

Farnham P.O.W. Camp.

- long bunkhouse - being partitioned off in separate rooms for 4 persons each,
- 2 residences for elder family units,
- gym hall,
- community dining room -
- up to 200 people at a time
- as a manning pool for evacuees, quite "reasonably self-supporting".
- seek to place "greater majority of neighboring farms, where farmers have shown a willingness to hire evacuee labour".

Dept Nat Def hope evac "gradually become absorbed into the life of the surrounding community & in time, become a real & permanent part of the Quebec scene."

Roy 7/62 - Pres 5 Piesi Fellowship
Chman Standing Committ.

- B. Comn U.B.C.
- wk for Piesi questions throughout war
- Harvard. M.B.A
- (- where now?)

N. Fellowship - org social & cultural events & events of common interest.

~~Gen Tamura~~

374
Donor, HP 24

Standing Committee

- to meet emergencies (20N & 7I)
- to raise court case funds. - "Stressing Democratic Action"
- formed 2 yrs before. (Jan 1945?)
- In Jan 1946 - elect 20N's; 7I's ~~for~~ "chosen" for the Co-operating Board.
- "It now appears that whatever the outcome of the appeal to the H. Council a more moderate course will be taken by govt."
- Committee working toward "wk that will enable the various groups to become an integral part of Cdx life" - see ties to other similar orgs across eda.

Board of Administrators of the Welfare Education

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| B. Sakamoto | B. Obashi |
| H. Kawahara | G. Tanaka |
| G. Tomita | P. Watsubuchi (Ms) |
| V. Shimotakahara | Y. Suzuki - ? (Ms) |
| K. Kubo | A. Wakana.. (Ms) |
| S. Kubo | |
| F. Horesaku | |

- born after "a heated general meeting" - 24/4/46
- Rice distribution foremost in prog.
- 1st meeting Church of all nations 3/5/46
- Pres B. Uyeda; Chman. E Yamaoka, V.P.'s
- ? (I. Iwashio), Hayaka, Y. Uchida, T. Yasunaka;
- Treasurer Goro Yamura; Sec T. Nose, H. Nanba
- Directors T. Shimotakahara, D. H. Hori, C. Tanaka
- R. Swanra, Campaign Pres Ruth Ishihara
- D. Shiozaki, Publicity Amy Yamamoto
- Auditors S. Ito, K. Wakashima(?)

now Ruth
Horie
374 Linnet Cres
Dorval, H9S 2W.

- ⑨ threaten security of all minorities in Cda
- ⑩ will cause "hostility" to Cda's international relations
- ⑪ direct contradiction to language & spirit of U.N. Charter.
- ⑫ cannot be enforced w/out grave injustice & inhumanity to innocent persons.

→ more than 1/3 dispersed. → gaily relieving problem
 "formerly felt by B.C." → urge removal
 of restrictions on property & movement
 so resettlers can become estab. in normal
 life. Result in unconv. #'s leaving
 relocation centers.

- Nippon Sponsoring Committee
 - evolved at initiative of Mr. Freeman, placement
 officer, Toronto. - headed by Canon & Mrs. P.S.C.
 Poulos - formerly missionaries at Sakata,
 Nagano prefecture since 1916.

- Canon - opened home to evacuees in
 early days → results in Jps clustering
 around Lorne Cres, Hutchinson, University.

"Only those who have found themselves
 in strange surroundings, among strangers,
 faced with an indefinite future, can
 appreciate the welcome the good Canon
 provided"

By 1943 volunteer work had grown to full
 time → May 1943 At send a rep &
 estab Sec Com office.

Canon on Nippon: "The Jps are much like the
 English - with an innate reserve." He
 believes they will assimilate, if assisted
 by others along the way. The N's strongest
 pt is local church affiliation & will
 break down the natural tendency to cone
 & lead N into new sub-grps & "accidentals"

Canon on
 Intermarriage - "admit" ... "provided that the
 parties concerned have behind them the
 nec. basis of social & ed equality &
 experience."

- issue also on
- rent rises
 - rice rations
 - athletics
 - new arrivals in town
 - ^{a natural} play of ^{with} infamies
 - g. director

Diary 1942

"secret session of party held. [E] did not produce anything startling."

Vol 1 #2. Mont Bulletin. (Apr. 1946?)

- B.K Sandwell - speak. 4/4/46 in Mont on Jpz Cdn Question.

Jacques. Perrault, LL.D., law prof. U of Mont meeting conducted by Roger Auimet K.C.

- Sandwell explain Oir C'one deportations

"clear-cut & lucid presentation"

+ kgid material on relocation

Perrault - philosophical view.

P.3. Bulletin on March 26 meeting - PM.

P.M + Index of Justice

" " Labour

" " Defense

" " Welfare

" " Vet Affairs

Sec of State

CCIC deputation: J.J. Gares (Winnipeg, K.C.)
Colonel P. Croll (Lib M.P.)

W.J. Caldwell

Charles Willard (C.C.L.)

Andrew Brewin

"the conference was evidence of the way democracy functions in the struggle for the rights of citizens"

deputation point out:

1. Orders provide for exile of citizens (a serious matter)

2. Give Cdn govt powers in the B or Am matter

3. "constitute a violation of Internat'l Law"

4. put value of Cdn citizenship in contempt

5. cancel nat'zation - out reason

6. based in racial discrim. - = crime against humanity by Internat' Military Tribunal

7. not now related to war emergency

8. - purport to be based in alleged requests to be sent to govt (evidence indicates doubt in exercise of power will be in making the requests)

Vol 1, #9. Bulletin

Mont Daily Star - 12/11/46 - on Montreal Civil Liberties Assoc; deportations. Sin C.

- postal restrictions re Jpn
- bundles for Jpn program
- (Quebec Committee for Relief in Jpn)

Japan Relief
 centered on St Raphael's Home
 Mother St. Peter.
 Sisters of Christ the King.

Vol 2 #1 (Jan 47)

- Citizenship Bill
- questions whether it supersedes the WMA.
- "If not, then one of the primary purposes of the Bill is defeated before it starts!"
- "a great issue is at stake!"

- Xmas gifts destined to children at Farnham

Vol 2 #2 Feb 17/47

T. Kamitakahara in Farnham hostel.

- Losses Survey ^{being} distributed in Mont.

Vol 2 #3 (Mar. 47).

Vol 1 #5 Mont Bulletin

- Geno Yamada - Nisei - involved several orgs.
 - UBC. (youth) chem's math
 - chemist at Chemical Products Ltd despite "no Japan Occidental firms" rule. "I guess I was lucky"
 - No fence-sitter
 - Self Security (see?) post July 1943.
- letter from a Nisei Strander un Jpn (about 1936) urges family not to repeat - describe conditions un Jpn.

Vol 1 #6 - raises questions of amalgamation of Standing Comm; Welfare. Let. for more efficient org. - initiated by B. Uyeda

* Geo Yamashita - assist Mr. J. O. Beaudet. Supervisor. Garnham Hotel.

Vol 1 #7.

Nisei Fellowship Group

- founded 1943. - necessity of joint action needed at that time - helped out to solve problems, racial, religious; recreational
- "Altho the unmed. inevitable problems resulting from evac; relocation (which called for a centralized committee) has passed, there is still the questions of assimilation, racial emnity, social equality, etc., to be discussed, answered & remedied. These are the benchmarks of heredity & environment, which the Jpn will try to efface."

- Corporal Farrar (New Denver, R.C.M.P.) - Mont.

- Welfare Fed; Standing Committee Unit.

- Mont Jpn Cdn Welfare Fed

- Busijiro Uyeda (pres)

- promote understanding

welfare of Cdn of Jpn origin by coord effort of both Jpn & Nisei

- ed programs, visiting sick, untransported service,

in Yakashina (see) - (when are minutes)

2018.16.1.61.1:3

Vol 2 #5 15/5/47

- suggestion of a Jissai Committee
to an Jissai Advisory Board, to
look after emergency matters
such as J.C.C.'s suggestion of
a 3pt'l federated or Jisai
Committee ^(formed 1946) on
offer of legal help on deportation

Vol 2 #6

- Provisional Committee for a Central
Organization formed.
Aoyama Yamamoto (B.A. Sir Gordon 1947)
Kunio Kodaka
Dr L. Hori
Mr Miyazaki
2 reps of all Jissai & Jisai orgs.

