was). As will be seen, the net amount that went into the BEF from Holy Cross was \$2,910.10.

This level of detail has been provided to show the deliberations gone through by the lawyers in validating/correcting the Appendix VI Statutory Declaration of 23 July 2008. The same level of scrutiny was provided for all 3 Japanese Canadian Anglican properties, as summarized in Figure 13.

In summary, then, the three JC AC properties were sold in March & July of 1945, and August of 1949, for \$2400, \$5250 and \$3000 (Holy Cross Expansion property, Church of the Ascension, and Holy Cross Church, respectively), as summarized in Figure 13. Clarification around a second date for Holy Cross Church, which both Bamford & Hemmings alluded to and struggled with, will be dealt with after the following sub-section on the Bishop's Endowment Fund.

The Bishops Endowment Fund (BEF)

The work to establish the correct details about the three JC AC properties took over two months to resolve. The realization that Holy Cross Church was sold, not in 1946 as Bamford & Hemmings had suggested, but in 1949, was a great shock to the JC-VCC team.

Why?

In 1946, the Japanese Canadian Anglicans were still not allowed to return to the West Coast. Therefore, a 1946 sale date did not seem significant in any way, because the Japanese-Canadians were in the middle of their seven year exile away from the West Coast.

On April 1st, 1949, however, the seven-year exile ended. Can the reader see why the sale of any JC property after that date would raise questions? The shock to the JC-VCC team, then, was because the last Japanese Canadian Anglican Church in Vancouver had been sold, not three years before they returned, but over four months after they were legally allowed to return. It immediately raised the question "why would the Diocese of New Westminster sell the only remaining Japanese Canadian Anglican Church in Vancouver when they were already back in town?" *RELINQUISHED* will return to the 'why' question later. The first effect of the 1949 Land

Registry revelation was to send the author fast forwarding three years in the VST Anglican Archives, a step that would not necessarily have been taken without the revelation of 1949.

This second sub-section of FOLLOW THE MONEY will document what was found in those 1949 records. It will show how, at the same time as the first 300 Japanese-Canadians were returning to Vancouver, the Diocese transferred \$8,408.83 of PBMO Japanese Mission money into a fund, not for the returning Japanese-Canadians, but for the salary of the Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster.

This second step in the discovery process for *RELINQUISHED* was pieced together from the very precise Treasurer’s Report of the 53rd Session of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, and collaterally from the May and June Executive Council minutes of 1949. Disconcertingly, no PBMO minutes for the same period were available from either the VST Anglican Archives in Vancouver or the General Synod Archives in Toronto.¹⁸⁵

The Treasurer’s Report of the 53rd Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster clearly shows how the Bishop’s Endowment Fund was used to pay the salary of the Bishop. The Bishop’s Endowment Fund achieved this through the inter-agency of three separate funds:

1. A Capital Fund.
2. A Revenue Fund, and
3. The Bishop’s Stipend Fund.

In simplistic terms, the Capital Fund generated interest. Interest was transferred to the Revenue Fund. The Revenue Fund then contributed the precise amount of the Bishop’s salary (\$3,700 in 1949) to the Bishop’s Stipend Fund. Figure 14 following shows, from a bottom up perspective, what was discernable from the 53rd Synod Treasurer’s Report.

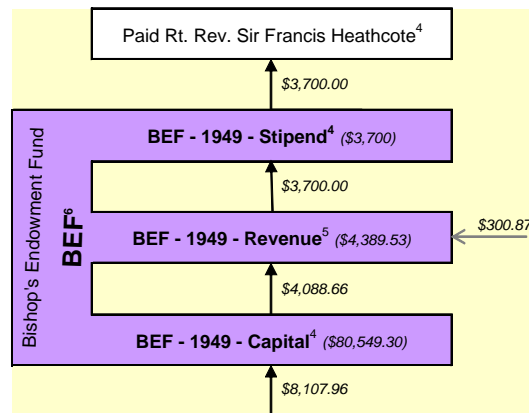


Figure 14 The BEF - Bishop’s Endowment Fund – Capital, Revenue & Stipend.

How was it possible to discern that it was JC funds that went into the Bishop’s Endowment Fund? The Diocese was aware of this possibility in 1999. A 28 September 1999 letter (Exhibit ‘C’, page 164) states that a Treasurer’s Report “seems to indicate that the monies from the sale of the properties went to the Bishop’s Endowment Fund.” Treasurer Mathewson states in Synod

minutes that of the money that went into the BEF, “Some \$8,000 of this came from the sale of obsolete buildings formerly used for Japanese work.”¹⁸⁶ What then about the \$300.87 shown on the right hand side of Figure 14? From the June 14th, 1949 Executive Council minutes Treasurer Mathewson notes “\$300.87 accrued interest.” So working from Synod and Executive Council minutes, it *seemed* that the JC funds from the sale of JC properties, plus accrued interest, had been moved into two inter-related BEF funds. But, W.H. Mathewson’s statement of “Some \$8,000” was still problematic. It did not allow for any specificity in tying those amounts to any of the three JC church properties. It was to be some months before VST Anglican Archive searches yielded a document that provided clarification.

Forensic Accounting – from the ‘3 PROPERTIES’ to the ‘BEF’

The conclusions of the previous sub-section on the Bishop’s Endowment Fund (BEF) had the same vagueness as the property conclusions arrived at by Bamford & Hemmings in 1988 and 1990. Pressed, it would not have been possible to prove unequivocally that the funds from the sale of the JC AC properties had been moved into the BEF, or to show the path they had taken in getting there. It seemed that *RELINQUISHED* was going to arrive at the same conclusion as Bamford in 1988, with which Hemmings concurred in 1990; it was not knowable with any precision.

In the PBMO portion of the archives, however, one page helped solved the puzzle, while a second filled in the last piece. With these two pages it was possible, to the penny, to show the money obtained from the sale of the 3 church properties, the year in which these funds had entered the books, the interest accrued since the three sales, and the circuitous, varied paths taken by two of those funds in arriving at the BEF.

Disposition of Funds - Church of the Ascension & Holy Cross Expansion Properties

Recall from Figure 5 that the PBMO was a provincial board that oversaw all Oriental Missions in the Province of BC. It was funded primarily from Eastern Canada. All Missionary staff were supervised and paid by the PBMO. When the Holy Cross Expansion property and Church of the Ascension were sold in 1945, the net proceeds from the sales were set aside by the PBMO in a ‘Building Trust Fund,’ under their authority. The Treasurer’s report in 1948 recorded this PBMO trust fund as follows:¹⁸⁷

<i>Proceeds from sale</i>	<i>Church of the Ascension</i>	<i>\$5,197.86</i>
“	“ sale 420 ¹⁸⁸ E. Cordova	<i>\$2,260.95</i>

Recall that the Church of the Ascension was purchased by the MSCC in Toronto in 1920. Who purchased the Holy Cross Expansion Property (indicated as 420 E Cordova above)? A 2 Nov. 1928 meeting chaired by future Bishop Heathcote provides the answer: “The Superintendent reported that the Committee at Holy Cross Mission were raising funds to enlarge the Mission premises, which are now entirely inadequate for the work. They desired to purchase the adjoining property on the West. On motion, permission was given to purchase this

property.”¹⁸⁹ It was duly purchased on 6 April 1929; PBMO minutes attached to the Land Registry documents stated “the Japanese having provided a large part of the amount required for the cash payment.”¹⁹⁰

Further, the one page treasurer’s report for 1947 revealed that there were additional JC AC funds under the control of the PBMO. Account #17037 in the amount of \$1,523.22 was listed as the Holy Cross Building Fund. This was likely the fund which the Nikkei’s had been accruing prior to 1942, with the intention of building on the empty Holy Cross Expansion property. As had been the case with Church of the Ascension, planning, funding and building of the Holy Cross expansion was going to be the responsibility of the Holy Cross congregation.¹⁹¹ At the end of 1947, these funds were still held in trust by the PBMO, \$1,300 of which was in 3% Dominion of Canada Bonds due in 1956.

To finally be able to unequivocally follow the 1949 flow of funds from the sale of the 3 JC AC properties (Figure 13) to the BEF (Figure 14), it is necessary to first show the ‘in-trust’ PBMO funds for the two churches of this sub-section pictorially. Four separate line items from Appendix VIII, page 24 of 24, can be shown as follows:

1. Church of the Ascension PBMO Building Trust Fund	\$5,197.86
2. Holy Cross Expansion Property Building Trust Fund	\$2,260.95
3. Accrued Interest from ‘1’ and ‘2’ (1945-47)	\$264.03
4. Holy Cross Building Fund	\$1,523.22

Bringing the accrued interest for ‘1’ and ‘2’ up to YE 1948 to correlate to W.H. Mathewson’s 1949 documentation, these four line items can be summarized in Figure 15:

\$5,197.86⁷	\$2,260.95	\$300.87⁷	\$1,523.22
Capital ⁸		Interest ⁸	Holy Cross Building Fund ⁸ (Account #17037)
Building Trust Fund			
PBMO⁹ - Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals in BC <i>(90% of 1948 Budget Provided by 2 National Organizations; MSCC & WA)</i>			

Figure 15 PBMO ‘In-Trust’ and Building Expansion Account

What is missing from Figure 15 that would complete the 1949 flow of funds from the sale of the 3 JC AC properties to the BEF?

The PBMO, from Figure 15, can be seen to have been holding the Holy Cross Building fund since 1942 (Account #17037), and the Church of the Ascension & Holy Cross Expansion property net sale proceeds’ in-trust’ since 1945. There is no record in this 1947 PBMO summary of the net sale proceeds of Holy Cross Church. Bamford & Hemmings, if they had seen this, would have been mystified. If Holy Cross Church was sold in 1946, as they thought possible, they would have expected the net proceeds to be held ‘in-trust’ by the PBMO, the same as they were held ‘in-trust’ for the Holy Cross Expansion property & Church of the Ascension. As will be seen in the

next sub-section, this puzzle is partially solved by a 1947 letter from L.C. Creery of McGregor, Creery & Farmer. Creery, a member of a Standing Committee of Synod in the Diocese of New Westminster, provides clarification on dates and of funds intended for the PBMO.

Disposition of Funds - Holy Cross Church

From Figure 13, it will be recalled that the title to Holy Cross Church was legally transferred to Sam Lee on August 19, 1949, on the authority of the Commissary and the Treasurer of the Diocese of New Westminster. The sale price on the Land Registry documents was \$3,000.

An 11 February 1947 letter from McGregor, Creery and Farmer Ltd. gives a different date; "we have effected the sale of the above property (430 E. Cordova) to Mr. Sam Lee, Merchant, of 438 East Cordova Street (immediately east of 430 E. Cordova), at the price of \$3,000 ... the first monthly payment (of \$35) becomes due on 1st March 1947."¹⁹²

Which of these dates is correct; 19 August 1949, or 11 February 1947?

As it turns out, both. Title was not signed over to Sam Lee until he completed his payments (noted above as starting on March 1st). In effect, the Diocese gave him a \$1,000 mortgage, and retained title until he paid the \$1,000 off. The agreement for sale stipulated that he pay it back at \$35 per month. If he maintained his payments, the \$1,000 would have been paid of by approximately August 1, 1949. This fits perfectly with the transfer of the title into his name the same month. It will be shown during comparisons with the United Church that this delayed transfer of title was not an unknown business practice. Figure 19.a in Section VIII, COMPARISONS, shows two examples of these 'Double Date' real estate transactions.

This solves the mystery of the two dates. What about the disposition of funds?

First, it is important to note that this sale had an incestuous aspect to it. One of the partners of McGregor, Creery & Farmer was a member of the Diocesan Board of Missions (not to be confused with the PBMO). The middle name on the letterhead, Creery, was the same L.C. Creery who was a member of the Diocesan Board of Missions. He was also the one who wrote the 11 February 1947 letter. And, was the same L.C. Creery who seconded the motion the day after he wrote his letter to the effect that the documents be signed and the Synod Seal attached.¹⁹³

L.C. Creery, of St. Mary's in Kerrisdale, appears once more in the record. As can be seen in Figure 17, 10 May 1949 was an Executive Council meeting of which the Diocese must surely be ashamed. It was the 40th day since the Japanese Canadian Anglicans had been free to return to the West Coast. L.C. Creery was one of the attendees at this meeting. It was at this meeting that the resolution was passed to transfer the JC-VCC in-trust funds of four years into the Bishop's Endowment Fund, with the rationalization "*the need of Japanese Mission work is nil.*" The names of the members of the Executive Council in attendance that day can be seen on page 123.

The fact that this request for authorization originated in the Diocesan Board of Missions rather than the PBMO would explain why it has never been found in PBMO records. It would also certainly have served the purpose of keeping any knowledge of the transaction from the group back East that was on the PBMO Board, the MSCC, who most certainly would have objected to this transaction, and the ultimate destination of the funds. Why would the MSCC have objected? One compelling reason certainly would have been that the MSCC continued to fund 80% of the budget of the PBMO. A second would be that they originally purchased the properties in question. If Bamford & Nakayama’s contention of ‘secrets’ were correct, the process adapted here would have certainly helped to keep the ‘secret.’ As will be seen, these questionable actions were not unique to the ACC; the UCC were to experience the same behavior in 1955. Professor Feilding’s 1943 words spring to mind for both organizations.

The real estate agent/partner who wrote the letter to Treasurer Mathewson certainly showed insider knowledge of the workings of the Diocese, and clearly stated where the funds from the sale of Holy Cross should have gone, as they had previously in 1945 for Church of the Ascension and the Holy Cross Expansion property; “We enclose a statement of adjustments showing proceeds to the PBMO in the amount of \$1798.80.”¹⁹⁴ When Treasurer Mathewson wrote up the summary of ‘in-trust’ building funds in the PBMO at the end of 1947, it would have been natural to expect, in light of this letter and the two precedents, that a third ‘in-trust’ building fund for Holy Cross would have been set up as well.

That did not happen. What did happen?

It would appear that the funds ended up in a Diocesan account instead. Treasurer Mathewson’s 1948 Synod Treasurer’s Report (to year end 1947) included a new fund; *Japanese Mission Property Fund – 1947*. In it the Diocesan books showed, not the \$1798.80 of the Feb. 11th letter above, but instead \$2,848.80 as “Proceeds Sale of 430 E. Cordova.” Including interest on agreement of sale, the balance as of Dec. 31, 1947 showed \$2,882.89.¹⁹⁵ As will be shown, it was from this *Japanese Mission Property Fund* that \$2,910.10 would be transferred to the Bishop’s Endowment Fund in 1949. There was an equivalent ‘secret’ authorization of sale and dispersment of funds in the United Church in 1955. This will be covered off in the upcoming section on the United Church, where Figure 19.b summarizes the questionable actions of both churches. With clarity on the sale of Holy Cross Church, as well as the disposition of the funds from the sale, Fig. 15 can now be upgraded to include Holy Cross proceeds in Figure 16.

\$2,910.10⁷	\$5,197.86⁷	\$2,260.95	\$300.87⁷	\$1,523.22
Diocesan JAPANESE MISSION PROPERTY FUND - 1947 <i>(interest accruing from 1-Mar-47)</i>	Capital ⁸		Interest ⁸	
	Building Trust Fund			Holy Cross Building Fund ⁸ (Account #17037)
PBMO⁹ - Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals in BC <i>(90% of 1948 Budget Provided by 2 National Organizations; MSCC & WA)</i>				

Figure 16 Holy Cross Diocesan ‘In-Trust’ Building Fund

Putting It All Together

From the Synod and Executive Council fragments, it was still difficult to definitively state which funds had ended up in the BEF. The names of church properties, their addresses, and the amounts associated with them were never stated consistently. For example, what is the Japanese School House (it turns out to be Holy Cross Church) and what is the Japanese Mission Church (it turns out to be Church of the Ascension)? Or, what is meant by 420 or 432 E. Cordova; neither of those addresses ever existed (they turn out to be different designations for the same thing; the vacant property west of Holy Cross Church)? The only way to be sure seemed to be to try and follow the money, irrespective of the confusing names and addresses. Just as the General Synod Archives recommendation to go to Land Registry proved the correct method to irrefutably solve the conundrum of the three JC AC churches, following the money was to prove the correct method to irrefutably prove where the proceeds from the sale of the three JC AC churches went.

Following the money ultimately involved linking the learning's of Figures 13, 14 and 16. By linking them together, it became crystal clear where Mathewson's "Some \$8,000" (the \$8,107.96 at the bottom of Figure 14) had come from.

There were two keys to being able to link these figures (although it must be remembered that Figures 14 and 16 were only created in the process of trying to determine the flow – the search started with neither the diagrams or the relationships, only the numbers). The first key was knowing the net proceeds from the sale of the 3 JC AC properties. The second key was linking the \$8,107.96 that went into the BEF Capital Fund back to those net sale prices. Like $E=MC^2$, once you have it, it is obvious. The author needs to be honest, though; being no Einstein, it took a week of struggling with the numbers for the Dead Sea Scroll to come intelligibly together, and, with the Dead Sea Scroll finally together, the truth was plain for all to see, with clarity, to the penny.

The key number was the \$8,107.96 at the bottom of Figure 14. Where did that come from? Just like $3=2+1$, $\$8,107.96 = \$5,197.86 + \$2,910.10$. The money put into the BEF Capital Fund in 1949 was the net proceeds from the 6 July 1945 sale of Church of the Ascension at 1701 W. 3rd Ave (\$5,197.86), and the net proceeds from the 19 August 1949 (early 1947 agreement for sale) sale of Holy Cross Church at 430 E. Cordova, plus interest (\$2,910.96).

With this simple math, Appendix XII snapped together, the Dead Sea Scroll was complete, and FOLLOW THE MONEY was mostly completed.

The Treasurer's Report of the 53rd Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster would be the last mention in Diocesan records of the JC AC funds. In the 60 years of Synod records since, the BEF never again records a transaction with regard to 'Japanese work', or of Japanese funds or buildings.

Summary of 'FOLLOW THE MONEY'

Appendices I (p. 101) and XII (p. 196) capture the essential details of the findings of this section.

In Appendix XII, it should be recognized that the bottom section, 'I', is merely a derivative of Appendix '1'. Appendix XII is thus a thorough 1 page summary of the sale of the 3 JC AC properties, of the funds held 'in-trust' for 4 years by the PBMO for the Japanese Mission, the Holy Cross Fund held 'in-trust' for 2 years by the Diocese, and of the funds which ultimately ended up in the Bishops Endowment Fund. Given its importance and centrality to the discussion that follows, the reader is again directed to page 196 in the Appendices.

The proceeds from the sale of the two JC AC churches, Church of the Ascension, and Holy Cross, would end up in the BEF. They would be transferred into the BEF after the JC Anglicans were already returning to BC. The following chronology highlights this.

1949 - CHRONOLOGY of 5 KEY EVENTS			
Day 1	1	01-Apr-49	Japanese Canadians allowed to return to the West Coast of BC after 7 years. - 300 back in Vancouver by the end of the year.
Day 40	2	10-May-49	"Whereas the Japanese Christians have left the coast and are not returning, the need of Japanese Mission work is nil" (Executive Council Motion)
Day 75	3	14-Jun-49	Funds for Church of the Ascension (\$5,197.86) plus accrued interest from both Church of the Ascension and the Holy Cross Expansion property (\$300.87) received from the PBMO.
Day 141	4	19-Aug-49	Holy Cross, the last Japanese Canadian Anglican Church in Vancouver, is transferred at Land Registry from the Diocese of New Westminster to a new owner, Sam Lee (originally initiated in 1947). The Realtor is a member of the Executive Council.
	5	31-Dec-49	1949 Treasurer's Report at 53 rd Synod documents that "some \$8,000" was transferred into the BEF Capital Fund, "from the sale of <u>obsolete</u> buildings formerly used for Japanese work" (Church of the Ascension would have been 14 years old).

Figure 17 1949 – Chronology of Key Events

It is important to keep the date 1 April 1949 in mind relative to these transactions. Whether rows 2, 3, 4 and 5 in Figure 17 happened before or after 1 April 1949 makes a world of difference to a Japanese-Canadian Anglican.

The chronology of Figure 17 raises four troubling questions:

1. **NOT RETURNING:** Why would official Executive Council minutes say that the Japanese Canadian Anglicans (they weren't able to use the word Anglican; they called them 'Japanese Christians') 'are not returning,' when they had been already for the biblical 40 days? The fact of their return was front-page news in the *Sun* and *Province*.¹⁹⁶
2. **NEED OF JAPANESE MISSION WORK IS NIL:** Why would official Executive Council minutes say that the need of Japanese Mission work is *NIL*?¹⁹⁷ The Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster, Sir Francis Heathcote, and the Treasurer of the Diocese of New Westminster were both present, and of course were both also on the Board of the PBMO. The PBMO mandate was unchanged (see Figure 5), and the budget to do this work (see Appendix VIII, paragraph 19) continued to be funded by the MSCC and the National Women's Auxiliary, as acknowledged by Mathewson for the year 1949. In his report on 'Work Among the Japanese' to the MSCC in 1950 (for 1949), he concluded with "grateful

thanks (for) the financial assistance from the MSCC and the Dominion WA. Without their help, this work would stop.”¹⁹⁸

3. **OBSOLETE BUILDINGS USED FOR JAPANESE WORK:** Why would Church of the Ascension, which made up 75% of the funds referred to (‘some \$8,000), be considered ‘obsolete’? It was only 10 years old when it was sold. It would have been 14 years old at the time the Synod minutes were written.
4. **FIRE SALE:** As asked on page 60, “Why was Holy Cross Church sold at a ‘Fire-Sale’ price” of \$3,000, when the appraised value was \$6,200? That Japanese Canadian private properties might have been sold at ‘Fire-Sale’ prices in WW II was understandable. But, there was no such pressure on the Diocese in 1949. The hurry up in 1947 on the agreement for sale, in a non-PBMO body, doesn’t seem to be a satisfactory explanation.

A fifth question, while not as troubling, raises questions relative to question 2.

5. **PBMO ‘IN-TRUST’ FUNDS:** Why, if the need for Japanese Mission work was nil, would 4 year old PBMO ‘in-trust’ funds from the sale of Church of the Ascension be transferred to the Diocese of New Westminster, while 4 year old PBMO ‘in-trust’ funds from the sale of the Holy Cross **Expansion** property remain ‘in-trust’ at the PBMO?

These questions may be unanswerable, but as a whole they leave the troubling impression of inconsistency, haste, misrepresentation, non-transparency and withholding information (from MSCC).

In the Obasan derivative at the beginning of *RELINQUISHED*, Aunt Emily summarizes these impressions when she says:

What was the intention of Bishop Heathcote and his Executive Council in selling our churches? Do you think, Nomi, that their intention was that we have nothing to come back to? What could they possibly have been thinking when they wrote in their May 1949 Executive Council minutes, two months after our freedom had been granted, “the need of Japanese Mission work is nil”?

What was their intention at the time of our return in diverting our hard earned JC funds into the Bishop’s Endowment Fund, the fund used to pay his salary? These are more than moral and ethical issues. Where were their Christian souls?

Aunt Emily’s two comments with regard to intentions are what *RELINQUISHED* will be returning to, and are worth repeating here as the way to end this section:

What was the intention of Bishop Heathcote and his Executive Council in selling our churches?

What was their intention at the time of our return in diverting our hard earned JC funds into the Bishop’s Endowment Fund, the fund used to pay his salary?

Given the racism that existed prior to, during and after WW II, Aunt Emily’s hypothesizes as to those intentions:

Do you think, Nomi, that their intention was that we have nothing to come back to?

This hypothesis will be considered at the end of the next section of *RELINQUISHED*. The next section, *COMPARISONS*, will provide a comparison of the actions of the Diocese of New Westminster with the actions of other mainline churches, including a fellow member of the Anglican Communion south of the border, the Episcopal Church in Seattle.

¹⁷² See Definitions.

¹⁷³ See Appendix II, p. 102, *Orders-in-Council and Critical Events, in Chronological Order*, #21.

See also Appendix III, p. 103, *Orders-in-Council and Critical Events, by Category*, items 19-33.

¹⁷⁴ John Webster Grant, see p.2 end note.

¹⁷⁵ New Westminster Land Registry File 110342, Sept. 22, 1944, page 1 of 4.

¹⁷⁶ Appendix I, column 5.

¹⁷⁷ By which time the Nakayama home had been purchased and designated a heritage site.

¹⁷⁸ It would be an interesting research project to determine this.

¹⁷⁹ Bird Commission.

¹⁸⁰ Kitagawa, *This is my Own*, 1985, pp. 184-5.

¹⁸¹ Private property outside the 100 Mile Exclusion Zone, however, was not sold. The Tamagi farm in Kelowna was not sold by the family until the 1980's (see Appendix I, page 101, column 7).

¹⁸² Statutory Declaration, Appendix VI, p. 10 of 24, paragraph 44.

¹⁸³ Appendix I, page 101, column 4.

¹⁸⁴ Rev. John Shozawa, Appendix VIII, page 17 of 24.

¹⁸⁵ The gaps in the PBMO record in the VST Anglican Archives was a major impediment to this project. The General Synod Archives was able to significantly fill in some of the gaps, as was the Kelowna archives. Compared to any other period, the timeframe 1946-1949 is especially bare.

¹⁸⁶ W.H. Mathewson, *Journal for the 53rd Session*, Diocese of New Westminster, Synod Treasurer's Report for 1949, p.3.

¹⁸⁷ Appendix VIII, Exhibit 'I', page 24 of 24.

¹⁸⁸ No such address ever existed; it would appear that this was used to refer to the expansion property.

¹⁸⁹ Anglican Archives of the Provincial Synod of BC & Yukon, Prov. Board of Mission to Orientals sous-fonds, PBMO Minutes of Meeting of Nov. 2, 1928.

¹⁹⁰ Land Registry File 70038, page 6. Reference to May 2, 1928, Nov. 2, 1928, and May 2, 1929 PBMO minutes, including the 11th & 12th Annual General Meetings of the PBMO.

¹⁹¹ Rev. W.H. Gale reference in PBMO minutes re: congregational effort in collecting this money.

¹⁹² MacGregor, Creery & Farmer Ltd. Letter to W.H. Mathewson, Feb. 11, 1947, read at a Feb.12, 1947 meeting of the Diocesan Board of Missions (no relationship to the PBMO).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ DNW Synod 1948, Treasurers Report for 1947, top of p.21.

¹⁹⁶ Vancouver Sun & Province, various, April 1949

¹⁹⁷ Author's capitalization for emphasis.

¹⁹⁸ MSCC 1949 Board of Management Minutes, 'Work Among the Japanese', p.26, General Synod Archives

VIII. COMPARISONS - AT THEIR BEST & THEIR WORST

*Our own treatment of persons of Japanese ancestry was, in all conscience, harsh.
The Canadian treatment has been even more severe.*

- *Washington Post*, June 11, 1945

The Japanese people saw the church and the people at their best and worst.

- Rev. Tadashi Mitsui

There was never any lack of clarity about the objectives of Wilsonite BC:

- On 27 April 1942, echoing Douglas MacArthur's 11 March 1942 'I Shall Return' promise to the Philippine's, Alderman H.D. Wilson wrote in a private letter

We must hold on to the determination that after the war they shall not return.

- On 30 Sept. 1942, with the evacuation complete, the *Vancouver Sun* stated their policy:

'It is our business to see that they stay evacuated.'

- On Christmas of 1943, after a Vancouver visit, a returning Lethbridge reporter observed

*The west coasters ... they're just determined
that they are not going back to the coast.¹⁹⁹*

- On 25 January 1945, the *Kelowna Courier* continued this refrain by

'going on record as desiring the total repatriation of all Japanese after the war.'

- As late as 1947, and unchanged from 1942, MP Tom Reid (Lib - New West) stated that BC
'must make a last ditch stand against any resettlement of the Japanese on the Coast.'²⁰⁰

From *THE FEW, SHOOT THE BRUTES* and *A PROMINENT ANGLICAN*, it should be clear that these sentiments were deeply held and widespread. It should be equally clear by now that these convictions were grounded in racism, infected the whole Pacific Coast of the US and Canada, and were decades old (recalling Canon G.H. Wilson's 1907 speech 'if the Asiatics remain here'). This section will examine how different institutions acted in this 'West of the Rockies' fishbowl of discrimination, racism and intolerance.

In the *Obasan* derivative, Aunt Emily asked if the intention was that they have nothing to come back to. PC #469 achieved that with regard to privately held property and personal assets. There truly was nothing to come back to; any capital they had before the war was all gone.

Aunt Emily's question, though, was directed specifically at the Anglican Church. To paraphrase it a bit, she was really asking:

Do you think the intention of Bishop Heathcote and the Executive Council of the Diocese of New Westminster was that we have no Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches to come back to?

That the three Vancouver Japanese Canadian Anglican properties had been sold and money removed from the PBMO Japanese Mission has been indisputably documented in FOLLOW THE MONEY. That Bishop Heathcote and his Executive Council expedited this in a rush after the Japanese-Canadians were already returning to the West Coast is also indisputable.

It is of course much harder to discern their intentions. Aunt Emily has asked a tough question.

Before attempting to discern the answer to Aunt Emily's question, this section will provide three comparative institutional actions from the same period. The three comparative actions will be with the Vancouver Japanese Language School (VJLS) two blocks from Holy Cross, the Episcopal Church of St. Peter's south of the border, and the United Church Japanese Mission across Oppenheimer Park from Holy Cross. The VJLS will provide an example of a Nikkei institutional building that was never sold, but which required strong leadership to preserve it. The Episcopal focus will be on Seattle, which had a large Nikkei population prior to WW II who returned to their city and their church before the war had ended. The last of the three examples will be the United Church in Vancouver. It will provide the closest parallel to the action of the Diocese of New Westminster, and both similarities and differences will be noted. After finishing with these three comparisons, *RELINQUISHED* will combine the resulting insights with those from the three sections on racism, the facts behind FOLLOW THE MONEY, and the contentions of CODE OF SILENCE in attempting to answer Aunt Emily's question.

The Vancouver Japanese Language School (VJLS)

For Westerners, there is nothing in their experience to help them understand the role of the VJLS in the Japanese Canadian community between WW I and II. If there were only one Jewish Synagogue in Vancouver today, that would be a comparable. That Synagogue would be busy seven days a week with classes for children, community gatherings, social interactions, relationships with the home country, and worship. It would be the center of the community, in a way that has preserved Jewish traditions and culture for millennia. With the exception of the timeframes and the aspect of worship, the VJLS performed identical functions for the *issei* immigrants from Japan, and their Canadian born *nisei* children.

The VJLS was one example of how the home country supported the Nikkei overseas (a support the Chinese community never received between the wars). In April 1917 the Japanese Consul in Vancouver requested the Foreign Office in Tokyo to recommend a teacher for the VJLS. The successful candidate was Mr. Tsutae Sato, and his four-year contract was to end only when he retired half a century later, in 1966.²⁰¹

Three things stand out in his autobiography. One, the events of 1941 described in *A PROMINENT ANGLICAN*, when Alderman Wilson tried to have the VJLS closed. Two, when the school was re-opened after the war, in 1953. And, three, the courage and wisdom Mr. Sato displayed in 1941 to keep it open, and again in 1953 to have it re-opened.

As recounted in Section V, Mr. Sato's VJLS was under attack in 1941 by Alderman Wilson, when he wanted to close it (and the 53 other Japanese Language Schools in the province). The *Sun* reported that the ban was "strongly urged by Ald. H.D. Wilson without dissent from his colleagues."²⁰² Mr. Sato was to show wisdom in dealing with this. As recounted earlier, he invited a *Sun* reporter to his home, gave a tour of the VJLS and in the anti-Japanese *Sun* next day received a favorable review. The school was not closed and was to remain open for nearly a year, until Dec. 7, 1941.

It was not to re-open again until 1953.

The first comparison with regard to *RELINQUISHED* is that the VJLS was never permanently relinquished. The Land Registry documents clearly show that legal title never changed hands.²⁰³ It was originally purchased for \$4500 (appraised and purchase values equal) on 5 August 1927,²⁰⁴ and continues under the same ownership to this day, now as a Heritage Building, with a city mosaic on the sidewalk outside commemorating the exile in 1942.

The title never changing hands masks a significant struggle on the part of Mr. Sato to retain the school for the community. He describes the challenge:

There was pressure for the Japanese Hall to be sold. There were no Japanese in Vancouver when the war ended; Powell Street was a relic of its former days. It was not unreasonable to suggest that the Japanese Hall should be sold, that it was no longer needed.

This paragraph, with a change of 'Japanese Hall' to 'Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches' could easily have been the argument presented by Bishop Heathcote or Treasurer Mathewson, and can still be heard today. The same could never be said of Mr. Sato's follow-on paragraph.

For myself, this was unthinkable. The building represented everything I had worked for. It was an expression of faith by 20,000 Japanese who had contributed to the building fund in 1928. It was a precious building which I felt the Japanese could not afford to lose.

As with the paragraph above, with a few changes, these sentiments probably precisely reflect how Canon G.G. Nakayama or Canon W.H. Gale might have expressed themselves with regard to Church of the Ascension or Holy Cross. From what the record reveals, it would appear they were never asked. And, Canon G.G. Nakayama was 700 miles away in southern Alberta, while Canon Gale was half a continent away in Eastern Canada.

There was no one in their place in Vancouver to put up the same fight for the Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches as Mr. Sato was putting up for the VJLS. How different the ending might have been if there had been. Mr. Sato describes the results of his efforts:

In April 1952 we returned to Vancouver and once again organized a School Board. ... In April 1953 we moved into the Japanese Hall. On May 2nd we held a ceremony to rededicate the building for the teaching of Japanese. It was like a dream. Our joy could not be expressed.

These sentiments sound surprisingly close to the feelings felt by the Nikkei north of the border 35 years later, on September 22, 1988, when one poet concluded with the near identical words “our joy is unsurpassable.”²⁰⁵

The same year that the Japanese Hall was rededicated, seminary student Timothy Nakayama was also back on the West Coast, where Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson were telling him that his churches had been ‘relinquished.’ Tim and Canon Gale were relegated to afternoon worship in an empty chapel at St. James, courtesy of their soon to be retired advocate, Canon Cooper, who was to be ably replaced by another friend of the Nikkei, future Bishop (1969) David Somerville.²⁰⁶ By the time he was Bishop, seminary student Tim was the Rev. Tim Nakayama, and was south of the border with the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Olympia.

South of the Border - The Episcopal Church

With regard to the Nikkei experience in North American in WW II, there has been little comparison of the actions in Canada with those in the US. In *Voices Raised in Protest*, Stephanie Bangarth writes “This is astonishing, especially since both nations maintained, at least in principle, very similar policies.”²⁰⁷ The similarity can be seen especially in 1942, when the two countries issued their evacuation orders within five days of one another; EO 9066 was signed by President Roosevelt on February 19th, and PC #1486 was signed by Prime Minister Mackenzie King on February 24th. Bangarth goes on to point out, however, that “Canadian and American policy began to diverge drastically in 1944 when the US lifted its ban on Japanese returning to the Pacific Coast.”²⁰⁸ In fact, it started to happen even earlier. On 19 January 1943 PC #469 created the legal power to liquidate the property of all Japanese Canadian evacuees (see Figure 11). By comparison, the Japanese-Americans never had their property liquidated - “except for radios, firearms, explosives and fishing boats, the federal government had not confiscated Japanese American property.”²⁰⁹ The divergence that Bangarth indicates, however, was very true, not only in the dispossession of personal property, but also in deportation to Japan. This divergence was becoming obvious south of the border. Two weeks before the 25 June 1945 signing of the United Nations Charter in anti-Japanese San Francisco, the *Washington Post* chastised one of the 50 signatories;

“Our own treatment of persons of Japanese ancestry was, in all conscience, harsh. The Canadian treatment has been even more severe.”²¹⁰

If Bangarth’s contention that there has been little comparison of Canadian and American actions with regard to the Nikkei is correct, it is doubly so with regard to comparable actions by Canadian and American churches with regard to the Nikkei. Research has yet to reveal anything substantive in the published historical record. This sub-section, then, will attempt to do what has

not been done before. Facing the same dearth of resources as Bamford & Hemmings in their work back in 1988 and 1990, *RELINQUISHED* will, of necessity, limit itself to two members of the worldwide Anglican Communion; the Anglican Diocese of New Westminster, and its bordering neighbor to the south, the northernmost one of the Episcopal Church of the United States on the Pacific Coast, the Diocese of Olympia. In particular, the focus will be on St. Peter's in Seattle. Olympia and New Westminster (and St. Peter's, Church of the Ascension and Holy Cross) shared much in common. They had dedicated Nikkei congregations prior to WW II. They existed in the incubator of virulent racism that had infected the entire Pacific Coast of North America for decades. Roger Daniels cites for the Americans what Roy cites for the Canadians as the causes of the racism; "Asian immigrants seemed alike and alike seemed to present a threat to the American standard of living and to the racial integrity of the nation."²¹¹ In the two countries, these two Dioceses and their Nikkei churches also existed in the Pacific Coast environment that did not want the Nikkei back after the war. Surviving, nonetheless, they have dedicated Nikkei congregations today. Although the sub-section following this one is devoted to the United Church, there are strong war-time parallels with St. Peter's, and they will be included in this section, in advance of the broader treatment of the UCC in the next sub-section of *RELINQUISHED*.

With regard to the two sister dioceses in the Anglican Communion, the primary difference between them is that the Japanese-Americans at St. Peter's came back to their church, and continue to worship there to this day. It has been shown in *FOLLOW THE MONEY* that Japanese-Canadians had no Anglican church(es) to come back to. There are three additional comparisons that provide a useful perspective on how the sister dioceses in the Anglican Communion supported their parishioners; closing of the church, re-opening of the church, and stewardship of the church during the evacuation.

A perspective on the first of these, the closing of the church, is provided from the 1977 History of St. Peter's, *THE HOPE WITHIN*. A poignant 26 April 1942 extract from St. Peter's Church Register says it all, the last service prior to the evacuation:

In view of the probability that this may very well be the last Sunday Service to be held here in this church for the duration (of the war), it was most fortunate and providential that the Bishop of the Diocese (Bishop Huston) was able to be with us to celebrate a Holy Communion and moreover Bishop Reifsnider, who has been appointed by the House of Bishops to be fully in charge of Japanese interest in this country for the duration, was with us and preached. His sermon was just the kind of message we need under the circumstances. He certainly touched the hearts when he, modestly and briefly as it was, spoke of his own experience in Japan and how he was forced to leave the country for which he had given his life. It was also very nice to have Miss Lucy Taylor, the Bishop's Secretary with us, who has been and will long be most helpful to us all.

At least part of the congregation is leaving for the Puyallup Reception Center this week and so I hereby close this record and turn it over to the Bishop's Custodianship.

DAISUKE KITAGAWA, Vicar.²¹²

In Vancouver, the final service for the United Church Japanese Mission on Powell Street was five months later; "The last worship service was held on Sept. 27, 1942, with Rev. W.P. Bunt and Rev. W. Scott assisting (Rev. Takashi Komiyama officiating)."²¹³

There are no written records of the 1942 closing down of Holy Cross and the Church of the Ascension, nor are their Church Register books in the archives.

The second comparison, the re-opening of St. Peters in 1945, is explained in 1977 by Daisuke's brother, the Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Kitagawa, Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago:

*When I arrived at Seattle (in Oct. 1945) ... I was immediately assigned by the Bishop to undertake the feasibility study for the Church's work among Isseis and Niseis ... Bishop Huston graciously accepted my recommendation and reopened St. Peter's with the Rev. Arnold Krone as the Priest-in-charge, and Father Shoji who was to minister to the older people. ... It was a happy day when one section of the church building was cleaned up for the first regular Sunday morning Eucharist.*²¹⁴

In Vancouver, the Japanese Canadian Anglicans of course had no churches to return to. They had no space of worship until 1953, when their old friend Canon Cooper of St. James made worship space available at St. James. Shig Kuwabara recalls the first services in the basement (where he was baptized by the Rev. W.H. Gale),²¹⁵ while Tim Nakayama recalls later services upstairs in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament on Sunday afternoons.

