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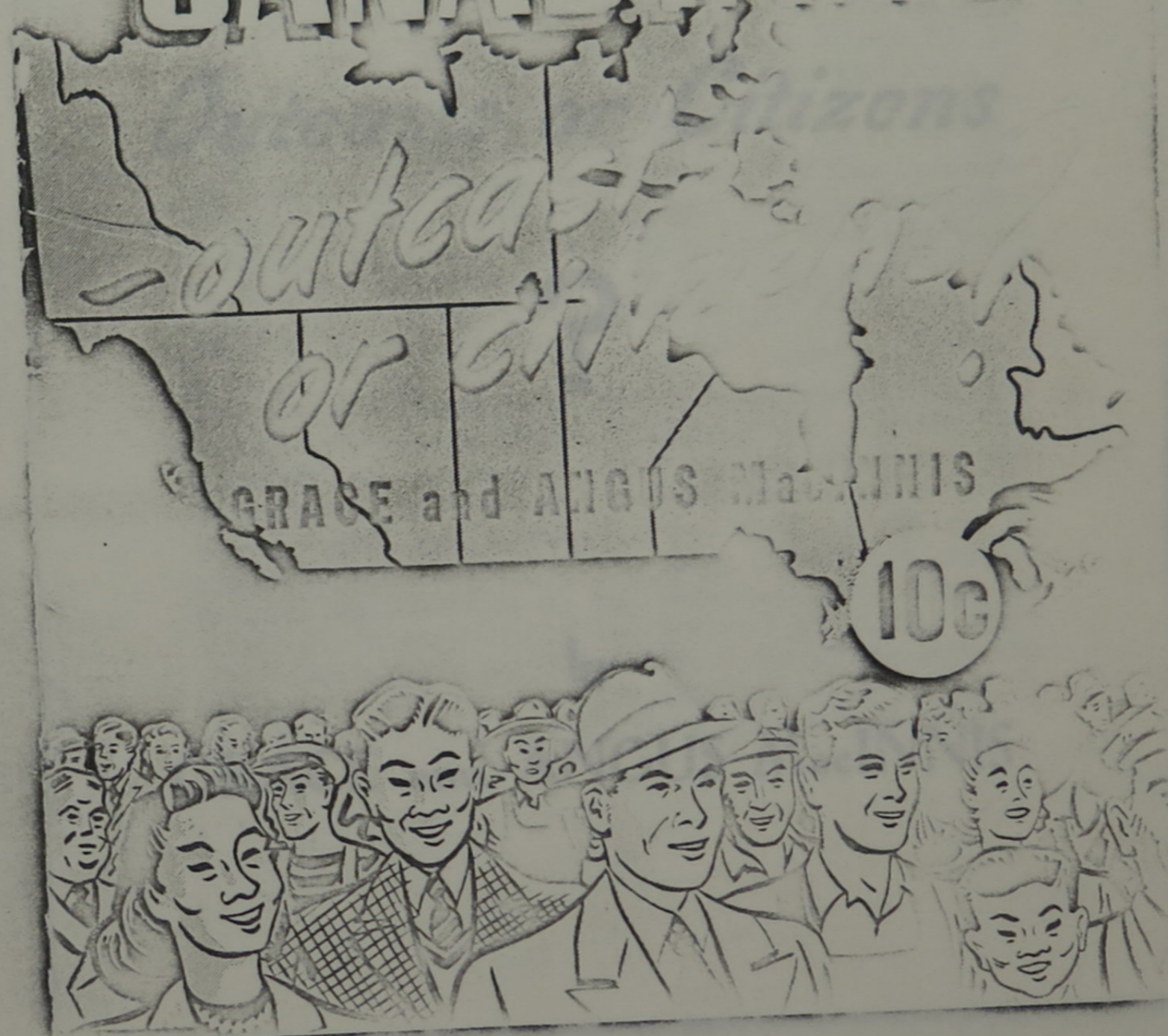
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# ORIENTAL CANADIANS



# ORIENTAL CANADIANS

## *Outcasts or Citizens*

?

by

GRACE and ANGUS MacINNIS

**"R**ACISM is essentially a pretentious way of saying that 'I belong to the best people.' For such a conviction it is the most gratifying formula that has ever been discovered, for neither my own unworthiness nor the accusations of others can ever dislodge me from my position—a position which was determined in the womb of my mother at conception. It avoids all embarrassing questions about my conduct of life and nullifies all embarrassing claims by 'inferior' groups about their own achievements and ethical standards.

*"It has also the advantage of great simplicity. It avoids any of the actual complexities of human nature and of human history and sets up a five-word proposition which the most uneducated can remember and glory in: 'I belong to the Elect.' For political purposes the racist formula has no rival. . . .*

*"The formula 'I belong to the Elect' has a far longer history than has modern racism. These are fighting words among the simplest naked savages. Among them this formula is an integral part of their whole life-experience, which is, from our point of view, incredibly limited."*

—RUTH BENEDICT  
in "Race and Racism."

## ORIENTAL-CANADIANS . . . OUTCASTS OR CITIZENS?

By  
GRACE and ANGUS MacINNIS

**A**MONG the most difficult problems confronting the Canadian people are those concerning racial minorities. Hitler fanned the flames of race hatred for his own purposes, but the Nazi dictator was not alone in using this means to divide and rule. Here in Canada racial animosities have been fomented by those who were eager to continue the exploitation of the Canadian people. On the one hand, they have cried loudly against those of alien races; on the other, they have kept open channels of immigration to provide a reservoir of cheap labor. "Profitable patriotism" has its victories in peace no less than in war.

No single minority problem is more urgent than that of the Orientals in British Columbia. It is likely that the CCF will shortly be called upon to administer the affairs of the province, and we must have a policy ready to deal with this unsolved social issue left to us by capitalist governments of the past. Their job was to protect the interests of the minority, beclouding the minds of the majority by emotion and prejudice. Ours will be to legislate for the welfare of the people, securing at every step their understanding and co-operation. It is in this spirit that the CCF must approach the Oriental problem.

## ORIENTALS IN CANADA

Because Canada's Orientals are located mainly in British Columbia, it has been taken largely for granted that this is a purely local issue. British Columbia has always protested that, owing to Ottawa's control of immigration and other policies, the Oriental question must be considered on a Canada-wide basis. This is more obvious now that those of Japanese origin are being settled in other provinces, and the Dominion government is accepting responsibility for their removal from the Pacific coast.

Towards the end of this pamphlet will be found the 1943 Convention Statement of the British Columbia section of the CCF, dealing with the Orientals. This statement makes it clear that the Oriental issue is but a part of the problem of racial minorities in Canada, which, in turn, is but a part of the world-problem which must come up for discussion and solution at world conferences following the present conflict.

The war has focused attention upon those of Japanese origin in Canada, but it must not be forgotten that the term "Oriental" includes citizens of Chinese and East Indian (Hindu) origin as well. These two latter groups have also incurred hostility and they continue to be handicapped by discriminatory legislation in regard to the franchise and by various economic and social disqualifications. There is every reason to believe that, when Canada is no longer at war with Japan, the age-old economic factors will operate to put them once more in the same category as citizens of Japanese origin.

Probably the most authentic statistics available as to the number of Orientals resident in Canada and in British Columbia are those of the Dominion government census, which is taken every ten years. The following census figures for 1931 and 1941 show the number of persons of Oriental origin:

## In Canada

	1931	1941
Chinese .....	46,519	34,627
Japanese .....	23,342	23,149
East Indians .....	1,400	1,465

## In British Columbia

Chinese .....	27,139	18,619
Japanese .....	22,205	22,196
East Indians .....	1,283	1,345

It will be noted that those of Chinese origin have tended to settle across Canada, while those of Japanese and East Indian origin have remained almost entirely in British Columbia. The number of Chinese has dropped considerably during the last decade, a trend likely to continue because Chinese immigration has been virtually cut off since 1923, and because their women were never permitted to enter Canada in large numbers. While the Japanese population shows little change in the decade, the future trend will probably be upward, although their birthrate is declining relatively and never was of the proportions that alarmists imagined. The East Indian figures are scarcely large enough to concern even alarmists.

The task of the CCF is to determine the best way of dealing with these population groups, both from the standpoint of the Canadian community and of the minorities involved. To understand CCF policy in this matter it is essential to review briefly the story of how the Orientals came to Canada and to consider the factors which have made their presence a problem.

## BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT IMPORT ORIENTALS

The history of Oriental immigration into Canada is essentially the story of how cheap labor was welcomed and imported by the large employers of labor. Many instances could be given, but here are two outstanding examples:

**Canadian Pacific Railway:** In 1881 when the transcontinental line was being built, the C.P.R. imported large numbers of Chinese from China and the United States. From 1881 to 1884 inclusive, 15,701 Chinese entered British Columbia. In answer to protests from the province, the Dominion government stated that it could neither influence the C.P.R. to employ white labor nor could it afford to aid white immigration.

**Wellington Colliery Company:** When the Legislature of British Columbia tried to exclude further Orientals by passing the Immigration Act, the Lieutenant-Governor refused his assent on the ground that the Act would be disallowed as it had been before. The Lieutenant-Governor happened to be Sir James Dunsmuir, president of the Wellington Colliery Company, one of the largest importers of Oriental labor in the province.

Further examples could be given, but these are sufficient to show how big business and government combined to create the Oriental problem. The Dominion government had its own reasons for allowing it to grow unchecked:

**Trade Treaty with Japan:** In 1907 Sir Wilfred Laurier signed a trade treaty between Canada and Japan, quieting British Columbia's demand for Oriental exclusion by promising the business men

terminal elevators at Vancouver and a swelling grain trade with the Orient.

**Another Treaty:** Following anti-Oriental riots in Vancouver in 1907, Ottawa signed a further treaty with Japan, international considerations being "so delicate" that the terms remained shrouded in mystery for some time. Later it was discovered that they permitted Japan to send large numbers of immigrants to Canada every year. In 1928 the "Gentlemen's Agreement" limited the number to 150 yearly.

From all this it is evident that the interests of private profit prevailed over the need of coming to grips with a growing social problem which had been created by the importation of cheap labor.

## PREJUDICE MAINLY ECONOMIC

The root cause of anti-Oriental feeling has always been economic. Back in 1858, when a gold strike in the Fraser River brought the first Chinese miners to British Columbia, they were welcomed. When the boom collapsed a few years later and they went into road-building, storekeeping, trading and packing, farming, gardening and domestic service, prejudice mounted against them. The reason was that their lower living standards enabled them to undercut white workers.

But up through the years this root cause was always skilfully obscured by those who exploited labor. By diverting economic discontent into racial channels, employers and politicians managed to keep all labor standards down. The workers did not see the real enemy.

Measures passed against the Orientals included head tax for the Chinese and the disenfranchisement in all elections of Chinese, Japanese and East Indians.

No single measure was passed to compel employers to pay the same wages to Orientals as to whites and thus end competition from a low-income group. On the contrary:

In 1934 the British Columbia Board of Industrial Relations issued a minimum wage order for the sawmill industry which made it possible for an employer to hire up to 25 percent of his workers at wages of 25c an hour while those of the rest are fixed at 35c. In practice, this 25 percent has frequently been Oriental.

Always the story has been the same. In good times the anti-Oriental feeling abates; in depressions it becomes acute. Its curve has very little to do with the color of the skin or the slant of the eyes; it is mainly economic. During the war of 1914-18, when labor was scarce, employers appealed to Ottawa to be allowed to import more Orientals, but were refused. One request was supported by the Vancouver Board of Trade.

#### ECONOMIC COMPETITION WORLD-WIDE

Socialists take the position that the racial issue is essentially a world problem which cannot be properly settled until we have world-wide labor standards of living. Seeking to exclude racial minorities from any one country is, in itself, no cure for the real disease: economic competition.

On July 11, 1924, J. S. Woodsworth explained the socialist viewpoint to the House of Commons when he replied to one of the numerous anti-Oriental speeches of A. W. Neill, M.P. Mr. Woodsworth said:

"But I call attention to the fact, as I have done on previous occasions, that mere exclusion of Asiatics will not solve the economic problem of the competition

of the Oriental races. The fact is that if steamers cannot be repaired cheaply enough on this side of the Pacific, they are repaired on the other side. The fact is that these ships which enter our ports from China, Japan and other parts of the Orient are bringing in cheap goods that are made by cheap Oriental labor, and these goods compete with our goods, and thus with our workmen. So I repeat, exclusion is no final solution of the economic problem.

"However, I protest as emphatically as I can against the attitude taken by the member for Comox-Alberni when he used words something like this: That the preservation of our civilization depends on the dominance of white races over the other races of the world. If that be the case, then the sooner this civilization perishes from off the face of the earth, the better. Does the hon. member mean to say that we of the white race must eternally bestride this earth and keep other races in subordination? It seems to me that this is the very doctrine which some people accused the Germans of preaching, and for the defeat of which the world war was supposed to have been fought. It is this use of the word 'dominance', this idea of some superior Nordic race, that is responsible for a great deal of the trouble which we have at the present time, and I do not think that such statement should go unchallenged. The hon. member recognized that this was indeed a world problem, but I submit that when he advocated exclusion and expressed a great deal of prejudice against other races, he did not offer anything like a world solution of the problem."—(Hansard, p. 4357).

#### CCF MOVES TO BAR IMMIGRATION

Socialists, however, recognize that world solutions will not be achieved overnight and that they must deal

with the problems of their particular area in the best possible way at any given time. Realizing that business would do nothing about Oriental competition in British Columbia, realizing that the old-line parties would do nothing except raise a furore at election time, Angus MacInnis, on behalf of the CCF group introduced the following motion into the House of Commons in 1936:

"Whereas it is detrimental to the best interests of Canada that there should be in the country groups to whom because of race or religious beliefs, we do not extend all the rights of citizenship:

"Therefore be it resolved, that, in the opinion of this House, the government should take the necessary measures to exclude from the country all persons belonging to these groups to whom we do not grant the full rights and privileges of citizenship."

This motion was lost by 15 votes to 186, every Liberal and every Conservative in the House voting against it. In effect it said: Either we refuse to let people into Canada, or, if we permit them to enter, we give them full citizenship rights. Prominent among those who defeated this motion—and thus refused to make a straightforward decision on the Oriental issue—were A. W. Neill and Tom Reid, British Columbia M.P.'s who had denounced the Orientals for years and who were evidently much more concerned to keep on denouncing them, than to deal with the question of their citizenship rights.

Accusations that this was a "trick motion" to put others on the spot and to avoid recording the CCF stand on excluding further Orientals, were disproved in 1938 when A. W. Neill brought in a motion to bar Japanese from entering Canada in future. (Chinese were effectively excluded in 1923.) Mr. Neill's motion was de-

feated by 42 votes to 79, all CCF members supporting it and the Government rejecting it. Said Angus MacInnis on this occasion:

"The Oriental problem has given me much concern over quite a number of years because it has never been faced honestly and squarely in this Dominion. . . . Greed for cheap labor brought the Oriental to British Columbia, and greed for trade has kept him coming in."—(Hansard, p. 563).

## ORIENTALS—AND CANADIANS

The CCF group thus placed itself clearly on record as opposing the entry of more Orientals to Canada. But what about those already here? And what about their children? Those who foment race prejudices do not attempt to deal with those issues. But they cannot be avoided. Alone among political parties, the CCF has had the vision and courage to insist that hatred is no program and that a real solution must be found.

For those of Oriental origin in Canada there can be only one solution. That is to refuse to draw the color line. Orientals who have become naturalized here, children born here of Oriental parents are Canadians and should be accepted as such in the full sense of the term. Their living-standards, their working-standards, their educational and cultural standards should be on equal levels with those of other Canadians.

Without question they should have full citizenship rights, including the franchise. Many people do not know that, with the sole exception of the Chinese in Saskatchewan, Orientals of all three groups—Chinese, Japanese and East Indian—have the right to vote in every province except British Columbia. The same thing is true of every state in the American union, including the West Coast

states. The CCF is urging that British Columbia cease being the one spot in North America where Orientals cannot become full citizens.

### DISABILITIES OF B.C. ORIENTALS

Children of Oriental origin born in Canada are Canadian citizens. In 1924 an agreement was reached with Japan that, unless Japanese-Canadian parents registered their children with the Japanese consul within 14 days of birth, Japan would have no claim on them. Although discrimination against Orientals in British Columbia made this dual citizenship understandable, it was never desirable from a Canadian standpoint. Fewer parents of Japanese origin were registering their children with the consul as time elapsed, and, with the granting of full Canadian citizenship rights, dual citizenship should never again be permitted.

Until the Japanese-Canadians were evacuated from the West Coast areas, their children attended the public schools of the province, went to high school, and, when their parents could afford it, to the university, where their scholarship record was high. But Orientals remain in an inferior position, because of disabilities which may be listed as follows:

- (1) In British Columbia no person of Japanese, Chinese or East Indian origin may vote in federal, provincial or municipal elections. The sole exceptions are Japanese who served in the Canadian forces in the last war and who may vote federally and provincially.
- (2) None can be nominated for school trustee.
- (3) None can serve on a jury.
- (4) None can be employed in the public or municipal services of the province or on public works.