J. Cdn Catholic Youths formed.
Mont Young Buddhist Soc.

Vol 2 #7. Provisional Committee of - met 7/7/47
Central Committee - reps of 3 Jissai & 5 Jisai groups
Cex Com "will not interfere, on its part of
any existing groups; which will be
beneficial to all." - Montreal Committee for
Jps Cdns.

Committee on Don Elections Act.
final report under chairman P.E. Cote (Feb
Verden) rejected "a most drastic proposal"
- giving Jps the right to vote in B.C.

Vol 2 #8

- M. Comfao C - members = 2 reps from org +
all persons interested in the
aims of the Committee

- progress (CCJC release reproduced) Vol 2 #9

Vol 2 #9 18/9/47

- Sept 15. M.C.H.T.C. dissolve -> Quebec TCCA

Pres. Hirosaki Okuda.

1st VP Charte Tanaka

2nd VP Bill Swasaki

Chman. Kunio Hidaka

VCh T. Nishimura

Gen Sec. Kimi Takashima

Rec Sec. Mitsu Ishiwata

Cor Sec. Eiko Herumi

Treas. Tomoy Yamamoto

asst. Fred Kobayashi

Auditors Eiji Yatabe

John Takasawa

Bill Sakamoto.

- list objective etc NCCA.

Vol 3 #1 Jan 16/48

Rai Nishio - Sec. Nisei Yellowby, Sep.

H.T. Pammet Dept of Labour - congrat on quality of Bulletin.

Vol 3 #5 - instructions to send Stranded in Japan

~~Vol 3 #5~~
Vol 3 #6.

- Stranded to be handled by Mr. J. M. Langlais
Immig. Inspector in Charge, Dept of
Mines & Resources 1162 Antoine St. Mont.
(presumably for Que.) - speed return of
relatives & friends by seeing them in person
with the necessary details.

Vol 3 #6. (June 12, 1948). Mount Bulletin.

- Birdie Mont. - hearing evse. claims.
 - ^{most} aroused little interest for the majority
 - not interested if not directly involved.
 - 50 odd claimants. \$100,000. claimed for Mont alone.
- "they did not ask remuneration for the mental anguish they had suffered, for the loss resulting from years of inactivity during the prosperity of the war, for the costs of resettlement."

Vol 3 #7

- H. Tanaka at meeting to Cab. M.P.s; other M.P.s re recently from Jpn. of citizens; residents
- "it is doubtful that he will be immediately or entirely successful. Because of our Parliamentary system of bargaining and compromising."
- back George on his bargaining "in the wilds of Cdn politics"
- urges the 20,000 J. C. to

Vol 3 #8 Aug 14/48

- Rev. Tak Tsuji - active in early JCCA - related to of April.
- Buddhist.

Nissei Vne " Pictorial Magazine"

- monthly

Vol 4 #2.

- Fellowship Group Pres = Kei Yushima

2.1.72.1.21.2100

Y. UCHIDA
42113

" THE
" J A P A N E S E
" I N
" M O N T R E A L
"

" An
" Ecological
" and
" Sociological
" Survey
"

" by
" KUNI UCHIDA
" and
" REI NISHIO
"

" edited by
" Jesse Nishihata
"

" printed by the
" Social Welfare Committee
" of the Quebec Chapter
" J.C.C.A.
" Montreal
" March 1953
"

P R E F A C E

This resumé of the studies conducted by Miss Kuni Uchida and Miss Rei Nishio of the Japanese Community in Montreal, brings to concrete realization an aim which the Social Welfare Committee of the Quebec J.C.C.A. has always held for itself. During the past few years which saw the ultimate stabilization of the Japanese community in Montreal, it had been felt that this development merited special consideration and attention; not only for historical interests, but also, for discernment of any trends or modes that the community was undergoing.

In 1952, Misses Uchida and Nishio, undertook this sociological study as a partial requirement towards their Bachelor of Arts degrees from McGill University. Their final theses were then made available to the Social Welfare Committee. However, the length and detail of the paper necessitated submitting it for editing. In this attempt to shorten the analyses, such material as statistical facts, sociological theories of cause and effect, have been deleted; others altered. Where possible further revisions and additions have been incorporated so that generally this study may be considered up to date.

The Social Welfare Committee feels that with this publication, a much fuller and clearer understanding of our community could be obtained by interested persons. Perhaps, this paper will serve as a guide to similar researches in other Japanese centres across Canada.

In closing, the Social Welfare Committee wishes to acknowledge, most gratefully, the invaluable services rendered by Miss Uchida and Miss Nishio. Thanks are also due to the J.C.C.A. Committee appointed to approve and suggest corrections to the edited edition.

March 7, 1953
Montreal, Quebec.

Japanese Canadian Citizens Association
Quebec Chapter

Social Welfare Committee

per: Jesse Nishihata

INTRODUCTION

This study is based on two different aspects of the Japanese community in Montreal. The ecological survey, as conducted by Miss Uchida, has for its generative idea the thesis that "by virtue of the ecological force in urban residential patterning and occupational resources, a 'ghetto' is not always inevitable for an ethnic or racial group." With this as a general configuration for the project, the ten years within which the Japanese community has emerged, developed, and stabilised itself in Montreal, have been subject to a survey in the fields of residential and occupational trends.

The second aspect of this study, by Miss Nishio, deals with the sociological developments of organizations and their significance in the Japanese community of Montreal. It has been contended by numerous sociologists who have investigated Japanese communities previous to World War II, that one of the significant facts of the Japanese communities is its highly integrated unity with various efficient and elaborate organizations. This is easily verifiable from situations along the West Coast in the pre-occupation era. The nature of the question which is posed in this study is to ascertain whether such a tendency toward organization is still prevalent and, if so, to what extent. By tracing the development of each organization, an evolutionary process of the entire community settlement is considered. Nonetheless, the general nature of the study is largely concerned with how the community organizations were resumed and also what general requirements they fulfilled. A comparative analysis of the social structure of the Japanese community in Vancouver of 1941 and in Montreal of 1952, shows to an appreciable degree the difference in the essential nature of the communities.

In the ecological survey by Miss Uchida, the procedure employed entails a straight forward method by which within the past ten years, three significant years 1944, 1947, and 1952 are exposed to signify the residential and occupational trends of the Japanese population in Montreal.

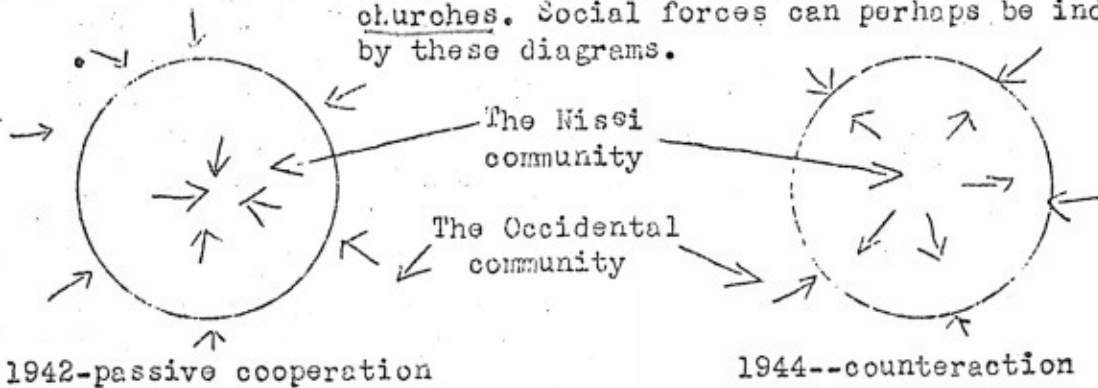
- 1944 - which is two years after the initial influx to this city, is the first of these significant divisions;
- 1947 - which is the peak year with regard to number of individuals
- 1952 - which indicated the trend which the community was likely to follow in future years.