Even with a church to return to, though, it was not easy for the Japanese-Americans:

*The War Relocation Authority announced that after January 20, 1945, all Japanese persons would be free to leave the Centers (the camps) ... The first task was to remove the signs nailed across the front doors of St. Peter's ... The first needs for the returning Japanese were housing facilities ... Conditions in Seattle had changed during the war years and a critical housing shortage existed. St. Peter's facilities (which) were converted into a hostel to provide living quarters for the returnees. Partitions were built on the gym floor as the families gradually filtered back. Living conditions were much worse here than in Camp, but being back in Seattle was more important.*²¹⁶

The church ultimately thrived, though, purchased a next door property, raised funds for church expansion, and

*At last the ground breaking ceremony was held on March 4, 1962 with Bishop William F. Lewis and excavation began ... Then on Oct. 14th the first Holy Communion was celebrated in the new church building which was dedicated on November 25th.*²¹⁷

In Vancouver, in an interesting coincidence, the name St. Peters was to enter into the equivalent celebrations of the Japanese Canadian Anglicans north of the border in 1989. In what Bishop

Hambidge characterized as one of the most selfless acts of his time as Bishop, St. Peter's Anglican Church donated their fine building to the Japanese-Canadians Anglicans, who continue to worship there to this day (recall from an earlier section that the church they originally moved into in 1955 was donated to them by an outside denomination, and was in about the same condition as Tim's log cabin in 1942. By comparison, St. Peter's was a fine building).

The third comparison between St. Peter's and Vancouver was foreshadowed by the Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa above when he ended his 26 April 1942 notation in the church register with the words 'and turn it over to the Bishop's Custodianship.' *THE HOPE WITHIN* describes the first step in custodianship taken by Bishop Huston for his Nikkei congregants before they left for their years in the camps;

*The Rt. Rev. S. Arthur Huston granted permission for the parishioners of St. Peter's to use the church's facilities to store personal belongings for an indefinite time. By May of 1942 the last piece of personal property were stored and the doors of St. Peter's were boarded up, marked, "WRA Authority", "U.S. GOVERNMENT PROPERTY", AND "NO TRESPASSING".*²¹⁸

Canon Nakayama expands upon this;

*Properties of parishioners were kept in Seattle's St. Peter's Mission Hall and were monitored by diocesan officials (in particular, by Bishop S. Arthur Huston of the Diocese of Olympia, who, when requested, sent belongings to people in one of the ten distant internment "camps").*²¹⁹

This same responsiveness was seen at the United Church Japanese Mission on Powell Street in Vancouver; "A great number of people, believing that the church was the most trustworthy institution in such times of extraordinary character, stored their personal belongings in the church premises."²²⁰ The extent to which the Superintendent of Home Missions (for the Nikkei) performed the equivalent role of Bishop Huston in Seattle is documented by Rev. Tadashi Mitsui; "The writer was surprised, when he went through the files of Rev. W.P. Bunt, to observe that so many trivial things were handled by such a busy man as the Superintendent of the Home Missions)."²²¹ Not only did Rev. W.P. Bunt retrieve personal belongings, he tried to protect them from the Custodian so reviled by the Nikkei. In a letter to the Custodian on Dec. 3rd, 1943, he wrote "Whatever personal effects are stored ... were entrusted to us for safe-keeping, and therefore we are in honor bound to care for them. We consider it would be a betrayal of trust if we were to agree to the selling of these goods without the owners consent."²²² As late as October of 1945 the church was still protecting that property from the Custodian, and even in 1947 was trying to track down the owners; the UC advertised nationally in the *New Canadian* on Sept. 6, 13 & 20 for people to claim their possessions."²²³ Elsewhere in Vancouver, there are published records of Mr. Sato having stored and recovered the VJLS library at the old Buddhist Church on Cordova.²²⁴

There is nothing in the historical record of the storage, safekeeping or retrieval of personal property at either of the JC Anglican Church buildings at Cordova or at 3rd.

This lengthy comparison with the Diocese of Olympia has been presented in some detail for three reasons. One, there is nothing in the published historical record of the Anglican Communion, anywhere it seems, that gives such a detailed description of what happened in a Diocese and a church, during those fateful days in 1942 and beyond, when parishioners in the Anglican Communion on the Pacific Coast were being exiled to the interior. Two, the parallels between St. Peter's and the UC Japanese Mission on Powell Street are striking. While darker aspects of the United Church in the late 40's will be covered in the next section, the supportive aspects they demonstrated toward their Nikkei during and immediately after the war showed that the spirit of St. Peter's existed north of the border as well. Three, the parallels between Anglican Communion members St. Peter's in Seattle and Holy Cross & Church of the Ascension in Vancouver prior to the war are also very strong. Their starkly different states after the war immediately raises the question of why? In any organization, leaders make a difference. The leadership of Bishop Huston in the Diocese of Olympia seems exemplary, and brings Archbishop Adams' leadership amongst the Japanese-Canadians in the Kootenays to mind. In looking at the Diocese of New Westminster to explain the difference, Pierre Berton's term 'Abdication of Leadership' seems inadequate; Professor Feilding's 1943 description from Trinity College in Section III seems closer to the mark - a 'travesty of episcopacy'.

RELINQUISHED will return to this question and these perceptions at the end of *COMPARISONS*. Beforehand, however, a third and final comparison is necessary, one that is much closer to home; the United Church Japanese Mission, kitty-corner across Oppenheimer Park from Holy Cross.

The United Church at their Best

Differences between the United Church and the Anglican Church are often alluded to but don't seem to have been documented in any detail. A man who has been under orders in both denominations, the Rev. Dr. Roland Kawano, wrote *MINISTRY TO THE HOPELESSLY HOPELESS* in 1997. It documents the experience of the Japanese Canadian evacuees and churches during WWII, and for it Kawano searched the archives of both the UCC and the ACC. An essential focus of his work (and his title) came from a 21 June 1944 war-time report by Rev. K. Shimizu, whose United Church ministry was in Kaslo. One of the great losses to Nikkei church scholarship was the 1980's disappearance of the Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles equivalent Anglican Report a year later.²²⁵ It will be a great boon to Anglican scholarship of this period when it resurfaces.

In terms of general differences, though, Kawano was not to commit his own conclusions to print. He did, however, include those of Grace Tucker. As shown already, Tucker was always careful how she phrased things. She continued her subtlety in Kawano's work; "I see more clearly the difference between the United Church and the Anglican Church – the former has such an active

social conscience.” Further on she writes “The UCC [and perhaps other churches] realized how wrong was the ‘discriminatory laws.’ And further on still, “Although our church had a different viewpoint and approach – not active as UCC.”²²⁶ The impression, as always with Tucker, is damning her church with faint praise. Until that last sentence, if you had not known, you might have surmised that her church was UCC. In her concluding sentence, however, it is clear, when she commends four Anglicans who did help; The Primate, Dr. Watts, Canon Dixon and Canon Judd (all, it should be noted, from Ontario).

Next to these veiled references, there were two visible war time differences between the United Church and the Anglican Church; Dr. Norman F. Black, the President of the VCC, and William Percy Bunt, the BC Conference Home Missions Superintendent (an organization somewhat equivalent to the PBMO; see Figure 5). In summary of Dr. Black, Roy wrote that he was a prominent friend of the Japanese, and as an activist “In speeches and letters, he attacked racial hatred.”²²⁷ Kawano devoted several pages to this friend of the Japanese. He noted that this retired Professor from UBC had bent his energies from an early age “towards issues bridging minority and majority groups,” and that he had opened his home to a Japanese Canadian discussion group as the war drew nearer. One of the members was Tom Shoyama, editor of the *New Canadian* when it moved to Kaslo.²²⁸ Dr. Black was the very antithesis of the prominent Halford Wilson. Wilson and Black would be an interesting study to expand upon Tadashi Matsui’s quote at the beginning of this Section; “The Japanese people saw the church and the people at their best and their worst.”²²⁹ Just as Roy was able to effectively use Kaslo and Kelowna in *THE TALE OF TWO CITIES* to show the best and the worst amongst communities, Black and Wilson could be used in *THE TALE OF TWO CHURCHES* to show the best and the worst amongst prominent church leaders.

In the Nikkei *Righteous Among the Nations*, Dr. Norman F. Black would most likely be a consideration. W. P. Bunt, who appeared earlier in the St. Peter’s of Seattle comparisons, seems like another potential candidate, although the record is thinner. Bunt, like Cooper and Savary and Adams, receives no attention from Adachi or Roy, although both he and Black receive considerable attention in Kawano.

In Kawano’s *MINISTRY TO THE HOPELESSLY HOPELESS*, he documents an additional difference between the UCC and the ACC. Appendix B, “Japanese Funds” is a report originally written by Kawano at the request of the National Japanese United Church Conference. In a level of detail somewhat between an audited set of books and a family cheque register, it documents what happened with a 1942 “Special Japanese Fund” (congregational funds of evacuated Japanese missions in BC sent in for safekeeping ... of the Home Mission Secretaries). The Home Mission of the UCC would have been equivalent to the MSCC of Figure 5. By 1953, the ‘Special Japanese’ national fund “stood at about sixteen thousand dollars.” One example of the funds that made it into this account that was not documented by Kawano comes from the UCC Conference

of BC; "That this Presbytery of Vancouver recommends to the Conference of BC, that the proceeds from the sale of the above lot (12; one of four lots, this particular one detached) be sent to the Treasurer of the UCC, to be placed with the funds which he holds in trust for the former Steveston Japanese congregation."²³⁰ "Over the next two decades grants were made to Japanese congregations as they were formed across the country in Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Steveston, and Lethbridge."²³¹

When research began for *RELINQUISHED*, Kawano's 1997 book was the latest word on the Nikkei church experience, and seemed to paint a glowing picture of the United Church, while mostly assuming Tucker's reticence when it came to the Anglican Church. Combining the work in *RELINQUISHED* with the 1997 work of *HOPELESS*, a fair conclusion would be to state that the national UCC (Home Missions) and the national ACC (MSCC) during the war years were clearly both strong advocates and financial supporters of their JC adherents.

In the late spring of 2009 new evidence came to light to reveal that while Kawano's picture up to the end of the war was correct, his Vancouver perspective made no reference to the sale of UC properties. As it turned out, over the same year that the JC-VCC was researching what happened to the three JC AC properties, Rev. Maki Fushi and UCC archivist Blair Galston were doing the same thing with regard to the United Church Japanese Mission on Powell Street, a stone's throw across the park from Holy Cross Anglican Church. While this sub-section has dealt with that aspect of the UC Vancouver Presbytery that Tamashi Mitsui would characterize as the best, the next sub-section will deal with that aspect of the UC Vancouver Presbytery that Rev. Tadashi Mitsui would characterize as the worst; the somewhat complex two-step 1953 & 1955 sale of the UC Powell Street Mission, and the disposition of the funds from that sale.

The Three Sales of the UCC Powell Street Japanese Mission

The sale of the Japanese Canadian United Church lot (12) in Steveston does not seem to have come up as an issue in the UCC. Certainly at the service of reconciliation at the UCC Japanese Canadian Church in Vancouver on 24 June 2009, the single focus was on the sale of the Powell Street Mission. As documented in the previous section, possibly the Steveston sale never became an issue because it appears that ultimately the funds from that sale came back from the national Home Missions Board when the congregation in Steveston was re-established.

For *RELINQUISHED*, the comparative emphasis will be to focus on the UC Powell Street Japanese Mission across Oppenheimer Park from Holy Cross. In their 2008-2009 work trying to piece together what happened to this church, the UC used the same methodology used by the JC-VCC – get the answer from Land Registry. They were able to obtain what they needed over the phone. The only difference in approach between the UCC and the JC-VCC for this section was that the JC-VCC got actual copies of the Land Registry documents, and added one additional file

(the year the Mission was sold a second time in 1955). The information received from four sets of Land Registry Documents, between 1905 and 1955, follows in Figure 18.

	Land Registry Date	Seller	Purchaser	Sale Price	Signing Authorities	Land Registry File #
1	27 April 1905	John E. Brown & Edward T. Charmon	THE METHODIST CHURCH	\$2,500	Brown & Charmon	78190
2	8 May 1905	Arthur Ferguson (<i>Omaha, Nebraska</i>)		\$1,800	Arthur Ferguson	
3	24 Feb. 1931	United Church of Canada (299 Queen St., Toronto)	United Church Oriental Missions (#411 Dominion Bank Bldg)	\$1	Secretary, The General Council	
4	9 Jan. 1948	United Church Oriental Missions (no address)	United Church of Canada (207 Hastings St. W.)	\$1	Mr. Savage, Chairman W.P. Bunt, Secretary	188370
5	24 Sept. 1954	United Church of Canada (207 Hastings St. W.)	Welfare Industries of 1st United Church (742 E. Hastings)	\$16,000	Secretary, The General Council (Sisco) Secretary, Board of Home Missions (George Dorey)	315061
6	4 May 1955	Welfare Industries of 1st United Church (742 E. Hastings)	Vancouver Buddhist Church (475 Alexander St.)	\$24,500	Harry Murphy, SECR. Rev. Dr. H.R. Ross, PRES. (Ross = Supt'd/Priest of First United)	326530

Figure 18 UCC Powell Street Japanese Mission - 1905-1955

There is no hint in Kawano's 1997 book of what happened to the UC Powell Street Japanese Mission. He includes a reference to the Mission in his Appendix B, on the last page. It is an innocuous little paragraph, following. That it would mushroom into a cause 12 years later was not at all obvious, even with hindsight; there had never been a Bamford to hint at irregularities.

Powell Street, Vancouver: First United Church is using and taking full responsibility of this property. The suite is occupied by a family who will act as watchman".²³²

The JC-VCC knew a Buddhist Church was on the site formerly occupied by the UC Powell Street Japanese Mission. But given that the Kawano book did not raise any issues in 1997 and that there were no Bamford type warnings elsewhere, the JC-VCC mistakenly assumed that there were none.

In an email in June of 2009, the Supervisor of this work, Rev. Dr. Brian Thorpe, started the chain that led to the realization that the UCC had sold one of their JC churches in the 1950's. The fact that they had also sold a lot in 1945 at a second site (near the Steveston Church) only came to light even later than the Powell Street sale, during a 9/11 visit with the UCC archivist, Blair Galston, late in this project. As stated earlier, this section will focus only on the UCC Powell Street sale, because it provides an important comparison with the ACC in terms of how the proceeds from the sale were utilized.

9 Jan. 1948 - The First Sale (Transfer), authorized by Vancouver

From Figure 18, it can be seen on line 4 that title for the Powell Street property changed on 9 January 1948 from the United Church Oriental Missions to the United Church of Canada in Vancouver for \$1. It is not known why this transaction occurred.

Within two weeks of this transaction, steps were taken to make the building available to the organization that would eventually purchase it: “[Moved and carried] that Presbytery approve of the plan to utilize the former Powell Street Japanese buildings for carrying on the work of First Church Welfare.”²³³

24 Sept. 1954 - The Second Sale: Authorized by, & Funds forwarded to, Toronto

From Figure 18, it can be seen from line 5 that on 24 September 1954 title for the Powell Street property changed at Land Registry from the United Church of Canada in Vancouver to Welfare Industries of First United Church, for \$16,000.

This caused some confusion. Fourteen months earlier, on 22 July 1953, no less an authority than W.P. Bunt wrote the City Building Inspector to inform him that the property had been sold to Welfare Industries, title had passed over to that organization, and correspondence should be directed to the manager there, Mr. Harry Murphy.²³⁴ How could this be, if Land Registry didn't show a change of title until 24 Sept. 1954?

Hints at the struggle over who had access to and use of the Powell Street Mission are sprinkled throughout a letter in April of 1953: “In the matter of the sale of the [Vancouver – Powell St.] property to First Church Welfare . . . I think that the offer should be accepted without delay, for several reasons, one of which is that it will clear the air as far as its use by the Japanese groups are concerned. They can make other arrangements for their school, etc., as at May 1st. Their presence in the building this winter has not been an unmixed blessing.”²³⁵ The letter was sent to the national Secretary of Home Missions, George Dorey, who was one of the two signing officers when title was transferred a year and a half later, on 24 September 1954. Because two officers from Toronto signed the title, it probably is not surprising that the funds accruing from the sale went back to Toronto as well.

Toronto, however, had problems with collections from the sale to Welfare Industries of First United Church, and this difficulty explains the two different dates. On 11 December 1953, the Secretary of the Board of Home Missions at head office in Toronto, George Dorey, wrote “I regret to write again about the unpaid balance (of \$11,000) on the purchase price,” and asked “Welfare Industries to remit to us the balance by Dec. 31st.”²³⁶ More letters were to follow in early 1954. Toronto must have eventually received the money because, as can be seen in line 5 of Figure 18, George Dorey and Gordon A. Sisco (Secretary, General Council) signed the title over to Welfare Industries of First United Church on 24 Sept. 1954. It might be recalled that Holy Cross church had two dates associated with its sale as well; the 1947 date (equivalent to the 1953 date above)

was the date of the agreement for sale. The second date for Holy Cross, August of 1949 (equivalent to Sept. 1954 above), was when the property was fully paid for. Once the property was fully paid for, the transfer of title took place, in both instances. This clarification re: 'Double Dates' can be seen in table form in Figure 19.a following:

19.a. DOUBLE DATES		Address	Rogue Authorization	Authorization Date	Land Registry Title Transfer	
ACC	Holy Cross Japanese Mission	430 Cordova St.	Diocesan Board of Missions <i>(no relationship to PBMO)</i>	12-Feb-47	19-Aug-49	Away from PBMO
UCC	Powell Street Japanese Mission	222 Jackson	United Church of Canada Vancouver Presbytery	April-May 1953	24-Sep-54	-
UCC	Powell Street Japanese Mission	222 Jackson	Welfare Industries Board <i>(no consultation with Home Missions)</i>	12-Apr-55	04-May-55	Away from Board of Home Missions

19.b. DOUBLE DEALING		Address	Rogue Authorization	Authorization Date	Land Registry Title Transfer	Misdirection of Funds
ACC	Holy Cross Japanese Mission	430 Cordova St.	Diocesan Board of Missions <i>(no relationship to PBMO)</i>	12-Feb-47	19-Aug-49	Away from PBMO
UCC	Powell Street Japanese Mission	222 Jackson	United Church of Canada Vancouver Presbytery	April-May 1953	24-Sep-54	-
UCC	Powell Street Japanese Mission	222 Jackson	Welfare Industries Board <i>(no consultation with Home Missions)</i>	12-Apr-55	04-May-55	Away from Board of Home Missions

Figure 19 a & b: UCC & ACC - 'Double Dates' & 'Double Dealing' Comparisons

What about the disposition of funds? The disposition of the funds provides the most important comparison with the equivalent sales in the ACC. There is no doubt that the funds from the sale of the UC Powell Street Japanese Mission went to Toronto; George Dorey would not sign over title until he had received them, and it took several letters on his part to get them. Where did the funds go in Toronto? Roland Kawano shows that the United Church practice at the time was to distribute the money in support of ministry forming amongst the Japanese diaspora, and that this was done under George Dorey's organization. The 'Japanese Fund' of Appendix B in Kawano's book seems the highly likely destination for those funds. Ultimately, this becomes an important comparison when we return to the questions of intentions in the next Chapter. It seems well documented that the intention of the national office of the UCC was to fund new Japanese Canadian congregations across Canada from the funds received from BC. That BC would have acted differently without the presence of national oversight is the insight gained from the third sale of the Powell Street Mission.

4 May 1955 - The Third Sale, authorized by Welfare Industries of First United

From Figure 18, it can be seen on line six that title to the Powell Street property changed again seven months later, in a technique which is call 'flipping' today. On 4 May 1955, Welfare Industries of First United Church sold the Powell Street Mission to the Vancouver Buddhist Church for \$24,500.

As can be seen from line 6 of Figure 18, the authorizing signatures for the sale to the Buddhist Church were Harry Murphy (SECTY.) and Rev. Dr. H.R. Ross (PRES.). Harry Murphy was the object of George Dorey's request for the unpaid \$11,000 in December 1953, and was the Manager of Welfare Industries of First United. The second signature was that of Rev. Dr. H.R. Ross, Superintendent (& minister in-charge) of First United Church. Authorization to sell the property was provided in affidavit form, which included a sub-section of 12 April 1955 minutes of a Welfare Industries Board meeting at 724 E. Hastings. As would be the case with the Diocese of New Westminster, it was all perfectly legal.

Without national oversight, the funds presumably went to First United, where it is believed that the \$8,500 profit was used for building renovations. This compares with the actions of the Diocese of New Westminster when they authorized the sale of Holy Cross in 1947. In both cases, the decisions were made outside the traditional channels of authority. In the case of the Diocese of New Westminster, it was made outside of the appropriate PBMO decision-making vehicle. The funds, as a result, never made it to the PBMO, despite the agreement of sale stating that that was their destination. In the Anglican Church, however, there was no one to protest. There was a strong protest of the actions of Welfare Industries of First United Church within the Vancouver Presbytery, however, almost immediately.

The allegedly unauthorized sale of the Powell Street Mission was to cause consternation in the United Church. Within two months, a specially appointed emergency Advisory Committee reported:

*'The Secretary had reported that the Welfare Industries had sold the former Japanese Church in Vancouver to the Japanese Buddhists for \$25,000 without reference to Presbytery or to the Board of Home Missions. When the Board sold this property to Welfare Industries for \$16,000, it was understood that it would continue to be used for Welfare purposes.'*²³⁷

The Advisory Committee, which had been appointed by the Vancouver Presbytery to deal with this problem, then made three recommendations, none of which had any effect with regard to recovering the property or assuring that the \$8,500 profit went to the Nikkei. The indignant recommendations expressed conviction that Welfare Industries should be divorced from First United Church and that Presbytery take whatever action is necessary to sever connections. Later correspondence suggests that the 'divorce' did not occur. The property itself continues to be with the Buddhist Church to this day.

The double dealing that had led the UCC Vancouver Presbytery to consider 'divorce' from Welfare Industries had a parallel with the ACC. As will be recalled from Section VII on *FOLLOW THE MONEY*, the Anglican Church too engaged in questionable practices in terms of who authorized the sale of Holy Cross, and then in misdirecting the funds from that sale. Figure 19.b above summarizes the 'Double Dealing' engaged in by both churches.

56 Years Later

Within the UCC, acknowledgement of some of the facts around the sale of the Powell Street Japanese Mission became public in June of 2009, a year after work on *RELINQUISHED* had begun (It should be noted that Figures 18 & 19 include information that can only be gleaned from a physical review of Land Registry documents, and therefore include details additional to those given in the acknowledgment). At the 2009 BC Conference General Meeting of the United Church, Executive Secretary Rev. Doug Goodwin documented what happened on the return of the Powell Street congregants in 1949:

*When the Powell Street congregation returned, they found a church building that was now being used primarily for storage and no longer adequately maintained for worship or congregational life. They began to worship at First United Church, then Fairview United and Renfrew United. Finally, over two decades later, they found a permanent church home in their present building, St. Luke's.*²³⁸

Like the St. Peter's congregation in Seattle, the UC Japanese Mission had a church to return to. Unlike the St. Peter's congregation, however, they were not allowed access to it. The same year seminary student Tim Nakayama was being told by his Bishop and Treasurer that the three JC AC church properties were relinquished, the UC Japanese Mission was relinquished as well.

*Meanwhile, in 1953, the United Church sold the Powell Street church building to Welfare Industries, a service society of First United Church. The following year Welfare Industries sold it to a Buddhist society for its use as a temple, which it still is to the present day.*²³⁹

In acknowledging their failures, the UCC President of the BC Conference, Rev. Hilde Seal, confessed:

*As trustees of your property, the church failed. As trustees of the unity of Christ among all peoples, the church failed. As your sisters and brothers in Christ, we failed.*²⁴⁰

Finally Having a Place to Call Home: 1945, 1953, 1978, 1989

This section has compared what happened in four institutions whose Nikkei members were exiled from the West Coast of North America in 1942; the Vancouver Japanese Language School, St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Seattle, and the ACC and UCC Japanese Missions in Vancouver. All of these institutions were re-established over a period a time once the laws of their respective countries allowed them to return. This section and Figure 20 will give a sense for what happened on their immediate return. This final sub-section will briefly tell the story of where they ended up.

The happiest story of all was for the members of St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Seattle. They came back to their church, and used it to live in even before they were able to return to their homes. The possessions they had left behind, those which had not been retrieved for them by their Bishop, were still in the building. They built a more modern church in 1962, and worship in that church to this day.

The Vancouver Japanese School did not have it quite so easy. When they came back, the building was occupied by renters (Army & Navy), and they were not to get possession of the

building until 1953. In September 1952 “our school opened at 220 Jackson Street, formerly the gymnasium of the Japanese United Church.”²⁴¹ They were to move back into their own building seven months later. In the millennium year, 47 years later, they built a new structure beside their original building, which is designated a Heritage Site by the City of Vancouver, who have also installed a colorful sidewalk mosaic outside commemorating the exile of 1942.

The United Church Japanese-Canadians had the disappointment of coming back to a church which they were not allowed to use. While it was used for activities (like the VJLS above), it was not made available for worship. They were to finally have a place they could call their own at 4010 Victoria Drive, where they purchased a building in 1978 (having worshipped there since 1973).

The Anglican Japanese-Canadians had no church to come home to, so they did not suffer the disappointment of being denied access. Joy Kogawa expresses what it would have meant to them, though, if it had existed when they came back (referring to Church of the Ascension):

It is impossible to overstate how the availability of our church would have helped the morale of the Japanese Canadian Anglicans if they had been allowed to move back into this modern church.

I am sure it would still be standing today if that had happened.

How could the Anglican authorities let one of their consecrated buildings be sold and deserted like this?²⁴²

It was not until 1953, however, that they were even allowed to use a chapel, at St. James, for a Sunday afternoon service. Prior to that they were in the basement (where Shig Kuwabara and his wife were baptized by W.H. Gale). On 12 January 1955 the Catholic Apostolic Church (of Chicago), “which was closed in or about the month of July 1953,”²⁴³ gifted a crumbling building to the Diocese of New Westminster, with authorization from the Acting Archdeacon for the United States and Canada. Bishop Gower made this dilapidated building available for Holy Cross Church a few months later, and it was to plague the community until 1989, when the Japanese Canadian congregation finally got a building they could truly call home.

The sad state of the building, which indirectly led to the death of the Rev. W.H. Gale, is well attested to. Shig Kuwabara, Warden at Holy Cross for many years, was responsible for the building even before it was opened, and provides the first hand perspective that it was ‘bad’. An experienced carpenter, he recalls the difficulties of making it habitable, and of keeping it that way. The foundations were wooden, on concrete blocks, and needed to be replaced because they were worm-eaten. Mr. Kuwabara was assisted in replacing the foundations by the Matsumoto family (the three sons Sam, John & Luke, and the father Ichijuro, the same ones who built the huts and the sanitarium at New Denver²⁴⁴) who owned the shipyards of the same name in North Vancouver. Father John Shozawa recalls that in the early ‘70’s he asked Mr. Matsumoto if he could build a cross for the church, and that it can still be seen in its prominent place in Holy Cross

today. There was a tragedy during the renovation to originally open the church. W.H. Gale had a heart attack in his car while in the middle of coordinating all of the repairs to open it ("he was the driving force"). The very first service in the building was to be W.H. Gale's funeral on June 29, 1955. Mr. Kuwabara and his wife, who had been baptized in the basement of St. James by W.H. Gale ("he worked so hard and was so kind"), were two of the 119 in attendance.²⁴⁵

Tim Nakayama, who served at the old building during his time in seminary, writes of this service;

*"The very first service in our new/old church had been only 12 days previously, on June 29. The first service had been a special service held after the death of Canon Gale. My father, Canon G.G. Nakayama, preached, and I officiated. 119 people attended."*²⁴⁶

Ten years later, another seminary student, John Shozawa, was to also serve at the Catholic Apostolic Church building. He too speaks of the difficulties, with reference to his Warden, Shig Kuwabara, still faithfully serving.

*"When I became incumbent at Holy Cross in 1964, they were in their 2nd building, their post-war location at E.11th, in a very old building. ... in constant need of maintenance ... truly aged and inefficient ... Shig Kuwabara, one of my Wardens, coordinated continual renovations and repairs for the church, especially leaks from the front roof."*²⁴⁷

At a meeting in 1969, the following item from the minutes dealt with a sore point; "There is considerable dislike of the word "Mission" in the name of the church. The congregation would like to be known simply as Holy Cross Church."²⁴⁸ Bishop Somerville, who had kept those minutes, granted Holy Cross parish status soon after. John Shozawa writes; "One of the key events during my first tenure at Holy Cross was on the occasion of its 65th Anniversary in 1970. This was the year in which Holy Cross was finally given Parish status."²⁴⁹

When John returned for his second tenure in 1995, the Japanese Canadian Anglicans, like the United Church congregation, had finally found a home. In 1989, the year after Redress (a coincidence?), they moved into the building of another lapsing congregation, this time an Anglican one. This gift was from one congregation to another (another St. Peter's), with the blessing of the Bishop. The remnant JC Anglicans have built a columbarium there, and hope to be there with the permanence St. Peter's has had in Seattle. As one person who was intimately involved with both the old building of 1955 and the new one of 1989 has said, Holy Cross finally had a place to rightfully call home.

Summary

So all four institutions covered in this section eventually found a home, the Japanese Canadian Anglicans last of all. Recalling the seven essential, irrefutable findings at the beginning of *FOLLOW THE MONEY*, the following essential comparisons can now be made.

1. Three Japanese Canadian Anglican Church properties were sold by the Diocese of New Westminster, on 22 March 1945, 6 July, 1945, and 19 August 1949. The agreement for sale on the third one was in early 1947. The United Church Powell Street Japanese Mission was sold twice, in 1953 and 1955.

2. The three Anglican properties were originally purchased in 1905, 1920 and 1929. The UC property was purchased at the same time as Holy Cross, in 1905.
3. The three Anglican properties were transferred to the Diocese on 30 Oct. 1937, 25 April 1938, and 22 Dec. 1941, for \$0, \$1 and \$1 (Holy Cross Expansion property, Church of the Ascension, and Holy Cross Church, respectively). The UC property was transferred to the Oriental Mission in 1931 for the same price (\$1), and to the UCC in 1948.
4. Proceeds from the sale of 2 of the Anglican properties were initially deposited 'in-trust' to the PBMO, where they remained for four years, while the third was deposited 'in-trust' in a Diocesan fund, where it remained for two years. The proceeds from the first sale of the UC Mission were sent to Toronto, where they were used to seed new Japanese Canadian missions across Canada.
5. In 1949, the four-year-old 'in-trust' fund for Church of the Ascension was transferred from the PBMO Japanese Mission to the Diocese of New Westminster, along with accrued interest since 1945. It went into the Bishop's Endowment Fund. The rationale given was that the need for Japanese Mission work was 'nil'. On the second sale of the UC Mission, the funds all went to the First United Church and were apparently used for construction.
6. In 1949, at the same time, the two-year-old 'in-trust' fund for Holy Cross Church was transferred from the Japanese Mission Fund. It too went into the Bishop's Endowment Fund. The rationale was the same; the need for Japanese Mission work was nil.
7. Authorization for, and transfer of, the two 'in-trust' funds occurred after April 1, 1949, the date that the Japanese-Canadians were legally allowed to return to the West Coast.

These seven points can be summarized as follows:

1. At the time of the sales, neither the AC or UC Nikkei congregations had any say in the sale of their churches.
2. At the time of the sale, neither the AC nor UC Nikkei congregations in Vancouver received a financial benefit from the sale. The AC were eventually to get an appropriate building in 1989, while the UC were to get an appropriate building of their own in 1978. The UC funds, however, in the instance of the first sale, did go to funding new JC Missions across Canada.
3. The second sale of the United Church Japanese Mission on Powell Street was sold not only without consultation with the JC congregation, but without consultation with the Board of Missions. The Vancouver Presbytery considered 'divorce' from the offending institution (Welfare Industries of First United).

The sale of the Anglican Japanese Mission properties on Cordova and W. 3rd were authorized by the Bishop of the Diocese and his Executive Council, and the proceeds ultimately deposited into a fund for the Bishop's salary (the BEF). As with the rogue UC sale, Holy Cross was done in such a way that the governing body did not know about it either. There was never any reaction like that in the United Church for the simple fact that nobody knew about it for 60 years.

4. Both congregations had to struggle to find a new place to call their own for the worship of God. The AC Nikkei's started in the basement of St. James, while the UC Nikkei's started at First United. Neither found comparable facilities to what they had lost for decades; 1978 for the United Church, and 1989 for the Anglicans.

From the three institutional comparables of this section (VJLS, St. Peter's and the Powell Street Japanese Mission), the three earlier sections on racism, the section on *CODE OF SILENCE*, and the section on *FOLLOW THE MONEY, RELINQUISHED* is now positioned to make an attempt to begin the effort of answering the question stated by Aunt Emily at the beginning of this section:

Do you think the intention of Bishop Heathcote and the Executive Council of the Diocese of New Westminster was that we have no Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches to come back to?

¹⁹⁹ *New Canadian*, 14 May 1942, p.1.

²⁰⁰ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.211.

²⁰¹ Sato, *Building the Bridge*, p.231.

²⁰² The Vancouver Sun, April 1942.

²⁰³ Appendix I, page 101, column 4.

²⁰⁴ Land Registry file 35418.

²⁰⁵ See end of Section IX.

²⁰⁶ Canon Timothy Nakayama, Appendix VII, July 24, 2008, pages 6 & 13 of 16, paragraph 28, and Exhibit 'D'.

²⁰⁷ Stephanie Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest*, p.8

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.33.

²⁰⁹ Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.89.

²¹⁰ Washington Post, 11 June 1945.

²¹¹ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, p.89.

²¹² *The Hope Within*, p.14.

²¹³ Mitsui, *Ministry of the UCC Amongst JC's in BC*, p. 266.

²¹⁴ *The Hope Within*, p.12.

²¹⁵ Mr. Shig Kuwabara, Oral History, Sept. 18, 2009.

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- ²¹⁶ Ibid, p.15.
- ²¹⁷ Ibid, p.19.
- ²¹⁸ Ibid, p.14.
- ²¹⁹ Canon Timothy Nakayama, Appendix IX, page 4 of 12, paragraph 18, Oct. 1, 2008
- ²²⁰ Mitsui, *Ministry of the UCC*, p.262.
- ²²¹ Ibid, p.272.
- ²²² Ibid.
- ²²³ BCCA
- ²²⁴ . Sato, *Building the Bridge*, p.243.
- ²²⁵ Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles, *Some Reminiscence About My Nikkei Relations*, p.1.
- ²²⁶ Kawano, *Ministry to the Hopelessly Hopeless*, p.110-11.
- ²²⁷ Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship*, p.144.
- ²²⁸ Kawano, *Ministry to the Hopelessly Hopeless*, p.110-11.
- ²²⁹ Mitsui, *Ministry of the UCC Amongst JC's in BC*, p.226.
- ²³⁰ Conference letters, 1945.
- ²³¹ Kawano, *Ministry to the Hopelessly Hopeless*, p.115-16.
- ²³² Ibid, p.14.
- ²³³ BC Conference Archives (BCCA) of the United Church of Canada (UCC), Vancouver Presbytery fonds, Box 537, vol. 4, January 27, 1948
- ²³⁴ BCCA of the UCC, Property Development Committee fonds, Box 1361, File 18, Letter from W.P. Bunt to Mr. D.A.Matheson, City Building Inspector.
- ²³⁵ Letter from Supt. of Home Missions, Percy Bunt, to Secretary of Home Missions, George Dorey, Mar. 9, 1953: BCCA Archives, Box 1361, file 3/18.
- ²³⁶ Ibid, Letter from George Dorey to Mr. Harry Murphy, Dec. 11, 1953.
- ²³⁷ BCCA Archives, Vancouver Presbytery Secretary's correspondence, June 27, 1955: Box 1603, file 18
- ²³⁸ BC Conference Statement of Recognition and Apology, May 2009, p.1.
- ²³⁹ Ibid; from Land Registry Documents, the date at the beginning of the paragraph should read 1954.
- ²⁴⁰ Ibid, p.2.
- ²⁴¹ Sato, *Building the Bridge*, p.231.
- ²⁴² Appendix X, page 186 (4 of 12).
- ²⁴³ Appendix I, page 101, Vancouver Land Registry File 320363.
- ²⁴⁴ , Canon G.G. Nakayama, *Issei*, p.190-194.
- ²⁴⁵ Shig Kuwabara, recorded oral history, Sept. 19, 2009.
- ²⁴⁶ Rev. Canon Timothy Nakayama, Appendix VII, page 109, paragraph 22, page 5 of 16.
- ²⁴⁷ Rev. John Shozawa, Appendix VIII, page 2 & 3 of 24.
- ²⁴⁸ Ibid, Exhibit 'G', Minutes of a June 19, 1969 Meeting re: Holy Cross, signed by the Right Rev. T.D. Somerville.
- ²⁴⁹ Ibid, paragraph 23, page 5 of 24.

IX. INTENTIONS

The case is clear, the cause is just, and the time for action is long overdue.

- Dr. Minoru Masuda to the Washington State Legislature

“The struggle to build a new relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is teaching Anglicans how our church has been complicit in Canada’s history of racism and how we have to change.”

- ACC Charter for Racial Justice

RELINQUISHED has now developed four bodies of work with which to begin the process of attempting to answer the question of whether or not the Diocese of New Westminster intended that their Nikkei Anglican parishioners have no churches to come back to. The first is the three institutional comparables of the previous section (VJLS, St. Peter’s and the Powell Street Japanese Mission). Second is the section on *FOLLOW THE MONEY*. The third is the sections on racism, while the fourth is the section on *CODE OF SILENCE*. With these four, there should now be enough data with which to consider Aunt Emily’s question with regard to intentions.

Aunt Emily’s Question

To begin, Figure 20 following summarizes the learning’s from the first, the institutional comparables, and from the second, *FOLLOW THE MONEY*.

Does this table of comparisons help answer Aunt Emily’s question with regard to intentions? Without including the third set of data, the virulent racist environment of the time, and the fourth, consideration of the code of silence, the answer must be no. In addition to Figure 20, five essential observations following it are required.

1. **VIRULENT RACISM:** Aunt Emily’s intentions cannot possibly be understood without the context of racism. When the UCC uses phrases like “tainted by the prejudices” and “often subtle forms of racism”²⁵⁰ they do a great injustice to the Nikkei who suffered under the race-baiting and ‘Kill Japs’ racism of the era. If Sections III–V have captured the race-baiting tenor of the times correctly, these are major understatements. The language of the ACC *Charter of Racial Justice* seems somewhat closer to the mark;

“Racism has been and continues to be no less present in the Anglican Church of Canada (as in society as a whole),” and

“The struggle to build a new relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is teaching Anglicans how our church has been complicit in Canada’s history of racism and how we have to change.” ²⁵¹

A 21st century Charter, however, cannot be expected to express the intensity of the racism of those days. The word most often used to do so is not ‘subtle’; it is ‘virulent’.

		Vancouver JC Anglicans (PBMO)	VJLS School	Seattle Nikkei Episcopal Church	Vancouver JC United Church (Board of Missions)
Buildings	1 Storage/Distribution of Possessions?	✘	✘	✓	✓
	2 Building to Return To?	✘	✓	✓	✓
	3 Access to the Building?	✘	1953	1945	✓
	4 Building Sold?	1 & 2: 1945, 3. 1949 (1947)	No	No	1.1 1953, 1.2. 1955
	5 Nikkei Consulted?	✘	-	-	✘
	6 Knowledge of Nikkei?	✘	-	-	✘
Ethics	7 Questionable Business Practices?	Non-PBMO Authorization	No	No	1. OK 2. Non-BofM Authorization
	8 Expedited Process?	✓	-	-	✘
	9 Misdirection of Funds?	2 & 3: To BEF	-	-	1. OK 2. To First United Church
Aftermath	11 Code of Silence?	✓	-	-	✓
	10 Revelations/Discovery (<i>Independently</i>)	2008-09	-	-	2008-09
	12 Apology?	Not Yet	-	-	✓

Figure 20 Comparative Characteristics of 4 WW II Nikkei Institutions/Properties.