- (5) These barriers prevent Orientals from entering either the profession of law or pharmacy, both of which require eligibility to vote in provincial elections.
- (6) Economic and social pressures have operated to confine those of Oriental origin almost entirely to certain types of farm and industrial work, practically barring the door to the professions.
- (7) Although no legislation has been passed to limit the number of Japanese who may obtain fishing licenses or operate canneries and fish plants, continual pressure has been exercised on both federal and provincial governments to discriminate in issuing these licenses on purely racial grounds. Similar attempts have been made in the matter of business licenses.

When the British Columbia Legislature in 1938 was asked to consider a Vancouver city charter amendment that would allow discrimination against persons of Oriental origin in the matter of licenses, Hon. H. G. T. Perry, then Liberal member for Fort George, accused the city of "Hitler philosophy."

"If we struck out the word 'Asiatics' and put in 'Hebraic,' would we be doing the same thing by law as Hitler is doing in Germany?" he asked. "Your fundamental philosophy and thought on this is exactly the same as Hitler's. Even if it were *intra vires* I would oppose it. . . . Where are you going to stop? We allowed the Orientals to come here. Surely we're going to allow them some human rights."—Vancouver Sun, November 15, 1938).

Mr. Perry's anti-Nazi stand of 1938 is just as necessary now.

## TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

It is a well-established principle of both British and Canadian constitutional government that there should be no taxation without representation. Yet today in British Columbia, citizens of Oriental origin, who have no right to vote, are exempt neither from the Taxation Act nor the Income Tax Act. Further, they may, at the discretion of the federal authorities, be called up for military service at any time. No freedom-loving British Columbian would put up with this state of affairs for himself. It is time that we ended it for our fellow-citizens to whom it applies. British fair play, fair play of any kind, repudiates this sort of thing. Tyranny leads to Nazism as it exists in Germany today. If it is not good for the people of Germany, then it is not good for the people of British Columbia.

## BEGINNINGS OF CO-OPERATION

Before the war with Japan broke out, there were numerous indications that Canadians of other origins were becoming aroused to the need for having Oriental-Canadians on an equal footing. Several examples may be mentioned:

- (1) Various church denominations kept speaking out for complete equality of citizenship.
- (2) The Camp and Mill Workers' Union, organized in 1920 by Japanese, was accepted into affiliation in 1927 by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.
- (3) In 1931 this union persuaded the Congress convention, which met that year in Vancouver, to endorse "equality of treatment and full rights of citizenship" for the second generation Japanese.
- (4) A West Coast fishermen's union accepted Orientals as members on the same terms as others.

- (5) In various co-operative and community undertakings throughout British Columbia the Orientals were gradually being accepted on the same basis as other citizens.

An eloquent tribute to the character of a fellow-Canadian was given in the House of Common on July 12, 1943, by R. T. Graham, Liberal member from Saskatchewan, when he said:

"In justice to a very brave man and a very fine citizen of Japanese origin, I cannot let the statement made by the hon. member for New Westminster (Tom Reid) go unchallenged. I have in mind a young Japanese who served with distinction in my own company in France and who was decorated by this nation. He saved the life of one of his comrades by performing a very brave deed. He came back and settled in my district where he is now farming and is one of the most highly respected farmers in his particular area. Today he has two sons serving with the Canadian forces in this war." (Hansard, p. 4785).

## EVACUATION FROM DEFENCE AREAS

Space will not permit a review of the story of the evacuation of Canadians of Japanese origin from the "protected area" of British Columbia. The attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 caused fear of possible sabotage from Orientals on the West Coast. In British Columbia a citizens' committee was formed to press for action. Finally the British Columbia Security Commission was established by the Federal Government. It undertook the removal of those of Japanese origin, receiving, with few exceptions, their wholehearted co-operation and it is noteworthy that throughout this period the Mounted Police failed to discover a single act of sabotage on the part of any person of Japanese origin.

Now the great majority are settled in the mountain valleys of the Interior in pioneer conditions, with their homes disrupted, their businesses gone; their property is being sold by the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property, their educational and social needs are neglected, and great uncertainty about the future hangs over their heads. Comparatively few have found the opportunity to take their families to eastern Canada. Small wonder that they tend to cling together in the Interior settlements rather than to plunge into the unknown East where hostility might prove even greater than the hostility they had known on the West Coast.

### THE CCF POLICY

Building the Cooperative Commonwealth is not an easy task. At every stage we are confronted by problems yet unsolved by any social engineer. Some of these are so hedged about with the prejudices and hatreds of competitive society that we are tempted to yield to popular clamor and leave them to become even more formidable. We shall do so at the cost of our future social order. For, unless the foundations of the Cooperative Commonwealth are based on the solid rock of socialist principle, the new structure cannot withstand the attacks of those who seek to destroy it.

During these war years and in the period to follow, the CCF is rising to power in Canada. Whether in opposition or in office, we must face the tremendous job of constructing a new economic and social system in this country as a part of the planned and more just world order in whose creation we must share. In this critical transition we dare not lose sight of our objective. Weakness and appeasement on fundamental issues now would spell disaster later.

The Regina Manifesto, adopted at the first National Convention of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in 1933, has in its preamble this paragraph:

"The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen."

Section 12 is entitled "Freedom" and outlines CCF ideas concerning it. One of the clauses reads:

"Equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada irrespective of race, nationality or religious or political beliefs."

Ten years later (April, 1943) the British Columbia section of the CCF met in its annual convention to consider various problems, among them that of the Oriental in British Columbia, with particular reference to those of Japanese origin. Recognizing the need for a policy to cover the immediate war situation and, at the same time, to indicate the lines along which a post-war settlement of the Oriental question must be found, it laid down the following principles:

"This Convention believes that the Japanese question is but a part of the problem of all racial minorities in Canada and that it must be solved along the lines of social justice set forth in the Atlantic Charter.

"This solution can only come about through the elimination for all Canadians of economic insecurity which is the underlying cause of all racial antagonisms.

"The present proponents of repatriation, the representatives of big business and reaction, base their proposals on a return to the old pre-war conditions of unemployment and resulting racial jealousies and

hatreds. These reactionaries who shout so blatantly for repatriation were the very ones who encouraged the entry to Canada of cheap labor for purposes of labor exploitation.

"While the CCF was in favor of evacuation of the Japanese from the protected area for reasons of defense, it must be noted that such demands immediate action by the Dominion Government to avoid aggravation of social and economic problems in British Columbia during the post-war period. In this connection the following facts are noted:

"The majority of the Japanese families are now being maintained and housed in crowded and temporary quarters at public expense in a few centres in the interior of B.C. Arrangements for limited relocation in Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario, have been negotiated only for the duration of the war. Opportunities for productive employment have been negligible and their financial resources are being exhausted. Partial education of Japanese children, financed by the Dominion Government, is mainly under the direction of the Japanese themselves. Substantial investments now under Government administration, are still held by the Japanese in various business enterprises in B.C.

"It may therefore be anticipated that upon cessation of hostilities pressure will be exercised by the Japanese and by the province and communities where they are now resident, for their immediate return to the Coast area. This will confront communities in this area with acute problems during the demobilization period. Japanese workers have been displaced in their former occupations, housing accommodation has been re-allocated, and educational facilities are overtaxed. It is therefore imperative that the Dominion Government should now plan to protect the Coast area against any sudden return of an impoverished Japanese commun-

ity; seeking re-establishment as a racial group, at a time and under conditions provocative of disturbances.

"The proposed repatriation does not offer any practical solution of the problems likely to arise in the period immediately following the defeat of Japan. Years may elapse in the stabilization of affairs in the Orient, and before the peace conference. Canada cannot act in such a matter independently but must act in conference with the United Nations, having reference to a similar situation in the United States and the Hawaiian Islands. Eventually all matters affecting racial minorities must be dealt with as an international question at a world peace conference in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

"As immediate measure possible to Canada, and designed to facilitate post-war reconstruction and minimize racial friction, this Convention advocates:

- "1. That Japanese be now assisted to obtain productive and permanent employment outside the protected area, and in other provinces at prevailing rates of pay to protect labor standards, and under conditions enabling them to re-settle with their families. This will substantially relieve the present manpower shortage and mitigate against any future concentration on the Coast in B.C. In this connection, attention is directed to the fact that a similar policy is being carried out in the United States, to the point where loyal Japanese-Americans are being enrolled in combatant units of the American Army.
- "2. That transfer of investments held by Japanese in B.C. to other sections of the Dominion be facilitated.
- "3. That education of the Japanese children be conducted in strict conformity with Canadian standards and under qualified Canadian teachers.