The quantitative figures may contain discrepancies (all figures are to be considered as approximate), but this does not deter in any way the qualitative results obtained. The occupational data for the years mentioned are not exact nor complete. Material was, for the most part, collected by first hand research; but for the years, 1944 and 1947, the files of the Department of Labour at Ottawa were made available.

In the sociological survey by Miss Nishio, the period under study is divided into three phases of development: 1942 - 1945, 1946 - 1948, 1949 - 1952.

e basis for this division is as follows:

rst phase: 1942-1945. Fearing antagonistic attitudes of the Occidental community, the Nisei behaved as inconspicuously as possible, seeking social security amongst themselves mostly through facilities provided by the churches. Social forces can perhaps be indicated by these diagrams.

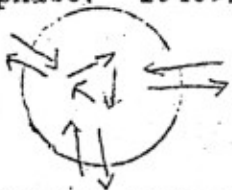


second phase: 1946-1949. As a result of their experiences in the hostile and crowded ghost towns, the Japanese transfer suspicion, previously held towards government workers, to members and leaders of the Japanese community. A few Nisei and Issei rally together so they may effectively regain lost civil rights. This disharmony may be illustrated in the following way.



1946-47 Disharmony through sudden influx of evacuees from ghost towns, a diversity of club activity, re-union of family groups, etc. weakens the community level organization. Conflict is the key word here.

third phase: 1949-1952 "With all their civil rights as Canadian citizens regained, with the influx of Japanese from the West ceasing, there is a noticeable change in the type of organizations, in their policies, etc. indicating that a stable community is emerging at last.



The material gathered for the study of these developments have been through the following sources: Montreal Bulletin (an independent Japanese community paper, published monthly since March, 1946); personal contacts with responsible persons of each organization with queries as to the date of club formation, purpose, activity, age, sex, generation, membership since inception, in 1947 and in 1952; reading of minutes and records of organizations established early in the re-settlement process; and finally, to substantiate the analysis, a perusal of an extensive bibliography which included previous studies of Japanese communities and the Evacuation.

In both cases, since little written material of previous studies was obtainable, a great deal of time and effort was spent in just accumulating the information and tabulating the results.

However, a sociological and ecological study of the Japanese in Montreal cannot be fully appreciated without some understanding of the historical circumstances which led to this settlement. This intranational migration cannot

be compared with an intercontinental movement of groups to a totally foreign soil, as all but a handful of the Japanese in this city come from British Columbia. Of particular note is the fact that this enforced movement was entirely supervised by the Federal Government and therefore cannot be considered as a natural migratory process.

Before 1942, Canada's Japanese population of twenty-three thousand was largely concentrated in the province of British Columbia--in fishing and mill ports along the coast, in farming areas of the Fraser Valley, and in the city of Vancouver. Due to racial discrimination in the politico-, socio- and economic fields, these segregated communities were largely self-supporting and isolated from the greater Occidental communities. Japanese shops and mills, independent enterprises, such as the fishing communities, provided employment; extensive organizations and institutions answered social and welfare needs. These independent communities continued to exist for almost twenty-five years on the B.C. Coast.

With the advent of World War II in 1941 and the subsequent Evacuation policy of the Canadian Government to remove all persons of Japanese ancestry from the coastal defence area, all these patterns were disrupted and the people were distributed to non-strategic areas. Other than the enforced group evacuation, there were some who ventured out to the Eastern provinces on individual permits. Thus, by the end of 1942, there were about forty-five evacuees in Montreal. This figure, besides the twenty-five persons already residing in the city prior to World War II, comprised the total Japanese population in this city.

To help the Japanese, the Niseis in particular, adjust themselves to this strange, cosmopolitan city, an Occidental group of sympathetic church missionaries formed the Nisei Sponsoring Committee. But, by 1943, when the Japanese population had increased to 344 and settlement problems became magnified, the Canadian Government was requested to handle the situation. This resulted in the establishment of a Japanese Division Placement Office by the Department of Labour. In general their work concerned welfare, occupational and residential adjustment, as well as the maintenance of government regulations.

The sudden influx of Japanese to this city in 1946 and after was a result of the "Voluntary Repatriation to Japan" survey conducted by the government to all Japanese 16 years and over. Under this survey all those intending to remain in Canada were urged to settle in Eastern Canada. The result was a sudden rise in population from 344 to 1262 in 1947 and over 1300 in 1949. Since that time, with all travel and residential restrictions removed, there has been a reverse movement back to the B.C. Coast or to Ontario. Latest figures reveal that there are approximately 1025 persons of Japanese ancestry in Greater Montreal. (1953).

In order to give a general qualifying statement for the Japanese community in Montreal, it could be said that it has "extensive dealings with the surrounding population while retaining a separate identity." An ethnic community is a community having common ties of race and culture existing in a distinctly alien culture."(1) To further generalize that the average Nisei is reaching an equilibrium between the Occidental and Japanese communities

(1.) Ward, Ethnic Communities, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, McMillan Co.,

be incorrect, in so far as future trends in Nisei activities may reveal an increasing complexity, thus indicating less time and effort spent outside the Japanese community.

Previous studies in this field have shown greater attention to the Japanese-American scene with scant mention of the Canadian side. Further research might well be directed towards analyses of family and individual developments during and after the Evacuation. Certainly, such an undertaking would vastly increase our understanding and also contribute to the socio-psychological literature of the Japanese Canadian.

ECOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

by Kuni Uehida

Residential Pattern

With the inception of the Evacuation policy in 1942, approximately 45 individuals came directly to Montreal on individual permits. There were three features that differentiated them from any other immigrant group moving to a strange city.

- 1) They were not foreign to Canadian culture.
- 2) They were at least familiar with the English language and customs though not with the French-Canadian.
- 3) Coming from a former urban centre, Vancouver, they were able to quickly adapt themselves to the urban economic competition. Later relocations were of agricultural or fishery background and became unskilled in an urban centre.

Still, they too, had to cope with numerous difficulties, and their adjusting was done without the benefit of any organized medium. The 25 previous residents were not organized to any extent. By November, 1944, the total number had increased to 537 individuals and 53 families.

	<u>FAMILIES</u>	<u>INDIVIDUALS</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>
		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children</u>	
1944	53	283	158	96	537
1947	237	540	444	316	1,300
1952	271	513	412	240	1,165

The natural tendency for any ethnic group to segregate and concentrate residentially on first arrival to a strange settlement showed all too clearly in the case of the Japanese in 1944. This could be explained as an outward manifestation for a feeling of identity within a new city. These "first-area settlements" were located near the centre of the city, in commercial and industrial areas where low rental flats, tenements and rooming houses predominate--the usual starting mark before the subsequent march to outer residential areas. The densest area centred on three wards: St. Andrew, St. Lawrence, and St. George, respectively. These three adjacent wards constituted the "first-area" holding 202 individuals and 15 families out of a total of 441 individuals and 33 families in 1944, not including children.

The next two densely settled districts were Westmount and Verdun, the latter a low rental area which provided a residential atmosphere for families.

As the 1944 Residential Distribution Map (Chart I) indicates, the populace as a whole settled west of the main street (St. Lawrence Boulevard) keeping to the southern area of the city.

The 1947 Distribution Map shows an extension of the 1944 picture with St. Andrew, St. Lawrence, St. George and St. Louis the four densest wards. This concentration might be comparable to Vancouver prior to 1942; it has easy access to central shopping districts, etc. and low rental area. The main difference is that these segregated areas in Montreal did not function residentially and institutionally with trade, but only as centres of familiarity.

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES ACCORDING TO WARDS
in 1944, 1947, and 1952.