2. **OBJECTIVES:** With regard to intentions, then, the virulent racism of the day was able to clearly articulate, over extended periods of time, what their objective was. The five quotes at the beginning of Section VIII from 1942, 1943, 1945 and 1947 are crystal clear; they shall never return. This particular articulation was by a prominent Anglican in 1942, the ‘most prominent’ race-baiter of them all, Alderman Halford Wilson.
3. **QUESTIONABLE PRACTICES:** Circumstances around the final sale (Holy Cross) raises suspicions about intentions, for 2 reasons. One, it was presented to and authorized by a body that had nothing to do with the Japanese Mission. The national MSCC in Toronto saw all minutes from the PBMO, and were on the Board; they did not receive minutes from the Board of Missions. The Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles, who belonged to MSCC for many years, believes they never would have approved of the sale. Two, the realtor (a member of Executive Council) who recommended the sale seconded the motion to have the sale authorized - was this conflict-of-interest?
4. **‘IN-TRUST’ TRANSFERS:** The most irreconcilable fact, however, was the hurry up associated with transferring the ‘in-trust’ funds from the Japanese Mission in the PBMO to the Diocese, and the transfer of Japanese Mission funds within the Diocese, with the lame rationalization that the need for Japanese Mission work was nil. This two-pronged process started on 10 May 1949, over a month after the JC Anglicans were starting to

come home. Their church could no longer call them Anglicans; in their minutes, they were merely referred to as Japanese Christians.

5. CODE OF SILENCE: The case made by Trevor Bamford and Canon Tim Nakayama that a secret, a code of silence was in effect with regard to the details about the sale of the three JC AC properties, is strong. The tawdry nature of the sale of Holy Cross is the first known example. There is no documented example in the 56 years after 1953 of the Diocese ever having been forthright when approached on this subject; there are 8 documented examples on the record when they were not. The first known case of the Diocese being forthcoming was in 2009 when Bishop Ingham read a Diocesan perspective to John Shozawa and the author. It was John Shozawa who pointed out the first time significance of this action on the Bishops part. By its very nature, a code of silence is difficult to prove. As an observable pattern over more than half a century, however, the trend seems undeniable.

Taking these five points, Figure 20, and the whole of this work, it seems that Aunt Emily's question can be answered clearly and unequivocally. *RELINQUISHED* will let Aunt Emily answer the question herself, in her own words. She will do so in *CONCLUSIONS*, ending *RELINQUISHED* the same way that it began, with an *Obasan* derivative. First, though, the main body of the work will conclude with the reconciliation perspective of *RECONCILIATION, REPENTANCE AND REDRESS*.

What If Intentional? – Reconciliation, Repentance & Redress?

In 1988, the Federal Governments of Canada and the United States, under the administrations of Brian Mulroney and Ronald Reagan, repented for what their countries had done to their Japanese-Canadian and Japanese-American citizens during WW II.

For many JC's the Canadian Redress date of September 22, 1988 was the most significant date in their lives. For some, however, it was too late, or, not enough. There is anger amongst children for the parents that did not live to see Redress. David Suzuki expressed his feelings about his Mother; "She died at the age of 74 and I bitterly resent that she died without ever having known an official apology for not having been an enemy of this country."²⁵² There was pathos in the case of Robert Nose's Mother, who died 4 days before it happened. These are the Nose's that appear in Slocan in Joy Kogawa's *Obasan*, and who can be found in the 1941 Nikkei Museum map of all of the businesses and residences around the Oppenheimer Park area known as "Little Tokyo."²⁵³ Lynne Shozawa's family appears on that same map. Her parents died in 1973 and 1977. When she received her redress compensation from the Federal Government, she thought "it was fine because I didn't expect to get anything. I was sorry my parents weren't around, though, because they suffered and could have used it."²⁵⁴

As important as Redress was, there were non-compensatory aspects to it in 1988 that weren't enough. While the American and Federal governments stopped at apology and redress, it is

important to remember that this was the first undertaking of its kind in North America, and was a huge step in racial justice. The First Nation and South African experience that followed it reflected that learning in their Truth & Reconciliation processes. The learning was that Apology and Redress are only a beginning, and that time is required for the reconciliation process. For the victims and perpetrator alike, this healing process is as important as the apology and redress. The JC-VCC team that supported this work is certainly of that mind, as their testimonials reveal. Appendix XIII articulates this concept:

2. *Reconciliation is a process over time rather than a single, miraculous moment. With remembering comes recognition, not least the recognition by all of the destructive forces around and within them –whether that is unacknowledged guilt by the Diocese of New Westminster, or destructive hate by the dispossessed Vancouver Japanese Canadian Anglican parishioners.*²⁵⁵

Mindful that their perspective was by no means a consensus among Japanese Canadian Anglicans, the JC-VCC developed Appendix XIII as a covenant of what reconciliation might look like in the Anglican Church of Canada. It can be seen in its entirety as Appendix XIII.

The difficulty of achieving a consensus, even with just 10 members, was driven home to the JC-VCC when one of its members resigned during the development of this Covenant:

*I have the very greatest of respect for each of you. I recognize that this is an extremely important endeavor for each of you personally, but also for the team as a whole. I also completely respect the opinion that the team has taken and I know that it is one of those things that just needs to be done. It is obvious to me, that you are the right people to take this forward. But I can also see that I am not one of the right people to take this forward*²⁵⁶.

Divisions in the campaign for Redress in the 1980's had no such respectful words, where the splits were deep and adversarial. Federally, it was equally adversarial. Pierre Trudeau was quoted on June 29, 1984 as saying "I don't think it's the purpose of government to right the past ... It cannot rewrite history."²⁵⁷ Leader of the Opposition Brian Mulroney stated "I feel very strongly that Canadian citizens whose rights were abused and violated and trampled upon indeed should be compensated."²⁵⁸

The same divisions existed within the Japanese Canadian community, especially between the *Issei* (first generation) and the *Nissei* (second generation). The official Redress organization, the National Association of Japanese-Canadians (the NAJC, composed primarily of *Nissei*) was opposed by the National Redress Association of Survivors (the JCNRAS, composed primarily of *Issei*). With its *Issei* focus, the JCNRAS argued that they had suffered the most, and should have the most say. The NAJC and JCNRAS differences were irreconcilable. In *Justice in Our Time*, Order of Canada holder Roy Miki summarized the polarity; "As the redress campaign wore on, JCNRAS representatives continued to attack the NAJC, but did not hold community meetings or sponsor other redress activities."²⁵⁹ The effect of these divisions on the community was provided by Joy Kogawa, when she said that to "pit(s) them (the *Issei*) against the rest of the community is

the most hurtful thing possible²⁶⁰.” These divisions were not unique to Canada. Writing in 1977, the Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Kitagawa, Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago foresaw it as early as 1941; “I sensed already in 1941 ... the inevitable conflict between the two generations.”²⁶¹ The JC-VCC in 2008 and 2009 was to experience those same generational divisions during the time of this work, this time between the *nisei* and the *sansei*.

Throughout the 16 months of *RELINQUISHED* (May 2008 to August 2009), Bishop Michael Ingham had been kept apprised of its findings. He acknowledged the courtesy, encouraged us to be “Fearless with the Truth,” invited us to Diocesan Council to present the findings in Nov. of 2009, and is fully aware of the details and flow revealed in Appendices I & XII, to the extent that we believe he could present the material. The Covenant in Appendix XIII was also shared with him.

While the work was in progress, given the darkness of the material, it was restricted to the 10 members of the JC-VCC team and Bishop Michael (along with the VST Supervisor, Brian Thorpe, and, on a need to know basis, the legal, financial and translation consultants).

On the 60th Anniversary of the sale of Holy Cross, August 19, 2009, the findings were made public for the first time, with the Bishop’s blessing, to a small group of Vancouver Nikkei. The notes arising from that evening at Holy Cross give a sense for the reaction:

*Basil wrapped up by asking for feedback, and one quote, when read back to the audience for confirmation, seemed to be a consensus feeling for those present; "The truth has to come out." Gwen backed this up with the quote "The truth shall set you free", and we were reminded of the Bishop's admonition to the JC-VCC to "Be Fearless with the Truth."*²⁶²

It is not a part of this work to document in any detail next steps, other than to state that the work of the last sixteen months is just a beginning, and that it is hoped that the reconciliation that did not occur in 1988 will be a product of this work, as articulated in the JC-VCC’s Reconciliation, Repentance and Redress Covenant of March 26, 2009 (Appendix XIII). The initial presentation of *RELINQUISHED* to the Diocese on Nov. 10, 2009 (see p. iii) was a heartening, historic beginning. The Japanese Canadian Anglican sense of abandonment and betrayal (to use the words of the Remembrance Authority of *Yad Vashem*) was finally, historically, named, in front of the very body that perpetrated that abandonment and betrayal 60 years ago.

The effect hoped for is to dispel a dark cloud that has hung over Japanese Canadian Anglicans and their Church since 1949. Takeo Ujo Nakano’s *Commemorative Poem of Thanks*²⁶³ expressed the joy of Japanese-Canadians after Redress in 1988.

*Our dark cloud of a half century dissipated,
The fairest day
In Japanese-Canadian history
Dawns.
Our joy is unsurpassable.*

Without suggesting the same order of consequence, the JC-VCC prays that it might suggest the potential in the relationship between Japanese Canadian Anglicans and the Anglican Church in Canada during the next steps of Reconciliation, Repentance and Redress.

What that might look like will obviously be impacted by the credibility of the answer to Aunt Emily's question with regard to the original intentions of the Diocese of New Westminster in selling the three church properties of her people, dispersing the hard earned funds her community had accumulated, and abandoning and betraying their Japanese Canadian parishioners in the process. Was there ever any consideration of the expression of faith these buildings represented, as expressed so eloquently by Mr. Sato?

For myself, this was unthinkable. The building represented everything I had worked for. It was an expression of faith by 20,000 Japanese who had contributed to the building fund in 1928. It was a precious building which I felt the Japanese could not afford to lose.

The answer to Aunt Emily's question

Do you think the intention of Bishop Heathcote and the Executive Council of the Diocese of New Westminster was that we have no Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches to come back to?

follows in the second *Obasan* derivative. Having proven that her 'additional words' from the first *Obasan* derivative are correct, *RELINQUISHED* finishes as it began. With Joy Kogawa's blessing, we again allow the wordsmith from *Obasan* to frame her own words in her own way to answer her question. Aunt Emily's last page completes her first. Together, can they begin to move us over the chasm of Canon Nakayama's theological reflection?

Silence and breaking the silence. Darkness and light shining to overcome the darkness.

²⁵⁰ BC Conference Statement of Recognition and Apology, May 2009, p.1.

²⁵¹ The ACC Charter for Racial Justice, http://www2.anglican.ca/about/cogs/arwg/charter.htm#_ftnref1.

²⁵² Roy Miki, *REDRESS: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice*. Vancouver, BC, Raincoast Books, 2004, p.130.

²⁵³ *Obasan*.

²⁵⁴ Lynne Shozawa, phone conversation, Aug. 22, 2009.

²⁵⁵ Appendix XIII, page 119.

²⁵⁶ Appendix XIII.

²⁵⁷ Pierre Trudeau, Canadian Press, Ottawa; cited in the Vancouver Sun, June 29, 1984.

²⁵⁸ Brian Mulroney, Globe and Mail, May 16, 1984.

²⁵⁹ Roy Miki & Cassandra Kobayashi, *Justice in Our Time*, 1991, p.86.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*

²⁶¹ *The Hope Within*, contribution by Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Kitagawa, Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago, p.10.

²⁶² Joan Mori, Aug. 19, 2009.

²⁶³ Roy Miki & Cassandra Kobayashi, *Justice in Our Time*, p.144.



X. AUNT EMILY'S OBASAN CONCLUSIONS, PART II

So, after all this work, Nomi, what were their intentions? Surely they should be discernable by now.

One clue. When I wrote “God damn his soul,” I had no idea how prominent Alderman Halford Wilson was within the Anglican Church. I am knocked out. He was an elected member of the Anglican Board that oversaw all Japanese Missions in the Province. For 15 years. And of the Executive Council. Amongst others. No wonder it all happened as it did.

Did you know that 30 years before Alderman Wilson began his race-baiting, his father made it clear that we weren't welcome? For Canon Wilson's whole professional life, his two Bishop's were White-British-Christian advocates. Grace Tucker wrote about it. If the son's objective was clearly to get rid of us, he was equally clear that we should never return. Did you know that the Rev. Cyril Powles came out to BC to preach in 1945? Bishop Heathcote apparently did not see him. He could only get invited to two churches. You can guess what the first church was? The second was less obvious; St. Paul's. After he finished his homily of tolerance towards us Nikkei, he was told by future Bishop Rev. Gower that one of the big givers had torn up his envelope after the service. That act of intolerance says as much to me about Anglican intentions as anything Wilson or his father or their Bishop's said.

There's more. It gets darker.

I never knew that the Japanese Missions throughout the province were funded from back east, and that if it hadn't been, the work would not have happened. Treasurer Mathewson apparently said that repeatedly over the years at General Synod. The same people back east who paid the salaries of our priests and our missionary women also originally purchased our churches. Is it not hypocrisy to take credit for all that the missionaries did during the war, while selling those same churches so that we would have nothing to return to?

It goes beyond belief now, Nomi. Way beyond belief. Now we know. Alderman Wilson and his Wilsonite's stated their racist beliefs and objectives clearly. They didn't want us back, and were able to keep us away until Canada was forced into sending us back. The BC racists couldn't fight the Dec. 10, 1948 UN Charter of Human Rights. We were back within 4 months of that being signed. But, of course, our churches and our money was gone. Or soon would be.

You know, Professor Feilding of Trinity College saw the truth in 1943, long before any of the detailed truths came out. He didn't seem to be scared to express it either. He accused our church of a 'travesty of episcopacy.' You know your Auntie Emily; if I had known it, I would have said it. But I never knew. Canon Tim Nakayama coined the term code of silence to describe why we didn't know until now, about any of this. There is no doubt in my mind that he is right.

As I said at the beginning, it was the power of government that took our personal property away from us. But, as is clear now, it was the power of episcopacy that took our places of worship and our hard earned funds away from us; the virulent racism behind their actions is equally clear. The government had nothing to do with it. It was Bishop Heathcote and his Executive Council who wanted us 'Japanese Christians' (they couldn't even call us Anglicans) to have nothing to come back to. Beyond doubt. It was their 'travesty of episcopacy' that did it. And it is amazing how they managed to keep it and their intentions secret for over 60 years.

For us Nikkei, finally knowing the truth about what happened, encouraged by a Bishop to be fearless with that truth, makes me want to either cry or yell for joy, I'm not sure which. Mr. Sato did both in 1953. As we all did in 1988. We should probably hold off just yet, though, Nomi, until we see how they respond to this historical, racist, injustice.

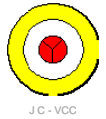
What I will yell from the rooftops, though, long before that, is about our advocates. In our race-baiting, anti-Japanese province, it was only Canon Cooper and Rev. Savary and Archbishop Adams in our Anglican church who would speak up publicly for us. And Mrs. Wilson, who found another way, God bless her soul. And theirs.

How different things might have been if in 1940 Canon Cooper had become our Bishop Huston. Did you know he was second in the voting behind Bishop Heathcote, that very same Bishop who coined the phrase 'shoot the brutes,' and who had praise only for his smiling Nikkei gardener? We won't remember the Heathcotes and the Wilson men the way we will remember Cooper and Savary and Adams and Susannah.

Could it happen again, Nomi? I wish I could say no. There are those who say it couldn't.

I do know, however, that if you and I and anyone who believes in peace and justice in our church will hold up our few advocates, our 'Righteous Amongst the Nations' from those dark days, there will always be courageous, principled, faithful people like them to take their place. And that would make it less likely that it could happen again.

Let that be the legacy of RELINQUISHED. The Few. And Reconciliation.



「失われた祖国」エミリーおばさんの追加文第2部－「結論」

さて、ノミちゃん、この調査全体から判断すると、彼らの意図は何だったと思う？今ならもう、それがはっきり判るはず。ヒントを一つ。私が「神よ、彼の魂を呪え」と書いたときには、ハルフォード・ウィルソン市議員が聖公会内部でどんなに顕著な人だったのか、まるで知らなかった。ほんとうにビックリしたわ。彼は、州内の日系人宣教の全体を監督する聖公会理事会の選出理事だった。15年間も、他の人々にまじって、評議会のメンバーだったのよ。だから、あんな酷い事が起きて、ぜんぜん不思議ではないのよ。ウィルソン議員が人種攻撃を始める30年も前に、彼の父親が私たちが歓迎されていないとはっきり言っているのを知ってた？キャノン・ウィルソン司祭がその公的生涯を通して仕えた二人の主教は、白人英国系クリスチャンの主唱者であった。グレイス・タッカー氏がそのことについて書いている。息子の目的が明らかに私達を排斥することだったとしたら、父親のウィルソン司祭も私達が帰ってくるべきではないと思ったに違いない。シリル・パウルス司祭が1945年にBC州に来てお説教をなさったのを知っている？ヒースコット主教が彼に会わなかったのは確かなようだし、彼が招待された教会も二つだけだった。招待された教会の一つは分るでしょう？もう一つの方は意外にもセントポール。そこでパウルス司祭が日系人に対して寛容をと説いたら、後に主教になったガワー司祭から、多額の献金をする信者の一人が、説教の後で献金袋を引き裂いたよ、と言われたらしい。

そのような非寛容的な行為が、ウィルソンやその父親又彼らの主教の言動と同様に、聖公会の意図を物語っていると思うわ。

それだけではない。もっと酷い事実があるの。

私は知らなかったけど、BC州全体の日系人宣教は遠い東部からの資金で支えられていて、それが無ければ宣教は出来なかった。財務担当のマシューソン氏は、毎年総会で繰り返そう言っていたらしい。われわれの牧師さんや宣教師の婦人たちに給料を支払っていたのがその東部の人達なんだけど、お給料だけでなく、我々の教会を最初に購入したのもその同じ東部の人達なのよ。戦争中にその宣教師達がした事を、教区の功績として大いに賞賛する一方で、その教会を売り払って、私達が戻れる教会を無くすなんて、偽善だと思わない？

全く信じられない事よ、ノミちゃん。あきれちゃうわ。今になってやっと判ったのよ。ウィルソン議員とその仲間達は、人種差別主義の信念とその目的をはっきり宣言していた。彼等は、私たちが帰って来ることを望んでいなかった。そしてカナダ政府によって私達の帰還が余儀なくされるまで、私達を遠ざけておいた。そのBC州人種差別主義者も1948年12月10日に国連で採択された世界人権宣言には勝てなかった。人権宣言の署名が行なわれてから4ヶ月以内に私たちは帰って来た。だけど、もちろん私達の教会も資金も無くなってた。或いは無くなるうとしていた。

トリニティ大学のフィールドディング教授は1943年にその真相をつかんでいた。事実の詳細がはっきりするそのずっと前よ。

それだけじゃない、それを発表する勇気も持っていた。そして教会の「主教制度の墮落」を弾劾した。あなたは私がどんな人間か知っているでしょう。もし私がその事を知っていたら、絶対に口に出していたわ。でも私は知らなかった。キャノン・ティム中山司祭は、私たちが今に至るまでこの事に関して何も知らなかった理由について、「沈黙の掟」という言葉で説明してくれたが、私も全くその通りだと思うね。

最初に言ったように、私たちから個人財産を奪ったのは、政府権力だった。だけど、今明らかになったように、私たちから礼拝する場所と苦勞して貯めた資金を奪ったのは主教職の権力だった。そして、その行為の背後には悪意に満ちた人種差別主義があったことも同時に明らかになった。政府には全く関係がなかった。ヒースコット主教とその最高首脳部が「日本人クリスチャン」（彼等は、私たちを聖公会々員とすら呼ばなかった）が帰って来る所がないことを望んだのだ。疑いもなく、彼等の「墮落した主教制度」がこれを実行した。そして、連中がこの事実とその背後の意図を60年以上も秘密にしておくことができたのは、全くもって驚くべきことだよ。

ある主教から真実を恐れるなど励まされたお陰で、私たち日系人はやっと何が起こったのかについての真実を知るに至ったのよ。私はもう、うれしさのあまり泣いたらいいの、喜びの叫びをあげたらいいの、わからないわ。佐藤校長は1953年に、又私達は、1988年にこの喜びを味わっているわよね。だけど、ノミちゃん、多分喜ぶのは早すぎるかも知れない。彼等がこの歴史的、人種差別的不正義に対してどう対処するのか様子を見なければならぬからね。

だけど、その前に、屋根の上から大声で叫びたいのは、私達を支援してくれた人達のこと。人種差別主義的排日主義のこの州において、私達のために公然と声を挙げてくれたのは、聖公会では、キャノン・クーパー司祭、レジ・セイバリー司祭、アダムス主教だけ。そしてウィルソン夫人は、他の方法でそうしてくれた。神よ、ウィルソン夫人とその3人の魂を祝福したまえ。

1940年にキャノン・クーパー司祭が私たちのヒューストン主教になっていたら、事態は変っていたかもしれない。クーパー司祭は主教選挙でヒースコット主教につぐ次点だったらしいよ。ヒースコット主教は、「獣を撃ち殺せ」などという表現を用いながら、にこにこした日系の庭師だけにいい顔をしていた人なのよ。私たちは、クーパー司祭、セイバリー司祭、アダム主教そしてスザンナさんの功績は称えても、ヒースコット主教やウィルソン連中のしたことは決して称えることは出来ない。

ノミちゃん、こんなことはもう二度と起らないと思う？起らないよと言えるといいんだけど。そんなことは起り得ないと言う人達もいるけどね。

だけど、これだけは言えるわ。あなたと私、そして私達の教会内にいる平和と正義を信じる誰もが一緒になって、私達を助けてくれた数少ない援護者を、暗黒時代の「正義の旗手」として褒め称えたら、彼等のような勇気ある信念を持った信仰深い人々がいつの時代でも現れると思うわ。そうすれば、こんな事も二度と起らないでしょう。

少数の人々の勇気ある行為。そして和解。それを「リリックイッシュ」の遺産としましょう。

和解








(Translation by Matsuki Masutani, validation by the Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles & Michiko Tatchell)

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1942-1949 - 7 Japanese-Canadian Properties - 5 SOLD, 2 NOT

Sept. 21, 2009

APPENDIX I		INSTITUTIONAL				PRIVATE			INSTITUTIONAL		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8.i	8.ii	9
PROPERTY PARTICULARS	A. Type	Holy Cross Church	Church of the Ascension	Holy Cross Expansion Property	VJLS in 'Protected Area'	Home in 'Protected Area'	Farm in 'Protected Area'	Farm not in 'Protected Area'	JC United Church		CAC Church
	B. Picture								Lots 1 & 2 originally purchased by THE METHODIST CHURCH on 27 April 1905 for \$2,500		
	C. Address	430 E. Cordova Vancouver	1701 W. 3rd Ave. Vancouver	428 E. Cordova Vancouver	475 Alexander Vancouver	1450 W. 64th Vancouver	Fraser Valley	Kelowna	222 Jackson		849 E. 11th Vancouver
	D. Occupants	Transferred to Diocese	Transferred to Diocese	Transferred to Diocese	JC Community	Canon Nakayama Family	Nagano Family	Tamagi Family	UC Powell Street Japanese Mission	Welfare Industries of First United Church	CAC Church
	E. Possession/ Acquisition	Oct. 30, 1937	Apr. 25, 1938	Dec. 22, 1941	Aug. 5, 1927	June 23, 1937	-	-	Feb. 24, 1931	Sept. 24, 1954	Apr. 17, 1936
	F. Land Registry #	23118	27477	70038	35418	19850	-	-	78190	315061	10501
	G. Cost	\$0	\$1	\$1	\$4,500	\$1,500	-	-	\$1	\$16,000	\$4,020
LIQUIDATION	H. Body in Authority	Diocesan Bishop - Executive Council			Prime Minister - War Cabinet (Order-in-Council PC 469)				United Church of Vancouver	Welfare Industries of First United Church	CAC Trustees
	I. Sold or Not?	SOLD	SOLD	SOLD	NOT	SOLD	SOLD	NOT	SOLD	SOLD	Gift
	J. Land Registry #	222992	127243	120692	-	110342	?	-	188370	326530	320363
	K. Date	Aug. 19, 1949	July 6, 1945	Mar. 22, 1945	-	Sept. 22, 1944	?	-	Jan. 9, 1948	May 4, 1955	Jan. 12, 1955
	L. From	Diocese of New Westminster	Diocese of New Westminster	Diocese of New Westminster	-	Secretary of State (PC 469)	Director of Soldier Settlements (PC 5523)	-	UC Powell Street Japanese Mission	Welfare Industries of First United Church	CAC Church
M. To	Sam Lee	Louis Goldberg	Noey, Sing & Lang	-	Frank Kryzanoski	?	-	United Church of Vancouver	Vancouver Buddhist Church	Diocese of New Westminster	
PROCEEDS	N. Appraisal	\$6,200	\$5,250	\$2,400	-	\$1,610	?	-	\$26,668	\$24,500	\$0
	O. Sale	\$3,000	\$5,250	\$2,400	-	\$1,610	?	-	\$1	\$24,500	\$0
	P. Disposition of Proceeds	BEF: Bishop's Endowment Fund (Authorized May 10, 1949; Transferred June 14, 1949 - Still in BEF today)		Unknown	-	Custodian/Owner	Director/Owner	-	-	?	-

APPENDIX II - Orders-in-Council and Critical Events, in CHRONOLOGICAL Order (Adachi, p.445; 'unprecedented actions taken by the Gov't of Canada')							
July 10, 2008	Index	Date	O.i.C PC #	Details	7 Categories	Authority *	
1	1939	1 Sept. 1, 1939	-	Institution of War Measures Act (Adachi p.429; 3.c Arrest, detention, exclusion & deportation)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.	
2	2	Jan. 8, 1941	-	MacKenzie King officially announces that JC's were exempted (excluded) from military service (Adachi, p.192)	2. Exclusion	PM	
3	3	March 4, 1941	117	Initial REGISTRATION & issue of Identity Cards to all persons of Japanese origin, age 16+ (Adachi, p.257, 2 Reports, p.I.2)	2. Exclusion	O.i.C	
4	1941	4 Dec. 7, 1941	9591	Japanese Nationals to register by Feb. 7 with Registrar of Enemy Aliens (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.i.C	
5	5	Dec. 7, 1941	9592	PEARL HARBOUR / Declaration of War on Japan	1. Far-reaching	Parl.	
6	6	Dec. 16, 1941	9760	Registration of all persons of Japanese origin, regardless of citizenship (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.i.C	
7	7a	Jan. 13, 1942	251	JC boats be put back in operation with non-Japanese crews (Adachi, p.229)	4. Property	O.i.C	
8	7b	13, 1942	288	Disposal of fishing boats; Japanese Prohibited from Fishing for Duration of War (Adachi, p.229)	4. Property	O.i.C	
9	8	Jan. 16, 1942	365	Protected Area authority given to National Defense (Adachi, p.432; authorize the detention of ... enemy aliens)	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
10	9	Feb. 15, 1942	-	Singapore captured by the Japanese (Churchill, p. 621)	1. Far-reaching	War	
11	10	Feb. 19, 1942	-	Roosevelt's EO 9066 establishes the authority that would result in the Evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast (JAH, p. 136)	1. Far-reaching	USA	
12	11a	Feb. 24, 1942	1486	EVACUATION of all persons of the Japanese Race (Adachi, p.434; 'any or all persons')	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
13	11b	Feb. 26, 1942	-	MoJ: Regulations ... Implementing the Evacuation (Adachi, p.435; Curfew, no cars, cameras, radios, etc., Search without Warrant)	3. Evacuation	MoJ	
14	12	Feb. 1942	1457	Evacuees prohibited from purchasing or leasing real property without a permit (2 Reports, p.I.27)	4. Property	O.i.C	
15	13a	Mar. 4, 1942	1665	Establishment & Powers of the BC Security Commission (Adachi, p.436; 'plan, supervise & direct the evacuation')	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
16	13b	Mar. 4, 1942	1665	CUSTODIAN of Japanese Property (Adachi, p.436; 12.1 As a protective measure only - property . belonging to any person of the J race)	4. Property	O.i.C	
17	14	Mar. 27, 1942	2483	Custodian Management of Property (Adachi, p.437; 'property ... in any protected area ... belonging to any person of the J race')	4. Property	O.i.C	
18	15	June 29, 1942	5523	Purchase or lease of Farms to the Director of Soldier Settlements (Adachi, p.320; '572 farms')	4. Property	O.i.C	
19	16	Sept. 11, 1942	8173	Authority exerted over all Japanese in Canada (Adachi, p.218)	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
20	17	Nov. 20, 1942	10773	Canadian Citizens applying for expatriation lose citizenship, plus wives and children (2 Reports, p.I.27)	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
21	18	Jan. 19, 1943	469	LIQUIDATION of Property (Adachi, p.437; 'Custodian ... the power to liquidate, sell or dispose of such property ... of those ... evacuated')	4. Property	O.i.C	
22	19a	Feb. 5, 1943	946	Control over Movement (Adachi, p.261; 'any person of the Japanese race in any place in Canada')	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
23	19b	5, 1943	946	Dissolution of BCSC; replaced by Commissioner of Japanese Placement (Two Reports, p.I.8, p.II.9)	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
24	20	May 28, 1943	4365	Fuel wood Project: Proceeds of Sales into a Revolving Fund (2 Reports, p.I.14)	4. Property	O.i.C	
25	21	Dec. 20, 1943	9702	Leasing of Business or Residential Property (Adachi, p.285)	4. Property	O.i.C	
26	22	May 1944	3797	Illegal for Occidentals to purchase and hold lands for Japanese-Canadians (2 Reports, p.I.27)	4. Property	O.i.C	
27	23	Aug. 4, 1944	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on DISPERSAL (Adachi, p.442; 'treat such persons fairly and justly')	5. Dispersal	PM	
28	24	Dec. 17, 1944	-	Maj. Gen. Henry Pratt, chief of Western Defence Command in the US, announced that loyal JA's could return to the W. Coast (Davis, p.123)	7. Restoration	USA	
29	25	Mar. 12, 1945	-	Department of Labor: Notice for Dispersal East of the Rockies (Adachi, p.438; 're-establish themselves East of the Rockies')	5. Dispersal	MoL	
30	26	Mar. 22, 1945	♠	Sale #1: HOLY CROSS CHURCH Growth Property sold by Diocese of New West (120692 of New West Land Registry)	4. Property	Anglican	
31	27	July 6, 1945	♠	Sale #2: CHURCH of the ASCENSION sold by Diocese of New Westminster (127243 of New West Land Registry Office)	4. Property	Anglican	
32	28	Aug. 16, 1945	5637	Amendment of PC 946 of 5th of Feb. 1943 (Adachi, p.439)	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
33	29	Sept. 14, 1945	5973	MoL vested with responsibility for issuance of property licenses (2 Reports, p.II.17)	5. Dispersal	O.i.C	
34	30a	Dec. 15, 1945	7355	DEPORTATION of Persons of Japanese Race (Adachi, p.439; 'deportation'; 'request for repatriation'; 4 categories)	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
35	30b	15, 1945	7356	- Cancellation of Citizenship for those being Deported	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
36	30c	15, 1945	7357	- Loyalty Tribunal	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
37	31	Dec. 18, 1945	-	National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, replacing War Measures Act (Adachi, p.336)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.	
38	32	Jan. 1, 1946	-	War Measures Act Expires (Adachi, p.309)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.	
39	33	Jan. 1, 1946	7414	Continuance of Deportation Orders (Adachi, p.309; under National Emergency Transitional Powers Act)	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
40	34	1946	45	To Supreme Court: Are 7355, 56 & 57 Ultra Vires? (2 Reports, p.II.14)	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
41	35	Jan. 24, 1947	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on continued Resettlement throughout Canada (2 Reports, p.II.23)	7. Restoration	PM	
42	36	July 18, 1947	1810	Inquiry into Property Losses (Adachi, p.325; Justice Henry Bird Commissioner, 'udicrously limited')	4. Property	O.i.C	
43	37	Mar. 31, 1949	-	FREEDOM: Remaining restrictions imposed under War Measures Act are lifted and franchise given to JC's (Adachi, p.346)	7. Restoration	Parl.	
44	38	June 14, 1949	♠	Proceeds of Sales of JC Churches transferred to Bishop Heathcote's Endowment Fund, used for his salary (EC Minutes, June 14)	4. Property	Anglican	
45	39	Aug. 15, 1949	♠	Sale #3: HOLY CROSS CHURCH sold by Diocese of New West (222992 of NW Land Registry) © Greg Tatchell, 2008	4. Property	Anglican	
46	1950	Dec. 28, 1950	6229	Amendment of Immigration Regulations (Adachi, p.350; 'possible entry of wives, husbands or unmarried children')	7. Restoration	O.i.C	
47	1988	41 Aug. 10, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the US Government and Japanese-American Citizens (JAH, p.289-91)	7. Restoration	USA	
48	42	Sept. 22, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the Canadian Government and Japanese-Canadian Citizens	7. Restoration	PM	
49	1999	43 Mar. 31, 1999	♠	Bishop Michael Ingham writes: "If the Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese ... it would be a serious injustice."	7. Restoration	Anglican	

* Anglican = Diocese of New Westminster O.i.C = Order-in-Council Parl. = Federal House of Commons PM = Prime Minister
 USA = the States War = World War II MoJ = Minister of Justice MoL = Minister of Labor

Seminal Event
 Pacific War: Start & Finish

APPENDIX III - Orders-in-Council and Critical Events, by CATEGORY (Adachi, p.445; 'unprecedented actions taken by the Gov't of Canada')						
July 10, 2008	Index	Date	O.I.C PC #	Details	7 Categories	Authority *
1	1	Sept. 1, 1939	-	Institution of War Measures Act (Adachi p.429; 3.c Arrest, detention, exclusion & deportation)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
2	5	Dec. 7, 1941	9592	PEARL HARBOR / Declaration of War on Japan	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
3	9	Feb. 15, 1942	-	Singapore captured by the Japanese (Churchill, p. 621)	1. Far-reaching	War
4	10	Feb. 19, 1942	-	Roosevelt's EO 9066 establishes the authority that would result in the Evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast (JAH, p. 136)	1. Far-reaching	USA
5	31	Dec. 18, 1945	-	National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, replacing War Measures Act (Adachi, p.336)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
6	32	Jan. 1, 1946	-	War Measures Act Expires (Adachi, p.309)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
7	2	Jan. 8, 1941	-	MacKenzie King officially announces that JC's were exempted (excluded) from military service (Adachi, p.192)	2. Exclusion	PM
8	3	March 4, 1941	117	Initial REGISTRATION & issue of Identity Cards to all persons of Japanese origin, age 16+ (Adachi, p.257; 2 Reports, p.12)	2. Exclusion	O.I.C
9	4	Dec. 7, 1941	9591	Japanese Nationals to register by Feb. 7 with Registrar of Enemy Aliens (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.I.C
10	6	Dec. 16, 1941	9760	Registration of all persons of Japanese origin, regardless of citizenship (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.I.C
11	8	Jan. 16, 1942	365	Protected Area authority given to National Defense (Adachi, p.432; authorize the detention of ... enemy aliens)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
12	11a	Feb. 24, 1942	1486	EVACUATION of all persons of the Japanese Race (Adachi, p.434; 'any or all persons')	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
13	11b	Feb. 26, 1942	-	MoJ: Regulations ... Implementing the Evacuation (Adachi, p.435; Curfew, no cars, cameras, radios, etc., Search without Warrant)	3. Evacuation	MoJ
14	13a	Mar. 4, 1942	1665	Establishment & Powers of the BC Security Commission (Adachi, p.436; 'plan, supervise & direct the evacuation')	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
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32	38	June 14, 1949	⚡	Proceeds of Sales of JC Churches transferred to Bishop Heathcote's Endowment Fund, used for his salary (EC Minutes, June 14)	4. Property	Anglican
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34	23	Aug. 4, 1944	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on DISPERSAL (Adachi, p.442; 'treat such persons fairly and justly')	5. Dispersal	PM
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42	34	1946	45	To Supreme Court: Are 7355, 56 & 57 Ultra Vires? (2 Reports, p.II.14)	6. Deportation	O.I.C
43	24	Dec. 17, 1944	-	Maj. Gen. Henry Pratt, chief of Western Defence Command in the US, announced that loyal JA's could return to the W. Coast (Davis, p.123)	7. Restoration	USA
44	35	Jan. 24, 1947	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on continued Resettlement throughout Canada (2 Reports, p.II.23)	7. Restoration	PM
45	37	Mar. 31, 1949	-	FREEDOM: Remaining restrictions imposed under War Measures Act are lifted and franchise given to JC's (Adachi, p.346)	7. Restoration	Parl.
46	40	Dec. 28, 1950	6229	Amendment of Immigration Regulations (Adachi, p.350; 'possible entry of wives, husbands or unmarried children')	7. Restoration	O.I.C
47	41	Aug. 10, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the US Government and Japanese-American Citizens (JAH, p.289-91)	7. Restoration	USA
48	42	Sept. 22, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the Canadian Government and Japanese-Canadian Citizens	7. Restoration	PM
49	43	Mar. 31, 1999	⚡	Bishop Michael Ingham writes: "If the Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese ... it would be a serious injustice."	7. Restoration	Anglican