"4. That responsibility for the satisfactory re-settlement of Japanese across Canada be fixed now with the Dominion Government."

Today in Canada, as in every other part of the world, a battle is going on between two kinds of ideas. On the one side are those who believe in a way of life based on ruthless competition. They look upon the peoples of other nations and races as rivals for wealth and power, or as subjects for exploitation. They use their control over the sources of education and publicity to fan the latent sparks of race prejudice into the destroying flames of race hatred. They wish to keep the Orientals in a state of inferiority which tends to depress the living-standards of all workers, regardless of color. If they can keep the workers divided over racial differences, they can hide the real causes of unemployment and poverty.

On the other side are those who think in co-operative terms. They insist on a single standard of citizenship for all Canadians. They refuse to join in the cry for "repatriation." Even if it were physically possible to remove every person of Oriental origin to Asia—which it is not—it would not be repatriation for the great majority. It would be exile. You cannot repatriate native-born Canadians by sending them elsewhere. But you can help them to fuller citizenship in this, the land of their birth. You can help to place them on a footing of social, economic and political equality. Only in this way can workers of all racial origins stand shoulder to shoulder to raise their living conditions. Only in this way can those who call themselves Christians prove that they are prepared to carry the principle of brotherhood into effect. Only in this way can we have unity and harmony in Canada, for unity and harmony are based on equality and social justice. Only in this way can we in Canada make our contribution to the building of a world where peace and brotherhood will prevail.



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THE FREE MAN

A Treatise on the Life of Canadians of Japanese Ancestry

By George Tanaka

Submitted as a contribution to those who feel concern for the works of Japanese Canadians in the larger Canadian Community. The parts of this submission dealing with the History of Japanese Canadians project are sanctioned by the National JCCA.

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(The responsibilities of Japanese Canadians toward their respective community endeavours.)

## THE FREE MAN

### A Treatise on the Life of Canadians of Japanese Ancestry

By George Tanaka

#### Introduction

Events in the life of the writer, as in the life of all Japanese Canadians, almost since the day of birth and through the years of living in British Columbia - the war years, evacuation from B.C., dispersal, deprivation of citizenship, property losses, achievement of citizenship status and the respect of fellow Canadians - is only now reaching a fulfilment of a life of experience, unmeasurable in any sum except in the fact of the Japanese Canadians' growing sense of regard for other Canadians.

Events in recent years would indicate Japanese Canadians retain a desire to act and make of his works a contribution to his adopted or native country. In so doing, it would seem Japanese Canadians are desirous of acknowledging that they are mindful of their life in which deprivation of citizenship and removal by force from British Columbia was a part. From these experiences then, the habit of self identification has given to the communities where Japanese Canadians live, positive works of creative effort.

The Japanese Canadian life is extraordinary. His work in the Canadian community is notable. It is in the desire to seek the meaning to these events and the life of Japanese Canadians, that this work is respectfully submitted.

#### The Concept of the Free Man

This writer, in the span of the past 23 years, since 1943, has lived through two careers in life. One has been in the course as a committee member and fulltime executive officer; first in the Nisei Men's and Women's Committee in Toronto in 1943, the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy in 1946, and the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association. This work spanned the years from 1943 to 1953. During these years the writer was privileged to travel many times across Canada and to personally meet his fellow Japanese Canadian and to observe his great interest and work for the achievement of the full rights and privileges of citizenship. He has learned to know and appreciate the temper and quality of his fellow beings. His maturing interest and concern in the principle of acceptance and return to his country, of the rights and privileges, and the responsibilities of Canadian citizenship.

From 1953 to the present day, this writer has practiced his profession as a landscape architect, an interest which had its early beginnings in 1935. In the practice of his profession, the writer has always felt a strong concern over the responsibilities to the community, this being partly due to his former experiences in work of public service.

It was then in October, 1965, the writer received a unique invitation from Mr. Raymond Moriyama, an outstanding Canadian architect, to participate and contribute to an evening of discussion with his capable staff of some 18 members and other guests, on the subject of landscape architecture. The discussions it was hoped would seek to lead in greater depth than the ordinary, concerned questions on the discipline of landscape architecture. The writer believed the opportunity presented no ordinary access to group discussion, and prepared his thinking on the broad terms of interest and concern toward the wider Canadian community.

And thus after submitting an exhibit of his professional works, he introduced into the discussions of landscape architecture a concomitant subject matter on citizenship. As in all experiences of free discussion, many avenues of thought were explored. And in one particular avenue, the experiences of Japanese Canadians' loss of personal freedom during the forced evacuation from British Columbia in 1942, was discussed. And in these discussions it was recounted that when a personal freedom was lost, the individual no longer retained a greater interest in money, the token of material wealth.

It was also recounted by an occidental member of the group discussion, one whose former life had been in Europe, a parallel experience and a confirmation of the universality of man's experience, where his family and friends had been deprived of personal freedom, that he too had found, in his experience, the realization that the material wealth of money had no meaning when personal freedom was lost. And it was stated that to this day, a family he knew, elected to remain in his country to work for the principle of personal freedom rather than emigrate to Canada where freedom could be gained and material wealth acquired. It was his conclusion, as the discussions proceeded in our meeting, that in this country too, a man can be a slave to his desire of material possessions.

From these discussions the group concluded with the thought: a man becomes a truly free man only when he has achieved the realization that he must give of himself to his fellow mankind. Thus it was that this writer came away from this group discussion with a greater knowledge of his community of fellow men.

To Seek the Meaning of Our Works

Having taken an active part with Japanese Canadians in endeavours for the community, this writer has experienced demands of conscience which question the validity and authenticity of actions in the various project works we pursue. These personal critical questions of self-doubt have surmounted the sense of absolute accomplishment in the works we do. These questions of considerable concern are not localized to a few immediate experiences, but are the sum of experiences expanded in the conscious and sub-conscious mind, on the life of Japanese Canadians over the span of more than twenty years. And although the record of Japanese Canadians' life in the earlier period under the forces of direct discrimination should provoke only feelings of respect and admiration, this writer has felt the need to seek out a greater meaning upon which to comprehend and validate the works we pursue in the present day. Works which we undertake in so great a spirit of fervor and enthusiasm.

From the base of personal concern, this writer submits in some wonderment toward the Japanese Canadian people, that they, by their instinctive actions have demonstrated the capacity of human spirit that is embodied in the principle of the Free Man. And that, by this principle, meaning is given to the works we do, and the measure of criticism that may give direction to these works, and the base which gives universality of meaning to all these works.

To the Proposition of the Principle of the Free Man

This writer submits to the proposition that the principle of the Free Man gives true meaning to the endeavours we pursue today:

- 1) The meaning of the Authentic Japanese Garden;  
(From a study of this question there is cause to reflect upon the basic question of the meaning of the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre and the landscaping of this Centre.)
- 2) The meaning of the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre;
- 3) The meaning of the Landscaping for the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre Project under study by the Japanese Canadian Centennial Committee of Toronto;
- 4) The meaning that would make the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association project, History of Japanese Canadians, an outstanding written work.

### The Meaning of the Authentic Japanese Garden

The authentic Japanese Garden in the historical and fundamental sense, exists in Japan in the well known outstanding gardens of Japan. And in this regard, the great Zen gardens can be mentioned because of the fact they exist in Japan and were created by the great Zen priest designers of the time. But the fundamental reason for their authenticity, is because the gardens were the result of a Zen religion expression of a time in history, and therefore an authentic reflection of the conditions of the era, and of the Japanese people therein. And this undoubtedly holds true for all the great and significant works and expressions of the culture of Japan which, in the final analysis, base the culture of the country upon its religions.

And thereupon the Japanese people of modern or contemporary Japan can claim a just inheritance to these gardens, for the people are of the country wherein these gardens exist and possess significant historical and cultural meaning.

But to make a replica of these famous gardens of Japan, or to make another form of garden in their name, outside of Japan, in a foreign country, would be but to make a hollow shell of the authentic Japanese garden, if such is to be judged or measured within the concept of the Free Man.

For all people, it is believed, in all their valid and great works of endeavour, seek to release themselves from their bondage, and engage in such works and moralities which elevate, and create a better environment for themselves and their fellow beings.

### The Meaning of the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre

The significance of the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre is, this writer believes, the motivating force of spirit which has made into it reality the accomplishment of a very large and extraordinary work. It is the result of the fact that Japanese Canadians have passed through the development of human travail and pain during the period of discrimination, evacuation and loss of personal freedom. That they can accept the fullest responsibilities of Canadian citizenship, sharing the rights and duties and a common destiny with citizens of other racial origins. And that out of the experience of the past has come a profound awareness of what it is to be a Canadian.