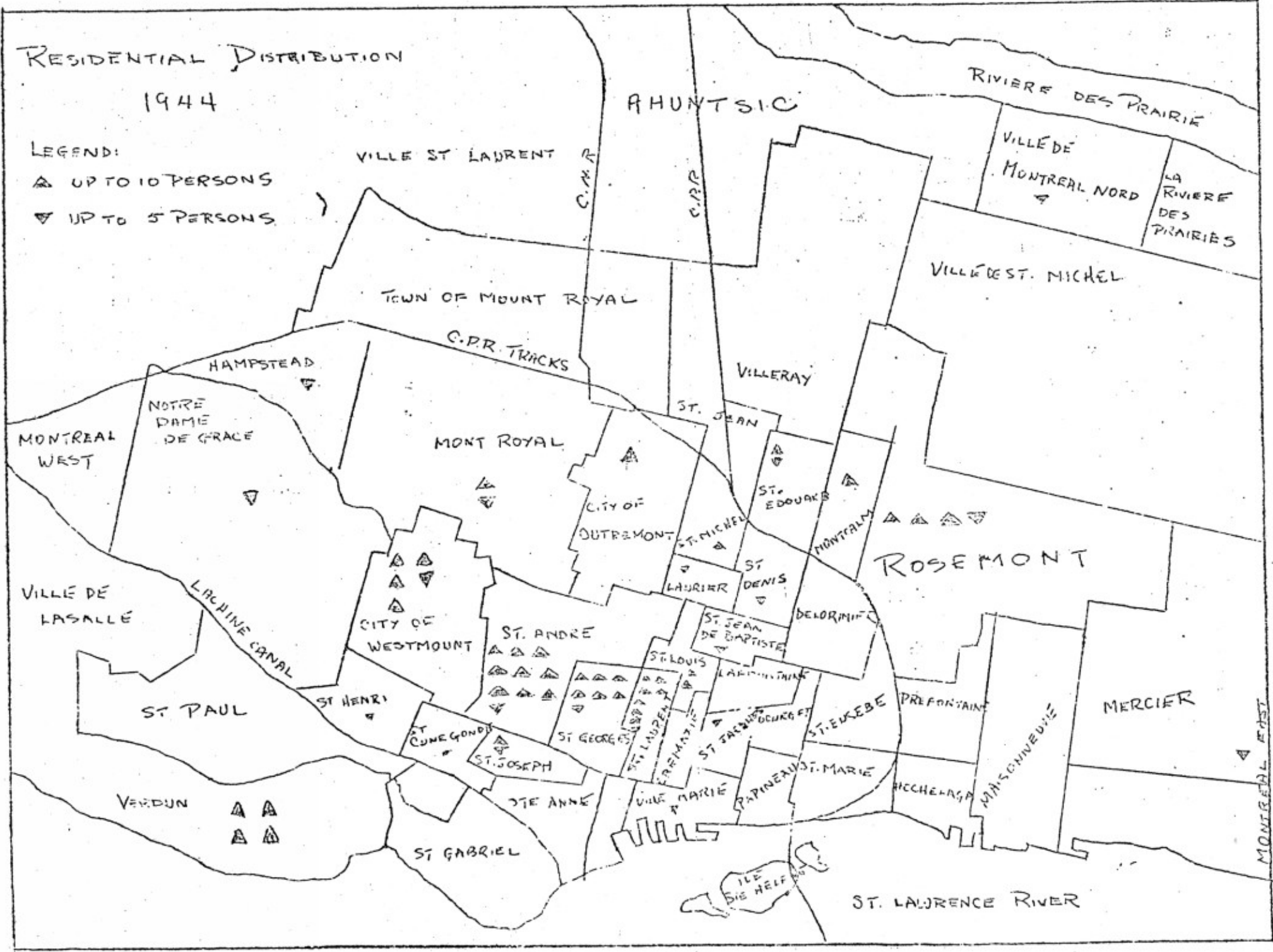
WARDS	SINGLE INDIVIDUALS			FAMILIES		
	'44	'47	'52	'44	'47	'52
St. Edouard.....	13		6	1		2
Ville Marie.....	2		2			
St. Henri.....	3			1		
St. James.....	2	10	4		2	1
Lafontaine.....		7				
St. Lawrence.....	67	104	39	3	22	7
St. Louis.....	18	89	75	1	16	11
Laurier.....	2	18	13	1	55	3
St. George.....	58	94	24	4	10	4
Town of Mount Royal...		3	2			1
St. Paul.....		5			1	
St. Andrew.....	77	116	30	8	18	3
St. Joseph.....	11	16	9	1	4	1
St. Cunegonde.....	1	14	13		4	2
Verdun.....	40	82	75	11	18	16
Westmount.....	42	53	48	5	11	10
Notre Dame de Grace...	4	18	33	1	3	4
Outremont.....	7	9	11	1	1	2
Hampstead.....		7	3		1	1
St. Jean de Baptiste..	3	9	22		3	5
Delorimier.....		11	12		1	2
Rosemount.....	6	35	57	15	10	12
Montealm.....	5	26	56	2	7	13
St. Denis.....	3	8	10	1	3	2
St. Michel.....	7	10	35	2	2	5
St. Jean.....		5	39		1	9
Mount Royal.....	11	6	49	2	3	3
Cremazie..	2	18	27		2	9
Ville Lasalle.....			4			1
Ville St. Laurent.....			5			1
Ahuntsic.....			17			7
Villeray.....		31	78		7	20
Montreal North.....	2	4	23	1	2	6
Montreal East.....	2	4	23	2		2
Mercier.....			1			

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION

1944

LEGEND:

- ▲ UP TO 10 PERSONS
- ▼ UP TO 5 PERSONS



During this time, a significant movement northward took place, with Montcalm ward accounting for 6 families and Villeray with 31 individuals within a one block area. Perhaps the incentives for this movement were the new low rental housing projects. The pull westward, especially above Sherbrooke, was still not very strong.

By 1952, five years later, there had been a great dispersment of residences. The "first-area settlements" show substantial decreases: St. Andrew, St. Lawrence and St. George wards, plus St. Louis ward, now held only 163 individuals and 25 families. The shift of population has been in family groups northward--right to the back river. The wards of Villeray, Montcalm, and Rosemount show the greatest number of families. Verdun maintained its early pace. The obvious few in the west end of the city reveals that the majority were discouraged by high rental values and prices of homes. As it is, there is only one family in the Town of Mount Royal, Hampstead and slightly more in Notre Dame de Grace and Westmount.

Up until 1947, the resettlement had been predominantly selective, for the number of males exceeded the females by 125 and rooming houses operated by Japanese were common.

A ROOMING HOUSE in	1944	1947 Tenants	1952
Westmount	16	17	8
St. Andrew Ward	15	12	8
St. Andrew Ward	11	16	0

This selective process could be accounted by the fact that until 1946 most males were resettling in the East some with vague hopes of returning to their pre-war B.C. homes. Most women folk remained close to their B.C. homes. However, with the Voluntary Repatriation Survey, eastern resettlement became an earnest process with families rather than individuals as units. The resultant reunion of families caused the decline of rooming houses, although there are still three in existence.

Purchasing of homes was a problem until January, 1947, when the Federal Government revoked the legislation against the Japanese from acquiring legal title to real property without a stated consent from the government. This fact alone, however, was not the main determinant for the limited number of homes bought during the early years. In 1944, purchases were unknown, but the final breakdown for the following years would be as follows: 1947--16, 1952--41. The bulk of the purchases have been in the north and east in 1952 as the 1952 map illustrates. That area is considerably newer with a majority of two-family dwellings, and the purpose behind the purchase of this type is to augment the family income by renting out the extra flat.

Occupational Pattern

Resettlement in the east was a cause for much misgiving among the Issei from an occupational viewpoint. Previous social and economic statuses could no longer be considered; many were too old to re-establish themselves in their former lines of work. Whatever opportunities were available they had to accept.

In Montreal, a fisherman became a cook; a farmer a carpenter, a teacher a factory worker or janitor etc. Such a reversal of roles and statuses caused much confusion and personality problems.