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	27	July 6, 1945	ϕ	Sale #2: CHURCH of the ASCENSION sold by Diocese of New Westminster (127243 of New West Land Registry Office)	4. Property	Anglican	
	38	June 14, 1949	ϕ	Proceeds of Sales of JC Churches transferred to Bishop Heathcote's Endowment Fund, used for his salary (EC Minutes, June 14)	4. Property	Anglican	
	39	Aug. 15, 1949	ϕ	Sale #3: HOLY CROSS CHURCH sold by Diocese of New West (222992 of NW Land Registry) © Greg Tatchell, 2008	4. Property	Anglican	
	43	Mar. 31, 1999	ϕ	Bishop Michael Ingham writes: "If the Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese ... it would be a serious injustice."	7. Restoration	Anglican	
Gov't of Canada	11b	Feb. 26, 1942	-	MoJ: Regulations ... Implementing the Evacuation (Adachi, p.435; Curfew, no cars, cameras, radios, etc., Search without Warrant)	3. Evacuation	MoJ	
	25	Mar. 12, 1945	-	Department of Labor: Notice for Dispersal East of the Rockies (Adachi, p.438; 're-establish themselves East of the Rockies')	5. Dispersal	MoL	
	3	March 4, 1941	117	Initial REGISTRATION & issue of Identity Cards to all persons of Japanese origin, age 16+ (Adachi, p.257; 2 Reports, p.12)	2. Exclusion	O.i.C	
	4	Dec. 7, 1941	9591	Japanese Nationals to register by Feb. 7 with Registrar of Enemy Aliens (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.i.C	
	6	Dec. 16, 1941	9760	Registration of all persons of Japanese origin, regardless of citizenship (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.i.C	
	7a	Jan. 13, 1942	251	JC boats be put back in operation with non-Japanese crews (Adachi, p.229)	4. Property	O.i.C	
	7b	13, 1942	288	Disposal of fishing boats; Japanese Prohibited from Fishing for Duration of War (Adachi, p.229)	4. Property	O.i.C	
	8	Jan. 16, 1942	365	Protected Area authority given to National Defense (Adachi, p.432; authorize the detention of ... enemy aliens)	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
	11a	Feb. 24, 1942	1486	EVACUATION of all persons of the Japanese Race (Adachi, p.434; 'any or all persons')	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
	12	Feb. 1942	1457	Evacuees prohibited from purchasing or leasing real property without a permit (2 Reports, p.127)	4. Property	O.i.C	
	13a	Mar. 4, 1942	1665	Establishment & Powers of the BC Security Commission (Adachi, p.436; 'plan, supervise & direct the evacuation')	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
	13b	Mar. 4, 1942	1665	CUSTODIAN of Japanese Property (Adachi, p.436; 12.1 As a protective measure only, property, belonging to any person of the J race)	4. Property	O.i.C	
	14	Mar. 27, 1942	2483	Custodian Management of Property (Adachi, p.437; 'property ... in any protected area ... belonging to any person of the J race')	4. Property	O.i.C	
	15	June 29, 1942	5523	Purchase or lease of Farms to the Director of Soldier Settlements (Adachi, p.320; '572 farms')	4. Property	O.i.C	
	16	Sept. 11, 1942	8173	Authority exerted over all Japanese in Canada (Adachi, p.218)	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
	17	Nov. 20, 1942	10773	Canadian Citizens applying for expatriation lose citizenship, plus wives and children (2 Reports, p.127)	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
	18	Jan. 19, 1943	469	LIQUIDATION of Property (Adachi, p.437; 'Custodian ... the power to liquidate, sell or dispose of such property ... of those ... evacuated')	4. Property	O.i.C	
	19a	Feb. 5, 1943	946	Control over Movement (Adachi, p.261; 'any person of the Japanese race in any place in Canada')	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
	19b	5, 1943	946	Dissolution of BCSC; replaced by Commissioner of Japanese Placement (Two Reports, p.1.8, p.11.9)	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
	20	May 28, 1943	4365	Fuel wood Project: Proceeds of Sales into a Revolving Fund (2 Reports, p.1.14)	4. Property	O.i.C	
	21	Dec. 20, 1943	9702	Leasing of Business or Residential Property (Adachi, p.285)	4. Property	O.i.C	
	22	May 1944	3797	Illegal for Occidentals to purchase and hold lands for Japanese-Canadians (2 Reports, p.127)	4. Property	O.i.C	
	28	Aug. 16, 1945	5637	Amendment of PC 946 of 5th of Feb. 1943 (Adachi, p.439)	3. Evacuation	O.i.C	
	29	Sept. 14, 1945	5973	MoFL vested with responsibility for issuance of property licenses (2 Reports, p.11.17)	5. Dispersal	O.i.C	
	30a	Dec. 15, 1945	7355	DEPORTATION of Persons of Japanese Race (Adachi, p.438; 'deportation', 'request for repatriation'; 4 categories)	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
	30b	15, 1945	7356	- Cancellation of Citizenship for those being Deported	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
	30c	15, 1945	7357	- Loyalty Tribunal	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
	33	Jan. 1, 1946	7414	Continuance of Deportation Orders (Adachi, p.309; under National Emergency Transitional Powers Act)	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
	34	1946	45	To Supreme Court: Are 7355, 56 & 57 Ultra Vires? (2 Reports, p.11.14)	6. Deportation	O.i.C	
	36	July 18, 1947	1810	Inquiry into Property Losses (Adachi, p.325; Justice Henry Bird Commissioner, 'judiciously limited')	4. Property	O.i.C	
	40	Dec. 28, 1950	6229	Amendment of Immigration Regulations (Adachi, p.350; 'possible entry of wives, husbands or unmarried children')	7. Restoration	O.i.C	
		1	Sept. 1, 1939	-	Institution of War Measures Act (Adachi p.429; 3.c Arrest, detention, exclusion & deportation)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
		5	Dec. 7, 1941	9592	PEARL HARBOR / Declaration of War on Japan	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
		31	Dec. 18, 1945	-	National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, replacing War Measures Act (Adachi, p.336)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
		32	Jan. 1, 1946	-	War Measures Act Expires (Adachi, p.309)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
		37	Mar. 31, 1949	-	FREEDOM: Remaining restrictions imposed under War Measures Act are lifted and franchise given to JC's (Adachi, p.346)	7. Restoration	Parl.
	2	Jan. 8, 1941	-	MacKenzie King officially announces that JC's were exempted (excluded) from military service (Adachi, p.192)	2. Exclusion	PM	
	23	Aug. 4, 1944	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on DISPERSAL (Adachi, p.442; 'treat such persons fairly and justly')	5. Dispersal	PM	
	35	Jan. 24, 1947	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on continued Resettlement throughout Canada (2 Reports, p.11.23)	7. Restoration	PM	
	42	Sept. 22, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the Canadian Government and Japanese-Canadian Citizens	7. Restoration	PM	
	10	Feb. 19, 1942	-	Roosevelt's EO 9066 establishes the authority that would result in the Evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast (JAH, p. 136)	1. Far-reaching	USA	
	24	Dec. 17, 1944	-	Maj. Gen. Henry Pratt, chief of Western Defence Command in the US, announced that loyal JA's could return to the W. Coast (Davis, p.123)	7. Restoration	USA	
	41	Aug. 10, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the US Government and Japanese-American Citizens (JAH, p.289-91)	7. Restoration	USA	
	9	Feb. 15, 1942	-	Singapore captured by the Japanese (Churchill, p. 621)	1. Far-reaching	War	

* Anglican = Diocese of New Westminster O.I.C = Order-in-Council Parl. = Federal House of Commons PM = Prime Minister
 USA = the States War = World War II MoJ = Minister of Justice MoL = Minister of Labor

Seminal Event

APPENDIX V - Orders-in-Council and Critical Events, in Order-in-Council Order (Adachi, p.445; 'unprecedented actions taken by the Gov't of Canada')							
July 10, 2008	Index	Date	O.I.C PC #	Details	7 Categories	Authority *	
1	34	1946	45	To Supreme Court: Are 7355, 56 & 57 Ultra Vires? (2 Reports, p.II.14)	6. Deportation	O.I.C	
2	3	March 4, 1941	117	Initial REGISTRATION & issue of Identity Cards to all persons of Japanese origin, age 16+ (Adachi, p.257, 2 Reports, p.I.2)	2. Exclusion	O.I.C	
3	7a	Jan. 13, 1942	251	JC boats be put back in operation with non-Japanese crews (Adachi, p.229)	4. Property	O.I.C	
4	7b	13, 1942	288	Disposal of fishing boats; Japanese Prohibited from Fishing for Duration of War (Adachi, p.229)	4. Property	O.I.C	
5	8	Jan. 16, 1942	365	Protected Area authority given to National Defense (Adachi, p.432; authorize the detention of ... enemy aliens)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C	
6	18	Jan. 19, 1943	469	LIQUIDATION of Property (Adachi, p.437; "Custodian ... the power to liquidate, sell or dispose of such property ... of those ... evacuated)	4. Property	O.I.C	
7	19a	Feb. 5, 1943	946	Control over Movement (Adachi, p.261; "any person of the Japanese race in any place in Canada)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C	
8	19b	5, 1943	946	Dissolution of BCSC; replaced by Commissioner of Japanese Placement (Two Reports, p.I.8, p.II.9)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C	
9	12	Feb. 1942	1457	Evacuees prohibited from purchasing or leasing real property without a permit (2 Reports, p.I.27)	4. Property	O.I.C	
10	Feb. 24, 1942	1486	EVACUATION of all persons of the Japanese Race (Adachi, p.434; 'any or all persons')	3. Evacuation	O.I.C		
11	13a	Mar. 4, 1942	1665	Establishment & Powers of the BC Security Commission (Adachi, p.436; 'plan, supervise & direct the evacuation')	3. Evacuation	O.I.C	
12	13b	Mar. 4, 1942	1665	CUSTODIAN of Japanese Property (Adachi, p.436; 12.1 As a protective measure only ... property ... belonging to any person of the J race)	4. Property	O.I.C	
13	36	July 18, 1947	1810	Inquiry into Property Losses (Adachi, p.325; Justice Henry Bird Commissioner, 'judiciously limited')	4. Property	O.I.C	
14	14	Mar. 27, 1942	2483	Custodian Management of Property (Adachi, p.437; 'property ... in any protected area ... belonging to any person of the J race')	4. Property	O.I.C	
15	22	May 1944	3797	Illegal for Occidentals to purchase and hold lands for Japanese-Canadians (2 Reports, p.I.27)	4. Property	O.I.C	
16	20	May 28, 1943	4365	Fuel wood Project: Proceeds of Sales into a Revolving Fund (2 Reports, p.I.14)	4. Property	O.I.C	
17	15	June 29, 1942	5523	Purchase or lease of Farms to the Director of Soldier Settlements (Adachi, p.320; '572 farms')	4. Property	O.I.C	
18	28	Aug. 16, 1945	5637	Amendment of PC 946 of 5th of Feb. 1943 (Adachi, p.439)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C	
19	29	Sept. 14, 1945	5973	MoL vested with responsibility for issuance of property licenses (2 Reports, p.II.17)	5. Dispersal	O.I.C	
20	40	Dec. 28, 1950	6229	Amendment of Immigration Regulations (Adachi, p.350; 'possible entry of wives, husbands or unmarried children')	7. Restoration	O.I.C	
21	30a	Dec. 15, 1945	7355	DEPORTATION of Persons of Japanese Race (Adachi, p.439; 'deportation', 'request for repatriation'; 4 categories)	6. Deportation	O.I.C	
22	30b	15, 1945	7356	- Cancellation of Citizenship for those being Deported	6. Deportation	O.I.C	
23	30c	15, 1945	7357	- Loyalty Tribunal	6. Deportation	O.I.C	
24	33	Jan. 1, 1946	7414	Continuance of Deportation Orders (Adachi, p.309; under National Emergency Transitional Powers Act)	6. Deportation	O.I.C	
25	16	Sept. 11, 1942	8173	Authority exerted over all Japanese in Canada (Adachi, p.218)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C	
26	4	Dec. 7, 1941	9591	Japanese Nationals to register by Feb. 7 with Registrar of Enemy Aliens (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.I.C	
27	5	Dec. 7, 1941	9592	PEARL HARBOR / Declaration of War on Japan	1. Far-reaching	Parl.	
28	21	Dec. 20, 1943	9702	Leasing of Business or Residential Property (Adachi, p.285)	4. Property	O.I.C	
29	6	Dec. 16, 1941	9760	Registration of all persons of Japanese origin, regardless of citizenship (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.I.C	
30	17	Nov. 20, 1942	10773	Canadian Citizens applying for expatriation lose citizenship, plus wives and children (2 Reports, p.I.27)	6. Deportation	O.I.C	
31	1	Sept. 1, 1939	-	Institution of War Measures Act (Adachi p.429; 3.c Arrest, detention, exclusion & deportation)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.	
32	2	Jan. 8, 1941	-	MacKenzie King officially announces that JC's were exempted (excluded) from military service (Adachi, p.192)	2. Exclusion	PM	
33	9	Feb. 15, 1942	-	Singapore captured by the Japanese (Churchill, p. 621)	1. Far-reaching	War	
34	10	Feb. 19, 1942	-	Roosevelt's EO 9066 establishes the authority that would result in the Evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast (JAH, p. 136)	1. Far-reaching	USA	
35	11b	Feb. 26, 1942	-	MoJ: Regulations ... Implementing the Evacuation (Adachi, p.435; Curfew, no cars, cameras, radios, etc., Search without Warrant)	3. Evacuation	MoJ	
36	23	Aug. 4, 1944	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on DISPERSAL (Adachi, p.442; 'treat such persons fairly and justly')	5. Dispersal	PM	
37	24	Dec. 17, 1944	-	Maj. Gen. Henry Pratt, chief of Western Defence Command in the US, announced that loyal JA's could return to the W. Coast (Davis, p.123)	7. Restoration	USA	
38	25	Mar. 12, 1945	-	Department of Labor: Notice for Dispersal East of the Rockies (Adachi, p.438; 're-establish themselves East of the Rockies')	5. Dispersal	MoL	
39	31	Dec. 18, 1945	-	National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, replacing War Measures Act (Adachi, p.336)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.	
40	32	Jan. 1, 1946	-	War Measures Act Expires (Adachi, p.309)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.	
41	35	Jan. 24, 1947	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on continued Resettlement throughout Canada (2 Reports, p.II.23)	7. Restoration	PM	
42	37	Mar. 31, 1949	-	FREEDOM: Remaining restrictions imposed under War Measures Act are lifted and franchise given to JC's (Adachi, p.346)	7. Restoration	Parl.	
43	41	Aug. 10, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the US Government and Japanese-American Citizens (JAH, p.289-91)	7. Restoration	USA	
44	42	Sept. 22, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the Canadian Government and Japanese-Canadian Citizens	7. Restoration	PM	
45	26	Mar. 22, 1945	☉	Sale #1: HOLY CROSS CHURCH Growth Property sold by Diocese of New West (120692 of New West Land Registry)	4. Property	Anglican	
46	27	July 6, 1945	☉	Sale #2: CHURCH of the ASCENSION sold by Diocese of New Westminster (127243 of New West Land Registry Office)	4. Property	Anglican	
47	38	June 14, 1949	☉	Proceeds of Sales of JC Churches transferred to Bishop Heathcote's Endowment Fund, used for his salary (EC Minutes, June 14)	4. Property	Anglican	
48	39	Aug. 15, 1949	☉	Sale #3: HOLY CROSS CHURCH sold by Diocese of New West (222992 of NW Land Registry) © Greg Tatchell, 2008	4. Property	Anglican	
49	43	Mar. 31, 1999	☉	Bishop Michael Ingham writes: "If the Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese ... it would be a serious injustice."	7. Restoration	Anglican	

* Anglican = Diocese of New West. O.I.C = Order-in-Council Parl. = Federal House of Commons PM = Prime Minister
 USA = the States War = World War II MoJ = Minister of Justice MoL = Minister of Labor

Seminal Event

CANADA
Province of British Columbia

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In the matter of the dispossession of the 3 pre-World War II Japanese-Canadian Anglican Church Properties by the Diocese of New Westminster in 1945 and 1949, and in the matter of the dispossession by the Diocese of the resulting 'Japanese Funds' in May of 1949.

Statutory Declaration

I, GREGORY TATCHELL of #203 – 2222 Prince Edward St., in the City of Vancouver, in the Province of British Columbia, **MAKE OATH AND SAY AS FOLLOWS:**

1. Based on over 175 pages of Land Registry documents from the New Westminster Land Registry Office, as well as documentation from the Anglican Archives at 6000 Iona Drive, I have personal knowledge of the facts and matters hereinafter deposed to with regards to the 3 pre-WWII Japanese-Canadian Anglican church properties in Vancouver, and the 3 pre-WWII non-church Japanese-Canadian properties, save and except where the same are stated to be based on information and belief and where so stated, I verily believe the same to be true.
2. The 12 New Westminster Land Registry Files used in this Affidavit are associated with 5 pre-World War II Japanese-Canadian properties;

		Land Registry					
Property	Index #	Document #	# of pages	Date	Exhibit	Lot or Section	
1	Holy Cross <i>(430 E. Cordova)</i>	1	222992	3	Aug. 19, 1949	'B'	Lot 7 & East 1/2 Lot 6, Block 57, D.L. 196, Group 1, N.W.D
		2	23118	4	Oct. 30, 1937	-	
		3	23117	6	Oct. 30, 1937	-	
2	Church of the Ascension <i>(1701 W. 3rd)</i>	4	127243	6	July 6, 1945	'C'	Lots 21, 22, 23 & 24 Block 228, D.L. 526 Group 1, N.W.D.
		5	27477	7	Apr. 25, 1938	-	
		6	56900	7	Oct. 11, 1920	-	
3	Holy Cross Expansion <i>(immediately West of 430 E. Cordova)</i>	7	120692	4	Mar. 22, 1945	'D'	Lot 5 & W 1/2 Lot 6, Block 57, D.L. 196
		8	70038	9	Dec. 22, 1941	-	
4	VJLS <i>(475 Alexander)</i>	9	35418	4	Aug. 5, 1927	'H'	Lots 21, 22 Bl 38, DL 196
5	Nakayama Home <i>(1450 W. 64th)</i>	10	110342	4	Sept. 22, 1944	'I'	Subd. 3, North 1/2 of Lot 2 Blk. "B", DL 319, 324 & part of 323, Group 1, N.W.D
		11	110341	3	Nov. 13, 1942	'J'	
		12	19850	4	June 23, 1937	-	

3. This Affidavit first concerns three Japanese-Canadian Anglican church properties that were purchased independently of the Diocese prior to and after World War I.
4. The first Japanese-Canadian Anglican church property in the table of paragraph 2 is Holy Cross. It was located at 430 E. Cordova in Little Tokyo (Vancouver). The original purchase was registered at Land Registry on Aug. 10, 1905, and will hereafter be referred to as '*Holy Cross*'.
5. The second Japanese-Canadian Anglican church property in the table of paragraph 2 is the Church of the Ascension. It was located at 1701 W. 3rd, in Vancouver. The original purchase was registered at Land Registry on Oct. 11, 1920, and will hereafter be referred to as '*Church of the Ascension*.'
6. The third Japanese-Canadian Anglican church property in the table of paragraph 2 was immediately to the West of '*Holy Cross*,' and had been purchased for expansion. The original purchase was registered at Land Registry on April 6, 1929, and will hereafter be referred to as '*Holy Cross Expansion Property*.'
7. This Affidavit documents how those three church properties came to be transferred into the possession of the Diocese, at no cost to the Diocese, in the years just prior to World War II (hereafter referred to as WWII).
8. This Affidavit then documents how the Diocese of New Westminster sold two of those properties, '*Holy Cross Expansion Property*' and '*Church of the Ascension*' just prior to the end of WW II, registered at Land Registry on March 22, 1945, and July 6, 1945, respectively.
9. This Affidavit also documents how the Diocese of New Westminster sold the third Japanese-Canadian church property, '*Holy Cross*,' four years after WW II ended, registered at Land Registry on Aug. 19, 1949. This occurred 5 months after the Japanese-Canadians had been granted their freedom on April 1, 1949, and with it the right to move back to Vancouver and the West Coast.
10. This Affidavit also documents the disposition of 3 pre-WWII non-church Japanese-Canadian properties. First, Property #4 in the table of paragraph 2, the Vancouver Japanese Language School (VJLS), the only pre-war Japanese-Canadian

property in the “Protected Area” that has been under continuous ownership since before the war. Second, the Nakayama private home, Property #5 in the table of paragraph 2, representative of the 471 parcels of real property sold by the *Custodian* in the Greater Vancouver area. Third, the Nagano private farm, representative of the 572 pieces of farm lands purchased in the Fraser Valley during the war by the DVLA (Director of the Veterans Land Act).

11. Exhibit ‘A’ contains a detailed summary of all properties documented in this Affidavit (including pictures, where available).
12. Finally, this Affidavit documents how the Executive Council of the Diocese of New Westminster transferred the proceeds of two of these sales into the Bishop’s Endowment Fund in 1949. Again, it will be shown how this happened shortly after the Japanese-Canadians had been granted their freedom and the right to move back to Vancouver and the West Coast.

Property #1 - ‘HOLY CROSS’ (*Land Registry Files 222992 & 23118/17*)

13. Oct. 1937 A hearing of the Supreme Court of BC on October 27, 1937 ordered that the property comprised of Lot Seven and the East half of Lot Six, described by the Supreme Court as ‘*IN TRUST for the Japanese Mission*’ (i.e. ‘*Holy Cross*’), be assigned to Arthur Ralph Creagh as Trustee. He was authorized by the BC Supreme Court to convey the property to the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster (Land Registry File 23117, pages 2, 3 & 4 of 6).
14. Oct. 1937 An Oct. 30th Indenture, based on the BC Supreme Court Order of the 27th of October, 1937, authorizes transfer of the property ‘*IN TRUST for the Japanese Mission*’ (Lot Seven and the East half of Lot Six) from the court appointed trustee, Arthur Ralph Creagh, to the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster (Land Registry File 23118, pages 2, 3 & 4 of 4).
15. Oct. 1937 Title was transferred to the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, at no cost, at Land Registry on the 30th of October, 1937 (Land Registry File 23118, page 1 of 4).

16. Aug. 1949 An Indenture, signed on the 13th of August, 1949, under the seal of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster (signed by his Commissary, James Thompson, and Secretary of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, J. Whinfield Robinson), transfers the property designated as Lot Seven (7) and the East Half (E. ½) of Lot Six (6), to Sam Lee for a Consideration of \$3000 (Land Registry File 222992, pages 2 & 3 of 3). The Market Value given on Form A was for \$6200.
17. Aug. 1945 Title was transferred to Sam Lee at Land Registry on the 19th of August, 1949 (Land Registry File 222992, page 1 of 3). See Exhibit 'B'. On April 1, 1949, five months previous, the Japanese-Canadians had been freed to move back to the West Coast; see Exhibit 'M', line 41.

Property # 2 - CHURCH of the ASCENSION (*Land Registry Files 127243, 27477 & 56900*)

18. Oct. 1920 On October 11, 1920, The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, of the Confederation Life Building in Toronto, purchased the Church of Ascension property for \$7,000. Arthur Ralph Creagh was the Solicitor for the Missionary Society (see also his role in paragraphs 13 and 14 above) (Land Registry File 56900, page 1 of 7).
19. Apr. 1938 On April 25, 1938, at a cost to the Diocese of \$1, title is changed in Land Registry in New Westminster from the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada to the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster (Land Registry File 27477, page 1 of 7).
20. July 1945 On July 6, 1945, exactly one month before Hiroshima, the Diocese of New Westminster sells the 'Church of the Ascension' at 1701 W. 3rd to Louis Goldberg for \$5,250 (Land Registry File 127243, page 1 of 6). See Exhibit 'C'.

Property #3 - HOLY-CROSS EXPANSION (*Land Registry Files 120692 & 70038*)

21. May 1928 On May 2, 1928, a need for increased space at 'Holy Cross' at 430 E. Cordova is expressed in the minutes of the 1928 Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals (P.B.O.M.) 11th Annual Meeting; "The need for

increased premises at Holy Cross Japanese Mission grows more urgent and the Japanese Committee of that Mission have started a fund for that purpose” (Land Registry File 70038, page 8 of 9).

22. Nov. 1928 On Nov. 2, 1928, a special meeting of the Administration Committee of the Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals passes a motion to purchase the property adjoining (to the West) 430 E. Cordova; *“They desired to purchase the adjoining property on the West. On motion permission was given to purchase this property”* (Land Registry File 70038, page 8 of 9).
23. May 1929 On May 2nd, 1929, at the 12th Annual Meeting of the Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals,
“Your Committee are now glad to be able to report the purchase of the adjoining 37½ feet to the West of Holy Cross Mission ... the Japanese having provided a large part of the amount required for the cash payment. It is expected that this action on the part of the Board will inspire the Japanese to greater efforts and that shortly we shall be able to finance an adequate plant on this site” (Land Registry File 70038, page 8 of 9)
24. May 1929 At the same meeting *“The Secretary explained ... he had taken the property in his own name as it was bought on deferred payments and there was no one else to give a covenant”* (Land Registry File 70038, page 8 of 9).
25. May 1929 At the same meeting *“He held the property for the Diocese of New Westminster for Japanese work and a declaration of trust to that effect would be prepared and executed”* (Land Registry File 70038, page 8 of 9).
26. Dec 1941 Although the Indenture attached to the Form A Transfer is dated Sept. 11, 1939, and the Form A Transfer was originally dated Sept. 22, 1939, the title was actually registered at Land Registry on Dec. 22, 1941 before it was transferred to the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster” (Land Registry File 70038, page 1 of 9).
27. Mar. 1945 An Indenture, signed on the 19th of March, 1945, by Bishop F.C.C. Heathcote, Lord Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster, and John Leigh, Secretary of the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, transfers Lot Five and the West Half of Lot Six (*‘Holy*

Cross Expansion Property') to Lew Ching Noey, Lew Chong Sing and Lew Bak Lang, for \$2400 (*Land Registry File 120692, page 2 of 4*).

28. Mar 1945 The title of '*Holy Cross Expansion Property*' was registered to Noey, Sing and Lang at Land Registry on the 22nd of March, 1945 (*Land Registry File 120692, page 1 of 4*). See Exhibit 'D'.

DISPOSITION of FUNDS by the DIOCESE of NEW WESTMINSTER

29. There is a strong contrast between the way the United Church of Canada and the Anglican Church of Canada managed 'Japanese Funds' from their dispossessed Japanese-Canadian communities.
30. For the United Church of Canada, their Home Mission Board set up a "*Special Japanese Fund*" in 1942. By 1953, the balance stood at about sixteen thousand dollars. Over the next two decades grants were made to Japanese congregations as they were formed across the country in Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Steveston and Lethbridge (see Exhibit 'E').
31. By comparison, the Anglican Church of Canada's Diocese of New Westminster took a narrower Diocesan view. Not only were the 'Japanese Funds' kept within the Diocese, they were not reserved for the Japanese-Canadian Anglicans who had worked to create the wealth before they had been dispossessed. The 'Japanese Funds' ultimately went to the Capital Account used to finance the salary of the Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster. Paragraphs 32 through 41 will describe how this came about.
32. Mar. 1949 At the Diocesan Executive Committee meeting on March 8th, 1949, chaired by Bishop Francis Heathcote, the Treasurer of the Diocese, W.H. Mathewson, under the agenda item 'Capitol (*sic*) of Bishop's Endowment Fund,' describes the Bishop's Endowment Fund;
- "The Capital of the Bishop's Endowment Fund amounts to \$69,493.00. At the present rate of interest on investments, this is not large enough to provide the stipend of \$4,000 which was agreed upon when our Bishop was elected. At the end of 1948 the Revenue account was overdrawn \$239.92 in paying a stipend of \$3700 (This amount was a later arrangement). Moved by the Archdeacon and seconded by Mr. Gower the increase of Episcopacy Fund be referred to the Property & Finance Committee"* (see page 2 of the March 8th, 1949 Minutes of the Executive Committee, as well as page 2 of the Treasurer's report attached to those minutes)

The relationship between the Bishop's Endowment Fund, the Bishop's Revenue Account, and the Bishop's Salary can be clearly seen in Mathewson's year-end Diocesan Treasurer's reports for 1949 and 1950

33. May 1949 At the Executive Committee meeting on May 10th, 1949, chaired by Bishop Francis Heathcote (future Bishop Gower present, Canon Cooper absent), the Treasurer of the Diocese presents a recommendation from the Property & Finance Committee (see Exhibit 'F');

"WHEREAS the Japanese Christians have left the coast and are not returning, the need of Japanese Mission work is nil, therefore the Committee recommends to the Executive that these two sums of money \$5,200.00 and \$2,900.00 be added to the Bishopric Endowment Fund".

This motion was moved by Canon J. Leigh, seconded by Rev. H. H. Greig, and Carried (see Exhibit 'F').

34. Mar. 1949 For context re: paragraph 33 immediately preceding, the Government of Canada had rescinded all restrictions on Japanese-Canadians in Canada on March 31st, 1949 (see Exhibit 'M', line 41). Effective April 1st, 1949, Japanese-Canadians had all the rights due to any other citizen in Canada. This included freedom of movement to return to Vancouver and the West Coast of British Columbia. The Executive Council motion of May 10th, 1949 seems to have completely ignored this seminal change in the status of their returning Japanese-Canadian Anglican parishioners.

35. June 1949 At the Executive Committee Meeting of June 14th, 1949, Bishop Francis Heathcote in the chair (future Bishop Gower also present, Canon Cooper absent), under agenda item 'Bishop's Endowment Fund', the minutes read *"The treasurer reported the sum of \$5,197.86 received from sale of Japanese Mission Church, plus \$300.87 accrued interest, and approval was asked for the transfer of \$5,197.86 to capital account, and \$300.87 to Revenue Act."* Moved by the Archdeacon, seconded by Canon J. Leigh, the minutes reported this as 'Carried' (Executive Committee Minutes, June 14th, 1949, page 1).

36. June 1949 Within the Treasurer's Report of the same date as the paragraph previous, under the agenda item 'Bishop's Endowment Fund', the

inclusion of Japanese-Canadian Anglican church properties under the Bishop's Endowment Fund were shown as follows (Executive Committee Minutes, June 14th, 1949, page 2 of the Treasurer's Report):

BISHOP'S ENDOWMENT FUND

Received from Sale of Japanese Mission -	
1.* Church of the Ascension	\$ 5,197.86
2. Accrued Interest to date	<u>300.87</u>
	\$ 5,498.73

Approval required:-

\$ 5197.86 credited to Revenue Account
300.87 credited to Capital Account

N.B. Capital Account also credited with sale of	
3. Holy Cross Mission	\$ 2,910.10
4. Capital Account Now	\$ 77,721.18
5. Plus Suspense Account	<u>3,125.62</u>
	<u><u>\$ 80,846.80</u></u>
	Total

* These five index numbers, and the bolding,
not originally included in the
June 14, 1949, Treasurer's Report

W. H. MATHEWSON
Treasurer

The Treasurer's report was moved for adoption by the Treasurer, seconded by the Archdeacon and Carried (Executive Committee Minutes, June 14th, 1949, page 1).

W.H. Mathewson is the same Treasurer that Rev. Timothy Nakayama met in the early 50's; "*In the presence of the Bishop and Father Gale, I asked Mr. Matheson (sic), what happened to the Church of the Ascension, and the Holy Cross Mission. He said to me that they were "relinquished" (see Exhibit 'K').*

The meeting referred to started in the office of Bishop Gower, who had assumed that office in 1951. Both Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson had been present at the three critical Executive Council meetings of March 8th, May 10th and June 14th, 1949, and both had made vital motions regarding the disposal of the 'Japanese Funds'. These funds were now paying part of Bishop Gower's salary.

37. June 1949 CHURCH of the ASCENSION: Within the Treasurer's Report of June 14, 1949, line item 1 (paragraph 36 above), '*Church of the Ascension*', would appear to refer to the sale of the '*Church of the Ascension*' 4 years previously, on July 6, 1945, for \$5,250.00 (see paragraph 20).

38. June 1949 This had been referred to previously in the Executive Committee minutes of May 10th (see Exhibit ‘F’);
“The Treasurer brought to the notice of the Committee a sum of \$5,200.00 of Diocesan money held by the P.B.O.M. which Board recently passed a resolution authorizing the return of this money to the Diocese”.
39. June 1949 HOLY CROSS: Within the Treasurer’s Report of June 14, 1949, Holy Cross Mission (line item 3, paragraph 36) would appear to refer to the sale of Holy Cross Church. This sale would take effect two months hence, on Aug. 19, would be for \$3,000 gross, and was ultimately signed by the Secretary of the June 14th meeting, J. Whinfield Robinson, who presumably brought prior knowledge of the transaction to the June 14th meeting (see paragraphs 16 & 17).
40. June 1949 Line item 3 had been referred to previously in the Executive Committee minutes of May 10th (see Exhibit ‘F’); *“The Treasurer brought to the notice of the Committee ... also \$2,900.00 available from the sale of 432 Cordova Japanese School House”.*
41. June 1949 This \$2,900 (\$2,910 in the June 14th Treasurer’s report; see paragraph 36) coincides with the August 19, 1949 sale of Holy Cross (after Commission). The language “Japanese School House” is wrong, as is the address. There never was a 432 E. Cordova in city records, only 430 E. Cordova; this can clearly be seen in Exhibit ‘G’, from the 1941 street plan of the entire Powell Street area.

3 non-church Japanese-Canadian Properties (35418, 110342/41, 19850)

42. This final section deals with three additional properties. They are not Japanese-Canadian Anglican church properties. Rather, they are Japanese-Canadian properties owned by private citizens or associations. They are used to show the variety of treatments which Japanese-Canadian properties were exposed to during World War II.
43. The first non-church Japanese-Canadian property documented is property #4 from the table of paragraph 2, the institutional Vancouver Japanese Language School (hereafter referred to as ‘VJLS’) at 475 Alexander in Vancouver. It is the only

Japanese-Canadian property in Vancouver that has remained in continuous Japanese-Canadian ownership since before WW II.

44. This particular VJLS property was purchased for \$4,500 and was registered at Land Registry on Aug. 5, 1927 (Land Registry File 35418, page 1 of 4). See Exhibit 'H'. It is included to provide an example of a property within the "Protected Area" that was not vested under the authority of the *Custodian*. In 1927, it was registered under the name "THE VANCOUVER NIPPON KYORITSU GO-GAKKO MAINTENANCE ASSOCIATION." It would appear that this property was never vested in the *Custodian* under Order-in-Council PC 2483 (see Exhibit 'M', line 18), because that order applied only to property "*belonging to any person of the Japanese race.*" No stipulation in the order was made for Associations. For whatever reason, it was never vested in the *Custodian*, was never sold, and has remained in continuous ownership by the ASSOCIATION for the 81 years since it was first purchased in 1927. The building was taken over by the Armed Forces in WWII. It was rented by the Army & Navy department store from 1947-1955. It is unknown where the rents went. It was restored to the Japanese-Canadian Community in 1955. It is now a Heritage site, and is still used as a Japanese Language School.
45. The second non-church Japanese-Canadian property documented here is property #5 in the table of paragraph 2. It was the private home of Canon Gordon Nakayama at 1450 W. 64th in Vancouver. It is an example of the 471 parcels of real property expropriated by the *Custodian* in the Greater Vancouver area during World War II (which were referred to as 'Category 1' in the 1948 Bird Commission).
46. The Nakayama property was originally acquired and registered at Land Registry on June 23, 1937 (Land Registry File 19850, page 1 of 4). Under Order-in-Council 469 (see Exhibit 'M', line 22), brought into law on January 19, 1943, this property was vested under the authority of the *Custodian* on November 13, 1942; "*I, the undersigned, being duly authorized by the Custodian, hereby certify that the interest of Goichi Gordon NAKAYAMA Police Registration No. 00556 in the property described hereafter is vested in the Custodian*" (Land Registry File 110341, page 2 of 3). See Exhibit 'I'.

- 47. The Nakayama property was sold on Sept. 22, 1944. The “Grantor” (seller) was listed as “*THE HONOURABLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF CANADA Acting in his capacity as Custodian under the Revised Regulations Respecting Trading with the Enemy (1943).*” It was sold to Frank Kryzanoski for \$1,610. It is unknown how much of the proceeds were received by Canon Nakayama, who was in exile in Slocan City. Canon Nakayama’s name appeared nowhere in this Land Registry File (Land Registry File 110342, page 1 of 4).). See Exhibit ‘J’.
- 48. A third non-church Japanese-Canadian property was the private home/farm of the Nakashima family. It is an example of the 572 private home/farms (referred to as ‘Category 3’ in the 1948 Bird Commission) that were expropriated by the *Custodian* and sold as a block transfer to the Director of the VLA (Veterans Land Act) for Returning Soldiers in World War II.

Legal Reviews of Land Registry Documents

- 49. Given the volume and complexity of over 170 pages of legal documents, I have reviewed this Affidavit and the 12 associated Land Registry Files (19850, 23118/17, 27477, 35418, 56900, 70038, 110342/41, 120692, 127243 and 222992) with a lawyer on a consulting basis, who confirmed that the facts in this Affidavit have been accurately stated relative to these 12 Land Registry Files.
- 50. Further, after the consultation of paragraph 49, I sought a documented legal opinion from a second lawyer with regards to the statements in this Affidavit relative to the 12 Land Registry files listed in paragraph 49 and the table in paragraph 2. His affirming legal opinion is hereby included as Exhibit ‘L’.



DECLARED BEFORE ME at Burnaby)
in the Province of British Columbia)
this 23nd day of July, 2008.)

) GREGORY R. TATCHELL
)

A Commissioner for taking Affidavits)
within British Columbia)

1942-1949 - 7 Japanese-Canadian Properties - 5 SOLD, 2 NOT

July 10, 2008

APPENDIX V		INSTITUTIONAL			PRIVATE			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
PROPERTY PARTICULARS	A. Type	Holy Cross Church	Church of the Ascension	Holy Cross Expansion Property	VJLS in 'Protected Area'	Home in 'Protected Area'	Farm in 'Protected Area'	Farm <u>not</u> in 'Protected Area'
	B. Picture		Picture Pending					
	C. Address	430 E. Cordova Vancouver	1701 W. 3rd Ave. Vancouver	428 E. Cordova Vancouver	475 Alexander Vancouver	1450 W. 64th Vancouver	Fraser Valley	Kelowna
	D. Occupants	Transferred to Diocese	Transferred to Diocese	Transferred to Diocese	JC Community	Canon Nakayama Family	Nagano Family	Tamagi Family
	E. Possession/Acquisition	Oct. 30, 1937	Apr. 25, 1938	Dec. 22, 1941	Aug. 5, 1927	June 23, 1937	-	-
	F. Land Registry #	23118	27477	70038	35418	19850	-	-
	G. Cost	\$0	\$1	\$1	\$4,500	\$1,500	-	-
LIQUIDATION	H. Body in Authority	Diocesan Bishop - Executive Council			Prime Minister - War Cabinet (Order-in-Council PC 469)			
	I. Sold or Not?	SOLD	SOLD	SOLD	NOT	SOLD	SOLD	NOT
	J. Land Registry #	222992	127243	120692	-	110342	?	-
	K. Date	Aug. 15, 1949	July 6, 1945	Mar. 22, 1945	-	Sept. 22, 1944	?	-
	L. From	Diocese of New Westminster	Diocese of New Westminster	Diocese of New Westminster	-	Secretary of State (PC 469)	Director of Soldier Settlements (PC 5523)	-
M. To	Sam Lee	Louis Goldberg	Noey, Sing & Lang	-	Frank Kryzanoski	?	-	
PROCEEDS	N. Amount	\$3,000	\$5,250	\$2,400	-	\$1,610	?	-
	O. Disposition of Proceeds	BEF: Bishop's Endowment Fund	BEF: Bishop's Endowment Fund	Diocesan Account ????????	-	Custodian/Owner	Director/Owner	-

No. 222992

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
LAND REGISTRY ACT.
FORM A. (Section 124)

Application for Registration of Fee-simple.

Date August 15, 1949

I, Clifford P. Helston, solemnly declare that I am ~~the duly authorized Agent of~~ the duly authorized Agent of Sam Lee, Merchant, of 438 East Cordova Street, Vancouver, B. C., and that he is] entitled to be registered as the owner in fee-simple of the land hereunder described, and hereby make application under the provisions of the "Land Registry Act" and claim registration accordingly.

The full name, address, and occupation of the person so entitled to be registered as owner is Sam Lee, Merchant, 438 East Cordova St., Vancouver, B. C.

* Not applicable where the applicant is a corporation. Strike out words not applicable. ~~known to the Registrar~~
I am informed by Sam Lee, and verily believe, that the person so entitled to be registered as owner is a British subject ~~(not known to the Registrar)~~
(Adapt to suit circumstances.)

† For use where the application is made by a solicitor or agent.
The fee-simple is registered in Vol. 22 Fol. 20 of the Register.

DESCRIPTION OF LAND.

MUNICIPALITY OR ASSESSMENT DISTRICT.	LOT OR SECTION.	ADMEASUREMENT OR ACREAGE.
Vancouver	Lot 7, East of Lot 6, Block 57, D.L. 196, Group 1, N.W.D. <i>Plan 176</i>	<i>147 0/100</i> <i>25 0/100</i> <i>172 0/100</i>

LIST OF INSTRUMENTS.

DATE.	PARTIES.	CHARACTER OF DEED.
13th August 1949	The Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, a body politic and corporate incorporated under the laws of the Province of British Columbia, and having an office at 198 West Hastings Street in the City of Vancouver, Province of British Columbia and Sam Lee	Deed

And I solemnly declare that I have investigated and ascertained the value of the said land, and that the market value thereof at the date of this application, including all buildings and improvements thereon erected, is 6200.00 dollars, and that the title deeds mentioned herein are all those in my custody, possession, or power, relating to the said land, (in the case of a Solicitor or Agent, add) and to the best of my belief there are no other title deeds in the custody, possession, or power of the owner, relating to the same; and I am duly authorized by the above-named owner to make this application, (in the case of an Agent, add) and I reside in the Province of British Columbia, and am of the full age of twenty-one years.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true, and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of the "Canada Evidence Act."