Through pain and suffering and knowledge that the possession of material things alone does not give freedom, the Japanese Canadians by their instinctive actions, have conducted the mind of the Free Man. Because the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre is the result and a reflection of the Japanese Canadians in a particular time of their history, it can be considered as an authentic expression of the people.

It is recalled that on August 6, 1963, when a special delegation representing the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre was received by Prime Minister Pearson at Ottawa, it was expressed to the Prime Minister that Japanese Canadians having been denied the rights of citizenship, now held these rights in high regard in the expressed contribution to the Canadian community in the form of this Cultural Centre open to all Canadians. It is also recalled that Mr. Marvin Gelber, the then M.P. and host to the delegation at Ottawa, later informed this writer and other members of the delegation, his great admiration for the Japanese Canadian spirit in which he was so inspired to make it a theme in an address.

#### The Meaning of the Landscaping for the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre

As a professional landscape architect this writer, in recent months must decry the controversy in this area of subject of landscaping. The demands of the landscape design proposition for the Centre require the most sensitive approach to landscaping in the art form. For not only is there required respect for the indigenous nature of the Centre's site, and regard and concern for the qualities of the building structure, but there is also the need to recognize and comprehend the meaning that underlies the total concept in terms of human spirit. How then can the layman speak so freely upon this subject except in total disregard of these factors.

To this professional, this work project in terms of his office, is both uneconomic and taxing of human emotions. Therefore there is no personal desire in this professional to accept the responsibility of this work project. This should be made crystal clear to any one person. This writer having served the Japanese Canadian public for many years, has no illusions as to the nature or demands of this responsibility. But because this writer is a Canadian of Japanese ancestry, he makes this particular submission as an obligation.

The nature of landscape design itself is the concern for the aesthetics and practical requirements of man in his environment. The philosophy is that of the Canadian who appreciates the great extent of his country. The treatment of the freedom and the intimacy of the space in landscape, is to understand why the prairie farmer can love the great vastness of the prairie land. For the farmer has achieved the victory of human imagination to see in the bounds of the prairie horizon, the intimate space around him. The treatment of space in landscape design is dimensional, yet its bounds are no less of a magnitude than the farmer's imaginative mastery of the prairie land.

There is no need to encompass in this submission all of the various concerns which are a subject within this discipline, yet this professional must presume upon those who have widely discussed the subject of the so called authentic Japanese garden, to express the point of the fallacy of these discussions. For it has been so declared by some, that such a garden must be incorporated in the landscaping of the grounds of the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre. This professional must declare without equivocation that the authentic Japanese garden does not exist outside of Japan and cannot be conceived in a foreign country beyond Japan. To represent a making of a garden in the name of the authentic Japanese garden outside of Japan, is to promote a fallacy that disparages the very nature of the culture of Japan. This professional would state that the most august of landscape architects of Japan and men of culture of Japan, would not disagree with this pronouncement.

The Japanese Canadian has inherited the Canadian landscape and he has created by his group actions, an outstanding spiritual conception in relations between human beings. He should be proud of his record and place his influence in the land of his acceptance and birth.

The Meaning that Would Make the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association Project, The History of Japanese Canadians, an Outstanding Written Work

#### Preface

The writer wishes to make this area subject of his submission in two parts as follows:

#### Part I (Background on History project)

- a) The Nature of the History of the Japanese Canadians;
- b) The Financial Needs;
- c) The Writer of the History.

#### Part II

- a) A resume of the efforts of the National JCCA Executive Committee on the writing of the History;
- b) A letter written by Ken Adachi *And a reply to this letter written*
- c) The History of Japanese Canadians can be made an outstanding written work.

PART I

The Nature of the History of the Japanese Canadians

(This Outline of the History was written by Ken Adachi during the planning of the History)

In 1957, the National J.C.C.A. conceived a plan to have written a book-length history of the Japanese Canadians stretching from the earliest years of immigration in the late 19th century through to the present time. A sub-committee of three members was formed and a researcher-writer was selected. A nation-wide History Contest of personal accounts was held in 1958 in order to obtain background material and create interest. Cash prizes totalling \$800. were awarded and the winning entries were published in *The New Canadian* and *The Continental Times*. The National J.C.C.A. also financed the writing of an 18,000-word History of the Japanese Canadians in British Columbia as a submission to the proposed volume of ethnic histories that was to have been published by the Civic Unity Association of Vancouver for B.C.'s Centennial Year. These were preliminary preparations for the book-length national history.

The History of the Japanese Canadians is to be the total story of the Japanese Canadians from the early years of immigration beginning from 1877, through the years of settlement, upheaval, dispersal and re-settlement, up to the present time. It will combine narrative and biography -- and the interpretation of these elements. It will not be simply a chronological marshalling of the ordinary and dramatic events in the lives of the Japanese Canadians but an interpretative study of the struggle, upheaval and development of the Japanese Canadians.

It will be unlike the few sociological studies of the Japanese Canadians that have been hitherto published in that it will not merely approach the story from one specialized aspect or bias and merely concern itself with one special period. The History will be what no other study of the Japanese Canadians has been: a comprehensive, fully-rounded story from the beginning to the present, encompassing as many of the relevant personal accounts and facts as can be unearthed. And told from the inside, it will be history as seen and remembered by the Japanese Canadians who were part of the events.

Above all, the History will aim at being an outstanding contribution to Canadian culture: its lore, history and literature. And since it will attempt to be as readable, informative, scholarly and accurate as possible, it should not only be of great value to the Japanese Canadians but to all Canadians.

Although this History has been commissioned by the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, it is not intended to be an apologia for a particular group of people. As suggested above, it is to be a fully-rounded story although told from the inside. The National J.C.C.A. undertook this project at this time because of two urgent reasons:

(1) research must be conducted while the aged pioneers of the Japanese Canadian group are still living, and (2) the project should be pursued now when most Japanese Canadians are feeling that past events should be preserved, while they are still relatively fresh in their minds. It is a measure of how settled down the Japanese Canadians have become after the wartime dispersal -- because they are able to appraise the events that affected them personally in a dispassionate way.

The History will begin with the first waves of Japanese immigrants into Canada, most of whom had settled in the westernmost province. As railroad laborers, miners, lumbermen, farmers and fishermen, they played a not unimportant part in the settlement and development of the West. The story of these Japanese pioneers is embedded in the fabric of early Canadian history, and is part of the story of a young nation growing up.

The story of the Japanese Canadians, however, might have been that of any ordinary immigrant group if it had not been for the conflict and denial that were part of their lives, beginning from the early years up to a few years after the end of World War II. An increasing list of economic and political restrictions, headed by disenfranchisement in 1902, deprived them of the ordinary rights that other Canadians enjoyed. Restrictions deprived them of employment in certain industries and professions; disturbances (such as the Riots of 1907 in Vancouver's Powell Street district) heightened tension; charges such as 'inassimilability' were uttered against them, placing their loyalty and integrity under question.

Against this background of unrest, the settlers struggled to bring up their children and make a better life for them in the new world. These were hard times but they were tempered by hopes and dreams as lovely as the towering timber and soaring mountains that were part of their environment. The story is unique in its interplay of character and incident as they brought a heritage from Japan and mingled it with the Canadian.

World War II ushered in many extraordinary events: the wholesale evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast, the breakup of families, the relocation to ghost-towns in interior B.C., road-camps and farms in Southern Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario, the threat of 'repatriation' to Japan, the dispersal across Canada. These events are without real parallel in Canadian history. Over 20,000 were moved out of the West Coast and placed elsewhere during the years of the war, and almost half were threatened by deportation until the orders-in-council were repealed in 1947.

These events are, without exaggeration, full of shock and pain. There will be no attempt to indict, nor will there be any attempt to gloss over the facts. The History will strive for a reasoned, clear-sighted picture of the turbulent events that caught up the Japanese Canadians. The events are History and should be told truthfully; and if it adds to knowledge, then not the least of the lessons it should teach is the value of civil liberties and human rights and the need for greater understanding and insight among all men.

The History will conclude with the story of the events following the war. Among these were the settlement of the lingering problem of the payment for property losses incurred during the evacuation, the lifting of restrictions which had deprived them of full citizenship rights, and the successful re-establishment in new homes and occupations across the country.

As an inquiry into, and reflection upon, the entire story, the History should make not only an exciting narrative on its own dramatic terms but a revelation of human endeavour for a place in the bright sun of acceptance and fulfilment as a group, as individuals, as Canadians.