It was the unskilled type of work that was plentiful. Through the Japanese Placement office, which was a carryover from the British Columbia Security Commission. Occupational distribution in 1941, in B.C.

Farming and gardening	18.6%
Fishing and fish canning.....	16.2%
Industry, Manufacturing, domestic..	26.7%
Trade(etail).....	8.4%
Logging and millwork.....	8.2%
Professional and office workers....	4.1%
Miscellaneous.....	17.6% (2)

Montreal, 1944:

Industry, manufacturing, domestic
carpentry and labour.....64.5%

Wk down?

Carpentry and factory workers manifest a parallel ecological concentration in words. Slightly more than half of the total carpentry workers and approximately half of the total factory workers were living in St. Lawrence and St. George wards. The concentration of the unskilled labourers in St. Lawrence ward and the immediately surrounding districts neatly upholds the theorist's hypothesis that the segregated area shares the "minimum economic choice." Again, the occupational diversity for 1944 was not very great.

1947 revealed the same tendency with regard to occupations and their correlation with residential patterning. Clerical work and machine operation (sewing) rose as a major occupational field for females. As before, the three wards--St. Andrew, St. George, and St. Lawrence, held the concentration of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. But, it also held the majority of the diverse occupational workers, as well. Nonetheless, the outward trend of residential mobility, at this time, reflected the evidence of the dispersment of occupational types. The clerical workers were the main occupations to make the greatest outward move, with Verdun, Villeray, and Westmount as the focal points. Then, too, by this year, a variety of positions had sprouted and specialization had occurred.

By 1952, concrete analysis concerning residential and occupational data were made more accessible because there was no expectation of great changes in any occupation. Even at this time, there were an increased number of university graduates who were able to follow careers according to their degrees and merits. Certainly, a far cry from the West Coast days, when positions for such men were filled by the non-Japanese. It could be said, by now, that the occupational discrimination is, for the most part, a thing of the past.

With the increase in diverse occupations and the rise in earning capacity, the trend of residential mobility has followed a similar pattern noted in 1947. Villeray, Montclair, Rosemount, and Mount Royal account for the majority of this movement, followed by a significant decrease in the "first-area settlements".

(2) 1941 census figures as provided in statistical graph under Table 7a "Occupations of Employed Japanese Adults in Canada, 1941 and 1946", prepared for a report on "Re-establishment of Japanese in Canada, 1944-1946" by

The gradual retirement of the Issei and the attraction of Nisei to more prosperous trades has diminished the number of labourers, factory workers, and other unskilled workers. In this resettlement process, the Issei dependence on the Nisei in the economic field has not been overtly apparent. This is borne out by the fact that the machine operators in the textile field, which has a majority of Issei women, reveals a steady level, if not an increase, in later periods.

In the field of private business and trade, the number rose from 3 in '45, 8 in '47 to 25 in '52, with both Issei and Nisei sharing the lead. The diversity indicates that there is little evidence of return to the stereotyped trades that flourished on the West Coast, i.e., the "small shop" -- groceries, dry goods, etc. Presently, only two food distributors depend on their own ethnic group for their clientele, but only to supplement the economic services provided by the Greater Community. There is only one Japanese physician in general practice, but neither he nor the community depend upon each other for clientele or medical attention.

Conclusions of Ecological Survey

The epic of the Japanese in Montreal is the adjustment process they have been making during and within the ten years that they have been conspicuously visible. During this time, accommodation and acculturation were the stages in process. These have been manifested in the occupational and residential trends. The direction of the ecological movement indicates that the average Japanese family thinks in terms of the average American middle class; the average individual in terms of turning outward towards the Greater Community. With maturation Niseis, who are cultural hybrids of this society, are assuming responsibility from the Issei and the general tendency points to further mingling with the major society.

Regarding residences, it must be pointed out, again, that the desirable locations have been away from the "first-area settlements"; away from precipitous slum conditions. The Japanese population passed through the accommodation phase in a regular ecological manner with respect to residential patterning. By the criterion of the patterns outlined on the maps, one might venture to say that the trends will continue in a northward and eastward direction. It may also be foreseen that with a rise in the earning capacities, and with added incentives as social and economic statuses, such areas as Hampstead, Mount Royal, and Notre Dame de Grace would become increasingly attractive for the establishment of homes

With no apparent reason for a future great influx or diminution, since any minor outward flow is counteracted by other settlers, the Japanese community population seems to have reached an equilibrium.

The occupations in which the Japanese are presently engaged, especially with regard to the Nisei, reveal a tendency of independence for a worthwhile economic livelihood away from the social control of restrictive socio-economic groups: A situation which existed in the fishing, farming, lumbering villages and "Little Tokyo" of Vancouver. This modification of occupational choice has also been due largely to the removal of racial discrimination. This same diversity in choice of occupation has been manifested in private businesses and trades.

Thus, this dispersed pattern of established businesses and homes, the occupational diversity, the small number in the "first-area settlement", the increased economic status of the average Nisei and the families in general, all substantiate the prediction that a ghetto will never occur in Montreal for the Japanese. On another level, the fact that the Japanese language, or rather, the lack of fluency of the English language, no longer imposes the majority to seek comprehensiveness and continuous Japanese contact, contributes to the general prediction. If progress is thought of in terms of decentralised movement, than the whole adjustment process of the Japanese in Montreal has progressed at a very rapid rate.

SOCIOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

by Rei Nishio

Analysis of the Development of Organizations in Montreal

As explained in the introduction, this aspect of the study of the Japanese in Montreal, concerns three apparently distinct phases of the sociological development of community organizations.

The First Phase, 1942-1945

To the Niseis, some of whom came on individual permits in 1942 and others after a brief sojourn in ghost towns, the former community organizations were fresh still in their minds; and when given the facilities and a helping hand, they were able to organise themselves into effective groups. But the restrictions issued by the Federal Government were such that groups and assemblies were not sanctioned. Due to this ruling, the Montreal Christian Fellowship, the first all-Nisei organization in Montreal, was unable to meet at the Church of All Nations. Their recourse was to have gatherings in private homes until the lifting of the ban in April, 1943.

The fact that the Christian Churches have been indispensable during and after this difficult adjustment period is not to be denied. The United Church was instrumental in the formation of the Montreal Christian Fellowship, providing them with facilities and supervision. The Nisei Sponsoring Committee, composed of Church missionaries with Issei financial backing, acted as an organized medium to help the Nisei adjust themselves. While, later, the Roman Catholic Church established a hostel for women and also aided greatly in orientation.

Other religious groups included the Tomonokai, an informal Issei worship group, and the Bible Study group formed by the Anglican Issei in 1944.

Beside the above church groups, a recreational body, the Montreal Nisei Bowling League, was organized in 1944.

At this time on the issue of Civil Rights, political responsibility emerged within a small group of Niseis. This group, composed of 20 Niseis with an Issei Cooperating Board, was called the Standing Committee. This group, together with the Nisei Sponsoring Committee, sought to enact counter-pressure activities to a Federal legislation, which in effect would disenfranchise the Niseis in federal elections.