DECLARED before me this 19th day of August, 1949 (Signature) [Signature]
at Vancouver, British Columbia. (Full Post-office address) 416 Seymour St
For mailing notices and documents.

[Signature]


Do not write outside the side-line. Space reserved for binding.

Sale of 'Holy Cross' (430 E. Cordova)

JUL - 6 45

127213

No. 127213


 THE GOVERNMENT OF
 THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
LAND REGISTRY ACT.
 FORM A. (Section 125.)

LAND REGISTRY OFFICE
RECEIVED

Application for Registration of Fee Simple
 Date July 6th, 1945

I, Richard Loughrey, solemnly declare that I am ~~an Solicitor for~~ the duly authorized Agent of Louis Goldberg, and that he is entitled to be registered as the owner in fee-simple of the land hereunder described, and hereby make application under the provisions of the "Land Registry Act" and claim registration accordingly.

The full name, address, and occupation of the person so entitled to be registered as owner is Louis Goldberg of Suite 3, 3411 Oak Street in the City of Vancouver, Province of British Columbia, Merchant.

I am a British subject.* [Or]
 I am not a British subject.* [Or]
 I am informed by Louis Goldberg, and

* Not applicable where the applicant is a corporation. Strike out words not applicable.

* Fill in where the application is made to a collector or agent.

I verily believe, that the person so entitled to be registered as owner is a British subject. ~~[and is a British subject.]~~

The fee-simple is registered in Vol. 174, Fol. 141, of the Register.

DESCRIPTION OF LAND.

MUNICIPALITY OR ASSESSMENT DISTRICT.	LOT OR SECTION.	ASSESSMENT OR ACRES.
City of Vancouver	Lots 21, 22, 23 and 24 Block 228 District Lot 526 Group 1 N.W.D. Plan 590	\$ <u>15.30</u>

LIST OF INSTRUMENTS.

DATE.	PARTIES.	CHARACTER OF DEED.
June 1, 1945	Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster -to- Louis Goldberg	Use of Land <u>21477-6</u> <u>17477-107</u>

Tax Certificate herewith.
 Certificate of Title 17477-107 herewith R.L.

And I solemnly declare that I have investigated and ascertained the value of the said land, and that the market value thereof at the date of this application, including all buildings and improvements thereon situated is \$ 5,250.00 dollars, and that the title deeds mentioned herein are all those in any way, possession, or power, relating to the said land, in the case of a Solicitor or Agent, and to the best of my belief there are no other title deeds in the custody, possession, or power of the owner, relating to the same; and I am duly authorized by the above named owner to make this application, in the case of an Agent, and I reside in the Province of British Columbia, and am of the full age of 18 years.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true, and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of the "Canada Evidence Act".


DECLARED before me this 6th day of July, A.D. 1945 at Vancouver, British Columbia.

(Signature) R. Loughrey
 (Full Post-office address) 416 Seymour Street
Vancouver, B.C.
May 2, 1941

* FORM 142 (REV. 1941)

Sale of 'Church of the Ascension' (1701 W. 3rd)

120692


LAND REGISTRY ACT.
 FORM A. (Section 124.)

No. 120692
 Date Mar. 22, 1945

LAND REGISTRY OFFICE
FIVED

Application for Registration of Fee-simple

I, Angie Ho Sang solemnly declare that I am [for Solicitor for or the duly authorized Agent of Lew Ching Noey, Lew Chong Sing and Lew Bak Lang], and that they are entitled to be registered as the owners in fee-simple of the land hereunder described, and hereby make application under the provisions of the "Land Registry Act" and claim registration accordingly.

The full name, address, and occupation of the person so entitled to be registered as owner is LEW CHING NOEY LEW CHONG SING and LEW BAK LANG
509 MAIN ST. MERCHANTS

* Not applicable where the applicant is a corporation. Strike out words not applicable.

I am a British subject.* [Or] I am not a British subject.* [Or] I am informed by LEW BAK LANG, and verily believe, that the person so entitled to be registered as owner is a British subject.

† For use where the application is made by a solicitor or agent.

The fee-simple is registered in Vol. 1045, Fol. 700396 of the Register.

DESCRIPTION OF LAND.

MUNICIPALITY OR ASSESSMENT DISTRICT.	LOT OR SECTION.	ADMEASUREMENT OR ACREAGE.
<u>City of Vancouver</u>	<u>LOT 5 & WEST 1/2 OF LOT 6 BLK. 5-7 D.C. THE D.L. 196 PLANT 96.</u>	<u>9.05</u>

LIST OF INSTRUMENTS.

DATE.	PARTIES.	CHARACTER OF DEED.
<u>MAR. 19, 1945</u>	<u>CERT. OF I.T.</u> <u>Tax certificate</u> <u>THE SYNOD OF THE DIOCESE OF NEW WESTMINSTER</u> <u>TO</u> <u>LEW CHING NOEY, LEW CHONG SING & LEW BAK LANG</u>	<u>DEED IN FEE SIMPLE</u>

And I solemnly declare that I have investigated and ascertained the value of the said land, and that the market value thereof at the date of this application, including all buildings and improvements thereon erected, is 2400⁰⁰ dollars, and that the title deeds mentioned hereon are all those in my custody, possession, or power, relating to the said land, [in the case of a Solicitor or Agent, add] and to the best of my belief there are no other title deeds in the custody, possession, or power of the owner, relating to the same; and I am duly authorized by the above-named owner to make this application, [in the case of an Agent, add] and I reside in the Province of British Columbia, and am of the full age of twenty-one years.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true, and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of the "Canada Evidence Act."

DECLARED before me this 22nd day of March, 1945, at Vancouver, British Columbia.

(Signature) Angie Ho Sang
 (Full Post-office address) 403 DAWSON BLDG.
 For mailing notices and documents. VANCOUVER, B.C.

A. R. Nelson

* 30M-743-5236 (2)

Sale of 'Holy Cross Expansion Property' (Immediately West of 430 E. Cordova)

From Roland M. Kawano's book

MINISTRY TO THE HOPELESSLY HOPELESS

Japanese Canadian evacuees and churches during WW II

Selections from Appendix B of that book (pages 115-116)

" JAPANESE FUNDS "

Setting up the fund

In 1942, the Home Mission Board of the United Church set up a "Special Japanese Fund". The status of these funds were as follows: *"Congregational funds of evacuated Japanese missions in British Columbia sent in for safekeeping. Payments from this fund to be made on requisition of the Home Mission Secretaries"* (my italics).

...

May 27, 1942, New Westminster Congregation: Funds accumulated for building, \$662.92.

May 27, 1942, Powell Street Mission, Vancouver: \$1,000.00

...

In 1943, this fund stood at \$2,754.69. During the war, this fund was used to look after various Japanese United Church properties.

...

By 1953, the balance stood at about sixteen thousand dollars. Over the next two decades grants were made to Japanese congregations as they were formed across the country in Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Steveston, and Lethbridge.

[from the financial records in the Division of Missions in Canada, United Church of Canada, 3250 Bloor Street West, Etobicoke, Ontario].

Roland M. Kawano

This report was originally written at the request of the National Japanese United Church Conference.

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE SYNOD OF THE DIOCESE OF NEW WESTMINSTER HELD IN THE SYNOD OFFICE, TUESDAY, MAY 10TH (1949), AT 2:30 P.M.

Members Present.

The Bishop in the chair, the Archdeacon, Canon J. Leigh, the Rev. W. R. Jeffcott, W. Valentine, H. J. Greig, G. P. Gower, J. W. Robinson (Sec'y), Messrs. C. A. Barham, P. Kaye, L. C. Creery, R. T. DuMoulin, W. H. S. Dixon, M. E. Sowden, W. H. Mathewson (Treasurer)

Minutes of the Last Meeting.

Moved by the Secretary, seconded by the Archdeacon, the minutes have been circulated and corrected, be adopted as read. Carried.

Minutes of the Property & Finance Committee.

These were read by the Secretary and on motion of the Archdeacon, seconded by the Rev. H. J. Greig were adopted as read. Carried.

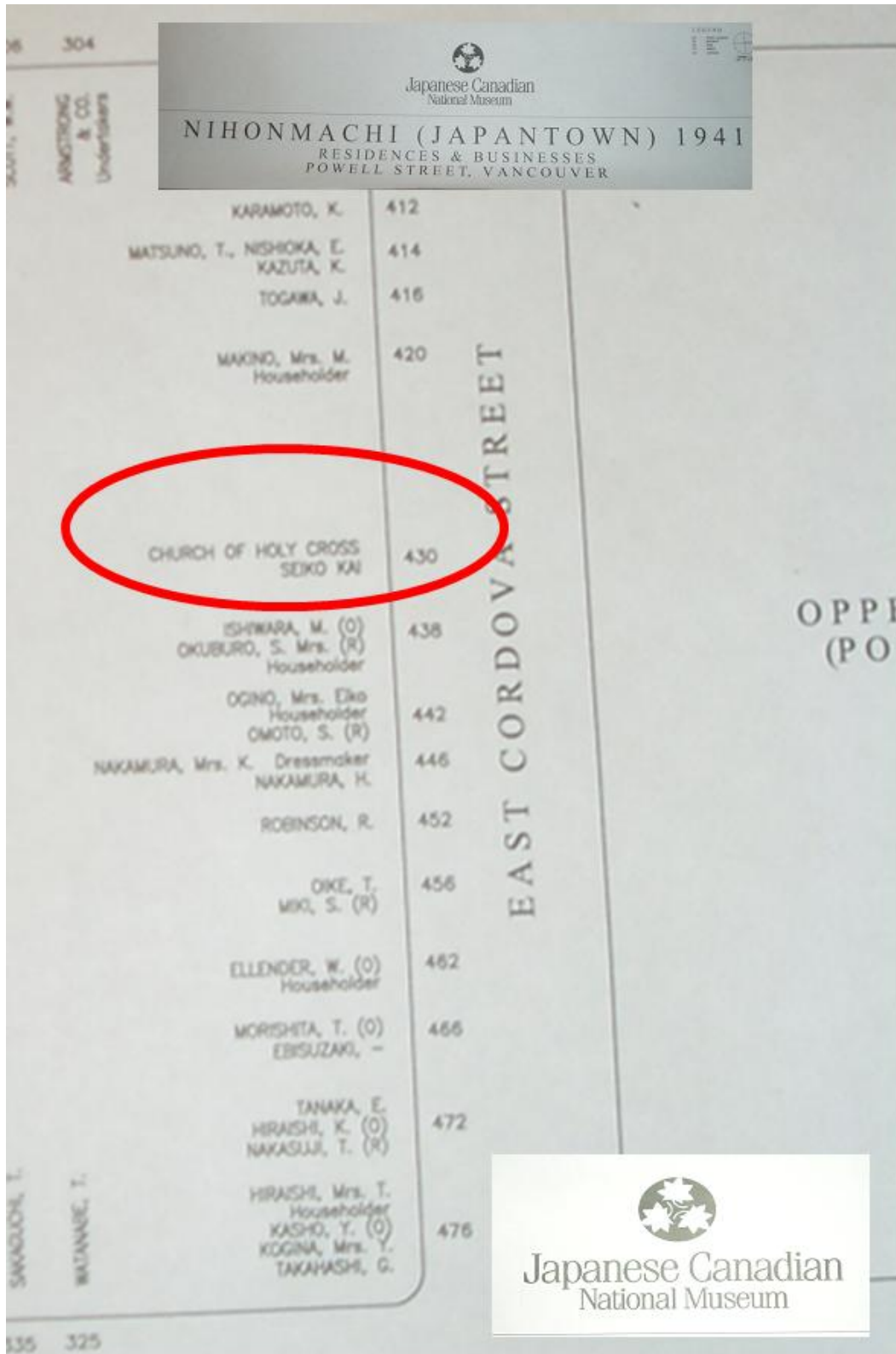
Business arising from Property & Finance Minutes.

Bishopric Endowment Fund.

The Treasurer reported a capital Fund of \$69,493.00, at present rate of Interest the fund is insufficient to provide \$4,000.00 agreed upon as the Bishop's stipend. The Treasurer brought to the notice of the Committee a sum of \$5,200.00 of Diocesan money held by the P.B.O.M which Board recently passed a resolution authorizing the return of this money to the Diocese, also \$2,900.00 available from the sale of 432 Cordova Japanese School house. The recommendation of the Property & Finance Committee is as follows: *"WHEREAS the Japanese Christians have left the coast and are not returning, the need of Japanese Mission work is nil, therefore the Committee recommends to the Executive that these two sums of money \$5,200.00 and \$2,900 be added to the Bishopric Endowment Fund*."* Moved by Canon J. Leigh, seconded by Rev. H. J. Greig the Treasurer be authorized to transfer said monies as suggested by the Property And Finance Committee. Carried.

...
...
...
...

* My italics



1941 Map of the Powell Street Area, 400 Block E. Cordova

LAND REGISTRY OFFICE.
RECEIVED

1910M

AUG 5 1927

No. 35418

LAND REGISTRY ACT.
FORM A

Section 124 Date 5th August 1927

J. MAXWELL CRAIG HENDERSON solemnly declares that Yoshi Ito for or the duly authorized Agent of VANCOUVER JAPANESE SCHOOL MAINTENANCE ASSOCIATION and that they are entitled to be registered as the owner in fee-simple of the land hereunder described, and hereby make application under the provisions of the "Land Registry Act" and claim registration accordingly.

The full name, address and occupation of the owner is VANCOUVER JAPANESE SCHOOL MAINTENANCE ASSOCIATION, 475 Alexander Street, Vancouver, British Columbia.

The fee-simple is registered in Vol. 395 Fol. _____ of the Register.

DESCRIPTION OF LAND.

MUNICIPALITY OR ASSESSMENT DISTRICT.	LOT OR SECTION.	ADMEASUREMENT OR ACREAGE.
Vancouver, B.C.	Lots 21, 22 Block 38, D.L. 196 Group 1, N.W.D. Map No. <u>196</u>	<u>3.20</u> <u>1.9</u> <u>13.50</u>

LIST OF INSTRUMENTS.

DATE.	PARTY.	CHARACTER OF DEED.
July 7th, 1927	<u>ANN CHISHOLM</u> and <u>VANCOUVER JAPANESE SCHOOL MAINTENANCE ASSOCIATION</u>	<u>767 EK</u> <u>DEED</u> <u>420</u>

Tax Certificate herewith
Certificate of Title in L.R.O.

And I solemnly declare that I have investigated and ascertained the value of the said land, and that the market value thereof at the date of this application, including all buildings and improvements thereon erected, is. 34500.00 dollars, and that the title deeds mentioned herein are all those in my custody, possession, or power, relating to the said land, (in case of a Solicitor or Agent, add) and to the best of my belief there are no other title deeds in the custody, possession, or power of the owner, relating to the same; and I am duly authorized by the above-named owner to make this application, (in the case of an Agent, add) and I reside in the Province of British Columbia, and am of the full age of twenty-one years.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true, and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath, and by virtue of the "Canada Evidence Act."

DECLARED before me this 5th day of August, 1927.

at Vancouver, British Columbia. (Full Post-office address) 416 Seymour St. Vancouver, B.C.

MCH Henderson
12/10/27

Geo H. Titchener

40M-1125-2653

Purchase of 'Vancouver Japanese Language School' (475 Alexander)

9852
C. of T. -----

CANADA

110341

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

OFFICE OF THE CUSTODIAN
JAPANESE EVACUATION SECTION

CERTIFICATE OF VESTING

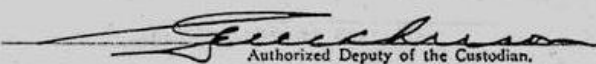
I, the undersigned, being duly authorized by the Custodian, hereby certify that the interest of Goichi Gordon NAKAYAMA
Police Registration No. 00556 in the property described hereafter is vested in the Custodian.

Description of Property

.....
Subdivision 3, North $\frac{1}{2}$ of Lot 2, Block B, District Lot 319, 324 and part 323, Dis-
trict of New Westminster.
.....
844
1983-04
.....
.....

Together with the interest of any other person of the Japanese race in the property above described.

Dated November 13th, 1942.


Authorized Deputy of the Custodian.

Vesting of the 'Nakayama Home' in the Custodian (1450 W. 64th)

110342

No. _____

9852/410 ¹⁰/₁₁

110342

LAND REGISTRY ACT.
FORM A. (Section 124.)

LAND REGISTRY OFFICE
RECEIVED

Application for Registration of Fee-simple.

Date September 22nd 1944

I, Walter Frath Edmonds, solemnly declare that I am ~~not a British subject~~ the duly authorized Agent of Frank Kryzanoski and that he is entitled to be registered as the owner in fee-simple of the land hereunder described, and hereby make application under the provisions of the "Land Registry Act" and claim registration accordingly.

The full name, address, and occupation of the person so entitled to be registered as owner is Frank Kryzanoski, Night Watchman, 1228 West 77th Avenue, Vancouver, B. C.

I am a British subject.* [Or] ~~Not a British subject~~ [Or]

I am informed by _____ (Adapt to suit circumstances.)

verily believe, that the person so entitled to be registered as owner is a British subject [Or] ~~Not a British subject~~

The fee-simple is registered in Vol. 844, Fol. 1950 of the Register.

DESCRIPTION OF LAND.

MUNICIPALITY OR ASSESSMENT DISTRICT.	LOT OR SECTION.	ADMEASUREMENT OR ACREAGE.
Vancouver B. C.	Subdivision 3, North 1/2 of Lot 2, Blk. "B", D.L. 319, 324 & part of 323, Gp. 1, N.W.D., Plan 6588.	10.52 LOT 300.50 Concurrent

LIST OF INSTRUMENTS.

DATE.	PARTIES.	CHARACTER OF DEED.
21st August 1944	The Honourable the Secretary of State of Canada acting in his capacity as Custodian under the Revised Regulations Respecting Trading with the Enemy (1943) to Frank Kryzanoski	DEED 110341
18th September	City of Vancouver Tax certificate No. 3033.	PLEASE SEND TITLE TO APPLICANT.

And I solemnly declare that I have investigated and ascertained the value of the said land, and that the market value thereof at the date of this application, including all buildings and improvements thereon erected, is \$1,610.00 dollars, and that the title deeds mentioned hereon are all those in my custody, possession, or power, relating to the said land, [in the case of a Solicitor or Agent, add] and to the best of my belief there are no other title deeds in the custody, possession, or power of the owner, relating to the same; and I am duly authorized by the above-named owner to make this application, [in the case of an Agent, add] and I reside in the Province of British Columbia, and am of the full age of twenty-one years.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true, and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of the "Canada Evidence Act."

DECLARED before me this 22nd day of September, 1944, at Vancouver, British Columbia.

(Signature) Walter Frath Edmonds
(Full Post-office address) c/o Custodian of Enemy Property,
For mailing notices and documents. 506 Royal Bank Bldg.,
Vancouver, B. C.

A Notary Public in and for the Province of British Columbia

Sale of 'Nakayama Home' by the Custodian (1450 W. 64th)

From Tim Nakayama to Greg Tatchell
 From: **The Rev. Timothy M. Nakayama** (frtim@yahoo.com)
 Sent: April 16, 2008 10:37:12 PM
 To: John Shozawa (frjohnshoz@yahoo.ca); Greg Tatchell (gregtatchell@hotmail.com)

2008 0416 Japanese Canadian Anglican Church Buildings "Relinquished".

Dear John and Greg,

Thank you for your inquiry.

Because it was the weekend closest to Holy Cross Day, the anniversary day of Holy Cross Church, my sermon was fashioned around a theme about Holy Cross Day. I spoke about the forgiveness of God, and related specifically to the injustices we suffered because of WW II and our incarceration, and how I struggled for many years about this subject.

In 1949 sweeping legislation affecting immigration was passed and the Japanese Canadians were included in the changes allowing us to return to the West Coast.

In 1950 I graduated from high school so I was able to return to Vancouver in the fall and become an undergraduate at UBC. I graduated in 1953 and became a student at Anglican Theological College of BC for the following 3 years.

The Church buildings that we had before the war were not available to us so Father Gale got permission from St. James' Church (where the Japanese work began in 1904), to hold Services in Japanese during the hours when the Church was not being used. So on Sunday afternoons in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, Father Gale Celebrated Holy Communion in Japanese and people gathered.

One day in those years Father Gale and I went to the Diocesan Office to meet with the Bishop and Diocesan Staff. I met the Diocesan Treasurer, Mr. Matheson. In the presence of the Bishop and Father Gale, I asked Mr. Matheson, what happened to the Church of the Ascension, and the Holy Cross Mission. He said to me that they were "relinquished". That was a new word so when I returned to the college where I was living, I looked up, "relinquish" in the dictionary. I added a new word to my vocabulary.

Peace and Blessings,
 Tim.

The Rev'd Canon TIMOTHY M NAKAYAMA Retired Seattle
 2317 N 56th St Seattle WA 98103-6211 (206)524-5965
 Diocese of Olympia + The Episcopal Church U S A---
 -1998-2000 NSKK-StAndrewAomori-TohokuDiocese Japan
 -1991-1997 NSKK-AllSoulsChatanOkinawaDiocese Japan
 -1966-1991 TEC--St PeterSeattle Olympia Dioc U S A
 -1962-1966 ACC-LamertonParishMirror/CalgaryDiocese
 -1958-1962 ACC-SoAlbertaMissionForemost/CalgaryDio
 -1956-1958 ACC--StBarnabas' Calgary Diocese Canada
 -1950-1956 ACC--Dioceses:Calgary & New Westminster

As per paragraph 50 in this Affidavit

50. *Further, after the consultation of paragraph 49, I sought a documented legal opinion from a second lawyer with regards to the statements in this Affidavit relative to the 12 Land Registry files listed in paragraph 49 and the table in paragraph 2. His affirming legal opinion is hereby included as Exhibit 'L'.*

CERTIFICATE OF OPINION

I, TIM Y. Y. XIA, Barrister & Solicitor, of Suite 300, 3665 Kingsway in the City of Vancouver in the Province of British Columbia hereby confirm and certify that I have today reviewed the Statutory Declaration of GREGORY TATCHELL with respect to the ownership and transfer of ownership in relation to various properties mentioned in the said Statutory Declaration, as well as reviewing copies of the land title documents in relation to the said properties.

I further confirm that it is my considered opinion that the said Statutory Declaration accurately reflects the past and current ownership, and the transfer of ownership, of the said properties as represented by the land title documents that I have reviewed.

Dated this 23rd day of July 2008



TIM Y. Y. XIA

TIM YAO-YUAN XIA
Barrister, Solicitor & Notary Public
#300 - 3665 Kingsway
Vancouver, B.C. V5R 5W2
Tel: (604) 437-5571

APPENDIX III - Orders-in-Council and Critical Events, by AUTHORITY (Adachi, p.445; 'unprecedented actions taken by the Gov't of Canada')						
July 10, 2008	Index	Date	O.I.C PC #	Details	7 Categories	Authority*
+	26	Mar. 22, 1945	☉	Sale #1: HOLY CROSS CHURCH Growth Property sold by Diocese of New West (120692 of New West Land Registry)	4. Property	Anglican
	27	July 6, 1945	☉	Sale #2: CHURCH of the ASCENSION sold by Diocese of New Westminster (127243 of New West Land Registry Office)	4. Property	Anglican
	38	June 14, 1949	☉	Proceeds of Sales of JC Churches transferred to Bishop Heathcote's Endowment Fund, used for his salary (EC Minutes, June 14)	4. Property	Anglican
+	39	Aug. 15, 1949	☉	Sale #3: HOLY CROSS CHURCH sold by Diocese of New West (222992 of NW Land Registry)	4. Property	Anglican
	43	Mar. 31, 1999	☉	Bishop Michael Ingham writes: "If the Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese ... it would be a serious injustice. "	7. Restoration	Anglican
Gov't of Canada	11b	Feb. 26, 1942	-	MoJ: Regulations ... Implementing the Evacuation (Adachi, p.435; Curfew, no cars, cameras, radios, etc., Search without Warrant)	3. Evacuation	MoJ
	25	Mar. 12, 1945	-	Department of Labor: Notice for Dispersal East of the Rockies (Adachi, p.438; "re-establish themselves East of the Rockies")	5. Dispersal	MoL
	3	March 4, 1941	117	Initial REGISTRATION & issue of Identity Cards to all persons of Japanese origin, age 16+ (Adachi, p.257, 2 Reports, p.12)	2. Exclusion	O.I.C
	4	Dec. 7, 1941	9591	Japanese Nationals to register by Feb. 7 with Registrar of Enemy Aliens (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.I.C
	6	Dec. 16, 1941	9760	Registration of all persons of Japanese origin, regardless of citizenship (Adachi, p.200)	2. Exclusion	O.I.C
	7a	Jan. 13, 1942	251	JC boats be put back in operation with non-Japanese crews (Adachi, p.229)	4. Property	O.I.C
	7b	13, 1942	288	Disposal of fishing boats; Japanese Prohibited from Fishing for Duration of War (Adachi, p.229)	4. Property	O.I.C
	8	Jan. 16, 1942	365	Protected Area authority given to National Defense (Adachi, p.432; authorize the detention of ... enemy aliens)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
	11a	Feb. 24, 1942	1486	EVACUATION of all persons of the Japanese Race (Adachi, p.434; "any or all persons")	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
	12	Feb. 1942	1457	Evacuees prohibited from purchasing or leasing real property without a permit (2 Reports, p.127)	4. Property	O.I.C
	13a	Mar. 4, 1942	1665	Establishment & Powers of the BC Security Commission (Adachi, p.436; 'plan, supervise & direct the evacuation')	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
	13b	Mar. 4, 1942	1665	CUSTODIAN of Japanese Property (Adachi, p.436; 12.1 As a protective measure only - property, belonging to any person of the J race)	4. Property	O.I.C
	14	Mar. 27, 1942	2483	Custodian Management of Property (Adachi, p.437; "property ... in any protected area ... belonging to any person of the J race")	4. Property	O.I.C
	15	June 29, 1942	5523	Purchase or lease of Farms to the Director of Soldier Settlements (Adachi, p.320; '572 farms')	4. Property	O.I.C
	16	Sept. 11, 1942	8173	Authority exerted over all Japanese in Canada (Adachi, p.218)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
	17	Nov. 20, 1942	10773	Canadian Citizens applying for expatriation lose citizenship, plus wives and children (2 Reports, p.127)	6. Deportation	O.I.C
	18	Jan. 19, 1943	469	LIQUIDATION of Property (Adachi, p.437; "Canadian ... measures to liquidate, sell or dispose of such property ... of those ... evacuated)	4. Property	O.I.C
	19a	Feb. 5, 1943	946	Control over Movement (Adachi, p.261; "any person of the Japanese race in any place in Canada)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
	19b	5, 1943	946	Dissolution of BCSC; replaced by Commissioner of Japanese Placement (Two Reports, p.1.8, p.11.9)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
	20	May 28, 1943	4365	Fuel wood Project: Proceeds of Sales into a Revolving Fund (2 Reports, p.1.14)	4. Property	O.I.C
	21	Dec. 20, 1943	9702	Leasing of Business or Residential Property (Adachi, p.265)	4. Property	O.I.C
	22	May 1944	3797	Illegal for Occidentals to purchase and hold lands for Japanese-Canadians (2 Reports, p.1.27)	4. Property	O.I.C
	28	Aug. 16, 1945	5637	Amendment of PC 946 of 5th Feb. 1943 (Adachi, p.439)	3. Evacuation	O.I.C
	29	Sept. 14, 1945	5973	MoL vested with responsibility for issuance of property licenses (2 Reports, p.11.17)	5. Dispersal	O.I.C
	30a	Dec. 15, 1945	7355	DEPORTATION of Persons of Japanese Race (Adachi, p.439; "deportation", "request for repatriation"; 4 categories)	6. Deportation	O.I.C
	30b	15, 1945	7356	- Cancellation of Citizenship for those being Deported	6. Deportation	O.I.C
	30c	15, 1945	7357	- Loyalty Tribunal	6. Deportation	O.I.C
	33	Jan. 1, 1946	7414	Continuance of Deportation Orders (Adachi, p.309; under National Emergency Transitional Powers Act)	6. Deportation	O.I.C
	34	1946	45	To Supreme Court: Are 7355, 56 & 57 Ultra Vires? (2 Reports, p.11.14)	6. Deportation	O.I.C
	36	July 18, 1947	1810	Inquiry into Property Losses (Adachi, p.325; Justice Henry Bird Commissioner, "ludicrously limited")	4. Property	O.I.C
	40	Dec. 28, 1950	6229	Amendment of Immigration Regulations (Adachi, p.350; possible entry of wives, husbands or unmarried children)	7. Restoration	O.I.C
	1	Sept. 1, 1939	-	Institution of War Measures Act (Adachi p.429; 3.c Arrest, detention, exclusion & deportation)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
	5	Dec. 7, 1941	9592	PEARL HARBOR / Declaration of War on Japan	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
	31	Dec. 18, 1945	-	National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, replacing War Measures Act (Adachi, p.336)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
	32	Jan. 1, 1946	-	War Measures Act Expires (Adachi, p.309)	1. Far-reaching	Parl.
	37	Mar. 31, 1949	-	FREEDOM: Remaining restrictions imposed under War Measures Act are lifted and franchise given to JC's (Adachi, p.346)	7. Restoration	Parl.
	2	Jan. 8, 1941	-	MacKenzie King officially announces that JC's were exempted (excluded) from military service (Adachi, p.192)	2. Exclusion	PM
	23	Aug. 4, 1944	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on DISPERSAL (Adachi, p.442; "treat such persons fairly and justly")	5. Dispersal	PM
	35	Jan. 24, 1947	-	MacKenzie King House of Commons Speech on continued Resettlement throughout Canada (2 Reports, p.11.23)	7. Restoration	PM
	42	Sept. 22, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the Canadian Government and Japanese-Canadian Citizens	7. Restoration	PM
	10	Feb. 19, 1942	-	Roosevelt's EO 9066 establishes the authority that would result in the Evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast (JAH, p. 136)	1. Far-reaching	USA
	24	Dec. 17, 1944	-	Maj. Gen. Henry Pratt, chief of Western Defence Command in the US, announced that loyal JA's could return to the W. Coast (Davis, p.123)	7. Restoration	USA
	41	Aug. 10, 1988	-	Redress Agreement between the US Government and Japanese-American Citizens (JAH, p.289-91)	7. Restoration	USA
	9	Feb. 15, 1942	-	Singapore captured by the Japanese (Churchill, p. 621)	1. Far-reaching	War

* Anglican = Diocese of New Westminster O.I.C = Order-in-Council Parl. = Federal House of Commons PM = Prime Minister
 USA = the States War = World War II MoJ = Minister of Justice MoL = Minister of Labor

Seminal Event

UNITED STATES of AMERICA
Washington State

In the matter of the dispossession of the two (2) pre-World War II Japanese-Canadian Anglican Churches, Church of the Ascension, and Holy Cross, in the Diocese of New Westminster, and in matters relating to Diocesan personnel involved in that dispossession.

Statutory Declaration

I, TIMOTHY MAKOTO NAKAYAMA of 2317 N. 56th St., in the City of Seattle, in the State of Washington (98103-6211) **MAKE OATH AND SAY AS FOLLOWS:**

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts and matters hereinafter deposed to with regards to the two (2) pre-WWII Japanese-Canadian Anglican Churches in the Diocese of New Westminster in Vancouver, BC, Canada, and from personal knowledge with regards to meetings that I attended with the Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster, The Rt. Rev. Godfrey Philip Gower, and, in one instance, with the Diocesan Treasurer, W.H. Mathewson, save and except where the same are stated to be based on information and belief and where so stated, I verily believe the same to be true.

1953 Diocesan Meeting with Bishop Gower & Treasurer Mathewson

2. The Rev. Canon William Henry Gale (see Exhibit 'A') and I, a student at ATC, met in Bishop Gower's Office in the Diocese of New Westminster located in downtown Vancouver, B.C., the summer of 1953, after Canon Gale had returned from Eastern Canada in October of 1952. He had gone in the immediate post-war years to help the Japanese-Canadian Anglicans who had been dispersed during war time, and the immediate post-war years after 1945.
3. I believe our meeting with Bishop Gower was initiated by Canon Gale who brought me to meet with the Bishop since I remained in Vancouver

during the summer of 1953 so that I could do "field work" under Canon Gale's supervision. The "field work" was to help with the resumption of Japanese-Canadian Ministry, now that some Japanese-Canadians were returning to the Greater Vancouver and surrounding areas. We Japanese-Canadians had only been allowed to return on April 1, 1949 to the so-called "protected area", a 100-mile belt along the Canadian Pacific West Coast. We had been forbidden to live within this area from mid-1942 until 1949. (We were finally allowed to return, 4 years after the war had ended).

4. At our summer meeting in Bishop Gower's office, he appeared to know that the Japanese-Canadian Mission properties were no longer in the church's hands. But, to hear more specifically what had happened to those properties, he directed Canon Gale and me out of his office and into the general area where other diocesan staff members were.
5. We were standing together in this general area. Bishop Gower brought Mr. Mathewson, Diocesan Treasurer, directly into our conversation. I, therefore, asked him what had happened to the Church of the Ascension in Kitsilano (at 3rd Ave., and Pine St.) and Holy Cross Mission near St. James' Church. Holy Cross was on Cordova Street across from the Powell Grounds (where the Japanese Nisei men played baseball).
6. Mr. Mathewson answered me clearly and succinctly;

"They were relinquished."
7. There was neither any further explanation nor any additional elaboration. It was as abrupt as that. Nothing more was said.
8. If Bishop Gower knew any of the details, he did not elicit any other information, but relied on the Diocesan Treasurer to respond to Canon Gale and to me.
9. I suspect that Bishop Gower did not want to say anything because he must have sensed that the matter could be a very sensitive matter, and so he relied on the Diocesan Treasurer to respond to us.

10. I was somewhat stunned by Mr. Mathewson's reply, because I hadn't heard this before. Until I heard the three words "*They were relinquished*" from the Diocesan Treasurer, I had no idea about what had happened to the properties of the Church of the Ascension or Holy Cross Mission, the places of our Japanese-Canadian ministry in Vancouver. No inquiry or permission had ever been requested of us regarding any action on these properties.
11. My father, the Rev. Gordon Goichi Nakayama of the Church of the Ascension would occasionally remark that the new church had been built entirely debt-free by the Anglican Japanese members themselves without any outside assistance, thus actions of this nature were deeply troubling and disappointing.
12. After the meeting, I went back to my dormitory room at the Anglican Theological College of B.C. adjacent to the University of British Columbia (I was the only student living at ATC during those summer months). I remember looking up the word "relinquished" in my Western Collegiate Dictionary to ascertain what that word meant exactly in fiscal terms.

St. James in Vancouver and St. Peters in Seattle

13. After getting approval from Bishop Gower at our summer meeting, Canon Gale consulted with the celibate clergy of St. James', in particular the Rector, a staunch friend of the Japanese-Canadians, the Rev. Canon Wilberforce Cooper. They gave their gracious permission to begin the resumption of the Japanese-Canadian work by using their Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament located immediately behind the High Altar of St. James'.
14. The Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in St. James was open to the rest of the Church. No enclosing walls existed - only lattice work providing demarcation of the space. Canon Gale began Japanese-Canadian Celebrations of the Holy Communion on Sunday afternoons when there were no other Services occurring at St. James'. Canon Gale gave me a Ro-maji 1926 edition of the NSKK Book of Common Prayer which had been prepared by the Church in Japan for the use of foreign Missionaries.

15. By way of contrast, while our Anglican Japanese-Canadian congregations were unable to meet in our original churches because they had been sold, the United Church Japanese-Canadian congregation was able to return to worship in their pre-war church at 220 Jackson (at Powell & Jackson, 2 blocks away from St. James; the Japanese-Canadian United Church was just a stone's throw from Holy Cross, now sold, just across Oppenheimer Park). To the United Church congregation, it was their old familiar location, left intact, and unsold by the United Church authorities. The Japanese-Canadian United Church members eventually moved, at their own discretion, to a United Church on Hastings St., East of Main Street.
16. Our relegation to a back-room chapel was also contrasted by the situation in the United States. When the Japanese-Americans began returning to Seattle at the end of 1944 (8 months before World War II had ended in August 1945), they were able to return to their pre-war church, St. Peter's Japanese Mission in Seattle, just as the Japanese-Canadians had returned to their United Church at Powell and Jackson.
17. St. Peter's Japanese Mission in Seattle had not been sold. Rather, it had been faithfully maintained by the Diocese of Olympia during the Japanese American "relocation" (this was not unique to St. Peter's, insofar as most of the church facilities, community institutions, as well as personal dwellings, and businesses were eventually re-occupied by the returning Japanese-Americans along the American West Coast).
18. Properties of parishioners were kept in Seattle's St. Peter's Mission Hall and were monitored by diocesan officials (in particular, by Bishop S. Arthur Huston of the Diocese of Olympia, who, when requested, sent belongings to people in one of the ten distant internment "camps").
19. I have personal knowledge of this church, and its history, because St. Peter's was the Church and Diocese in Seattle to which I was invited by Bishop Ivor Ira Curtis, Diocese of Olympia, from the Diocese of Calgary. I served as the priest at St. Peter's for 25 years, from 1966 to 1991.

20. When the Japanese-Americans returned to Seattle in 1944 and 1945, the Parish Hall became a hostel for the returnees because their dwellings were still occupied by the influx of wartime workers who came to build airplanes for the Boeing Company (see Exhibit 'B' for more of this history). This was the second great contrast between the experience of the Japanese-Canadians and the Japanese-Americans; not only did the Japanese-Americans come back to their original churches, preserved for them by the Diocesan Bishop, they came back to their original homes, preserved for them by the Federal Government of the United States.

Bishop Gower

21. With regards to Bishop Gower, subsequent to the meeting of paragraphs 2 to 12, I don't believe I had any other contact with him for another two years. Two years later, he came to conduct Canon Gale's memorial service at Holy Cross Mission at 849 E. 11th Ave, on July 10th, 1955
22. The very first service in our new/old church had been only 12 days previously, on June 29. This first service had been a special service held after the death of Canon Gale. My father, Canon G. G. Nakayama, preached, and I officiated. 119 people attended. The little church was filled to overflowing. My final sermon at Holy Cross as a student was 9 months later, on Palm Sunday, March 25, 1956 (I would return almost exactly 8 years later, preaching and presiding on April 5th, 1964, on the 1st Sunday after Easter).
23. Some days after the June 29th memorial service for Canon Gale, the Bishop called me to his Office to inquire of me if I would be interested in assuming the pastoral care of Holy Cross Church. I had been sent to ATC by Bishop Harry Richard Ragg of Calgary. Upon his death I was under his successor, Bishop George Reginald Calvert. I explained those relationships and gratefully declined assuming the responsibilities of Holy Cross (see Exhibit 'C' for more history).
24. In my time in Vancouver prior to returning to Calgary after graduation from ATC in 1956, at all of my meetings with Bishop Gower, or during the Services which we jointly attended at Holy Cross, I never heard an explanation of what had happened to our churches. The only

explanation I ever heard were the three words from Treasurer Mathewson, *"They were relinquished"* (paragraph 6).

25. Further, I never heard an apology from the Diocese, at any time, with regards to what had happened to our churches. I do not believe that any members of my family ever heard such an apology either.
26. I think I would characterize the Diocesan response to my question of paragraph 5 as, with these changes of circumstances, the powers that be were endeavoring to be circumspect.
27. However, having to delve into the documentation surrounding these actions, the subsequent circumstances do reveal that the leaders in the Diocese of New Westminster from that time to the present have been less than forthright in making known what occurred in the past.