#### The Financial Needs

The acute problem that still faces the National J.C.C.A. is that of raising sufficient funds to finance the project. So far the Association has raised \$25,550. for the work of research and writing. This amount was expended as of July, 1965.

#### The Writer of the History

Ken Adachi, a graduate of the University of Toronto, (B.A. in English Language and Literature, 1957; M.A., 1959), was appointed as the researcher-writer. He has also been editor of The New Canadian, 1951-53; regular book-reviewer for the Toronto Star, 1958; and is also the writer of the History of the Japanese Canadians in British Columbia. The National J.C.C.A. feels it has chosen a most able writer to undertake the task.

The researcher-writer first embarked on a cross-Canada tour of points where Japanese Canadians are now clustered and of the sites which have historical value. He conducted interviews among Japanese Canadians who have stories that will add detail and human interest to the History. He also researched into documents, provincial archives and newspaper files.

PART II

A Resume of the Efforts of the National JCCA Executive Committee  
on the Writing of the History

Over the past 6 or 7 years members of the National JCCA Executive Committee and History Editorial Committee have held discussions with Ken Adachi on his work of research and writing of the history. The members of the committees believe in Ken Adachi's ability to write the history. His 18,000 word History of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia completed in the beginning of the history project, has clearly attested to this ability. During these past years Ken Adachi has lived and worked only for the history. This the committees know. Yet for all this full effort of work -- striving, writing thousands upon thousands of words, living of late months in abject state of privation due to the National JCCA's lack of additional funds for the history -- Ken Adachi has not been able to produce the history manuscript or a part of it.

The great personal anguish suffered by Ken Adachi who, having striven for so long a time only to find the frustrations of a writer who has been unable to seek out and complete his work, is the situation of the present great difficulty. It is a problem that faces Ken Adachi at the present time and also confronts the members of the committees of the National JCCA History Project.

Because the difficulty seems to be a writing block facing Ken Adachi and other conditions, it is felt that the only act of sincere and honest appraisal that can be made by the National JCCA committees, would be to submit in the entirety the very, very personal letter written by Ken Adachi, the writer for the history, and George Tanaka, the chairman of the National JCCA History Editorial Committee.

*are submitted as follows:*

*prepare these letters*

Letter in reply written by George Tanaka

Port Credit, Ontario,  
Sunday, January 9, 1966.

My Dear Ken:

As I sit down to write this letter to you, my heart is filled with a compassion so large that I cannot blame you too much *for your skepticism* to me and the others. For it is the larger picture of 6 years of agony and effort that is so much the cause *I am not* a one to give up on anything too easily, so I had done my very best in

*of your skepticism*

that last minute submission of our application to the Centennial Commission. And I wanted so much to let you know the good news of the submission in the cable I sent to you the night of December 29, the very day that you had written the letter to me.

It was Monday afternoon, January 3 that I received your special delivery letter dated December 29. I read your long letter and I felt my heart sink down and down. It seemed to me that hope and faith, the eternal fire and spark that maintained life in this project, was about to be extinguished. I felt as though life were ebbing away from our magnificent project-history, and I felt helpless. For that night and the next day, the history project was a burden in my heart, a burden that did not seem to have any strong hope of lightening. I telephoned Ed and told him the gist of your letter. Knowing Ed and his concerns for the past year on the history project, I knew that this news would bear heavy on his soul. For Ed has told me that in the past year the worries of the history have been constantly with him. Even when lying on the beach last summer holiday, in solitude, he could not escape from anxiety over the history. So in my phone call to Ed, we decided an emergency meeting of the National Executive Committee must be called and it was held last Friday, January 7 in my home.

What should I do? What could I say to the Committee? What could I say to Ed? How could I resolve this question to myself? I am not, as I say, a weak person. I know this of myself. It is something I have derived, in knowledge of myself, from my past experiences working in the JCCA. For there were times in those experiences when I was a very, very lonely person. And of necessity, I had to rely on myself alone for my strength. Even to this day, because of the responsibilities of that office which I accepted, I must put up or bear with a feeling of sense of injustice on the fishing question. When, away back in 1949, I faced 200 delegates at the convention in Vancouver of the B.C. Fishermen and Allied Workers Union and had to make a stand which had to be crystal clear either with the Fishermen and Union or with the Cannery Companies. For upon this decision and my attitude which could be read by those 200 delegates, rested at that time, the future of the Japanese Canadian fishermen's return to the industry. And for achieving this then terribly important resolution by the conference in favour of the Japanese Canadian fishermen, I have received no word of thanks from the fishermen but two instances of criticism. At that time I could not straddle the so-called fence. I could not please both the fishermen and the canneries. I had to make a decision alone, and quickly, on behalf of Japanese Canadians. I had no fear that I would make the wrong decision because I knew what kind of people, the majority present were, of the Canadian fishermen delegates. For I had grown up in childhood to young man amongst just such Canadian occidental workers in B.C. That is why I knew that my strongest personal resource beside my carefully thought out presentations and points, would be my act of sincerity. Sincerity first and sincerity last. This I knew. This was my confidence. This was my act of judgment. At a time very much alone.

There was the time too, during the great controversy over the settlement of the property losses claims with the federal government, when the Co-operative Committee recommended a certain financial settlement with the government and a minority faction of claimants opposed the recommendation. I had to make a personal judgment and a decision, in the capacity of my office in the JCCA. Again I could not straddle the so-called fence. No one, I am sure, envied my job. It was certainly not the kind of responsibility or job a weak-kneed fence-sitter could endure, yet I was often accused of being a yes-man to the Co-operative Committee. Such are the injustices that must be endured because the job required it. But there were times when I could not share my feelings with my family, so that the burden on me could lighten. I remember going into the Imperial Theatre alone at night, to try to forget my great worries, the aching burden in my heart. For an hour or two the burden would lighten a bit, only to crash down heavy on my shoulders when leaving the theatre. It was like a physical burden being placed again onto my shoulders and tighten into my heart.

And there is another experience which was bitter in my heart but I have grown out of it and I feel now the better and wiser for it. It was 12 years ago that I set out to make a career in life for myself. I was starting out to do this from scratch. I had nothing but hope and faith in myself and \$500 given to me by the Co-operative Committee from the balance of the Committee's treasury. In my act of resignation at the JCCA national conference in Vancouver in 1953, I had asked with some emotion, for \$2,000 financial assistance from the JCCA to help me find the means and course for re-establishment of my life in a career of landscape architecture. I felt the JCCA and the Japanese Canadian people at least owed this to me. For had I not given 7 years of my life to the cause of the people. Had I not endured living with a minimum salary compensation. Had I not given up a future of family life. Had I not given up my plan to take a course at Iowa State University as a special student granted to me, in landscape architecture, under DVA grant. And, I was 41 years old, starting from scratch, not knowing what lay in the future for me. And all the niseis of my age, long since had begun to make a life for themselves. Should I not then expect some little financial assistance for rehabilitation in, now, my own life career. Yet, to my request, I did not receive what I asked. The then president of the N.JCCA, I was informed later, thought less of me for my request. I had, apparently, not conformed to accepted standards of good form in requesting financial help. I, apparently, should not have stated a figure. I, apparently, should have merely requested help, financially, and left the rest to the good graces of the N.JCCA. So it was that I received nothing. Only for the kindness of the Co-operative Committee and their \$500 was I able to begin to make a career for myself. That money was the keystone of my beginnings in landscape architecture. The whole amount was invested in construction materials and plant material and, together with my sweat and labour, created the design and garden in my front home. Thus began the miracle and the success of the self-made man in a profession where, by logic, everything was against my achieving success.

For almost 2 years I worked and studied at home. I worked in the basement of my home, building my office and study. I became a carpenter. I built my desk, draughting table, drawing cabinet and drawers. I mixed cement by hand in the garage floor. I laboured all the spring, summer and fall of 1954 working outdoors creating my garden. How was I to know whether anyone would see my work and care for it. That anyone so lofty in the realm of magazine publications would grant me so great a favour as to look kindly on my work, let alone be interested enough to invest their publications costly time and space for my work. These all seemed then, so much beyond my expectations. I had no way of knowing then, that I was capable of reaching the zenith of my aspirations. I felt only that I was a man, and I must live. I must do that which was in me to do. That which was in me to feel. That which was in me to work in a direction with only hope and faith. Faith which had no reason for being, yet persisted in me. It was a gamble on myself. Faith is what but a feeling in a man. I had a little feeling that I could design some little bit. I felt that I possessed some little measure of imagination. Imagination in a direction of creative work. I had already counselled to myself that the quality of imagination was the highest order of intelligence. That if I possessed a little measure of this high order of intelligence, there might be some little hope that I would eventually succeed in my aspirations. Oh, how much I tried to instill within myself the needed self assurance that I did not possess. But it was from these beginnings I made progress. From small beginnings I persisted. I took one step at a time. In each step I learned to master a little bit more of technique. A little bit more development of my imagination. A little bit more control and harnessing of my creative process. Each bit of practice made a further development of my brain, my heart and my will to work. Step by little step I began to master the art of discipline in my work. And by each little step I began to accept my work. In the 10 years of professional work, I have begun to understand the art of judgment of one's own creative work and to be able to exercise that judgment necessary to accept one's own solutions to given work, at any one time, and to proceed to the next work problem and its solution. Never, it seems to me on many occasions, has the solution, the creative result of my work efforts, become the wondrous result my brain, my heart and soul aspired to create. I know that this is the reality of man's achievements. Discipline is the control. Out from this comes the progress and output of man's work. Discipline, discipline, discipline. Without discipline of self in work output, the amateur does not become professional.