In general, it could be said that with the Japanese populace being very small, the developmental stage was of simple vis-a-vis contacts. This factor, plus the feeling of identity and fear towards the greater community, promoted a smooth and harmonious relationship within the community. However, this relationship, especially with regard to the Standing Committee, was not to continue, as onwards from 1944 steady influxes from the ghost towns commenced. With this development the sociological evolution entered the second phase.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS	PHASE I					PHASE II				PHASE III		
	'42	'43	'44	'45	'46	'47	'48	'49	'50	'51	'52	'53
Nisei Sponsoring Cttee	B	B	B	B	B							
J. C. Standing Cttee												
Mtl. J. Welfare Federation												
Mtl. J.C. "												
Mtl. Cttee for J.C.'s												
J.C. Citizens Association												
Japanese language Division												
Co-ordinating Cttee												
J. Community Hall Cttee												
J.C. Community Centre												
RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS												
Anglican Bible Society												
Buddhist Church												
Fujinkai												
Dussei (BYBS)												
Sunday School												
Bowling League												
Roman Catholic Hostel												
J. Catholic Mission												
J.C. Catholic Youth												
Language School - French												
- Japanese												
Kindergarten												
United Church of Canada												
Women's Association												
Nisei Church												
English Language Lessons												
Young Adult Group												
(Christian) Nisei Fellowship												
ECONOMIC												
Family Co-op Union												
YOUTH												
Teenagers												
Nisei Youth Organization												
Girls Athletic Club												
Pre-Teens												
RECREATIONAL												
Mtl. Nisei Athletic Club												
" " Bowling League												
" " Badminton "												
Softball												
Basketball												
Girls' Softball												
Montreal Nisei Baseball												
Golf Club												
Tennis Club (J.C.C.A.)												
Judo Association												
Biddy Basketball (J.C.C.A.)												
NEWS ORGANS												
Montreal Bulletin												
The Sangha												
SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL												
Homemakers Club												
Nisei Book Club												
Nisei Campus Club												
CULTURAL												
Nisei Drama Club												
Japanese Drama Club												
Music Appreciation Group (J.C.C.A.)												
Flower Arrangement												
WELFARE												
Quebec Cttee for Relief												
TOTAL	1	2	7	10	16	23	27	33	31	32	33	33

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J.- Japanese
 C.- Canadian
 B - Organizations in which Both Nisei and Issoi participate.
 I - " " only Issoi participate.
 N - " " only Nisei participate.
 X - " formed in conjunction with Occidentals.

COMPARISON OF ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION BY:

	'43	'44	'46	'49	'52	'53
Nisei	1	3	10	22	23	21
Issoi	0	2	3	7	6	5
Mixed	1	2	5	4	4	7
TOTAL	2	7	18	33	33	33

Second Phase, 1946-49

The second phase of the development reflects the period of uneasiness conflicting attitudes; the period of the formation of diverse groups. It is at that that these attitudes greatly hindered the formation of an integrated social organization. These attitudes, to a certain extent, may be explained by a situation which existed in the ghost towns were to be analyzed.

Professor Laviolette, who studied the Japanese living in the Ghost towns for two years, gives the following description:

"The group is without hope, and there are no immediate prospects of it regaining hope. Although one may observe them carrying on the daily routine of life, there is underneath an apathy, suspicion, and distrust which naturally becomes deeper the longer they continue in a broken-down social world. Feelings of frustration are turned in upon themselves except for the deep hostility towards the government officials charged with administering the programme. This condition tends to maximize the importance of political affairs in the camps marked by factional disputes, and an inability to overcome problems of unrest. We might add jealousy of each other, expressing itself in demands for equality of sacrifice." (3)

The influence of the Ghost Town social structure was such that the fore-mentioned hostility was irritated further by the acceptance of rumours as facts.

"It has furthermore given rise to the use of rumours as rationalizations for immediate behaviour. Rumours are not communication in the basic sociological conception of it; they serve to screen the more basic factors which determine the objective present and which are not able to function adequately because of past experience, group censorship, and a still uncertain future." (4)

Therefore, might it not be said that with such a frame of mind and of attitude, strong suspicions were transferred to leaders of the Japanese Community created a strong cause for constant conflict and dispute during the early days of communal organizations.

The outward manifestation of these attitudes were evident during the years 1946 and 1947, when there were five attempts to establish an organization to represent the whole community. Besides the aforementioned Standing Committee, the four other groups were the Japanese Welfare Federation, the Quebec Canadian Welfare Federation, the Montreal Committee for Japanese Canadians, and finally, the Japanese Canadian Citizens Association (Quebec Chapter).

The Japanese Welfare Federation, an Issai group, was formed in April, 1946. This group made arrangements with the Department of Labour and the Wartime Prices and Control Board to allocate quantities of rice for the Japanese on a ration

Laviolette, F. E. Social Psychological Characteristics of Evacuated Japanese, Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. II, 1945, p. 423

ibid, p. 427

basis. However, complaints based on the following shortened its life: suspicion of profit motives on the part of the executives, protestations of the undemocratic procedures and authoritarian attitudes, lack of clarified statements as to purpose, etc. The upshot was the amalgamation of this body with the Nisei Standing Committee to form the Japanese Canadian Welfare Federation. This merger, besides dispelling criticisms, was thought to centralize the multiplicity of community work. In addition to undertaking the programme pursued before, this new organization planned to represent the community as a whole. This broad statement antagonised the smaller clubs who feared a loss of identity; and just eight months after its formation, lacking public sympathy and support, this group dissolved.

Before the merger, the Standing Committee undertook several accomplishments. Among other things, it helped to raise funds for the Supreme Court case that was testing the validity of the deportation legislation of the Japanese from Canada; it also began publishing the Montreal Bulletin, a monthly bilingual community organ, in March, 1946. This organ has since become independent.

Three months after the Welfare Federation disbanded, the Montreal Committee for Japanese Canadians was formed to coordinate the activities of the various groups, and again, to attend to matters of communal interest. To avoid antagonisms amongst the clubs, membership was based on two representatives from each of the three Issei and five Nisei groups which were to contribute to a Central Treasury.

In September, 1947, a national organization, the Japanese Canadian Citizens Association was formed in Toronto. Its purposes may be briefly summarized as:

"To enable Japanese Canadian organizations in Canada to work together as a unified whole in order to undertake active and collective action for the betterment and advancement of the welfare of Canadians of Japanese ancestry desirous of living in Canada as full Canadian citizens, and with the realization of the need to stress the responsibilities as well as the privileges of Canadian citizenship:" (5)

The formation of the J.C.C.A. acknowledged the Japanese as finally accepting their share of the fight for their rights and freedoms, previously shouldered by an occidental organization, the Cooperative Committee for Japanese Canadians.

In order to affiliate themselves with this national organization, the Montreal Committee for Japanese Canadians dissolved to form the Quebec Chapter of the National J.C.C.A., which has continued to this day. At the time of its formation, the overwhelming emphasis upon political and financial activity on the national level resulted in a general apathy towards the J.C.C.A. The average individual could not appreciate the relationship between the local and the national body which was engaged in such matters as property claims, franchise, civil rights, etc.

(5) Montreal Bulletin, October, 1947, Editorial.

Other factors besides the political differences, minor club activities, etc. retarded the resumption of an integrated communal life, with the J.C.C.A. as the official spokesman. The principal reason was the ecological development that was taking place at this time. As explained in the Ecological analysis, during the period of 1947, there was a gradual outward movement of the Japanese to family dwellings away from the center of town. This involved two hindrances to unity cohesion. Firstly, it meant that contact and whereabouts of individuals was a large problem. A telephone directory was not compiled at that time. It meant that whereas previously the type of relocatee was an individual without particular interest toward a permanent home, by 1947, families were moving from the West and individuals commenced to think in terms of family groups homes again. This resulted in the devotion of time and money towards the primary group rather than the secondary or community relationships. Adding to this distraction from community sympathy was the factor of self-education and development of the individual by adjustment problems of economic self-support.

The pattern of diverse group formations followed in three spheres--recreational, educational, and religious.

Cooperative economic adjustment effort was manifested in the formation of Montreal Family Co-op Union Syndicate Reg'd. from among 100 families. This organization, which is still active, buys and sells groceries and dry goods of particular interest to Japanese tastes. Other benefits offered by the group included welfare and mutual savings bank. The extent and success of the operations of this group may be estimated by its investment in a truck in 1949.

On the recreational side, there was an outburst of general activity, characterized by sudden emergence of new clubs. Recreation in athletics expanded to include badminton (two leagues) boys and girls softball leagues, tennis, basketball, and bowling. Social activities, under the Teen-Agers Club, burst into a series of get-togethers and outings. Generally speaking, an analysis of this development--such excessive activity, conflict, and confusion--would show that this is due to irregular environmental conditions of the ghost towns where the Nisei lived in an irresponsible atmosphere without any regular routine, without responsibilities, rights and duties found in a normal productive society. The customs established in the ghost towns may have continued in the city of resettlement, perhaps with even more enthusiasm due to the release of tension.