Bishops Hambidge and Ingham

28. Subsequent Bishops have neither researched nor publicly acknowledged what the Diocese of New Westminster did with the churches and properties of Japanese-Canadian ministry after the Government of Canada enforced our removal, mass evacuation and relocation during and after the war (Bishop Sommerville, the exception, had grown up at St. James and served that Church in pastoral ministry, intimately involved in Anglican Japanese-Canadian Ministry; see Exhibit 'D').
29. In addition to my 1953 example above (paragraph 6) of the lack of forthrightness on the part of Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson, I have 2 additional more recent examples, from 1985 and 1999.
30. On June 21, 1985, I sent a 6 page letter (see page 1 of that letter in Exhibit 'F') to the Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster, Douglas Hambidge, with a copy to the Primate, Ted Scott. In it, I offered my perspective on research that needed to be done about what happened *"before, during and after World War II, and in particular, the part played by the Diocese of New Westminster."*

31. In this same letter, I went on to comment about “*the letter my sister, Joy Kogawa, wrote to the Primate of the Canadian Church with copies sent to you and others.*”
32. 14 years later, in response to a letter from our cousin Rev. John Shozawa, Bishop Michael Ingham wrote “*Thank you for a copy of Joy Kogawa’s note to Ted Scott in 1985. It’s distressing to hear she received no reply*” (see Bishop Ingham’s March 31, 1999 letter in Exhibit ‘G’)
33. Bishop Michael went on to say “*I am looking into the situation myself*”.
34. To the best of my knowledge, not only did my sister Joy Kogawa never receive a reply from the Primate in 1985, my cousin Rev. John Shozawa never received a subsequent clarification to the March 31st letter from Bishop Michael Ingham in 1999.
35. In summary, documented requests between 1953 and 1999, of 3 different Bishops of the Diocese of New Westminster, and of one Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, who was a priest in Vancouver during the war years, have all essentially gone unanswered.

The United Church & ‘Japanese Funds’

36. This same lack of responsiveness can be said about these Bishops with regards to the Japanese-Canadian funds derived from the sale of the Japanese-Canadian churches; the Diocese have never provided an accounting of what happened with what Roland Kawano calls the “Japanese Funds.”
37. The United Church provides an example of a different approach. In Roland M. Kawano’s 1997 book, “Ministry to the Hopelessly Hopeless” (on pages 115-16, Appendix B), he provides a very clear accounting of what the United Church of Canada did with a “Special Japanese Fund” set up in 1942;

“By 1953, the balance stood at about sixteen thousand dollars. Over the next two decades grants were made to Japanese congregations as they were formed across the country, in Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Steveston and Lethbridge.”

CANON GALE

The Rev. Canon William Henry Gale was a Canadian Missionary to Japan. When his father died in 1931, he came back to Montreal. After he settled his affairs, he was about to return to the Matsumoto, Nagano Prefecture in Diocese of Mid-Japan (now known as the Diocese of Chubu) which was the particular area allotted to Canadian Missionaries. The Rev. F. W. Cassillis Kennedy (another former Canadian Missionary to Japan) who had been in charge of Holy Cross Mission, and who had organized the British Columbia Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals in British Columbia (PBMO), had recently died. "Father Gale" was asked by the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) with headquarters in Toronto, to move to the Diocese of New Westminster, in Vancouver, B.C., to become the Missionary of Holy Cross Mission, and Superintendent of the PBMO, instead of returning to Japan. The Diocese of New Westminster, the PBMO and the Canadian National Church's MSCC had no idea what cataclysmic shocks were in store for the Japanese Canadian community on the West Coast of Canada and the Anglicans among them a decade hence, but the transfer of Canon Gale to Vancouver was to be a crucial personnel change that would affect the Anglican Japanese Canadian contribution to missionary strategy among the Japanese Canadian ecumenical community during and after World War II.

Canon Gale, an extremely soft-spoken individual, exercised uncommon leadership among the Japanese Canadian community and Christian Churches. As successor to the Rev. F. W. Cassillis Kennedy (known and respected by the Japanese Canadian community as an articulate voice and advocate, respected as a credible voice for understanding Japanese issues among political and religious leaders in the wider British Columbia milieu), Father Gale was in contrast, a quieter voice in a more contentious time. His leadership was evident when he pleaded for "British justice" to prevail in dealing with Japanese Canadians, but raucous voices drowned out his statements. However Father Gale admonished the governmental officials to keep the Japanese Canadian

together as family units, and this important advice was heeded as much as possible in our mass evacuation and relocation (on a much more personal note, one of the first acts of Father Gale after he came to Vancouver was to Baptize me as an infant in November 1931, and as a theological student from 1953 to 1956 it was my honour to assist him at a different post-war Holy Cross Church, set up in the former Catholic Apostolic Church at 849 E. 11th Ave. which had “come back” to the Anglican Church by being given to the Diocese of New Westminster provided that it be used for “Church purposes”.

In the immediate pre-war years, and during the disruptive years of World War II, Canon Gale provided crucial leadership and pastoral care of the Japanese Canadians who were in Tashme (the internment “camp” 13 miles East of Hope, B.C.), to which Father Gale commuted from Vancouver during the years of WW II. Then in the immediate post-war years Father Gale followed the Japanese Canadians to Eastern Canada to assist them in their continuing resettlement – in the Niagara Peninsula (cities of London and Guelph), and to such locations as the greater metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec City.

Upon retirement, Canon Gale returned to Vancouver and painstakingly found the people who were finally permitted to return by national legislation in 1949 by the Government of Canada. The people began returning in the 1950's. Our primary and painstaking task was to find the returnees by word-of-mouth.

The Kitagawa Brothers

In the exodus in the States, the Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa was the Priest at St. Peter's. When the Japanese-Americans began to return, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa, brother of Father Daisuke, was at St. Peter's. The Kitagawa brothers are a unique pair of younger Japanese Priests who became immigrants when no one could enter the USA from Japan. They were born in Taiwan (a colony of Japan at the time), studied Christian theology in Doshisha University, Kyoto, Ordained Priests in the Nippon Sei Ko Kai, and came to the United States for further study. Because of the outbreak of WW II, they were stranded in the USA, unable to return to Japan, and were caught up in the internment incarceration. Father Daisuke Kitagawa then was in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and taught the Japanese language to American military personnel who were studying for the military intelligence service. In post-war years he was assigned to College Work at the Episcopal Church, New York City national offices, then went to the World Council of Churches, Division of Studies, in Geneva, Switzerland, and made trips to Africa. Instead of calling them by a demeaning description: "undeveloped countries", he referred instead to them as "areas of rapid social change". He died in Switzerland in 1970. Dr. Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa taught Comparative Religion, and became Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago. Father Joe looked after the Japanese-American Episcopalians in Chicago (most of them were from St. Peter's, Seattle, who resettled in Chicago from the "camps" during WW II, and did not return to Seattle. Father Daisuke Kitagawa wrote a book about his internment experience: "Issei and Nisei, the Internment Years").

CANON TIMOTHY NAKAYAMA

Bishop Calvert, in the regular course of events Ordained me to the Diaconate at the Pro-cathedral Church of the Redeemer on Trinity Sunday, May 27, 1956, and Ordained me to the Priesthood on St. Matthias' Day (transferred), February 25, 1957, also at the Pro-cathedral.

While visiting Vancouver in June of 1969, I attended a meeting at Holy Cross church.

I served in urban and rural churches in the Diocese of Calgary for 10 years, until 1966 when I came for 25 years to St. Peter's Church, Seattle (Diocese of Olympia), a Japanese-American congregation. After retirement I went in 1991 to All Souls' Church, (Diocese of Okinawa, Japan) an English language congregation for 6 ½ years. Then I served from 1998 to 2000 in a 3-point vacant Japanese language parish in the Diocese of Touhoku, NE Japan, (St. Andrew's Church, Aomori, St. Michael's, Matsuoka - a ministry within a Sanatorium among those who had suffered from Hansen's disease, and a Mission Station in Mutsu, NE of Aomori. I suffered a stroke on May 31, 2000, and became well enough to return to Seattle on August 2, 2000.

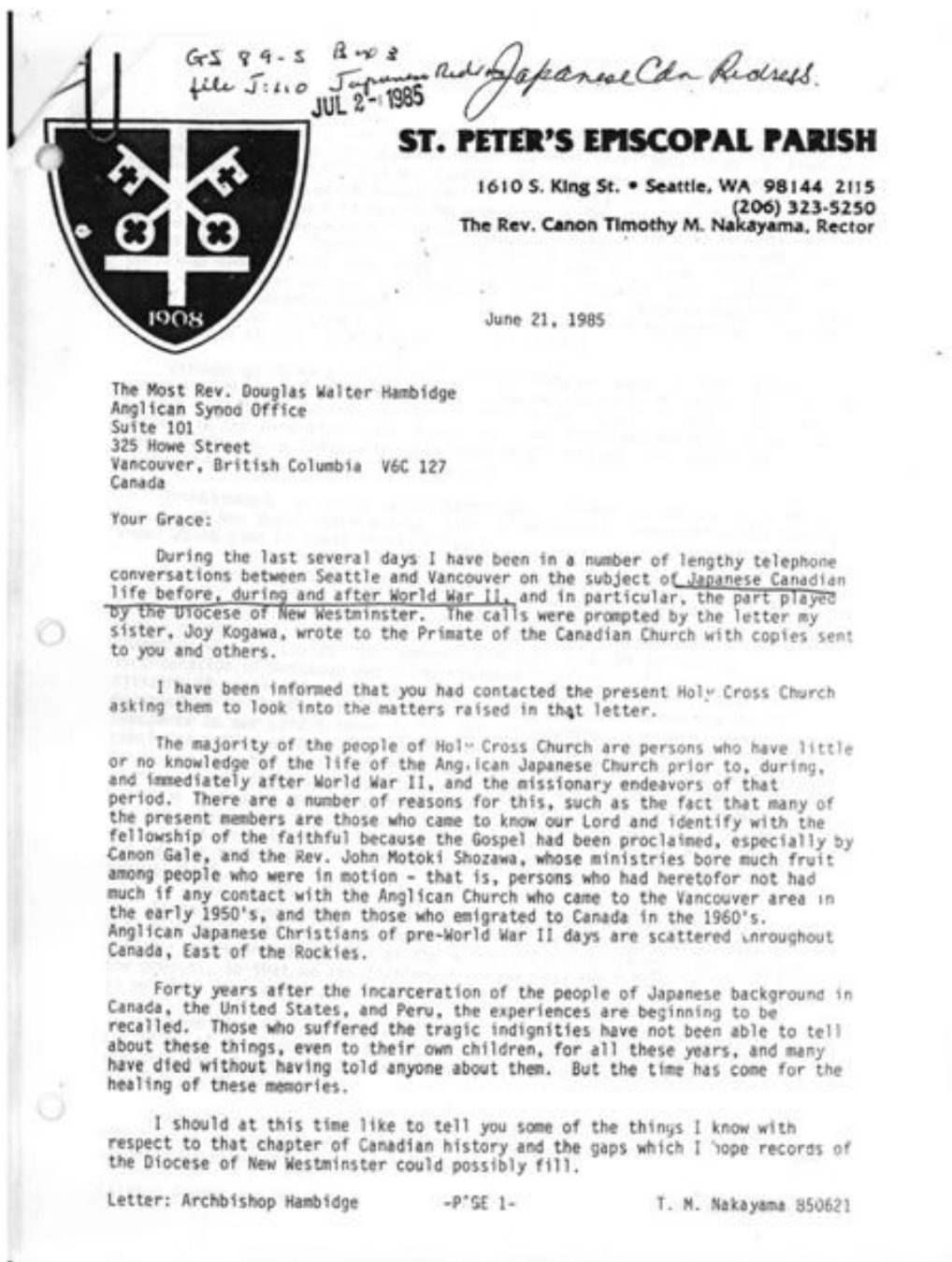
BISHOP SOMMERVILLE

Having grown up at St. James' and served that Church in pastoral ministry, Bishop Sommerville had been intimately involved in Anglican Japanese-Canadian Ministry. On June 19, 1969, on a visit to Vancouver from St. Peter's in Seattle, I was present at a meeting of the Japanese Unit held in Holy Cross Rectory. Bishop Sommerville was present as Coadjutor Bishop, along with Rev. John Shozawa, myself, and Harold MacSherry in the Chair. Bishop Sommerville summarized the meeting in minutes he produced and copied to the Bishop. The subjects covered included Rev. John Shozawa moving from the Rectory to new accommodations, applying for Canadian citizenship, and continuing at Holy Cross. There was talk of joining another congregation, or of selling the property. I recall an additional meeting and discussions about the relatively high cost of utilities because of the very old building, handed from the remnant congregational leaders of the Catholic Apostolic Church to the Diocese of New Westminster was, in turn, handed to Canon Gale and to the Japanese Canadian congregation that had no place of their own in those early post-war years. All who knew acknowledged that the former Catholic Apostolic Church was a very old structure indeed, that Japanese-Canadian ship-building craftsmen-carpenters had renovated for use. The fact that the new Church of Ascension in Kitsilano and Holy Cross Mission on Cordova Street had both been "relinquished" by the Diocese of New Westminster was not denied by Bishop Sommerville, and he also acknowledged that the structure at 849 E. 11th St. where we were meeting was truly aged and inefficient, and therefore costly to maintain.

HISTORY

In Canada, the evacuation/relocation/internment was a “political action” by several Orders in Council of Prime Minister William Lyons Mackenzie King and the Federal Cabinet, in the United States it was a “military action” initiated by an Executive Order of the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Military, Franklin Delanor Roosevelt, President of the United States. The Military Western Command, under General de Witt, carried out the Order. For a time Japanese-Americans in the camps were under the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). A report about “conservation” was published by the BIA describing their phase of this experience.

Whereas the Japanese-Americans were allowed to return to the West Coast in late 1944, in graphic contrast, the Japanese-Canadians were subject to further relocation during the following four post-war years as we were moved out of the internment “camps” and scattered all across Canada - “East of the Rockies”. In addition, one-sixth of our population was deported, “*back to Japan*”. ‘*Back*’ was to me, a resentful characterization, because I had never been to Japan in the first place. In 1945 our family went to the sugar beet farming area in Coaldale, Southern Alberta (Diocese of Calgary), from where I went in 1950 to UBC, Vancouver, and B.C., when we were allowed to return to the West Coast).



Timothy Nakayama's June 21, 1985
Letter to Archbishop Douglas Hambidge
&
Primate Ted Scott



COPY

The Reverend John Shozawa
Holy Cross Japanese Anglican Church
4580 Walden Street
Vancouver, BC
V5V 3S5

March 31, 1999

Dear John:

Thank you for the copy of Joy Kogawa's note to Ted Scott in 1985.

It's distressing to hear she received no reply. I'll follow up with the Primate to let him know, and also to ask if he knows anything about the matters she alleges.

I am looking into the situation myself. I have asked for a search of the Archives. If the Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese back in those days, without any form of compensation, it would be a serious injustice.

Every blessing and good wish to you as you celebrate Easter.

Kindest regards,

The Right Reverend Michael Ingham
Bishop

CANADA
British Columbia

In the matter of the dispossession of the two (2) pre-World War II Japanese-Canadian Anglican Churches, Church of the Ascension, and Holy Cross, in the Diocese of New Westminster, and in matters relating to those churches and their dispossession.

Statutory Declaration

I, JOHN SHOZAWA, of #107 – 257 E. Keith Road in the City of North Vancouver, in the Province of British Columbia **MAKE OATH AND SAY AS FOLLOWS:**

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts and matters hereinafter deposed to, save and except where the same are stated to be based on information and belief and where so stated, I verily believe the same to be true.

My Early Years in Canada

2. In 1960, I came to Canada from Japan to study at the Anglican Theological College (ATC, now VST) at UBC. I graduated in 1965. While at ATC/VST, I attended Holy Cross on E. 11th in Vancouver.
3. For my first two years at Holy Cross, Father Nishimura was the priest. I did my first Homily under his supervision on January 22, 1961. My first Morning Prayer was a year later, on January 21, 1962.
4. Father Nishimura's final service at Holy Cross was on November 4, 1962, and from that point forward my involvement at Holy Cross increased significantly. In my two years at Holy Cross prior to his departure, I did the Morning Prayer service just 8 times. After his departure, over the next 2 ½ years prior to my Ordination, I did the Morning Prayer service 94 times.

5. Between the time of Father Nishimura's departure and my Ordination, from Nov. 1962 to June 1965, there was no permanent priest assigned to Holy Cross. Prior to my ordination, communion was provided to the congregation once a month by Father MacSherry.
6. During this period, I was ordained Deacon in June of 1964, on Trinity Sunday, prior to graduation from ATC. I was ordained at Christ Church Cathedral by Bishop Gower.
7. After my graduation in May of 1965, I was ordained to the Priesthood on June 13th, 1965. Again, I was ordained at Christ Church Cathedral by Bishop Gower. I gave my first Communion at a Wednesday evening service at Holy Cross on June 16, 1965.
8. During my 44 (and counting) year career as an Anglican Priest, this was the beginning of what would become a trinity of times as the incumbent at Holy Cross: 1964-1978, 1995-1999, and, from 2006 to today.

My First Tenure at Holy Cross – 1964-1978

9. My first time as incumbent at Holy Cross was from June 1964 to August 1978 (at which time I accepted a position at an Episcopal Japanese-American Church in Los Angeles).
10. When I became the incumbent at Holy Cross in 1964, they were in their 2nd building, their post-war location at E.11th, in a very old building.
11. The site included a very old and small rectory, where I lived from 1965 to July 1, 1969. While I lived there, Lynne and I were married on July 23, 1966. Our first child, Katherine Megumi, was born in April of 1972. We adopted our second daughter, Christine, in 1977.
12. After three years of married life, we moved to 2729 E. Pender St. because the vicarage was not adequate. It was too small and in bad condition. The condition was so bad that they fixed it up before the new tenants after us were able to move in.

13. The church building at E. 11th was also a very old building and was in constant need of maintenance.
14. In Appendix 'D' of Canon Timothy Nakayama's Statutory Declaration of July 28, 2008, he writes: "*All who knew acknowledged that the former Catholic Apostolic Church was a very old structure indeed, that Japanese-Canadian ship-building craftsmen-carpenters had renovated for use. The fact that the new Church of Ascension in Kitsilano and Holy Cross Mission on Cordova Street had both been "relinquished" by the Diocese of New Westminster was not denied by Bishop Sommerville, and he also acknowledged that the structure at 849 E. 11th St. where we were meeting was truly aged and inefficient, and therefore costly to maintain*" (in this quote, Father Tim is referring to the meeting of June 19, 1969, in Exhibit 'G').
15. With intimate experience with these buildings as the incumbent from 1964-1978, I in particular agree with the last part of paragraph 14; "*the structure at 849 E. 11th St. where we were meeting was truly aged and inefficient, and therefore costly to maintain.*"
16. In paragraph 14 above, Canon Tim Nakayama noted that rendering the E. 11th Ave. structures (the rectory and the Church) usable had been achieved as follows: "*Japanese-Canadian ship-building craftsmen-carpenters had renovated (them) for use.*" Shig Kuwabara, one of my Wardens, coordinated continual renovations and repairs for the church, especially water leaks from the front roof.
17. During my first tenure at Holy Cross, there were few questions about what had happened to our churches after World War II, and there was never any formal effort to find out. After the end of the seven years of exile in 1949, the mood of the Issei was very much forget and move on, and they drummed this philosophy into the Nisei. During this time, I never heard any details of what had happened to the two pre-WWII Japanese Canadian Anglican churches, either from my parishioners or the Diocese.

18. One of my early responsibilities at Holy Cross was to represent our church at the annual meetings of the PBMO (Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals). The PBMO provided oversight for the Chinese and Japanese Missions across the province, from a provincial perspective, with all BC Bishops on the Board. The PBMO had performed this function since the era of the First World War.
19. In addition to providing oversight, the PBMO had its own budget to support the activities for the Japanese and Chinese Missions in the province. I found it interesting to learn where the income for the budget came from. The table following shows the source of income for 5 of the budget years between 1932 and 1948 (from the annual minutes of the PMBO). In that period, nearly 80% of the financial support came from just two National organizations, the MSCC and the WA (the Missionary Society of Canada, and the Women’s Auxiliary). Diocesan support from within BC ranged between 1% & 2%.

PRIMARY PBMO FUNDING - AVERAGE OF 5 INCOME BUDGETS - 1932 to 1948

	1948	1947	1942	1935	1934	1932/33	5 Year AVG.	%	Primary Givers
1. Dominion W.A. Grant	\$ 4,000	\$ 5,109		\$ 9,230	\$ 10,199	\$ 10,820	\$ 7,871	44.3%	77%
2. M.S.C.C. Grant	\$ 5,000	\$ 4,950		\$ 3,500	\$ 4,720	\$ 10,590	\$ 5,752	32.4%	
3. S.P.G Grant				\$ 1,300	\$ 1,394	\$ 1,616	\$ 862	4.9%	13%
4. B.C & Yukon Grant	\$ 400	\$ 402		\$ 700	\$ 713	\$ 1,400	\$ 723	4.1%	
5. Rents				\$ 1,800	\$ 530	\$ 1,034	\$ 673	3.8%	
6. Diocese of New Westminster	\$ 200	\$ 194			\$ 387	\$ 800	\$ 316	1.8%	
7. Diocese of Caledonia				\$ 1,000		\$ 300	\$ 260	1.5%	
8. Chinese Relief					\$ 1,250		\$ 250	1.4%	
9. English Community Grant				\$ 350	\$ 343	\$ 484	\$ 235	1.3%	
10. Diocese of Columbia					\$ 412	\$ 500	\$ 182	1.0%	
11. Diocese of B.C.	\$ 400	\$ 440					\$ 168	0.9%	
12. Sundry	\$ 150	\$ 7		\$ 120	\$ 498		\$ 155	0.9%	
13. Diocese of Kootenay	\$ 125	\$ 125			\$ 115	\$ 300	\$ 133	0.7%	
14. Shortfall	\$ 445						\$ 89	0.5%	
15. Prince Rupert Trust Fund	\$ 300						\$ 60	0.3%	
16. Good Shepherd Mission		\$ 183					\$ 37	0.2%	
17. Balance from previous Year		\$ 2,720							
	\$11,020	\$14,129	\$21711*	\$18,000	\$20,560	\$27,844	\$ 17,767	100%	

* Treasurer's Note: Our thanks are due to the M.S.C.C & the W.A. for the very generous financial support

20. In 1940, the mid-point of the time frame in the table above, over 1500 Japanese-Canadians were served by the PBMO Japanese-Canadian Missions in Vancouver, as follows:
1. Adult Members 682
 2. Sunday School Registrations 823
- In 1940, the Japanese Language School in Little Tokyo, two blocks from Holy Cross, had 1,022 children in attendance.

21. In the critical years 1947 and 1948, the Chairman of the PBMO was the Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster, Sir Francis Heathcote. The Treasurer's reports for the PBMO were produced by the Treasurer of the Diocese of New Westminster, Mr. W. H. Mathewson.
22. The PBMO budget covered the cost of all clergy stipends and allowances (over half the budget), Mission support staff in the field (approximately one third), and office, mission and transportation expenses. In addition to funding one-third of the operational expenses of the PBMO, it should be noted that the M.S.C.C. also provided the capital to purchase the Church of the Ascension site in 1920. The funding of nearly half of the operational costs of the Mission by the National Women's Auxiliary is a story that has been lost to history, and I am proud to resurrect it here.
23. One of the key events during my first tenure at Holy Cross was on the occasion of its 65th Anniversary in 1970. This was the year in which Holy Cross was finally given Parish status.
24. This had been a sore point with the Holy Cross congregation for some time. Find attached as Exhibit 'G' the minutes of a June 19, 1969 meeting attended by the Right Rev. T. D. Somerville. Bishop Somerville expressed the feelings of the congregation perfectly in the minutes he kept of this meeting; *"There is a considerable dislike of the word "Mission" in the name of the church. The congregation would like to be known simply as Holy Cross Church."*
25. It was therefore my great joy that 21 years after returning from their 7 years in exile, the Japanese-Canadians were finally granted Parish status. I must ask the question, though, why did it have to take 21 years?
26. I left Holy Cross and Vancouver on Sept. 1, 1978. Canon G.G. Nakayama came to Vancouver to provide continuity for the parish. His home parish in Alberta was good enough to give him a leave of absence for six months to do so. Canon Nakayama and his wife were in Vancouver to see me off when I left for Los Angeles.

My Second Tenure at Holy Cross - 1995-1999

27. My second tenure at Holy Cross was after they had moved from the E.11th Ave. location because of the ever increasing maintenance costs referred to in paragraphs 14 and 15. In 1989 they had moved to the third and current location of Holy Cross, at 4580 Walden St.
28. There still was no clamour within the congregation of Holy Cross to find out what had happened to the two Japanese Canadian Anglican churches in WW II.
29. I was not aware of the two 1988 and 1990 VST thesis papers on the subject of what had happened to our churches in World War II. I was only to become aware of them during my third tenure at Holy Cross, when Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles introduced me to the 1988 Bamford thesis in early 2008. I only became aware of the 1990 Hemmings thesis in the summer of 2008.
30. It was early in 1999, near the end of my second tenure at Holy Cross, that I took my first step to determine what had happened to our churches in World War II.
31. In 1999, I wrote a letter to Bishop Michael Ingham. His March 31, 1999 response to that letter can be seen in Exhibit 'A'. In it, he wrote, *"Thank you for a copy of Joy Kogawa's note to Ted Scott in 1985. It's distressing to hear she received no reply"*.
32. I was particularly encouraged by his last sentence in paragraph three;
"If the Japanese Canadian Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese back in those days, without any form of compensation, it would be a serious injustice."
33. Bishop Ingham's last three words resonate particularly strongly. I understand that the third thesis being written on this subject (after the first and second in 1988 and 1990) is going to use the last three words of paragraph 23, along with an ending question mark, for the title of his thesis: "A SERIOUS INJUSTICE?"

34. I retired shortly after receiving the March 31, 1999 letter from Bishop Ingham, and do not recall receiving a follow-on letter. We have checked in the files of Holy Cross, and there is no letter there.
35. I do know that Bishop Michael received letters from two Anglican Archives in Canada in response to the follow up he promised in his letter of March 31st.
36. Exhibit 'B' is a letter addressed to Bishop Michael Ingham, dated June 11, 1999, from the National Archives. A copy of it is in the VST archives. I do not recall having seen this letter, or its attachments, prior to this year.
37. Exhibit 'C' is a letter addressed to Bishop Michael Ingham, dated Sept. 28, 1999, from the VST archives. I do not recall having seen this letter, or its attachments, prior to this year.
38. The attachments to these two letters contain vital information relative to the disposition of the pre-WWII Japanese-Canadian churches, as well as the disposition of the funds from the sale of these churches. I do not understand why this information was not made available to the Japanese-Canadian community in 1999. It was to be another 9 years before a separate research initiative was to independently corroborate and build upon the research results given to Bishop Michael in Exhibits 'B' and 'C'. By not sharing these results, it leaves open the interpretation that the Diocese of New Westminster was continuing to hide a shameful chapter in its history.

My Third Tenure at Holy Cross – 2006-present

39. My third tenure at Holy Cross began in April of 2006, after I returned from Japan in 2006. During my year and a half in Japan, Bishop Michael Ingham had asked me if I would once again assume responsibility for Holy Cross upon my return from Japan.
40. It had always been in the back of my mind to investigate what had happened to the two Japanese Canadian churches during WWII. My 1999 letter to Bishop Ingham shortly before I retired (paragraph 31 above) was my first attempt at this.

41. The first real opportunity to act on that impulse upon my return to Canada came in early 2008 when Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles gave me a draft copy of Trevor Bamford's 1988 thesis. This thesis galvanized me into action.
42. Some time after receiving this thesis, Basil Izumi, Gwen Lamacraft and I had a meeting with Bishop Michael Ingham on the occasion of the two year review of progress at Holy Cross since it had returned to the Diocese of New Westminster (in November of 2005).
43. Not involving Basil and Gwen at this time, and just before this 2008 meeting, I told the Bishop that I had recently received a draft copy of Trevor Bamford's thesis, had found it very interesting, and asked him if he could read it. I left the Bamford thesis with him.
44. Since I gave this thesis to Bishop Ingham, we have not had an opportunity to talk about it.
45. It was after I gave a copy of the Bamford thesis to the Bishop that I discovered Greg Tatchell was writing a History paper on the subject. I helped him establish contact with Joy Kogawa and Rev. Timothy Nakayama while he was writing that paper.
46. At a later date, Greg Tatchell gave me the red bound copy of Trevor Bamford's thesis "The Unwelcomed Stranger" (BX 5611 B7 B35 1988) from the VST library. It was then that I discovered that the copy I had given the Bishop was an incomplete version, 4 pages shorter than the final product. Missing from the early version was the most compelling line, the last line of his thesis.
47. Referring to the sale of the two Japanese Canadian churches in World War II, Bamford ends his thesis with these words;

*"Why this has remained a secret for forty (sic) years
is a question which needs to be addressed."*

48. What had been a secret for over forty years when Bamford wrote his thesis in 1988 is still a secret twenty years later, in 2008. It is my hope

that the work we have embarked upon will once and for all answer Mr. Bamford's question, and that the truth will be known. To ensure that the truth gets the widest exposure possible, the JC-VCC committee (see the bottom of Exhibit 'E') has committed to translating the thesis into Japanese so that, unlike the Bamford and Hemmings works, it will be readily available to all.

49. On September 3, 2008, I met in Bishop Michael Ingham's office with Dr. Lynne Nakashima. We were meeting with him as per the letter attached as Exhibit 'E'.
50. During an early part of the discussion, the Bishop expressed concerns about references in the April 2008 paper '*7 Years in Exile*' to the need for an apology by the Diocese.
51. The second point of clarification provided by Bishop Michael was with regards to the sale of the Japanese-Canadian churches in the 1940's. He emphasized that the Diocese is the legal owner of all Diocesan properties, and has every right to sell those properties.
52. I brought to the attention of Bishop Michael that the moral and ethical issue of selling the churches after the Japanese-Canadians were allowed to return to Vancouver was the issue, not whether the church had the legal right to do so. The Government of Canada also had the legal right to sell the 1,421 properties it sold during the war. On Sept. 22, 1988, however, the Government of Canada acknowledged that these sales were influenced by discriminatory attitudes, and that the injustices perpetrated against the Japanese Canadians were hereby condemned, and that the principles of justice and equality in Canada were reaffirmed. I expect our National Church to do the same thing. I look forward to the day that the September 2008 headline on page 11 of our National Anglican Journal "*Canada apologizes for residential school abuse*" will read "*Diocese of New Westminster apologizes for dispossession of Japanese Canadian Churches and Funds in the 1940's.*"

DIOCESAN DIVERSION OF JAPANESE-CANADIAN FUNDS

53. At our Sept. 3, 2008 meeting with Bishop Michael Ingham, I did not bring up the subject of the diversion of the Japanese Canadians funds by the Diocese of New Westminster. We will do this at a subsequent meeting, as it is even more contentious than the issue of the sale of our churches.
54. The diversion of Japanese Canadian funds by the Diocese of New Westminster is covered off in paragraphs 29 through 41 of Greg Tatchell's Affidavit of July 23, 2008. In it, he documents how in 1949, after the Japanese Canadians were already returning to the Diocese, the funds from the sale of the Japanese Canadian churches were transferred into the Bishop's Endowment Fund. This was the fund used to pay the Bishop's salary.
55. Exhibit 'I' was not available at the time that Greg did his Affidavit. Exhibit 'I' shows the status of Japanese Canadian funds under the Trust of the Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals, as at Dec. 31, 1947. This Exhibit came from the PBMO files at the VST Archives.
56. Two of the funds in Exhibit 'I' are Japanese Canadian funds.
57. Under the heading '*Holy Cross Building Fund (#17037)*', a total of \$1,523.22 is shown. This is the money raised by the Japanese Canadian community prior to World War II for the expressed purpose of expanding the Holy Cross Mission. This can be seen at the top of Exhibit 'I'.
58. Under the heading '*Building Trust Funds*', a total of \$7,722.84 is shown. Line 1 is from the proceeds of the sale of the Church of the Ascension on July 6, 1945. It was sold for \$5,250. The \$5197.86 of line 1 represents the proceeds of the sale after commission. Line 2 is for the sale of the property purchased by the Japanese-Canadian congregation for expansion of Holy Cross (the funds of paragraph 57 were to pay for the expansion of Holy Cross onto this vacant property). This vacant property was sold on Mar. 22, 1945 for \$2400. The \$2260.95 of line 2 represents the proceeds of the sale after commission.

59. The total of \$7722.84 includes interest from the years of 1945, 1946 and 1947.
60. The PBMO had kept the funds in trust for the exiled Anglican Japanese Canadians parishioners for 2 ½ years, the same as the United Church had kept the Japanese Canadian funds in trust for their exiled parishioners.
61. Why then, on June 14th, 1949, did the Diocese of New Westminster suddenly divert the \$5,197.86, plus accumulated interest of \$300.87, to the Diocesan books, not for the Japanese Canadians, but for the Bishop's salary (in the Bishops Endowment Fund)? This is a very disturbing action. I believe it goes well beyond the 'serious injustice' articulated by Bishop Ingham in his letter to me of March 31, 1999 (paragraph 31). I believe this diversion of our Japanese Canadian funds from the PBMO Building Trust Fund was unjustifiable, and needs to be carefully examined. It is my hope that our project can more accurately articulate how to characterize this terrible act on the part of the Diocese of New Westminster.

Canon Timothy Nakayama's Affidavit of July 28, 2008

62. In paragraph 25 of Canon Nakayama's July 28th Affidavit, he states "*I never heard an apology from the Diocese, at any time, with regards to what had happened to our churches.*"
63. I have never heard an apology either.
64. In paragraph 28 of Canon Timothy Nakayama's July 28th Affidavit, he states "*Subsequent Bishops (to Bishop Gower) have neither researched nor publicly acknowledged what the Diocese of New Westminster did with the churches and properties of Japanese-Canadian ministry after the Government of Canada enforced our removal, mass evacuation and relocation during and after the war.*"
65. I concur with Canon Timothy Nakayama's conclusions in paragraph 64. I would add, however, that in the last month I have become aware that

Bishop Michael Ingham did have research done in 1999. I did not become aware of the results of that research, however, until 2008. I know of no one else who was aware of this research either.

66. To build on the aspects of apology and acknowledgement inherent in paragraphs 62 and 64, I would like to cite an auspicious example where the opportunity presented itself for the Diocese of New Westminster to publicly acknowledge and apologize for what it did with Japanese Canadian churches and properties during World War II. '*PACIFIC PILGRIMS*' is the official, one hundredth anniversary (1979) book prepared by the Centennial Committee of the Anglican Diocese of New Westminster, forwarded by Bishop Gower, and written by Lyndon Grove, editor (at the time) of the diocesan newspaper, *Topic*.
67. There is no acknowledgement or apology, not even a reference, in its 185 pages, to the two pre-World War II Japanese Canadian churches, Church of the Ascension, at 1701 W. 3rd, or Holy Cross, at 430 E. Cordova. Neither of these Japanese Canadian churches appears in the index at the back of the Centennial book.
68. There is no reference to the exile of 1500 Japanese-Canadians Anglican parishioners of the Diocese of New Westminster in 1942.
69. There is no reference to the return of some of these Anglican parishioners, starting in 1949, after the end of their seven years in exile. This all seems to be a continuation of the 1953 silence encountered by Canon Timothy Nakayama, as described in paragraphs 2 through 12 of his July 23, 2008 affidavit, and which Joy Kogawa encountered in the early to mid 1980's.
70. Canon Nakayama, in Appendix 'F', provides a commentary on the absence of any reference to the pre-WWII Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches in *PACIFIC PILGRIMS*:

"The fact that our pre-war Mission Churches (the Church of the Ascension, and Holy Cross Mission) in Vancouver don't exist, and are not recorded in a narrative about the diocese that was meant to chronicle or survey the past one hundred years prior to 1979, means that, historically speaking, the wrongful acts

were too raw in our memory, and too unbearable to review as history by the chroniclers, that the fact that our faces and words appear at all, is probably remarkable, in and of themselves. This appears to be a graphic example why historical writing is most difficult. Righting the wrong is most difficult. Since the door on the subject was not opened, we as victims couldn't or wouldn't try to open the door."

71. Like Canon Nakayama, I was not in Canada while *PACIFIC PILGRIMS* was being produced and published in 1979. Unlike Canon Nakayama, I was not asked to contribute. Having emigrated from Japan 15 years after the war, I was not one of the victims, although my parishioners had been. Despite that, I am not sure that I would have had the courage to ask the diocesan chronicler to open the door on the sale by the Diocese of New Westminster authorities of the two pre-WWII Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches. This was still prior to the Redress Agreement of 1988, and we did not yet have the courage to fight against injustice as we do now.

72. If I was asked today, however, my reaction would be immediate and would be the opposite of how I might have reacted in 1979. Without hesitation, I would immediately quote from the letter Bishop Michael Ingham wrote me on March 31, 1999 (Exhibit 'A'), and insist that it be included, with two minor tweaks:

"The Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese back in those days, without any form of compensation. It was a serious injustice."

73. It is my hope that the work of the JC-VCC (see the bottom of Exhibit 'E') will put an end to the silence of *PACIFIC PILGRIMS*, and, as Rev. Dr. Brian Thorpe (VST's Supervisor for this project) puts it in his May 14, 2008 letter (Exhibit 'D'), that the Anglican Church will finally move beyond the silence, and react with

"appropriate responses to historic wrongs such as those involved in property transactions related to Japanese congregations ... as it discerns what further actions might be necessary with regard to the ministry of corporate confession and reconciliation.."

Final Perspectives

74. In closing, I would like to echo Rev. Dr. William Harrison's words used in his acceptance letter for the presentation of this work at the Anglican Church of Canada's National Historical Conference in June of 2009, when he stated that this subject

*“would make an excellent addition to our conference.
The Japanese-Canadian issue (in the Anglican Church)
has not received the attention that it merits.”*

75. In 1979, in *PACIFIC PILGRIMS*, we allowed the Diocese to be silent, and were silent ourselves. 30 years later, at Rev. Dr. William Harrison's ACC National Historians Conference, the silence will end, with Bishop Michael Ingham providing the keynote theme from his March 31, 1999 letter; A SERIOUS INJUSTICE.

76. Finally, I would like to highlight a derivative of Joy Kogawa's *Obasan*, in Exhibit 'H'. This was written based on five months of research, was blessed by Joy Kogawa, and is included in her Affidavit. The lines that I would especially like to highlight state clearly and unequivocally why I believe it is time to end the silence and the secrets around the dispossession of the Japanese Canadians of their churches and the funds from the sales of their churches, and why our church must acknowledge and make right their sins of omission and commission:

What was the intention of Bishop Heathcote and his Executive Council in selling our churches? Do you think, Nomi, that their intention was that we have nothing to come back to? What could they possibly have been thinking when they wrote in their May 1949 Executive Council minutes, two months after our freedom had been granted, “the need of Japanese Mission work is nil.”? What was their intention at the time of our return in diverting our hard earned JC funds into the Bishop's Endowment Fund, the fund used to pay his salary? These are more than moral and ethical issues. Where were their Christian souls?

DECLARED BEFORE ME at Vancouver)
in the Province of BC)
this ___ day of September, 2008.)

John Shozawa
)

A Commissioner for taking Affidavits)
within the Province of BC)



COPY

The Reverend John Shozawa
Holy Cross Japanese Anglican Church
4580 Walden Street
Vancouver, BC
V5V 3S5

March 31, 1999

Dear John:

Thank you for the copy of Joy Kogawa's note to Ted Scott in 1985.

It's distressing to hear she received no reply. I'll follow up with the Primate to let him know, and also to ask if he knows anything about the matters she alleges.

I am looking into the situation myself. I have asked for a search of the Archives. If the Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese back in those days, without any form of compensation, it would be a serious injustice.

Every blessing and good wish to you as you celebrate Easter.