I thank God, humbly and sincerely, for having had the privilege to serve the Japanese Canadian people during those long years in the JCCA. For I know now that I personally received from that experience the wisdom and knowledge of our life and society which I could not have gained otherwise. For out of the experience I graduated with skills that no other school could give me. Out of it I gained a philosophy that is now my treasure to keep and to use, I hope wisely, for the benefit of others. And the experiences which I so much decried to myself as self destruction, are now in reality benefiting me every day in my professional work and world.

It is much that I have said to you of a very personal nature drawn forth from my heart. I have reason to speak to you in this way for your letter touches me deeply. When I received and read your letter, that night while I lay in bed thinking of it, alone very much to myself, for it was 3 AM, I picked up a magazine just to leaf through its pages. It was then I came across an article that seemed to clarify my thoughts as though God had a hand in this impression upon my mind. Seeking as I was some answers to my problem of such profound depths. Why should I then at such a precise moment pick up the November issue of the Royal Architectural Journal of Canada which had been there for me to peruse for some time. Yet at this moment I opened it and my eyes fell upon an article by the famous American architect and teacher, Louis I. Kahn, on Structure and Form. It was the first seven paragraphs of this article which had in them so much of the answer to what my heart and mind was seeking to find. It was on the subject of man and his creative works. And in it I found so much that was a parallel and a confirmation of my experiences. Kahn's article is as follows:

A young architect came to ask a question...

"I dream of spaces full of wonder - of spaces that rise and evolve flowingly without beginning, without end - of a jointless material white and gold," he said. "Why is it that when I place the first line on paper to capture the dream, the dream becomes less?"

This is a good question. I have learned that a good question is greater than the most brilliant answer. This is the question of the measurable and the unmeasurable. Nature - physical Nature - is measurable. Feeling and dream have no measure, have no language, and everyone's dream is singular. A man is always greater than his works because he can never fully express his aspirations. To express oneself in music or architecture, one must employ the measurable means of composition or design. The first line on paper is already a measure of what cannot be expressed fully. The first line on paper is less.

"Than," said the young architect, "what is the discipline, what is the ritual that brings one closer to the psyche? For I feel that man truly exists in this aura of no material and no language."

Turn to feeling and away from thought. In feeling is the psyche. Thought is both feeling and the presence of order. And order, the molder of all existence, has of itself no will to exist - no Existence Will. I choose the word "order" instead of "knowledge" because personal knowledge is too little with which to express thought abstractly. This Existence Will is in the psyche. All that we desire to create has its beginning in feeling alone. This is true for the scientist; it is true for the artist.

But I warned my questioner that to rely entirely on feeling and to ignore thought would mean to make nothing.

Said the young architect: "To live and make nothing is intolerable. The dream already has in it the will to be and the desire to express this will. Thought is inseparable from feeling. In what way, then, can thought enter creation so that this psychic will can be more adequately expressed? This is my next question."

When personal feeling transforms itself into religion (not a religion but the essence of religion) and thought becomes philosophy, the mind then opens to realization - realization, let us say, of what the Existence Will of any particular architectural vision of spaces may be. Realization of this nature is the merging of feeling and thought when the mind is in closest rapport with the psyche, the source of what a thing wants to be. It is the beginning of form.....

This then Ken, was what I read of Louis I. Kahn's article. It expresses so clearly the first steps that must be taken by the creative man, whether he be a scientist, architect, musician or writer or artist of any kind. And I knew to myself that this was so true. So very true. So very real. And from this knowledge I gained a measure further of the reality of life - for man who so much desires to make of himself a better person, a better skill, that he may give this back to his society of all men.

And to my mind came the thought that this experience of yours was truly a part of the history. For it is not that man can be easily done with his works. I am very much immersed with heart and soul in the history for which you have so greatly striven. What is it that I should say to you Ken? I cannot say anything unless it comes from my heart. Unless it comes from my feeling for the history. Unless it comes from my person with some conviction that I do know, as a person who has worked in creative effort, and who has experienced some of the magnitudes of the high and the low crests of life with the people, not independent of them, but with obligations toward them. I say again that your experiences are a part of the history. I do believe that you will have grown from these experiences. I do believe that you will become a professional in the writing of the history, when in the beginning you set out to do this work as an amateur. But, as Kahn has stated, you must retain feeling for the history. I think you will make it of yourself. It will be an older and wiser kind of feeling for the history. It will be less innocent and shorn of the earlier idealism because the knowledge you possess of the reality will not allow it. This I think will be your step toward professionalism. I do not doubt that you have the capability to write as a professional. You have shown it in the writing of the B.C. history. You have shown it in the writing of the various briefs for the JCCA. And I must say Ken, you show it even in the letter you have written which reveals so much of your heart and soul.

The history is no longer a vague thing to me where somehow I relied on the magic of your pen to create something that would be an accomplishment to you and to the Japanese Canadians. What that history was to be, I did not know. The stature of the work, I desired, but I did not know what it should be. This was dreams on my part without realization of the reality. Yes, as Kahn says, Man is greater than his works. Man's work is always less than what he is. His aspirations are always greater than his product of work. The realization of this fact makes the difference between the amateur and the professional. The important thing is to make a step. Any step. But get going with the work. The professional knows the danger in allowing the unattainable aspirations that are within him to cloud his judgment and so prevent him from producing that work which is within his reach to accomplish. He understands the knowledge that is his saving grace - that he can never produce work that meets his zenith of personal aspiration. He will always be greater than his works. Till the day he dies this will be so. Only others can judge the worth of his work. He cannot do it himself. Therefore he must rely on others in the final analysis of his work. It is his job to produce the work he can do and should do. But the initial steps must be taken, one at a time. One step before the other. Each step must be taken. And I can say to you now with a fuller understanding of the history - write it Ken as you have written the B.C. history. One chapter at a time. Write it from the beginning. And do not concern yourself with the quality of your work in terms of the public. Do the best that you know is within you to produce at any given time. You must acquire the necessary discipline that would force you to produce. Yes, one chapter first. Then another chapter. Then another chapter.

So you must write just as though you were writing an expanded form of the B.C. history. For it was the B.C. history that you did, and from it we found good writing, absorbing writing, for it has been proven by others, even strangers to our J.C. community, that it was so. And as you write such a history, one chapter at a time, keeping true to the chronology of facts of the history, you might imbue in the writing a little of the feeling that made the history Japanese Canadian. All that is necessary is to give it a little bit of the feeling that is of us. For we are the people of Japanese ancestry. Only we know, for example, what is the taste of Japanese cooking stemming from the Japanese family and custom. It might be some small attitude to how we should eat the food, or how it should be prepared, or how we should act toward our elders in the eating, or how the bowl of rice should be finished clean of kernels of rice. It is the feeling that I am trying to say. Even about the Isseis who in Canada live so much of the time in a memory of Japan that existed 50, 60, 70 years ago. A Japan that no longer exists in Japan. Yet it is the Japan that to the Isseis is the real Japan. Or of the feelings only Niseis know in the life in B.C. Like the harmonics that enrich the vibrations in music, perhaps these feelings and touches which are so real, can make the chronology of the history rich with the very nature of the J.C. people and their history. It is the simplicity of the true that in art is the greatness of the work. The true of life, rich in its humble

reality, is the greatness and the colour that would paint in writing the history. Yes, I think the people are greater than the chronology of their life would impart in history told, but the richness of their individual being and family, as they lived, will impart that which will make the history greater than you will expect to accomplish. It will come and it will guide you in the writing. For you are of Japanese ancestry, and you possess a fine and sensitive facility for the English language that is your tool, even as you despair that you possess not this skill, it is in you. But you must take one step at a time. You must write and learn to accept your own writing each step of the way. Discipline yourself to produce, Ken. Do not discard too easily what you write. And what about Thought, Ken? As Kahn says, Thought is both Feeling and presence of Order. And Order, the molder of all existence. Think and then work to create. Think then write. It seems so simple yet the truth of this statement I have realized fully only after ten years of my working in creative effort.