The formation of the Montreal Buddhist Church and the Montreal Japanese Methodist Church, soon after the J.C.C.A. was launched in 1947, resulted in three principal religious organizations with auxiliary bodies. They are the Roman Catholic Church, the United Church, and the Buddhist Church.

The Buddhist groups are handicapped by the fact that they lack hall facilities not encountered by the other two churches. Furthermore, without a provincial or national charter, they are denied the status of an established church. Through the application of time and effort, they provide their own services, Sunday school, etc. with occasional assistance from a Toronto priest. The Buses have associated with the Toronto and Hamilton groups to form the Eastern Canada Young Buddhist League. This inter-city relationship is unique among Nisei religious groups as neither of the Christian religions have established a tie. This diversification from the local community organization has influenced a division between the J.C.C.A. and the Buddhist group. Perhaps, this is a transmission of inter-city attitudes by key individuals of the Vancouver society. Taking the J.C.C.A.

as a representative group of the community, and the executive as the most influential communal body, it has been remarked that the majority of them are Christians or non-religious affiliates. The significance of this, of course, may be due to many other factors.

In the course of financial campaigns conducted during this period, there was much irritation due to many groups seeking community solicitation. In addition to the J.C.C.A. and the Buddhist Church, etc. was the newly formed Nisei Baseball Club, which represented the community in the City Intermediate League. The value of this ball team lay in not only its success in competition but in conveying good-will throughout the City of Montreal.

By the end of 1948, the J.C.C.A. began to gain solidarity as a community organization. By publishing a telephone directory it commenced into a series of projects, tangible and immediately useful to the local community. This community organization was also given staunch support by the Montreal Bulletin which became independent after six months financial backing from various clubs. Its circulation within Montreal has equaled that of the New Canadian, another independent paper with a national circulation published in Toronto.

Although the large gap between the Issei generation and the Nisei generation has been a problem in providing community leadership, this has been partially solved by a few older Nisei assuming responsibility earlier than normally would be expected of them and carrying heavier duties. *

With the realization of the J.C.C.A. as an accepted community representative by the majority of clubs and individuals; with the cessation of open inter-club animosity and conflict, the second phase, 1946-49 came to an end.

THIRD PERIOD 1949-1952

By 1949, it was apparent that the population, having reached its peak of 1300, would either decline or remain constant. Due to the trend towards stabilization, the social organizations were in a position where they had to readjust their programmes and activities to suit more specified needs or dissolve for failing to serve them. This, in brief, was the chief characteristic of the third phase. Nevertheless, 1949, with 33 organizations-- a quantity maintained until the present except during the year 1950 when the total fell to 29; it should be fully realized that this has occurred in spite of the fact that the population has slightly decreased. If the population is maintained at a steady level it is likely due to births rather than adult additions to the community.

Until 1949, the local J.C.C.A. had been largely concerned with aid to the National body, this being the cause for criticism of the executive's failure to provide a local programme. However, following the solution to these national problems (civil rights, property claims, etc.) the J.C.C.A. was now in a position to direct attention to local affairs. This took form in the expansion of activities in athletic and social fields. The year also marked the formation of the Issei-bu of the J.C.C.A., and a Liaison Committee to coordinate Issei-Nisei activities. By 1950, an elaborate programme was offered, with an emphasis on recreation for the Isseis. From 1951, the executive staff extended further to include economic, political, cultural, educational, and social Welfare committees. Although retaining its affiliation and support of the National Organization, the Quebec J.C.C.A. has adopted a new approach stressing the welfare of youths and Isseis. *

With the dissolution of the Teen-Agers Club in 1948, three youth groups merged within the following year. The social activity, which had been given more emphasis in the former club, was now minimized with stress on sports.

Nisei Youth Organization (1948) was formed by boys and the Girls Athletic Club (1949) became a counterpart. The third group, the Pre-Teens Club, was added to a much younger girls' group. In all three cases, they were given guidance and supervision by the Catholic Youth organizations, which were the only groups with means to respond to their interests. In a short time, the Teen group out-grew its purposes and dissolved after three years, many migrating to the Girls Athletic Club.

It was also in 1949 that the Nisei Fellowship Group amended its original constitution to adapt themselves to a changed situation. Whereas the first intention of the organization was to help the Nisei relocate, adjustments were made to promote Canadian citizenship through cultural, vocational, political, and social means. However, despite this approach, the idea of joining the local Young Peoples Presbytery has not gained much support. This would indicate a desire to retain the status quo with no incentive for further accommodation. Furthermore, at this time, the United Church changed its policy by moving into English worship services for their Nisei congregation. The practice of joining Occidental congregation being not too common, it was deemed necessary to keep the identity of the Nisei Christians. In this it was acknowledged that instead of individual worship among the scattered Occidental congregations, the Niseis preferred and would be encouraged in segregated worship.

The formation of a golf club (1949) may be reasonably interpreted as a sign in the index of economic stability.

On a broader scale, further stabilisation can be interpreted by the stress on activities on the younger children of the community. First of these, the Japanese Catholic Mission, in conjunction with the Catholic School Board, established a weekly Japanese Language School for children. Another group, the Young Buddhists' Society, commenced Sunday School operations, which at this date (1949) met on a monthly basis. By late 1952, this activity progressed to weekly meetings with concrete programmes provided by the Bussai staff. Both these activities reflect some desire to retain traditional Japanese customs, ethical values and language, not to mention the continuance of Buddhism in Montreal.

At this time, the Montreal Nisei Athletic Club was dissolved with component sports as bowling and badminton continuing on as specialized sport clubs. It was no longer possible to have an all-Japanese softball or basketball league. Instead, one Japanese team would enter a city league.

With the formation of the Nisei Campus Club at McGill, a representative group was found for the students at McGill University, Sir George Williams College, and the University of Montreal. This development is evidence not only of a larger number of students attending college but also the desire for identification with one another on the campus. It serves as a point of contact between the Japanese community and the campus as it cooperates with the J.C.C.A. for the annual Graduates Tea, has sponsored a Benefit Social in aid of the J.C.C.A. Bursary and is the only group to invite the J.C.C.A. executive to discuss the latter's policies and purposes.

Institutions with permanent office space have been limited to only the Catholic Mission and the United Church. Lack of permanent office and meeting

space has hindered in the development and stability of many organizations. An effort to remedy this problem was made by the Franciscan Fathers who offered the use of a hall to the entire community. An effort was made to organize a timetable but with increasing complications the project was abandoned. The scene of activity has been shifting in 1953 from St. Raphael's House on Ontario Avenue to the Japanese Canadian Community Centre on Sherbrooke Street East. Actually, only the maintenance of a secular hall, will bring full hearted support by Buddhists, Catholics and Protestants alike to community-wide activities.

In summary, we may say that 1949 was a very significant year, a turning point from discord, conflict and concern for adjustment, to social behaviour and organizational activity of economic security, and a stable community. It has been a return to efficient cooperation, an assumption of a continuing cohesive community with a separate group status within the Greater Community. Moreover, the trend of activities has been towards diversity and specialization of interests, away from straight social or athletic groups.

A. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MONTREAL 1952 WITH VANCOUVER 1941

Montreal of 1952 has a much more complex organizational picture than before in spite of the fact that its population has not increased. This is due mainly to the fact that religious organizations are divided into recreational, educational, youth and economic fields.

The relationship between a religious group and economic customs is exemplified in the retention of the 'tanomoshi' (a money pool; a cooperative system of financial savings used in Japan) and in the Family Co-op, both of which are supported and used mainly by adherents of the Buddhist religion. Moreover, since this practice is uncommon among the Christian Japanese, it is an indication that with the Buddhist religion is transmitted traditional mores of Japan and adapted to the Canadian environment. The continued use of this practice remains to be seen as the Nisei generation resumes leadership.

The organizational pattern has followed the trend already set in 1949. The Roman Catholic Church initiated a daily kindergarten, providing recreational and educational facilities for working mothers.