Kindest regards,

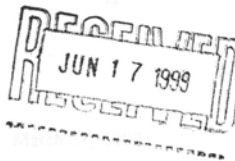
The Right Reverend Michael Ingham
Bishop



The Anglican Church of Canada L'Église anglicane du Canada
600 Jarvis Street, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2J6

June 11, 1999

The Rt. Rev. Michael Ingham
Bishop of New Westminster
580-401 West Georgia St.
Vancouver, BC V6B 5A1



Dear Michael,

Re: Church of the Ascension

The Primate has passed your letter of March 31, 1999 on to me. Attached, for your information, are the results of my search of our archives.

- 1. Letter from Rev. T.M. Nakayama to Archbishop Ted Scott - June 21, 1985. It appears Archbishop Hambidge responded. Ms Kogawa's letter is not on file.
- TA — 2. Correspondence and Deed re: Lots 21, 22, 23, 24; Block 228 D.L.526 - showing transfer of the property from the M.S.C.C. to the Synod of the Diocese of New Westminster, 1920; 1923
- TB — 3. Extracts from our incomplete set of Minutes of the Provincial Board of Missionaries to Orientals in BC; note especially, that "as the furnishings and equipment in the Church of Ascension are the property of the P.B.O.M. and largely provided by the Japanese that formerly belonged to that Mission it was decided to have a lease drawn up, covering all such articles, and signed by the Parish of Holy Trinity who are now using the building for a mission. The rental to be \$1.00 per year, and it was to be stipulated that the P.B.O.M. can at any time, on reasonable notice, remove all or any of the articles for use elsewhere."
- TC ← 4. Journals of Proceedings, Synod of New Westminster, 1943 - the last mention of the Church of the Ascension I found.
- 5. Photos from M.S.C.C. collection no date.

There is undoubtedly a more complete record in the P.B.M.O. collection.

The City of Vancouver Land Registry Office records should show when and to whom the diocese sold the property. Your office files may also hold a record of this transaction.

Sincerely yours,

(Ms.) Terry Thompson
General Synod Archivist

cc Most Rev. Michael Peers

JAPANESE MISSIONS

PROPERT MATTERS

ARCHIVES

FOLLOWING THE GOVERNMENT

6000 IONA DRIVE, VANCOUVER, B.C., V6T 1L4
FAX: (604) 822-9212 PHONE: (604) 822-9583
Open: Tues. & Thurs. - 9am to 4pm
E-mail: anglican_archives@skybus.com

MEMO

CP, R

Date: September 28, 1999
To: Bishop Michael
From: Doreen Stephens, Archivist
Re: Japanese church & mission properties

Michael

Here is a summary of the results of my research. I have not included all the references, nor all of the supporting documentation.

I will put together a complete set of material for you and another for the Archives.

I will contact Holy Trinity, Vancouver to try and find a copy of the lease concerning the "furnishings and equipment" from Church of the Ascension. Holy Trinity apparently used the Church of the Ascension building as a mission in the 1940's and was allowed to lease these materials from the Provincial Board of Missions to the Orientals at \$1.00 per year.

A 1942 Treasurer's Report seems to indicate that the monies from the sale of the properties went to the Bishop's Endowment Fund because they did not think there would ever be a need for Japanese missions in the future.

In 1955, there is a note that monies from the sale of the Church of the Ascension were available for repairing the Catholic Apostolic Church that was given to the new, post-war Holy Cross Mission.

May 14, 2008

TO: ANITA FAST

FROM: BRIAN THORPE

RE: PETITION FROM GREGORY TATCHELL TO ENTER HONOURS PROGRAM

In the History 200 course in the Spring, 2008 semester Greg Tatchell wrote a paper on the displacement of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War. Included in this history was the issue of confiscation of property. In his paper Greg placed particular emphasis on the actions of the Diocese of New Westminster with regard to church properties related to Japanese congregations. This was a well written paper and when Greg asked me about the possibility of expanding it into a major paper in the Honours Program I felt that this would be a very worthwhile project.

I would support Greg's application and his intention to focus his research and writing on this part of Canadian history for three reasons:

1. The project has the potential of expanding upon a research plan which would include both written sources and the oral testimony of people like Timothy Nakayama. With the passage of time such oral history becomes more difficult to acquire and, thus, to do this work now would be important for both the historical record and the honouring of those who lived the history.
2. The history of the internment of Japanese Canadians is a part of a larger theme of cross cultural dialogue and anti-racism work which is still evolving in the church and in Canadian society as a whole. Historical research and analysis of that research is an essential component of this ongoing dynamic.
3. The church still faces challenges with regard to appropriate responses to historic wrongs such as those involved in property transactions related to Japanese congregations. Insights arising out of Greg's research have the potential to be helpful to the church as it discerns what further actions might be necessary with regard to the ministry of corporate confession and reconciliation.

I do want to offer my strong support for the proposal which Greg has offered in relation to the Honours Program.

Best wishes.

Brian Thorpe

August 28, 2008

The Right Reverend Michael Ingham, Bishop
#580 – 401 West Georgia Street
Vancouver BC V6B 5A1

SUBJECT: JC-VCC Meeting on Sept. 3, 2008

Dear Bishop Ingham

As you might be aware, we are scheduled to meet with you at 11:00 on September 3, 2008.

This letter is intended to give you a sense for 4 topics that we were hoping to discuss with you at that meeting.

- A. **JC-VCC** - The JC-VCC is a group of 10 people from 4 Dioceses (see Attachment I) who have come together to support Greg Tatchell in his VST thesis on the Japanese-Canadian Anglican experience in the years 1942-1949. Two representatives of that group, Rev. Shozawa and Dr. Nakashima, as well as Greg, will be present on Sept. 3.
- B. **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:** The research objectives we highlight with two letters. The first, from Joy Kogawa, represents a view from the Japanese Canadian community. It articulates some of the questions that will be addressed (see Attachment II). The second, from Greg's VST research Supervisor, Brian Thorpe, represents the views of a professional Historian. It articulates why he believes it is important, and important to be done at this time (see Attachment III). At the risk of overburdening you with paper, we also include the paper on which Joy and Brian's recommendations were based.
- C. **NATIONAL ANGLICAN HISTORIANS CONFERENCE:** You might have been informed of the National Anglican Historians Conference scheduled for June of 2009. We have been accepted to give one of the papers at that Conference (see Attachment IV). One of our objectives is to ensure that our research findings are communicated to you in a timely manner before they are given at the Conference, and that a theme of healing would have your support.
- D. **DIOCESAN ASSISTANCE:** Two of the activities in which we were hoping your office could be of assistance are:
 - 1. Access to Diocesan files on the Japanese-Canadian Churches. The research plan includes combing the files of both the Diocese of New Westminster and the Diocese of the Kootenays. The files at the VST Archives have no Diocesan correspondence in the years 1942-49. We were hoping that your files from that era may potentially be as rich in material as the Diocese of the Kootenays (the research plan includes a week with the Kootenay files during Reading Week, Oct. 20-24).
 - 2. Access to Diocesan accounting books, for the period 1942-1949. Specifically, we are looking for disposition of funds from the sale of the Church of the Ascension and Holy Cross Church.

We look forward to meeting with you on the 3rd, and thank you in advance for assistance the Diocese may provide in a research project which we believe is of foremost importance to the Japanese-Canadian community.

Sincerely Yours, the JC-VCC Team

Rev. John Shozawa
Rev. Canon Timothy Nakayama
Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles
Basil Izumi
Joy Kogawa, C.M.

Gwen Lamacraft
Ross Tamagi
Dr. Lynne Nakashima
Michiko Kondo-Tatchell
Greg Tatchell

.cc Bishop John Privett, Rev. Dr. Brian Thorpe
Attachments (4)

Re: PACIFIC PILGRIMS

From: **The Rev. Timothy M. Nakayama** (frtim@yahoo.com)

Sent: August 19, 2008 5:40:23 PM

To: Gregory Tatchell (gregtatchell@hotmail.com)

Hi Greg,

When you mention PACIFIC PILGRIMS, I'm glad you mention that it was 1979 as the year of publication of the 100th Anniversary book of the Diocese of New Westminster.

The fact that you have to be courageous in 2008 to bring up matters pertaining to the disposition of the two Japanese Missions by the Diocese of New Westminster over 60 years ago, indicates "how much farther we must travel" in this "Pacific Pilgrimage" - a 'peaceful journey' that we are continuing. The fact that our pre-war Mission Churches (the Church of the Ascension, and Holy Cross Mission) in Vancouver don't exist, and are not recorded in a narrative about the diocese that was meant to chronicle or survey the past one hundred year prior to 1979, means that, historically speaking, the wrongful acts were too raw in our memory, and too unbearable to review as history by the chroniclers, that the fact that our faces and words appear at all, is probably remarkable, in and of themselves. This appears to be a graphic example why historical writing is most difficult. Righting the wrong is most difficult. Since the door on the subject was not opened, we as victims couldn't or wouldn't try to open the door. Someone observed that the victor or the conqueror writes and records history. The voice of the victim is seldom if at all is heard. I think in this context I remember hearing that the Bible is a notable exception, where truth is spoken.

I remember seeing PACIFIC PILGRIMS, but I don't know if I have a copy of that material. I remember in my mind's eye the photo of me and my mother to which you refer, but I don't recall the words I contributed. I would have been in Seattle at that time because we moved from the Diocese of Calgary (from Bashaw, Mirror and Alix - the 3 Churches that constituted the Lamerton Parish) to the Diocese of Olympia (St. Peter's, Seattle) in 1966. In 1979, I was only 150 miles away from Vancouver, and was probably the only one even at that time, who could be a direct source from a Priest's perspective, who could recollect something to share. To those in the diocese who weren't aware, "Holy Cross Church" was the name of a post-war edifice, and not the pre-war space which was no longer.

MEMORANDUM OF A MEETING OF THE JAPANESE UNIT HELD IN
HOLY CROSS RECTORY, JUNE 19, 1969.

Harold MacSherry in the Chair
Timothy Nakayama visiting from Seattle
Bishop Somerville present

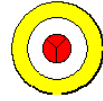
The following points were raised during the meeting.

1. There is a considerable dislike of the word "Mission" in the name of the church. The congregation would like to be known simply as Holy Cross Church. They have been told that only the Archbishop can change the name of the church.
2. The work in Surrey that John Shozawa has been doing has now come to an end with the arrival of a Mr. Kim, a Korean Presbyterian Minister, who is now looking after the United Church Japanese congregation in Alder Grove (sic) and Haney as well as in Surrey.
3. John Shozawa has rented a new house at 2729 East Pender Street as of July 1. The rent is \$210.00 a month. He has undertaken to rent the present rectory and apply the money towards the rent of the new place. I told him that it would be necessary for him to insure the contents of the new house and he will do this.
4. The meeting was informed that John Shozawa has applied for Canadian citizenship.
5. Timothy Nakayama put forward two ideas. The first, that the Japanese community in Vancouver needs assurance from the Diocese that it will continue to be served. Second, that although John Shozawa was ordained for Japanese work he not ought to be imprisoned in ethnic work but should be allowed to work as an Anglican priest in the Diocese.
6. John Shozawa stated that he still wants to serve the Japanese people that this is his vocation. He said that the Japanese people would be scandalized by his leaving them to work in a white congregation; they would wonder what was wrong with them and with him that he would do such a thing.
7. Re: Holy Cross joining another congregation. John Shozawa pointed out that if the Japanese congregation were a guest of another church they would be to (sic) polite to ask for their fair share of time and space. If on the other hand they sold their property and brought their own contribution into a new situation with another congregation they would feel that this was their place and would not hesitate to make use of it.
8. It was agreed that the Unit would meet again on October 16th at 2729 East Pender.

Right Rev. T. D. Somerville,
Coadjutor Bishop of New Westminster

TDS; gs

c.c. The Archbishop
The Archdeacon
Mr. Snelgrove



The seat of Deitie supream, us dispossesst

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII.142

In *Obasan*, Joy Kogawa's quintessential novel of the Japanese Canadian (JC) experience in WW II, she gives her character Aunt Emily, the word warrior, the words that summarized what happened:

"The power of government, Nomi. Power. See how palpable it is? They took away the land, the stores, the businesses, the boats, the houses – everything. Broke up our families, told us who we could see, where we could live, what we could do, what time we could leave our houses, censored our letters, exiled us for no crime. They took our livelihood –"

This is indisputable. Aunt Emily's 'original words' are backed up everywhere by the historical record, and this work will highlight how government by order-in-council imposed this, legally.

For this work, Joy Kogawa gives her blessing to having Aunt Emily expand upon the above paragraph from *Obasan*, with these 'additional words':

" – but they didn't take our churches. No. It wasn't the power of government that did it.

It was the power of our own Church, at the highest level of Anglican leadership on the West Coast.

The Bishop and his Executive Council sold our first church one month before Hiroshima. They sold it without ever asking us; they sold it without ever telling us truthfully afterwards.

The Bishop and his Executive Council sold our second church after we were already coming back to Vancouver, after our seven years of exile were finally over. In a doubly cruel stroke, Bishop Heathcote and his Council sold our last church on the 4th anniversary of the end of the Pacific war, in 1949. We had been freed from exile 5 months previously. We never found out the facts until 60 years later.

What was the intention of Bishop Heathcote and his Executive Council in selling our churches? Do you think, Nomi, that their intention was that we have nothing to come back to? What could they possibly have been thinking when they wrote in their May 1949 Executive Council minutes, two months after our freedom had been granted, "the need of Japanese Mission work is nil."? What was their intention at the time of our return in diverting our hard earned JC funds into the Bishop's Endowment Fund, the fund used to pay his salary? These are more than moral and ethical issues. Where were their Christian souls?

This seems worse than the racial discrimination of government by wartime Orders-in-Council. This seems like virulent, institutional, provincial racism, by our Bishop and his Executive Council, hiding behind closed doors. In the early '50's, in front of Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson, Rev. Timothy Nakayama asked what had happened to our two JC churches. He was given a one word answer; "Relinquished". Gower and Mathewson had complete knowledge of all that had transpired, including the disappearance of our funds, but they would be no more forthright than "Relinquished." This was the beginning of a high level pattern of being dismissive, less than forthright. This has continued for over 50 years, to this very day. We are only now discovering the extent of their silence, of their sin of omission.

In selling our two churches, the Church no longer had the war as an excuse. The Japanese-Americans were already returning home to their waiting churches when our Diocesan Authorities sold our first one. The JC Anglicans were already returning home, four years later, when the same Diocesan Authorities sold our last one. Did you know that the United Church JC's had a church to return to, that it was never sold? Do you see why I say, Nomi, that the injustices done to us by Anglican leaders is still a live issue?"

On March 31, 1999, Bishop Michael Ingham wrote in a letter to Rev. John Shozawa,

"If the Japanese-Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese back in those days, without any form of compensation, it would be a serious injustice."

There will be two objectives for this work. The first will be to examine the historical records to determine if Aunt Emily's 'additional words' are as indisputable as her 'original words'.

The second objective will be to determine whether the 'If' can be removed from Bishop Ingham's 1999 statement, ending unconditionally with

"It was a serious injustice.

The Provincial Board of Missions to Orientals
in British Columbia

Holy Cross Building Fund. #17037

Balance 31 Dec. 1946	181.38
Bond Interest	39.00
Bank Interest	<u>2.84</u>
Bank a/c Balance 31/Dec./47	223.22
Bonds held in addition	
1,200 Dom. of Can. 3% due 1956	
100 " " " " "	<u>1300.00</u>
	<u>1523.22</u>

Prince Rupert Trust Fund. #23000

Balance 31 Dec. 1946	297.64
Bank Interest	4.44
Bond Interest	<u>10.50</u>
	312.58
Less Safekeeping	<u>2.15</u>
Bank a/c Balance 31/Dec./47	310.43
Bonds held in addition	
\$350 Dom of Can. 3% due 1954	<u>350.00</u>
	<u>660.43</u>

Saving Bank Account #17010

Balance 31 Dec. 1946	300.63
Bond Interest	15.00
Bank Interest	<u>4.59</u>
Bank a/c Balance 31/Dec./47	320.22
Bonds held in addition	
\$300 Dom of Can. 3% due 1959	<u>300.00</u>
	<u>620.22</u>

Building Trust Funds

Proceeds sale Church of the Ascension	5197.86
" " 420 East Cordova	2260.95
Interest 1945	36.43
Interest 1946	112.78
Interest 1947	<u>114.82</u>
Bank Balance 31 Dec. 1947	<u>7722.84</u>

UNITED STATES of AMERICA
Washington State

In the matter of the dispossession, in 1945 and 1949, of the two (2) pre-World War II Japanese-Canadian Anglican Churches, Church of the Ascension, and Holy Cross, in the Diocese of New Westminster, and in matters relating to the silence around such matters since 1945.

Statutory Declaration

I, TIMOTHY MAKOTO NAKAYAMA of 2317 N. 56th St., in the City of Seattle, in the State of Washington (98103-6211) **MAKE OATH AND SAY AS FOLLOWS:**

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts and matters hereinafter deposed to with regards to the sale of the two (2) pre-WWII Japanese-Canadian Anglican Churches (in 1945 and 1949) in the Diocese of New Westminster in Vancouver, BC, Canada, save and except where the same are stated to be based on information and belief and where so stated, I verily believe the same to be true.

My July 24, 2008 Personal Declaration – Paragraphs 2 – 12.

2. I hereby strongly re-affirm everything that I wrote in my July 24, 2008 Personal Declaration (as found in Appendix VII, pages 131 through 146). In particular, I will be emphasizing paragraphs 2 through 12 of that Declaration in this, my second Declaration.
3. Paragraphs 2 through 12 documents a 1953 meeting I attended at the Diocese of New Westminster Synod Office with Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson.
4. In particular, paragraphs 2 through 12 documents circumstances around my question to Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson “*what had happened to the Church of the Ascension in Kitsilano and Holy Cross Mission near St. James?*”

5. From paragraphs 29 through 41 of Greg Tatchell's July 23, 2008 declaration (Appendix VI, pages 112 through 115), it is clear beyond a shadow of doubt that Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson knew the full and complete answer to this question.
6. With their complete knowledge of all that had transpired with regards to the sale in 1945 and 1949 of the two Japanese Canadian Churches (three separate properties) and the diversion of the proceeds to the Bishop's Endowment Fund in 1949, their answer to me was "*They were relinquished.*" Nothing more was ever said.
7. In 1953, I had no way of knowing that Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson had complete knowledge of all that had transpired with regards to the sale of our two JC Churches and the subsequent diversion of the JC funds from these sales into the Bishop's Endowment Fund.
8. To the best of my knowledge, they took these secrets to the grave.
9. In 2008, 55 years later, I now know what they knew. Exhibits B, C, D and F in Greg Tatchell's Personal Declaration of July 23, 2008 (Appendix VI, pages 119, 120, 121 & 123) and Exhibit I in John Shozawa's Personal Declaration of Sept. 14, 2008 (Appendix VIII, page 170) provide the indisputable documentation and hard facts.

Definitions - Code of Silence, Omerta.

10. Given the irrefutable documentation of paragraph 9, I can now characterize the reply given to me in 1953 by Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson when they told me "*They were relinquished.*" They were practising a code of silence.
11. I believe that the Bishop did not answer my question because the information he possessed was too dangerous. I can imagine him thinking the thoughts behind the Editorial words from the April 11, 1949 Kelowna Courier (Appendix XI), written after the JC's 7 year exile had ended on April 1; "...*the unpleasant "Japanese Incident" can be set aside as a closed book and forgotten ... That would be the most desirable ending for a most unpleasant incident.*"

12. We know now that he knew the answer. Instead of answering himself, he had moved Canon Gale and me out of our private meeting in his office, had beckoned Treasurer Mathewson to join us, and had Mr. Mathewson provide the three word answer to my question. I regret now that I did not ask follow-on questions, but he was a Bishop, and I was a humble seminary student. I think this was the first time I met Bishop Gower. Canon Gale, as was his nature, was silent through all of this.
 13. One definition of ‘code of silence’ is when a person “*opts to withhold what is believed to be vital or important information voluntarily or involuntarily.*” I believe this definition perfectly fits the actions of paragraphs 9-12. Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson were partners in this example of the code of silence in action. They both withheld vital and important information. In hindsight, it all seems so pre-planned.
 14. Given the nature of the information they were withholding from me, I believe that the word ‘*Omerta*’ comes closest to articulating the nature of the code of silence practised by Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson that day.
 15. In the OED (Oxford English Dictionary), *Omerta* is defined as “*A code of honour which demands absolute loyalty to the organization and silence about its activities, esp. refusal to give evidence of criminal activity ... a refusal to talk openly about something.*”
 16. This code of silence, this omerta, I believe has been practised by the Diocese of New Westminster since they sold our churches in 1945 and 1949, and most especially since the diversion of our funds at the Diocesan Executive Council Meeting of May 10, 1949 (see Appendix VI, Exhibit ‘F’, page 123), when both Bishop Gower (who was a priest at the time) and Treasurer Mathewson were present.
- #1 - “They Were Relinquished” – Code of Silence Personal Experience # 1.
17. The 1953 meeting with Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson described above was my first experience with this Code of Silence. It was not to be the last.

18. At the time, I was a seminary student at the Anglican Theological College (ATC), from which I would graduate in 1956.
19. I was not under holy orders until my Ordination in 1956, and thus was still free to ask the question of paragraph 4. I was not yet consciously part of the code of silence. That would come after I was ordained.
- #2 - My Essay of 1955 - Code of Silence Personal Experience # 2.
20. In 1955, as part of my seminary studies at ATC, I wrote an essay called "*Anglican Missions to the Japanese in Canada*". It was subsequently published in the Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, volume 8, number 2, pages 26-48, in June of 1966 (<http://anglicanhistory.org/academic/nakayama2003.pdf>).
21. Near the end of the paper, I wrote:
"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."
 This was as far as I dared to go in 1955.
22. As in the 1953 meeting in the Bishop's office, I now see the code of silence that was in effect in 1955. As a young seminary student in 1955, with my vocational years ahead of me, I did not feel it was my position to raise awkward questions about what had happened to my Father's church. As an elder in the community in 2008, I can now raise it. At that time, I could not. I had unknowingly become part of the code of silence. I had no idea in 1955 that this code of silence had taints of omerta about it. I know now in 2008 that this code of silence did have taints of omerta about it.
23. 26 years later, in 1979, the same Bishop and I both continued this code of silence, in the most public of circumstances. In 1979, however, I still had no idea that this code of silence had taints of omerta about it. I believe that Bishop Gower surely must have known.

- #3 - Submissions for 'PACIFIC PILGRIMS' – Code of Silence Experience # 3
24. The Rev. John Shozawa's Declaration of Sept. 14, 2008, paragraphs 66 through 73 (Appendix VIII, pages 158 & 159), describes the one hundredth anniversary book prepared by the 100th Centennial Committee of the Anglican Diocese of New Westminster.
25. The 1979 foreword to *PACIFIC PILGRIMS*' was written by Bishop Gower (by now retired), to whom I had put the paragraph 4 question in 1953, "what had happened to the Church of the Ascension in Kitsilano and Holy Cross Mission near St. James?"
26. The Rev. John Shozawa shows in his Declaration that there is not a single reference to the two pre-WWII churches in the 185 pages of '*PACIFIC PILGRIMS*'. There was still no answer to my question.
27. Although I have little recollection of having done so, I was asked to contribute to '*PACIFIC PILGRIMS*'.
28. The Editor of '*PACIFIC PILGRIMS*' used my comments extensively. From my writings, though, they only chose to focus on two areas. First, they quoted me at length on my Father's conversion to Christianity in the 1920's; no mention, however, of the church that he built at 1701 W. 3rd, with Japanese Canadian funds. Second, they quoted me extensively on government education in the Internment Camps in the interior. Not a word about the two pre-WWII churches left behind, or their sale by the Diocese of New Westminster in 1945 and 1949.
29. In the six pages of '*PACIFIC PILGRIMS*' devoted to the JC experience after Pearl Harbor (pages 120-25), five '*Disneyland*' pictures were included, showing life in the camps during the war years. There was no picture of Holy Cross, or of the Church of the Ascension built by my Father in 1935 .
30. The third area where they used my input was on page 181 of '*PACIFIC PILGRIMS*'. "*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. ... As a result many of them found new and interesting lives in other parts of Canada ... many were brought to love*

God and to serve Him in His Church.” This is quoted directly from the last page of my 1955 Essay. It seems that the code of silence was still strongly in place. They still only wanted to hear what I had to say when I was a seminary student. I still was not ready to fight against that silence.

31. Exhibit ‘F’ in the Rev. John Shozawa’s Declaration of Sept. 14, 2008 (Appendix VIII, page 167) is an email giving my thoughts on my 1979 silence:

“... historically speaking, the wrongful acts were too raw in our memory, and too unbearable to review as history by the chroniclers, that the fact that our faces and words appear at all, is probably remarkable, in and of themselves. This appears to be a graphic example why historical writing is most difficult. Righting the wrong is most difficult. Since the door on the subject was not opened, we as victims couldn’t or wouldn’t try to open the door. Someone observed that the victor or the conqueror writes and records history. The voice of the victim is seldom if at all heard.”

32. In paragraph 71 of the Rev. John Shozawa’s Declaration of Sept. 14, 2008 (see Appendix XIII, page 159) he gives another perspective on the difficulty of speaking up in 1979:

“... I am not sure that I would have had the courage to ask the diocesan chronicler to open the door on the sale by the Diocese of the New Westminster authorities of the two pre-WWII Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches. This was still prior to the Redress Agreement of 1988, and we (NOTE: with ‘we’, John is referring to the Japanese Canadian Anglican Community) did not yet have the courage to fight against injustice as we do now.”

33. The truth that the victor or the conqueror writes and records history seems to me graphically illustrated in *‘PACIFIC PILGRIMS’*. In 1979, in the 185 page Anniversary history, the code of silence is still strong, and there is still no hint of an answer to my 1953 question of paragraph 4, “*what had happened to the Church of the Ascension in Kitsilano and Holy Cross Mission near St. James?*”

34. The 3 page introduction to *‘PACIFIC PILGRIMS’* written by Bishop Gower, the man who knew all about the 1945 and 1949 sale of the Japanese Canadian churches, and the 1949 diversion of their funds to the Bishop’s Endowment Fund, gives no hint either. Inadvertently, however, in articulating a global perspective, he does provide the language to describe the disappearance of the two Japanese-Canadian Anglican churches;

“Many Christian landmarks have disappeared”.

It was to be another 30 years after he wrote these words for *PACIFIC PILGRIMS* that the code of silence around the disappearance of the Church of the Ascension and Holy Cross was to be broken. I wonder if he thought that those secrets would forever go to the grave with him.

#4 - Words from a Primate – Code of Silence Personal Experience # 4.

35. Why were Bishop Gower and I complicit in this Code of Silence? Just as I didn't push Bishop Gower in 1953, I didn't push Lyndon Grove, the Editor of *“PACIFIC PILGRIMS”*, in 1979. I can't speak for the silence of the Bishop. But I can show the sort of explicit pressure to be silent that I was under, from the highest church authority in Canada.

36. In a Sept. 17, 2008 email to Greg Tatchell (see Exhibit 'A'), I explained the benevolence of the episcopate:

“My experience of the system of Bishops which we call the “episcopate”, basic to the Anglican Church, has been, for the most part, benevolent, in terms of the work of the Church, Ordinations, Pastoral Work, and Organizational activities.”

37. I then explained the monarchical aspect of the episcopate which I had experienced in Canada:

*“However, I have also experienced the episcopate as “monarchical”, and have been intimidated. I have felt repressed, and criticized. I was told in the 1960's by a former Archbishop, the Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, that **I must not say anything to anyone about any injustices I suffered from the Anglican Church.** At that point I felt that the sense of freedom with which Christ has set us free was denied to me by my Church.”*

This was a private conversation with the Primate, triggered when I had solicited his opinion on the treatment of Japanese-Canadians as 'enemy aliens'. It occurred at the Banff School of Fine Arts during a Diocese of Calgary clergy conference attended by the Primate. I left the Diocese of Calgary in 1966, so it would have been before then.

38. Finally, in the same email, I gave an example where I had experienced the episcopate, not as intimidating and repressing, but as liberating:

“The invitation to work in the Episcopal Church USA and the Diocese of Olympia from 1966 has been, in contrast, liberating. In particular, learning of the care of the property and Parish Hall of St. Peter's Church in Seattle during the years of World War II by Bishop Simeon A. Huston of the Diocese of Olympia, and the care and safe keeping of personal property of parishioners kept in that parish hall while

the people were incarcerated ... It was inspiring and heart-warming to learn that the Bishop would send parcels of materials from the neat individual piles of materials in the Parish Hall to the relocated people who sent requests to him from the 'camps'”

39. For one of the first times in my life, I was able to express how this contrasted with the actions of the church in the Diocese of New Westminster:

“This was in stark contrast to the sales of our properties and buildings (of the Church of the Ascension in Kitsilano and Holy Cross Mission in the Powell Street area of Vancouver) by the Bishop and Diocese of New Westminster”

#5 – The Code of Silence continued in 1999 – Example #5

40. While I did not personally experience the Code of Silence example cited in this section, I wanted to include it because it is another instance of the pattern of what I see as the Code of Silence. As well, I am personally familiar with the players, the circumstances and the documentation.
41. In Paragraph’s 35 through 38 (Appendix VIII, page 153) of the Rev. John Shozawa’s Sept. 14, 2008 Declaration, he describes 1999 research results from the VST and National Anglican Archives received by Bishop Ingham. These 1999 research results, specifically requested by Bishop Ingham, dealt with the sale of the two pre-WWII Japanese-Canadian Anglican churches in the Diocese of New Westminster in 1945 and 1949.
42. The Rev. John Shozawa makes the point that he has never seen this research, even though it was his letter to the Bishop that triggered the request for the research.
43. In paragraph 38, he shares a Code of Silence interpretation:
- “By not sharing these results, it leaves open the interpretation that the Diocese of New Westminster was continuing to hide a shameful chapter in its history.”*
44. I concur with this interpretation. I do not believe that Bishop Ingham knew all the facts. Since the death of Bishop Gower, I don’t believe anyone alive has, until the conclusion of the research done by Greg Tatchell this summer. What Bishop Ingham received in 1999, however, was inflammatory enough that I believe he would not want to share it with the Japanese Canadian community, any more than Bishop Gower wanted to share it with me in his office, 46 years earlier.

This My Second Declaration – Breaking the Code of Silence

45. It has been over 40 years since I was told by a Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada that “*I must not say anything to anyone about any injustices I suffered from the Anglican Church.*” As a priest in holy orders, I have followed this admonition for over 40 years. I no longer can.
46. As a member of the JC-VCC team (see Appendix XV), I am committed to ending the code of silence that has existed for over 60 years. In the Rev. John Shozawa’s Sept. 14, 2008 Declaration (paragraph 47, page 154), he quotes the concluding line from a 1988 VST thesis by Trevor Bamford;
“Why this has remained a secret for forty (sic) years is a question which needs to be addressed.”
47. This declaration is my avowal to do all in my power to ensure that there are no more secrets with regards to what happened to the two Japanese Canadian churches disposed of by the Diocese of New Westminster in 1945 and 1949, and with regards to their diversion of JC funds in 1949. The admonition given to me over 40 years ago by the Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada I do hereby abrogate once and for all.
48. The code of silence, of which I have been a part, and which I believe has allowed the answer to my 1953 question to remain a secret for over sixty years, I am completely committed to ending.
49. I realize this will be a struggle. In the Rev. John Shozawa’s Declaration of Sept. 14, 2008, he gave two examples from a Sept. 3, 2008 meeting with Bishop Michael Ingham of the struggle we can expect. In the first example, in paragraph 50 (page 155), the Bishop told John that he was concerned about references to the need for an apology by the Diocese.
50. In paragraph 51 (page 155) of John’s Declaration of Sept. 14, 2008, the Bishop told John that the Diocese was the legal owner of all Diocesan properties and had every right to sell the JC churches. I completely agree with John’s response to the Bishop (paragraph 52, page 155) that it was the moral and ethical issue that was at stake here, not the legal one. What a perfect example of one of us putting the Code of Silence behind us once and for all, of Breaking the Silence, and speaking up.

51. I end this Declaration with a Theological Reflection on these two examples from less than a month ago, and the revelation they provide for me of a 60+ year pattern of silence and darkness from the Diocese of New Westminster.

“Breaking the Silence” – In Conclusion – A Theological Reflection

52. In a Sept. 18, 2008 email to Greg Tatchell (see Exhibit ‘B’), two weeks after a Bishop’s protest against apologies and church sale complaints, I conclude an email exchange in which we had been discussing the development of this Declaration on the Code of Silence. After 50+ years of preaching, I guess I was automatically drawn to putting our Code of Silence theme into a theological perspective. I would like to conclude with that here, with the prayer that this Declaration will help us achieve the ‘Breaking the Silence’ objective I set out in the following theological reflection:

“Two figures emerge for me. Silence & breaking the silence. Darkness & light shining to overcome the darkness. Would breaking the silence enable light to shine so that the darkness is overcome? Would breaking the silence, shine the light, and bring the Bishop and others into the truth of light, enabling them to come out of darkness and silence?”

In the Gospel of John, chapter 2, the forces of good do things in the light; those who do things in the dark are without the light (and their deeds are evil). If we are able to confess our sins, then we can experience liberation and freedom.”

DECLARED BEFORE ME at Seattle)
in the State of Washington)
this ____ day of _____, 2008.)

TIMOTHY MAKOTO NAKAYAMA
)

A Commissioner for taking Affidavits)
within Washington State)

FAQ's

From: **The Rev. Timothy M. Nakayama** (frtim@yahoo.com)

Sent: September 17, 2008 1:25:16 PM

To: Greg Tatchell (gregtatchell@hotmail.com)

Hi Greg,

My experience of the system of Bishops which we call the "episcopate", basic to the Anglican Church, has been, for the most part, benevolent, in terms of the work of the Church, Ordinations, Pastoral work, and Organizational activities. However, I have also experienced the episcopate as "monarchical", and have been intimidated. I have felt repressed, and criticized. I was told in the 1960's by a former Archbishop, the Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, that I must not say anything to anyone about any injustices I suffered from the Anglican Church. At that point I felt that the sense of freedom with which Christ has set us free was denied to me by my Church.

The invitation to work in the Episcopal Church USA and the Diocese of Olympia from 1966 has been, in contrast, liberating. In particular, learning of the care of the property and Parish Hall of St. Peter's Church in Seattle during the years of World War II by Bishop Simeon A. Huston of the Diocese of Olympia, and the care and safe-keeping of personal property of parishioners kept in that parish hall while the people were incarcerated in military camps scattered in the far reaches of the country was a far different story than our Canadian Anglican experience. It was inspiring and heart-warming to learn that the Bishop would send parcels of materials from the neat individual piles of materials in the Parish Hall to the relocated people who sent requests to him from the 'camps'.

This was in stark contrast to the sales of our properties and buildings (of the Church of the Ascension in Kitsilano, and Holy Cross Mission in the Powell Street area of Vancouver) by the Bishop and Diocese of New Westminster, and the auctioning off of our houses and businesses by governmental order during the WW II years.

Tim.

The Rev'd Canon TIMOTHY M NAKAYAMA Retired Seattle
2317 N 56th St Seattle WA 98103-6211 (206)524-5965
Diocese of Olympia + The Episcopal Church U S A---

Re: Silence
From: **The Rev. Timothy M. Nakayama** (frtim@yahoo.com)
Sent: September 18, 2008 11:04:46 PM
To: Gregory Tatchell (gregtatchell@hotmail.com)

Hi Greg,

Two figures emerge for me. Silence & breaking the silence. Darkness & light shining to overcome the darkness. Would breaking the silence enable light to shine so that the darkness is overcome? Would breaking the silence, shine the light, and bring the Bishop and others into the light of truth, enabling them to come out of darkness and silence?

In the Gospel of St. John, chapter 2, the forces of good do things in the light; those who do things in the dark are without the light (and their deeds are evil). If we are able to confess our sins, then we can experience liberation and freedom.

If you develop a set of words towards an Affidavit, there will undoubtedly be further questions to which answers will be required! Your questions will continue to be stimulating!

Tim.

The Rev'd Canon TIMOTHY M NAKAYAMA Retired Seattle
2317 N 56th St Seattle WA 98103-6211 (206)524-5965
Diocese of Olympia + The Episcopal Church U S A---

In the matter of the dispossession of the Japanese Canadian pre-World War II Japanese-Canadian Anglican Church, the Church of the Ascension, located at 1701 W. 3rd Ave. in Vancouver, and to various matters relating to our dispossession of that property.

Statutory Declaration

I, JOY KOGAWA of 1418 - 25 The Esplanade, in the City of Toronto, in the Province of Ontario, **MAKE OATH AND SAY AS FOLLOWS:**

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts and matters hereinafter deposed to, save and except where the same are stated to be based on information and belief and where so stated, I verily believe the same to be true.

Church of the Ascension

2. I was born on June 6, 1935, and grew up attending the Church of the Ascension located at 1701 W. 3rd in Vancouver. My Father, Canon G.G. Nakayama, was priest at the Church of the Ascension until 1942.
3. The Church of the Ascension was newly built in the same year that I was born. The new construction was paid for completely by the Japanese Canadian congregation. The fund raising was done by my father. He told me that one of his projects involved the sale of a pamphlet of poems by a Japanese poet. This pamphlet among other items that belonged to him is in the Special Collections section of the UBC Library.
4. The picture included in Exhibit 'A' is of the Church of the Ascension prior to the reconstruction of 1935. The address can be seen on the pillar on the right side of the picture. My Mother is at the center of the picture standing behind the Sunday School Children. Grace Tucker is standing next to the children on the left side of the picture. Grace Tucker didn't return from Japan until 1934, and the new church was built in 1935, so 1934/35 would seem like an accurate date for this picture. It is possible

that my mother was pregnant with me in this picture. I think my brother Tim is in the front row to the right and my mother is looking in his direction.

6. My father never told me what happened to our church after we were exiled to the Interior. He never knew. I only found out the exact details last summer, 63 years after it was sold by the Diocese of New Westminster one month before Hiroshima, on July 6, 1945.
7. In 1956, I returned to Vancouver and taught kindergarten in the West End elementary school, Lord Roberts on Comox Street. I married in 1957 and lived with my husband, David Kogawa, and first born, Gordon Kyosei, in Kitsilano at 1677 West 2nd Avenue in an old three-storey apartment building built in 1909. We rented a bachelor apartment and acted as caretakers.
8. Knowing that we were in the same neighbourhood as our old Church of the Ascension, I walked by 1701 West 3rd Avenue one day. I found the church still standing. There was no one around and the door was not locked. I entered the large beautiful space which was empty and stripped of all furnishings, but I was able to savour happy memories of being in the church with my mother, sitting in the pews, putting in a nickel into the collection plate, or holding a Lenten box.
9. The lovely wooden floor and walls were in such contrast to the old building used by Holy Cross on E. 11th, or the simple re-erected kindergarten building from Slocan which became the new Church of the Ascension in Coaldale, Alberta. It was connected to the shack in the sticky gumbo mud patch where we lived. My father had arranged to have it dismantled and shipped by train from Slocan to Coaldale. I do not know how this was paid for, but was likely by my father's fund-raising. I do have a copy of a letter from Isamu Matsumoto, from the Matsumoto ship building family, who organized the dismantling in Slocan and sent drawings of the sections. The building was raised under the guidance and work of Mr. Mototsune in southern Alberta. The insul-brick siding was purchased from Mr Olson in Coaldale. I believe that photographs and records of the building are in my father's files/fonds which are in the Special Collections at UBC.