It is my wish, Ken, if you would listen, and think kindly of my wish, that you set yourself to writing one chapter of the history first. I suppose it would be the first chapter of Part I. I would like so very, very much to receive a copy of this first chapter when you complete the first draft. I would like you to send me the second chapter when you complete the first draft. And the third chapter of the first draft. If I should thus receive a fair portion of the first quarter or less of Part I, it will be the beginning of accomplishment in the history project. These chapters need not be any better, in your estimation, than the writing of the B.C. history. And these chapters I would receive with the most happy of considerations. I say this because from out of this trying experience we have a very human relationship with Mr. Totton. You should not feel alone in this work project. And it is also a very needed measure of the history project without which the Nat. JCCA Committee is helpless in its depth of public responsibility.

Now let me inform you of the emergency meeting of the Nat. JCCA Executive Committee which was held here in my home last Friday, January 7. Ed Ide called the meeting and Ed proceeded to introduce the subject for the meeting. I then reported and informed the committee the full chronology of incidents leading to the receiving of your December 29 letter. Beginning with the phone call to you by Ed and I last July. And Ed and I reported to them the details of our recent efforts in making the submission on behalf of the Nat. JCCA to the Centennial Commission. And then I read your letter of December 29 to them. They all somehow knew that the calling of this emergency meeting portended what was the truth. So they knew from hearing only the very first paragraph of your letter what was the worst news about the history project. They listened intently till I had finished your four page letter. I know that their hearts were then as heavy and must have ached within, as had my heart before. So I told them something of my feelings, of my own experiences in my work, and I read to them this article of Louis I. Kahn. And I explained to them what I understood of this article in relationship to our problem and the history work.

I proposed the following 3 points on the history to the Committee:

- 1) That we should continue to do everything in our power to try and ensure the Nat. JCCA receive a grant from the Centennial Commission application. This of course meant a follow through of our efforts in the light of our present knowledge of the state of progress of the history.
- 2) That we should fully inform all the referees to our Centennial Commission application of the facts of the history to the recent present which includes the information of your recent letter. Particularly must we be honest about this with Mr. Totton.
- 3) That we should very, very carefully prepare a report to the public on the present situation and state of the history, however this report might reflect upon us who are responsible for the history project under the Nat. JCCA. That this report must be carefully studied by the Committee in full, and after its approval, that it should be presented to the Issel history sub-committee who have not yet been informed of the fact that your submission of the first draft of history was lost at the publishers, but that no facts to this loss has been confirmed in any way by Mr. Totton or the personnel at the publishers. And that upon approval of the draft report to the public by the joint Committees, this report would be made public.

As much as we feel the difficulty to face the public on this matter, and the harm it will do to the image of the Nat. JCCA in the eyes of the public, and the loss of face it will bring to us all, individually and collectively, it could be the only course that we could take for the sake of the history and of ourselves. The sincerity and honesty the public hold toward us, and the Nat. JCCA, must not be jeopardized, however painful we may feel in making this report.

And that we should not raise the issue of the lost ms at the publishers. For upon this issue the Committee does not possess any facts, for it may in the long run do damage to our relationship with the publishers when there exists no factual proof upon which the Committee could support its claim. For there are too many questions that cannot be substantiated by logic.

- 4) It is the desire of the National Executive Committee to inform you it feels that it would now be a wise action as you intend, to work for the University of Maryland European Division for the period Jan. 31 to March 25 term. That by getting out of the shell of yourself and to be in contact with the University work for the term proposed, would be good for you, and essential for any progress in the writing of the history. The Committee wish to express to you its earnest desire that you assuredly will continue to work on the

writing of the history after the March 25 term of the University. The Committee wishes to let you know that it has no power to force upon you any demands that the history be written and completed in any specified time. The Committee wishes you to know that despite its responsibility to the public in the expenditure of some \$25,550 already on the history, it cannot force you to write it if you are not to do so. It can only rely on its faith in your personal integrity, and its desire and confidence, that you write no more than as you had written the B.C. history, this larger work. And from Mits Sumiya came a deep rooted expression of confidence in your integrity. He said to the Committee that he had grown up with you and had gone to school with you. And that from this knowledge, he said to the Committee, that you would meet your obligations even if it took you twenty years to do so. This was a fine expression of confidence and faith in you, Ken, from Mits, and which certainly carried great weight with the Committee members.

I do believe, Ken, that you will be able to write and make good progress on the history. But I think you must listen to some of the points I have raised in the work of writing. That you must produce and send to me the work, as a larger effort of the B.C. history quality, and the touches of the Japanese feeling. We are very concerned too about the finances of your living. For this aspect we are much concerned for the success of our Centennial application. Ken Mori informed the Committee that the deadline for submission of applications has been extended to January 31.

At the Committee meeting last Friday here, after I had read your letter to them, Rits Inouye said she listened to the reading of the letter and marvelled at its poignancy, so well was it written. So beautiful and so sad. And last night, I read this letter to my dear brother Kinzie, for I wanted to know how he felt about it. He said to me the very first statement informed him of what it was, and during the rest of the reading, he listened only to hear a beautiful and sad human story. And while I read, I caught the reflection upon his face as he listened. And the face of my brother was almost in tears yet he did not cry. Such was the expression of compassion to the hearing of the story. And so it was, Ken. A very short story but profound and so very well written. You must do the history, Ken, for you possess the ability to write. You must think of yourself and become professional in the writing process. I do believe someday you will look back upon the six years of your agony and frustrations, of non-accomplishment, and realize that in reality and truth you gained wisdom and experience and a personal philosophy toward life greater than you can at present appreciate. It will come about and it will do great benefit to you and your career and work.

God bless you, Ken,

With all my heart,

George.

The History of Japanese Canadians can be Made an  
Outstanding Written Work

In a critical judgment of our past efforts to have the history written, it now should be realized that in our dependence placing a total responsibility upon Ken Adachi to find in the philosophies and the brilliance of literature a human insight that would make of the history an outstanding work, has been our weakness.

In the present consideration, it is not inconsistent to believe the history can be made an outstanding written work. It is to state that our instinctive feeling of integrity for the history is a valid one. But it is now this writer's conviction that Ken Adachi could not finish the history because Japanese Canadians had yet to complete the experiences of life on which the work of the history would be an achievement of note. If one is to believe and have faith in the works of Japanese Canadians in the recent years, it is to believe the History of Japanese Canadians can be an expression of the principle of the Free Man.

For this reason this writer now believes the history could not before have been written and that the funds and years expended to this day, are but the first great step in the writing of the history. The history can be written and should be written by Ken Adachi. It shall be a history in which the life of Japanese Canadians can exemplify the courage of actions, faith in country, and the dignity of the human spirit of the Free Man. This is the task that Ken Adachi must accomplish in the writing of the history. And this is the task all Japanese Canadians can assist in providing the additional funds necessary to enable Ken Adachi to complete his work.

Conclusion

If we subscribe to the Concept of the Free Man, and it seems to this writer we have, by our concerted actions, already undertaken to espouse this principle of human endeavour, we must continue to undertake and actively support the worthy works of community service as long as there is a need for man to serve his fellows. This writer therefore would place himself alongside with all other Canadians of Japanese ancestry, to underwrite by active support such works, continuously, in life, as long as there is the need to believe in the meaning of the Free Man.

And under this concept, no work or project of community interest undertaken by Japanese Canadians, can be made to be of self interest unto itself. For within the meaning of service to others, in community work, the universality of the principle of the Free Man, requires all men to work together in unity. There cannot exist factions of self interest.

It would be imperative, for example, for such leading groups and organizations; such as, the Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association History of Japanese Canadians Project, the Centennial Committee for Japanese Canadians in Toronto, and all other groups and organizations of similar aims who serve the community, to work and regard each other in an active unity of purpose and understanding.

This writer would therefore submit the following proposals:

- 1) That the National JCCA and the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre jointly sponsor a series of seminar meetings to study the various questions, ideas and subject of this submission;
- 2) That the leaders and executive officers and members of executive committees and boards of various Japanese Canadian groups and organizations be invited to participate in seminar studies and discussions;
- 3) That the seminars study ways and means by which Japanese Canadian groups and organizations can assist the National JCCA financially in the Japanese Canadian History Project.
- 4) That the seminars study ways and means by which the various Japanese Canadian groups and organizations can better work in unity of effort for the common good and the worthy works of Japanese Canadians.

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April 2, 1966