Following the policy set in 1949, the United Church Nisei Board was established. Furthermore, a Young Adult Group, a study unit, was formed. These groups within the United Church organization are distinguished from one another and from the Nisei Fellowship Group, though the membership would embrace any of the organization's members.

Intense interest in Japanese culture (in the popular sense of the word) resulted in the founding of the Japanese Drama Club. The group feels for itself a task of contributing to the Canadian appreciation of Japanese culture. Its membership is largely Issei.

The decrease in population (approximately 1000 in 1952) has created a dependency among the various groups for public functions. Any one group is too small to sponsor a dance without a response from the rest of the community. Joint efforts as the Bussei-Fellowship Dance held annually have become possible. Misunderstanding and conflict between organizations has been also eliminated by the fact that the Nisei have assumed leadership in many of the organizations and removed much of the former Issei-Nisei friction.

The multiplication of religious group activities indicates that future development might continue along this trend. The following is an estimate of number of adherents in the three main religious bodies within the Japanese unity.

<u>BUDDHIST CHURCH</u>	<u>ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH</u>	<u>UNITED CHURCH</u>
177 20 families (80-100) 2 (April) 90 " (400-450)	30 members (80% Nisei)	54 (Issei only) 90 (25% Nisei)

These figures may not present a true picture as in the case of the Buddhists who list family heads and also include children who may not be actual members; or in the case of the members of the United Church who are members of all Occidental churches and may or may not participate in the Japanese Church; or in the case of the Catholic church which through its strength in the province of Quebec is able to provide extensively for the needs of the community and therefore has many groups and individuals dependent upon it.

From the above comparison it can be seen that adherents of the United Church and the Buddhist Church are largely Issei in leadership while the Roman Catholic Church has become a religious institution for younger folks largely since the evacuation and is fairly recent in the religious picture of the Japanese community.

There is ground for a strong belief that those organizations which would continue to develop are those with strong appeal to both the Isseis and the Niseis, providing a programme for both groups. Thus their continuity would depend upon such specifications as age, athletic interests, recreational, cultural interests alone but could embrace them all.

JAPANESE COMMUNITY OF 1939 (VANCOUVER)

The community organizations in Vancouver showed to a high degree a dominance of trade associations. The following is a list of the larger organizations.

- Canadian Japanese Association
- Camp and Mill Workers' Union
- Amalgamated Fishermen of B.C.
- Japanese Canadian Citizens' League
- The Japanese Returned Soldiers Association (an affiliate of the Great War Veterans' Association of Canada)
- Cleaning and Pressing Proprietors' Association
- Merchants' Association
- Workingmen's Co-op
- Restaurant Proprietors' Association.

The social structure of the Vancouver communities were much more complex than those now existing in Montreal. For the most part these organizations were organized on a province wide basis with the Vancouver groups acting in dual capacities. With most of the Japanese in the province of Quebec residing within eastern Montreal, the same dual service does not exist. However, Toronto, which is the center of the National J.C.C.A. and the Eastern Canada Young Buddhist League is in a similar position to the multiple role of Vancouver.

Because of Montreal's small Japanese population, it would perhaps seem more appropriate if the comparisons were made with the smaller communities outside Vancouver. Nonetheless, the same conclusions would be reached. For the same factors existed in these communities as in Vancouver: in the smaller communities, the trade associations of fishermen or farmers catered not only to the particular needs of trade representation but also functioned for the community as a whole. The Japanese, at this time, were in limited occupations as a consequence of low economic background and race prejudices. It was for this reason that their economic identification was vital to their livelihood.

Today, such economically based identifications do not exist; are no longer necessary -- protection is gained by identifying oneself with the established unions of the Occidental community. The Family Co-op in Montreal is an economic organization, but it is not the identification of members of similar trades.

In the field of education, there were nine bodies affiliated with the Japanese Language School in Vancouver, whereas in Montreal there is only a small class directed by the Roman Catholic Mission. The present lack of organization for the continuance of Japanese language indicates a relaxation from the obligations and traditions faithfully and obediently followed by the Vancouver community. *at the end of a need.*

In Vancouver, divergent points of view, especially with regard to nationalism, were used as a means of social control by groups as the Canadian Japanese Association which was opposed by the Camp and Mill Worker's Union. Such attitudes have now been replaced by balanced interest in Japanese tradition, art and culture. Then, too, with the small populace, the practice of "ken-jin-kai" or prefectural associations, which were very prevalent in Vancouver, has largely been discontinued.

All the preceding organizations have no parallel in the Japanese community in Montreal, this being due largely to the fact that they were dominated by Issei who were applying the traditional values of their Motherland and were accommodating themselves to their restricted occupations by protective trade associations.

However, in the case of the Japanese Canadian Citizens League, which is the forerunner of the present J.C.C.A. Nisei leadership has continued. In all the other fields of activity, it is only onwards from 1941 that the trend towards present day Issei-Nisei relationships was discernible. The advent of the Evacuation has acted as a catalyst to hasten this development. After a period of friction due to this trend of succession, full community and family responsibility will be borne by the Nisei. The Organizational Chart reveals that most of the organizations are of Nisei membership. Many Isseis have purposely avoided the resumption of community control and have left essential matters in the hands of the Nisei. Only the churches, continuing from British Columbia, have developed at a normal rate with the Issei still dominating in administration and the Nisei subordinate or just gaining responsibilities.

CONCLUSIONS

In this brief comparative study of the two communities, Vancouver prior to 1941 and Montreal of today, many significant differences have been noted; but it must be remembered that the situations were quite different. Without a common economic base, without the enforcement of nationalistic social controls through education and ken-jin-kai's, without the pressure of racial prejudice, without

large
large concentrated population, without a physically segregated community or *ghetto*
to, without all these forces which were accounted as leading to community *concentration*
ation (as in Vancouver), the Japanese community has still retained a strong *communal*
al isolation in Montreal. This conclusion is significant when the reader *recalls*
alls that the trend observed by my colleague, Miss Uchida, was that ecologically *the*
Japanese settlement in Montreal had been dispersed following the customary *trend*
id for residential patterning.

The most outstanding reasons of a theoretical nature may be summarized as follows:

- 1) Members of the Japanese Community share the same memories as a result of the Evacuation crisis and their earlier group solidarity of the B.C. segregated communities. This experience has heightened group identity and made them even more conscious of their dissimilarity to the Caucasian. Group consensus and false security which arose during the all-Japanese society of the Ghost Towns has created a sense of security among his own kind.
- 2) The unity of collective action in matters such as property claims, civil rights, etc. have tended to bring various groups together.
- 3) Japanese traditional group values are a strong force in bringing recalcitrants to conform to ethical views. Although the Nisei has been educated in individualism and creativity, a continuing influence in his behaviour is the re-inforcement of the preceding opinion by the Japanese society. For the sake of family reputation, most Nisei conform in order to maintain smooth relationships .
- 4) Other factors are the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Montreal which encourages or certainly does not discourage ethnic segregation. Also we might consider the language barrier, French, which eliminates many potential social companions which one might find through occupations, residential neighbourhoods, etc. The initial hostile environment resulted in an immediate group reaction and encouraged the Nisei to seek group security.

In a final analysis, it must be said that, in spite of their ecological *disp*
ersion throughout the city, the Japanese have retained their complexity of *organ*
izations and institutions to a sufficient degree to say that this phenomenon *of*
group solidarity is a striking characteristic of the Japanese (in America). *Further*
more, the Nisei have assumed community leadership and have adopted a pro-
gram suited to their particular needs, which are mainly social and cultural, *and*
also have continued to support Issei group activity to a large extent. *Finally*
ally, the process of resettlement has been indicated through three phases of
development with the third, an adjustment to a permanent, stable community likely to
continue for some time. The largest factor which will work to break down this *popu*
lation is economic pressure. It produces physical mobility, contacts, rewarding *the*
economically successful. Rather than group security, the members of the *com*
munity will stress economic security and therefore a levelling of material civiliza-
tion will occur. (4)

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