10. The former kindergarten building served as both church and church hall for many years. The dates would be known by Charles Bryant of Coaldale, who served for some time, I believe, as rector's warden. The altar area was set off above and behind a slight platform and could be closed off after church services, transforming the church into a hall. Later, a new Church of the Ascension was built beside it to the south, a modern A-frame, designed by Gordon Kogawa, my brother-in-law. It was connected to the church hall. Pictures exist showing the new Church on the right and the former church on the left.
11. After my initial visit to the Kitsilano church in 1957, I returned several more times, hoping to find someone who could tell me something about its use and where the original contents might have gone. I noted the flowers growing to the west of the stairs. I was told that it was owned by a furniture company, and later by a pharmacy.
12. Given that this building was vacant and unlocked and that it was still in very good shape, it raises the question why it was not made available to the Japanese Canadian Anglicans instead of the old building on E. 11th. My father's church was paid for and built by Japanese-Canadian Anglicans. It is impossible to overstate how the availability of our church would have helped the morale of the Japanese Canadian Anglicans if they had been allowed to move back into this modern church. I am sure it would still be standing today if that had happened. How could the Anglican authorities let one of their consecrated buildings be sold and deserted like this?
13. In 1957, I did not question why the church was not given back. It is only now, thanks to Greg Tatchell's work, that the painful question arises in my mind. As Aunt Emily says in *Obasan*, "*our tongues were cut off. It takes a while for the nerves to grow back.*" The support of strong people, like Greg Tatchell and Cyril and Marjorie Powles who have aligned themselves with us, gives me the strength to return to this musty room and think about these things.

The Church Builders

14. In my memory Mr. Matsumoto and his sons, shipbuilders from Dollarton, were involved in Slocan, with their crew, building the houses and the long

flume from the mountains to bring water to the people. They also erected the public buildings.

15. As mentioned in item 9, I have the letter from Isamu, the oldest son (as an aside, the Matsumoto's named their four sons Matthew, (Isamu) Mark, Luke and John.)
16. Mark Matsumoto was 16 when he died on the way to New Denver from Slocan for an appendix operation and is the first memory I have of death. He asked for my father's most precious Bible, which was a gift to him when he graduated from ATC I believe, and although it was my father's most precious possession, he gave it to Mark. At the cremation, although the Bible was charred, it did not burn, and the words that were visible for reading remained in the family memory.
17. I remember Luke and John who visited us often in Slocan, helping with their artwork in *The Church News*, my father's regular publication which we mailed out to the scattered people (see Exhibit B).
18. The names of the Matsumoto family figure in *Obasan*; 'Isamu' or Sam for short, the name of Naomi's Uncle, and Mark Tadashi, for Naomi's father (I did not learn until many years later that Tadashi was Mark's middle name). Shipbuilders were Naomi's father's family.
19. I remember Mrs. Matsumoto as one of the warmest people I've known. The intense cherishing and love of Mr. and Mrs. Matsumoto are in sharp contrast to the disdain I experienced elsewhere in the occidental world.
20. In southern Alberta, the work of the erecting of the church was largely done under the leadership of Mr. Mototsune of Barnwell/Taber. He was a man filled with light and laughter, as was his wife and I remember them with great fondness. Mr. Mototsune was regularly in our cramped low-ceilinged kitchen for meals. As a child I was able to touch the ceiling of the kitchen with my hand. When my father died (see Exhibit B), a gift was sent by the Mototsune family in his memory.

RIKAI and WAKAI

21. From Canon Timothy Nakayama and Rev. John Shozawa's Affidavits, I see reference to a copy of a letter I wrote to Archbishop Scott in 1985.

After all these years, I have no memory of the contents. Hopefully a copy can be obtained from the Diocesan files.

22. To the best of my recollection, I never received an answer. I would like to add here that the Primate, Ted Scott, remains a hero of mine.
23. On June 21, 1985, my brother, Canon Timothy Nakayama, sent a 6-page letter (see page 1 of that letter in Exhibit 'D') to the Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster, Douglas Hambidge, with a copy to the Primate, Ted Scott.
24. In this letter, he referred to my letter as follows; *“the letter my sister, Joy Kogawa, wrote to the Primate of the Canadian Church with copies sent to you and others.”*
25. 14 years later, in response to a letter from my cousin Rev. John Shozawa, Bishop Michael Ingham wrote *“Thank you for a copy of Joy Kogawa’s note to Ted Scott in 1985. It’s distressing to hear she received no reply”* (see Bishop Ingham’s March 31, 1999 letter in Exhibit 'E')
26. In paragraph 25 of Timothy Nakayama’s July 28th, 2008 Statutory Declaration he states *“I never heard an apology from the Diocese (of New Westminster), at any time, with regards to what had happened to our churches (Church of the Ascension or Holy Cross). I do not believe that any members of my family ever heard such an apology either.”*
27. I concur completely with the statement of paragraph 26 above. I have no recollection of an apology from the Diocese of New Westminster for the sale of the two Japanese-Canadian churches in WW II.
28. Aunt Emily, one of the major characters from my book *Obasan*, has been used by Greg Tatchell in material he has used for his VST project on the disposition of the Japanese Canadian churches in WWII (see Exhibit 'F').
29. The first italicised paragraph of Exhibit 'F' is quoted directly from my book *Obasan*.
30. The second italicised section of Exhibit 'F' was not written by me. I reviewed it as it went through revisions, however, and gave Greg my blessings in using Aunt Emily in this context for the introduction to his work.



*Church of the Ascension
Sunday School Class outside 1701 W. 3rd
Circa 1934/35
(Mrs. Nakayama center back, Grace Tucker front left).*

From: jkogawa@rogers.com

To: frtim@yahoo.com

Date: Wed, 25 Nov 2009 10:49:48 -0500

tim, when mark matsumoto was dying, he asked for dad's most precious bible, which had been given to dad at his graduation. i think he said it had been given to him by someone named de pencier? do you remember? and do you remember the words that were still readable when the bible, though charred, did not burn at the cremation? whatever else is true of dad - the spirit of love poured through him for the sick and the dying and he sped to their sides and prayed for them every day of his long christian life.

From: "The Rev. Timothy M. Nakayama" <frtim@yahoo.com>

Date: November 25, 2009 3:15:53 PM GMT-05:00

To: Joy Kogawa <jkogawa@rogers.com>

Joy, I do remember the incident of the Bible in Mark's coffin that didn't burn up completely, although everything was consumed by the fire: metal objects, coffin nails, etc., did! I didn't know that it was Dad's Bible. I heard about it, but don't recall too many details. Dad's pastoral care was well-known where-ever he served. I know I couldn't emulate that!

From: Joy Kogawa <jkogawa@rogers.com>

Date: November 25, 2009 1:39:26 PM

To: "The Rev. Timothy M. Nakayama" <frtim@yahoo.com>

Yes, the issei who knew and loved him, would have many many memories of his deep and genuine labours of love on their behalf. It's too bad they are gone and their reverence for him has few witnesses today. I remember an occasion when his back was injured and he was over 90, that he forced himself to attend a hearing to witness for someone who was in need. I agree that we would not be able to emulate his service.

At his funeral, one issei who lived on Powell Street said in Japanese, "*Is there in the entire world anyone so yasashii (優しい), so gentle as he.*" He had wanted to have one last look on Dad's face and had hoped the coffin would be open, but it was closed. I regret that now.

I remember how the light flowed through Dad as he spoke to lepers in northern Japan. I remember visits to the shacks out in the beet fields of southern Alberta, and the precious meal of one sardine tin for each of the kids, a feast which the children cherished by cradling the tin in their cupped hands. That was the whole meal. I have so so many memories and it makes me weep.

Dad did such great and wonderful things. He didn't just build churches, or speak out at synod for compassion for the suffering in Japan and urge the opening of the doors for immigration -- he connected the scattered people with every means that became available -- wire records, tape records, vinyl records, movies, photographs, *The Church News*, prayer letters, his huge daily correspondence, traveling miles through the winds and blizzards and heat of the prairies, by bike, by bus.

I mentioned to Greg in my last email that whatever terrible flaws there were in Dad, however much he failed in his struggle against his obsession and however much he betrayed and harmed his flock, the love and the light of his Liege shone unmistakably in his life.

Greg's work is about a church that is flawed like our dad, and like ourselves. Greg said *'Maybe until we can accept the flaws in ourselves, we find it harder to acknowledge the flaws in others...'*. Isn't there also an admonition about seeing the speck in the other's eye and ignoring the beam in our own? If we could seek the removal of our beams, open ourselves to the pain of others, look at the ways our speech, our silences, our self-justifications are hurtful, I think we could participate more fruitfully in actions that are healing. We live in extraordinary times of great harm to countless species, to people, to the planet, and extraordinary action, extraordinary courage is I believe, required of us, both internally and externally. I believe that if we proceed one tiny step, one tiny thought at a time, hand in hand with our Guide, we will be led forth out of harm's way—the many and vast harms that we unwittingly bring upon ourselves. I believe now after decades of silence on my part about the harm done by our father, that the need to protect family by silence is less urgent than participating in the creation of a safe more spacious place of truth for those people who are asking me for public disclosure. Their courage and their rage has reached me and made me more aware that the beams in our eyes blind us to the sufferings of others and that none are safe unless we all are.

Sometimes we are able to receive the gift of having others point out our flaws to us. Let's hope the church authorities too are able to receive Greg's discoveries as the gift of public disclosure that it is.

And let's continue to pray for the healing, not just of our bodies, but of our broken hearts in our families, and brokenness in our churches and our planet.

Canon & Mrs. G.G. Nakayama

In the introduction to my Father's book ISSEI, published in 1983, I wrote:

"There is today in the post-Auschwitz, post-Hiroshima world, much evidence for hope (and ...) a new consciousness of social accountability ...

We are presented with both political and personal challenges as Canadian society slowly awakens to an awareness of its own blindness during World War II. That awareness of blindness (leads) ... us to examine our own (many ongoing)... blindness(es) ...in our present and in our past.

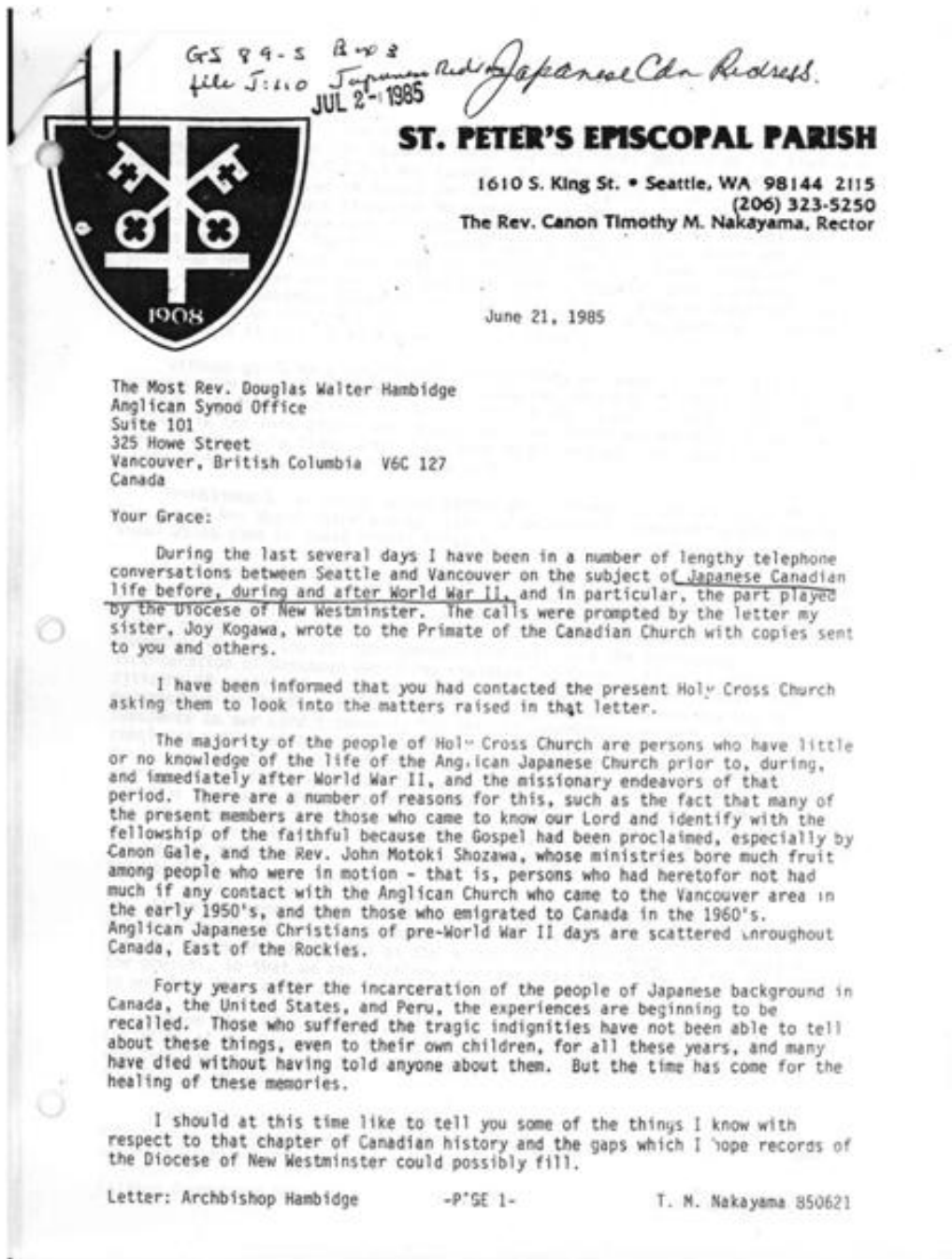
... Through generosity, especially in our relations towards one another, we can ... engage in a dialogue with our fellow Canadians on whom the burden of our history also falls ... I pray that we will thrust ourselves from our complacency and insecurities, and move for healing ..."

When I wrote these words in 1983, espousing social accountability and healing, my parents were still both alive. Like other Issei, they were stoical, silent, enduring and did not dwell in the pain of the past. If they were alive today, I know they would be deeply grateful for the work of uncovering the story of the 'relinquished' churches that has fallen on Greg Tatchell. I believe they would see his findings as evidence that the love and truth that makes all things well, was at work among us. My mother particularly, with her profound faith and in her identification with her Lord who was betrayed, would have heard of the betrayal by the church leaders and prominent Anglicans as an echo of the life of Christ.

A FLOWER IN THE SHADE, my father's book about my mother, was written after she died on November 27, 1987. My introduction concludes with this sentence:

*The love that lives through them will, I believe, continue to work among us
and will effect the necessary reconciliations that are left to us.*

I trust that this will be so. My parents would have longed for their children and grandchildren and the whole Japanese Canadian community to walk the earth with freedom and joy, with courage and truth-telling, healed of their wounds. The task of setting the prisoners free from the cage of silence, is one action in the calling to greater wholeness for the Anglican church.



Timothy Nakayama's June 21, 1985
Letter to Archbishop Douglas Hambidge
& Primate Ted Scott



COPY

The Reverend John Shozawa
Holy Cross Japanese Anglican Church
4580 Walden Street
Vancouver, BC
V5V 3S5

March 31, 1999

Dear John:

Thank you for the copy of Joy Kogawa's note to Ted Scott in 1985.

It's distressing to hear she received no reply. I'll follow up with the Primate to let him know, and also to ask if he knows anything about the matters she alleges.

I am looking into the situation myself. I have asked for a search of the Archives. If the Japanese Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese back in those days, without any form of compensation, it would be a serious injustice.

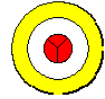
Every blessing and good wish to you as you celebrate Easter.

Kindest regards,

The Right Reverend Michael Ingham
Bishop

Bishop Michael Ingham's March 31, 1999

Letter to Rev. John Shozawa



The seat of Deitie supream, us dispossesst

Milton, Paradise Lost, VII.142

In *Obasan*, Joy Kogawa's quintessential novel of the Japanese Canadian (JC) experience in WW II, she gives her character Aunt Emily, the word warrior, the words that summarized what happened:

"The power of government, Nomi. Power. See how palpable it is? They took away the land, the stores, the businesses, the boats, the houses – everything. Broke up our families, told us who we could see, where we could live, what we could do, what time we could leave our houses, censored our letters, exiled us for no crime. They took our livelihood –"

This is indisputable. Aunt Emily's 'original words' are backed up everywhere by the historical record, and this work will highlight how government by order-in-council imposed this, legally.

For this work, Joy Kogawa gives her blessing to having Aunt Emily expand upon the above paragraph from *Obasan*, with these 'additional words':

" – but they didn't take our churches. No. It wasn't the power of government that did it.

It was the power of our own Church, at the highest level of Anglican leadership on the West Coast.

The Bishop and his Executive Council sold our first church one month before Hiroshima. They sold it without ever asking us; they sold it without ever telling us truthfully afterwards.

The Bishop and his Executive Council sold our second church after we were already coming back to Vancouver, after our seven years of exile were finally over. In a doubly cruel stroke, Bishop Heathcote and his Council sold our last church on the 4th anniversary of the end of the Pacific war, in 1949. We had been freed from exile 5 months previously. We never found out the facts until 60 years later.

What was the intention of Bishop Heathcote and his Executive Council in selling our churches? Do you think, Nomi, that their intention was that we have nothing to come back to? What could they possibly have been thinking when they wrote in their May 1949 Executive Council minutes, two months after our freedom had been granted, "the need of Japanese Mission work is nil."? What was their intention at the time of our return in diverting our hard earned JC funds into the Bishop's Endowment Fund, the fund used to pay his salary? These are more than moral and ethical issues. Where were their Christian souls?

This seems worse than the racial discrimination of government by wartime Orders-in-Council. This seems like virulent, institutional, provincial racism, by our Bishop and his Executive Council, hiding behind closed doors. In the early '50's, in front of Bishop Gower and Treasurer Mathewson, Rev. Timothy Nakayama asked what had happened to our two JC churches. He was given a one word answer; "Relinquished". Gower and Mathewson had complete knowledge of all that had transpired, including the disappearance of our funds, but they would be no more forthright than "Relinquished." This was the beginning of a high level pattern of being dismissive, less than forthright. This has continued for over 50 years, to this very day. We are only now discovering the extent of their silence, of their sin of omission.

In selling our two churches, the Church no longer had the war as an excuse. The Japanese-Americans were already returning home to their waiting churches when our Diocesan Authorities sold our first one. The JC Anglicans were already returning home, four years later, when the same Diocesan Authorities sold our last one. Did you know that the United Church JC's had a church to return to, that it was never sold? Do you see why I say, Nomi, that the injustices done to us by Anglican leaders is still a live issue?"

On March 31, 1999, Bishop Michael Ingham wrote in a letter to Rev. John Shozawa,

"If the Japanese-Anglican community was dispossessed of their property by the diocese back in those days, without any form of compensation, it would be a serious injustice."

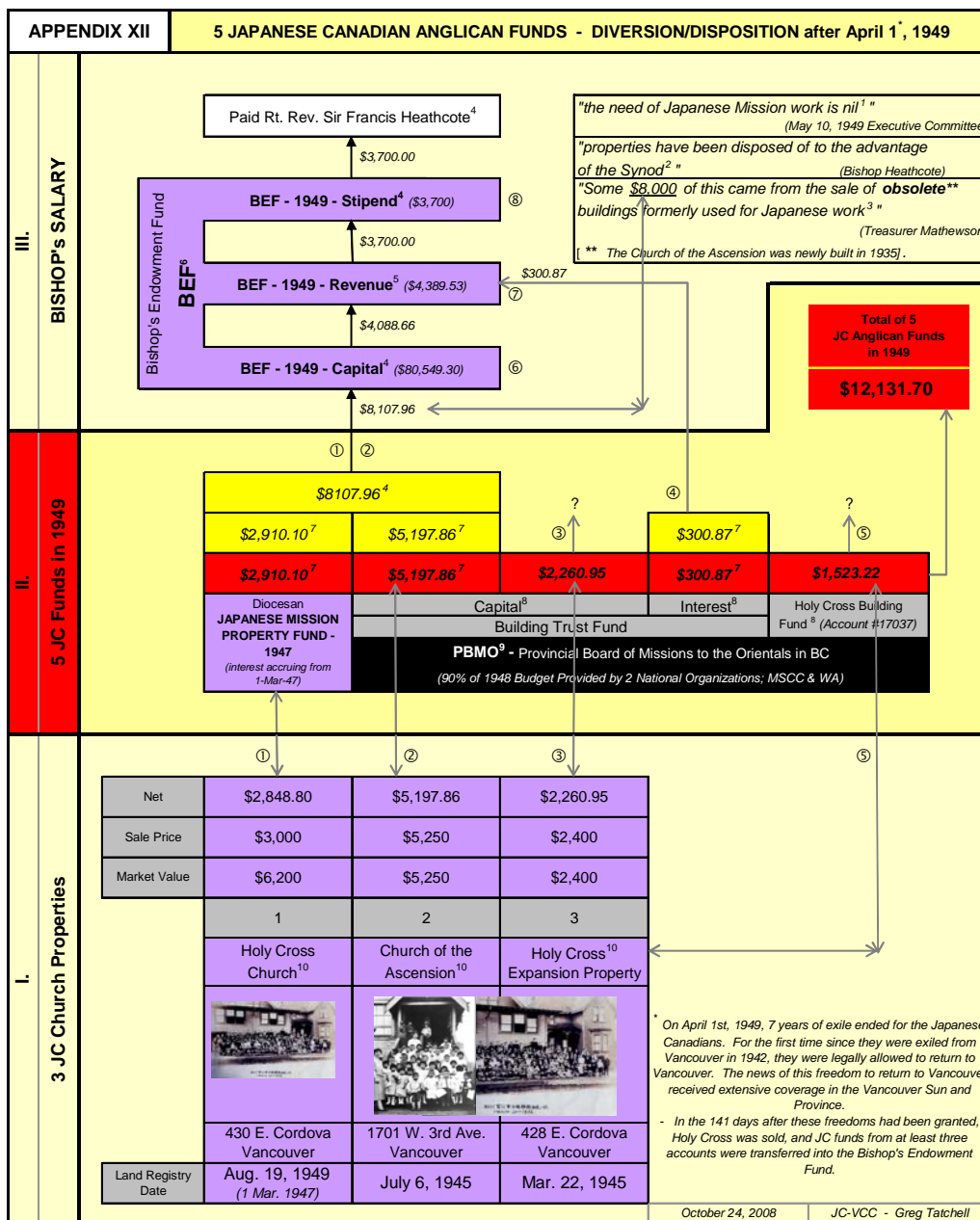
There will be two objectives for this work. The first will be to examine the historical records to determine if Aunt Emily's 'additional words' are as indisputable as her 'original words'.

The second objective will be to determine whether the 'If' can be removed from Bishop Ingham's 1999 statement, ending unconditionally with

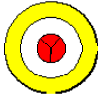
"It was a serious injustice

APPENDIX XI - KELOWNA COURIER EDITORIALS and NEWS STORIES DURING WORLD WAR II					
EDITORIAL POLICY (R.P. McLean, Editor & Publisher, June 26, 1941 Editorial): 'editors ... are a greater power than most people suspect' ... 'The editor ...believe(s) ... the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule' ... '(The Editor) is not easily swayed by the hysterias which sway, and excite and mislead city people' ... 'he uses good commonsense in his reasoning' ... 'It is he who differentiates between news and propoganda'					
JAPANESE CANADIAN RESIDENTS IN KELOWNA AREA PRIOR TO DECEMBER 7th, 1941					
KELOWNA: Men, 181 Women, 95 Children, 149 Total, 425					
RUTLAND: Men, 7 Women, 4 Children, 6 Total, 17					
WESTBANK: Men, 11 Women, 4 Children, 7 Total, 22					
08/09/08	Date	Editorials	News Articles		
1942	1	Jan. 22	-	Better Small Crop of Onions Than Large Crop of Jap Trouble	1
	2	Feb. 19	'much talk of "vigilantes" 'taking the law into our own hands if the Government won't protect us'	'Turn back 3 or 4 cars and we won't be bothered with any more' 'No Japs are going to take up land or go into business in this district'	2
	3	Feb. 26	'tempers have grown more frayed ... and there are indications that talk may develop into action' 'resorting to the West's traditional habit of taking the law into its own hands'	-	3
	4	Mar. 12	'the southern end of the valley is fortunate in that it has no large settlement of residents.' 'the southern towns set up efficient citizens committees which 'move on' any potential Japanese settlers'	i) Ottawa Asked to Declare Valley Protected Area ii) all Japanese potentially dangerous iii) Signs reading "Coast Japs ... Get Out"	4
	5	Mar. 19	'when it comes to getting around the law, the sons of Nippon are masters of the art' 'the brown boches will creep into our Valley' 'let us repeat and keep on repeating every Jap is an alien enemy; every Jap is a menace to our security' 'brown beasts' 'the safety of our homes and our families'	i) 'Coast Japs, You Are Not Wanted' evoked much favourable comment ii) 'ruin any district' 'cannot be assimilated' 'the treacherous nature of their make-up'	5
	6	Aug. 20	'These people are Japs (Nise), they are just as much a potential danger as fathers or uncles who were born in Japan' 'Ottawa may have been fooled into believing that Canadian born Japanese are harmless'	-	6
1943	7	Apr. 15	'an ugly situation' 'a minor civil war' 'Activities by vigilantes' 'If the Okanagan is to remain a "white man's country"'	'Anti-Japanese action in Kelowna on Thursday caused considerable str both here and at the Coast'	7
	8	Apr. 22	-	Jap Family Given Twelve Hours to Depart From City Limits 'two members of the City Council, two members of the Canadian Legion and two members of the Junior Board of Trade visited the family and told them to leave the city within twelve hours.' No More Schooling for Japs	8
	9	May 6	'a Frankenstein defying eradication'	-	9
	10	June 17	'The local Japanese War' 'The fight to keep Central Okanagan white' 'this local Japanese war'	-	10
	11	June 24	'could only lead to violence'	'Pearl Harbor' aliens	11
1944	12	Feb. 3	'a nation of beasts' '"Kil Japs" 'this outlaw race' 'They must be put off Canadian soil, never to return' 'an insult and a stench in our nostrils'	JAPANESE ARE TOLD TO KEEP OFF STREETS Do Buying on Mondays And Then Get Out Is Rule	12
	13	Feb. 17	'Japanese remain Japanese irrespective of length of residence in other countries' 'not assimilable and would always be an alien race' 'a continuing source of irritation'	-	13
1945	14	Jan. 25	'on record as desiring the total repatriation of all Japanese after the war' 'the feeling here is just as intense as it was in 1942' 'the most single-minded meeting on the Japanese question ever held in this district'	'unalterably in favor of the repatriation of all the Japanese after the war' 'complete repatriation' 'intermarriage is a thing which should be avoided at all costs'	14
1949	15	Apr. 11	'one of the most distressing incidents in the life of this community 'a distressing period' 'the unpleasant "Japanese Incident" can be set aside as a closed book and forgotten' 'That would be the most desirable ending for a most unpleasant incident'	'Canadian-born Japanese ... were more citizens of Japan than of Canada' 'It was a mistake to mix races' 'The results of racial intermingling had been disastrous in every country where it has happened'	15
Commentary		ADACHI & ROY on Racism in Kelowna, BC		"Districts that took them under protest, such as Kelowna ... were no more sympathetic in 1945 than 1942." Roy, p.110 "Racial hatred was always simmering." "Occasionally it threatened to boil over, and in one instance when it did a Japanese family quickly heeded the vigilantes and left town" (see line item 8 above) Roy, p.96	
		* ... virulent racism in the Okanagan Valley never really died down, and the city of Kelowna remained its hotbed." " the Kelowna Courier spearheaded the anti-Japanese agitation " 'Kelowna, in fact, symbolized the hostility in many localities across Canada Adachi, p.255			

Exhibit XI – Kelowna Courier Editorials and News Articles – 1942-49



Footnotes	8 Funds
¹ May 10th, 1949 Executive Committee Minutes, p.1 (Appendix VI, para. 33)	5 Japanese-Canadian Funds in 1949
² Executive Committee Report, 53rd Synod, p.46, signed by Bishop Heathcote	① Capital: Sale of Holy Cross
³ Treasurer's Report for YE Dec. 31, 1949 (Journal for the 53rd Session, p.3 of Treasurers Report)	② Capital: Sale of Church of the Ascension
⁴ Treasurer's Report for YE Dec. 31, 1949 (Journal for the 53rd Session, p.14 of Treasurers Report)	③ Capital: Sale of Holy Cross Exp. Property
⁵ Treasurer's Report for YE Dec. 31, 1949 (Journal for the 53rd Session, p.13 of Treasurers Report)	④ Revenue: Interest on ② & ③
⁶ March 8, 1949 Executive Committee Minutes (Appendix VI, paragraph 32)	⑤ Revenue: Savings for Holy Cross Exp.
⁷ June 14, 1949 Executive Committee Minutes (Appendix VI, paragraph 36)	3 Funds of the Bishop in 1949
⁸ December 31, 1949 PBMO Summary of Accounts (Appendix VIII, page 24 of 24)	⑥ Capital: To generate Bishop's salary
⁹ Appendix VIII, paragraphs 18-22	⑦ Rev: Flow through ⑥ to ⑧
¹⁰ 1942-1949 - 7 JC Properties (Appendix I)	⑧ Acct. from which Bishop's Salary is drawn



RECONCILIATION, REPENTANCE and REDRESS A JC-VCC Theological Framework for Redress Guiding Principles

The Executive of the Diocese of New Westminster discriminated against its 1500 Vancouver Japanese Canadian (JC) Anglican parishioners during and after World War II. This discrimination was based on race, color and culture. The structures of power that perpetrated this racism, and dispossessed their Anglican JC parishioners of church buildings and bank accounts, were the Bishop and his Executive Council. Church of the Ascension was sold a month before Hiroshima, on July 6, 1945. This year will be the 60th anniversary of the sale of Holy Cross JC Anglican Church, sold on August 19th, 1949. This was 141 days after the Japanese Canadians had been freed to come back to Vancouver, and 10 days after the 4th Anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki. Diocesan disposition (relinquishment) of Anglican JC buildings and funds is seen in an even more unfavorable light when compared to the post war actions of other churches/denominations, or when compared to the National response contained in Brian Mulroney's Redress program of Sept. 22, 1988.

60 years later, it is time for reconciliation, repentance and redress. The objective of this document is to establish JC-VCC guiding principles for that process.

ANGLICAN CHURCH of CANADA's *CHARTER FOR RACIAL JUSTICE* 'We dream of our church becoming a place where people will come with assurance that they will be treated with dignity and respect, and where they will find a community that is determined to be free of racism.' Commitment 1 of the same Charter is 'to eliminate racism and all forms of discrimination by identifying and removing the barriers of race, color and culture, and transforming the structures of power and privilege that favor white people and prevent others from full participation in the life and work of the Anglican Church of Canada'.ⁱ

The Eucharist is a space of reconciliation.ⁱⁱ Reconciled in the Eucharist, the members of the body of Christ are called to be servants of reconciliation. Eucharistic place makes space for those who have been given no place in public history to find a voice. The dispossession of the Vancouver Japanese Canadian Anglicans of their property and bank accounts has never been acknowledged, and there was no reference to any aspect of the dispossession in the official 100th Anniversary History of the Diocese of New Westminster, *Pacific Pilgrims*. Eucharistic place makes space for unheard narratives to be told and for the history of suffering and exclusion to demand redress. A place of reconciliation makes space for memories that refuse to be silent. To forget is to exonerate or to excuse and that would be neither reconciliation nor forgiveness.

RECONCILIATION: At the heart of ethical sacramentality, expressed in a theology of the Eucharist, is this critical theme of reconciliation.

1. The Oxford Dictionary definition not only speaks of restoring harmony and concord, but also suggests the reconsecration of desecrated places. All of the studies on human reconciliation from social, political, psychological and theological perspectives emphasize as the critical factor that it can only take place between equals.
2. Reconciliation is a process over time rather than a single, miraculous moment. With remembering comes recognition, not least the recognition by all of the destructive forces around and within them –whether that is unacknowledged guilt by the Diocese of New Westminster, or destructive hate by the dispossessed Vancouver Japanese Canadian Anglican parishioners.
3. There needs to be commitment to refusal. Refusal within the process of reconciliation means that all people need to learn how to refuse to participate in structures or behavior that violates the other in any way.

RESTITUTION & REPENTANCE: Because reconciliation is an ethical task, there is also a need for restitution and repentance.

1. Reconciliation demands **repentance** by all of those attitudes and actions that promote/d the exclusion or the diminishment or the demonizing of others. Only when there is a substantial repentance can there be effective forgiveness.
2. Because **restitution** involves the establishment of a just situation, this will always entail loss for some so that others may gain. Restitution is also bound up with reconstruction – the reconstruction of a quite different world of discourse and practice.
3. **Redress** need not necessarily be exclusively economic, but should also include such things as restoring the identity of the other or enabling the empowerment of others.ⁱⁱⁱ



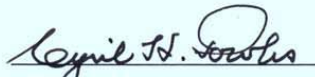
RECONCILIATION, REPENTANCE and REDRESS

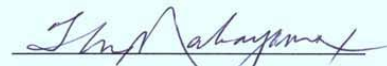
A JC-VCC Theological Framework for Redress

Guiding Principles

Japanese-Canadian Vancouver Consultative Committee

'Guiding Principles' Ratifying Signatures


The Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles


The Rev. Canon Timothy Nakayama


Joy Kogawa, Order of Canada

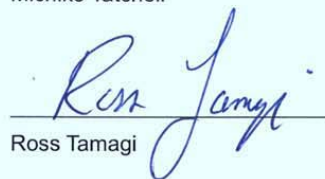

The Rev. John Shozawa

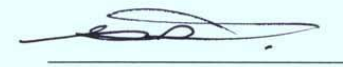

Basil Izumi


Gwen Lamacraft


Michiko Tatchell

Dr. Lynne Nakashima


Ross Tamagi


Greg Tatchell

Final signings at a Eucharistic Service at the

Historic Joy Kogawa House

1450 W. 64th Avenue, Vancouver, BC, V6P 2N4.

This was Joy and Tim's family home, sold by the Federal Government on Sept, 22, 1944, as part of the dispossession of over 1000 West Coast Japanese Canadian properties during World War II.

It was repurchased as a heritage site 62 years later, on May 31, 2006.

The Japanese Canadian Anglican Churches were not sold by the Government;

they were sold in 1945 (Church of the Ascension) and 1949 (Holy Cross)

by authority of the Bishop and Executive Council of the Diocese of New Westminster.

File = The Eucharist is a space of reconciliation_Ratified_Final.pdf

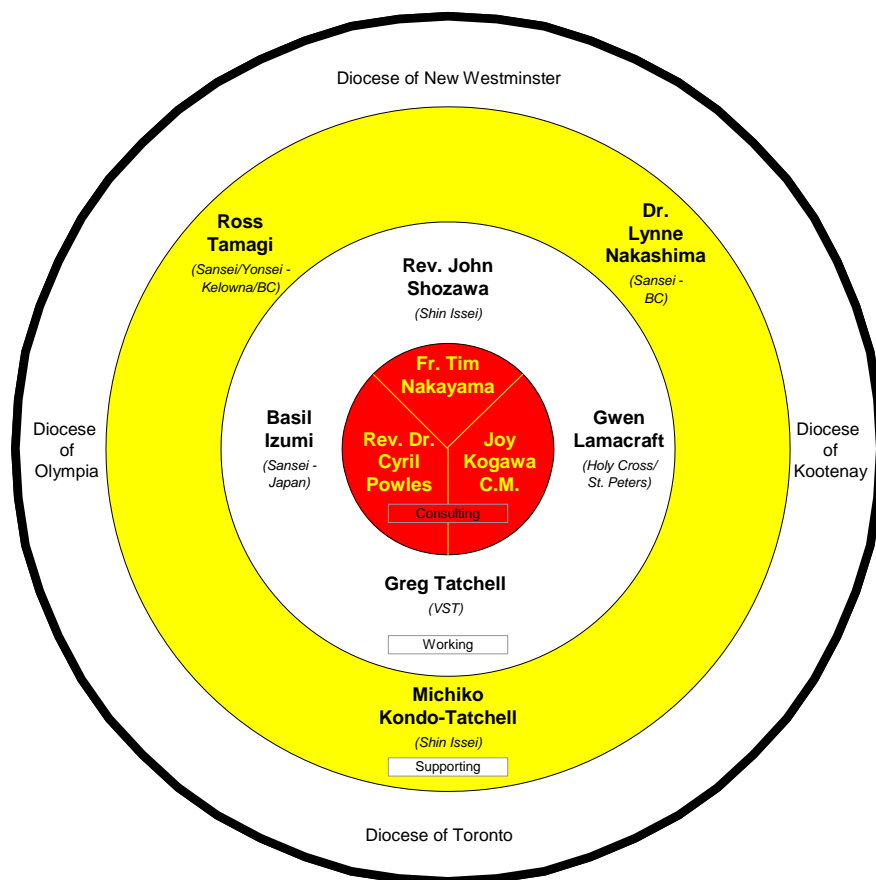
¹ The National Anglican Church 'Charter for Racial Justice'

² BAS, p.196, BEM, p.20, 24

³ Sheldrake, *Space for the Sacred*, p.76-82



JC - VCC



Japanese Canadian - Vancouver Consultative Council

August 28, 2008 - Version 5



1. WHAT IS THE FOCUS OF THE JC-VCC RESEARCH PROJECT?

The focus of the JC-VCC research project is the sale of Japanese-Canadian (JC) Anglican Church properties during and after World War II, and the disposition of the funds from those sales.

2. WHAT IS/WAS THE VCC?

The VCC (Vancouver Consultative Council) was an ecumenical group in World War II that successfully fought to keep Japanese Canadians in Canada (Canon Cooper of St. James was a member). A group of 10 Anglicans in the Japanese Canadian Community have adopted the name of that group and would aim to emulate their achievements against injustice. We share a “*profound hatred of racism and injustice*” (Muriel Kitagawa).

3. WHAT ARE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE JC-VCC?

The first objective is to determine the extent of the injustices perpetrated against Japanese Canadian Anglicans during and after World War II. We will achieve this with “*indisputable documentation and hard facts*” (Maryka Omatsu). The second objective is to publish findings and present them at the ACC National Historians Conference in June of 2009.

4. WHO ARE THE MEMBERS OF THE JC-VCC?

Members of the Japanese-Canadian Anglican Community, including Joy Kogawa, Canon Timothy Nakayama, Rev. John Shozawa and Rev. Dr. Cyril Powles. See the previous page for the complete team (of ten members, from 6 churches and 4 Dioceses).

5. DOES THE JAPANESE-CANADIAN ANGLICAN COMMUNITY SUPPORT THIS INITIATIVE?

We believe our 10 members are a representative cross-section of the Japanese-Canadian Anglican community. During the redress movement 20+ years ago, the JC community was not of one mind. We are sure this is still the case today, and that there are voices that would prefer this issue continue to remain closed. The JC-VCC group is of the opinion “*you cannot remake history, but you must redress a great injustice*” (Ed Broadbent).

6. WHAT HAS RESEARCH TO DATE DISCERNED?

Based on findings to date, “*a serious injustice*” will almost certainly be considered an understatement. The first objective of the research was to determine whether “if” could be removed from the statement “*if ... it was a serious injustice*” (Bishop Michael Ingham). After five months of research, the “*if*” can confidently be removed. The question remaining is whether “*serious*” (+Michael), “*great*” (Ed Broadbent), or some other word best reflects the extent of the injustice.

7. IS THE JC-VCC LOOKING FOR AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/APOLOGY?

No member of the JC-VCC team has ever heard an acknowledgement/apology from the Diocese of New Westminster or the National Church. Depending upon whether the evidence shows that the historic injustice of the Diocese of New Westminster against their 1500 JC Anglican parishioners is deemed to be serious, or great, or ?, the JC-VCC will seek to wrestle with what “an appropriate response to historic wrongs” might look like. This consideration remains pending until research is completed and writing is concluded.

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Kaslo (Summer 2008; Location of JC United Church concentration in WWII)

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Greenwood Museum (Summer 2008; Location of JC Catholic concentration in WWII)

Sandon (Summer 2008; Location of JC Buddhist concentration in WWII)

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