

# Japanese Immigration to British Columbia and the Vancouver Riot of 1907

## A Sourcebook



Transcribed & Curated by Chris Willmore

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Transcribed and curated by Chris Willmore

Victoria, B.C.  
Summer 2022

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## Introduction: Japanese Immigration<sup>1</sup> (1902)

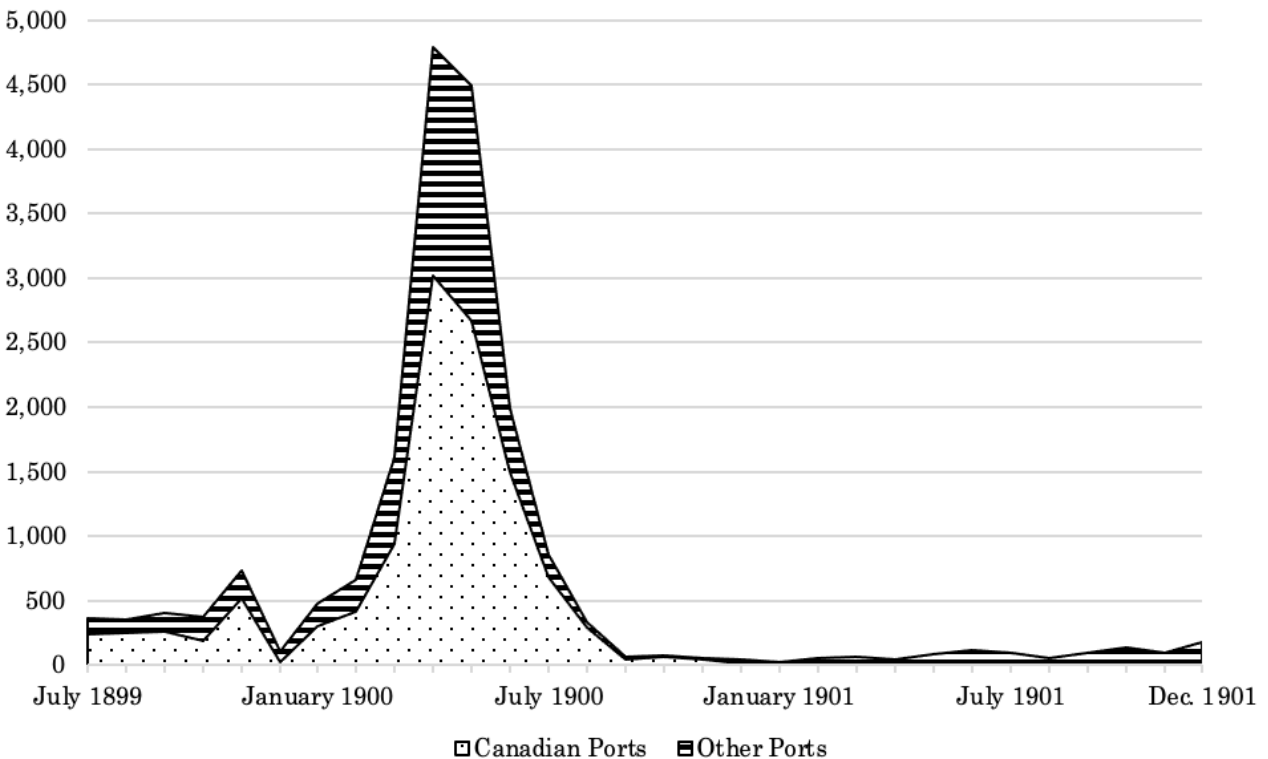
Prior to the year 1896 no record was kept of the number of Japanese who arrived in British Columbia, and the records for 1896 are said to be imperfect.

STATEMENT showing the number of Japanese landed at Victoria, B.C., as follows:

July 1, 1896, to June 30, 1897	691
July 1, 1897, to June 30, 1898	1,189
July 1, 1898, to June 30, 1899	1,875
July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1900	9,033
July 1, 1900, to June 30, 1901	<u>1,125</u>
Total from July 1, 1896 to June 30, 1901	13,913

From July 1, 1899, to April 13, 1900, there arrived at Vancouver 520 Japanese, of whom 390 were destined for Canada. The great influx occurred between July 1, 1899, and August 30, 1900, amounting to 11,272. The following [graph] will show the number of arrivals per month: [...]

**Japanese Arrivals by Month**



<sup>1</sup> From The Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration. (1902). *Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration.*

## CAUSE OF THIS LARGE INFLUX

Different reasons have been assigned for this large influx of Japanese into Canada and the United States during the year 1900. The reasons given by the commissioner of the bureau of labor statistics of California are as follows; he says:

“I made considerable effort to ascertain the reason for the abnormal increase in the number of Japanese arrivals during the early part of 1900, with the result that three reasons, that seemed in some degree plausible, were advanced, namely:-

“1st. The generally advertised prosperous condition of the country, and reported demand for labor, which naturally stimulates immigration.

“2nd. That emigration-recruiting agencies in Japan booked a large number of Japanese emigrants for Honolulu; that about the time they were aboard ship the bubonic plague with its resulting quarantine, etc., appeared at that place, and stopped the sending of the emigrants there and that the agencies named, rather than surrender their commission, induced the emigrants in most cases to change their destination from Honolulu to San Francisco, and in this connection will be noted that the time of the coming of the largest numbers of Japanese per month was coincident with the time of the prevalence of the said plague in Honolulu.

“3rd. That, taking advantage of supposed favorable conditions, emigration agencies in Japan were extremely active in fostering the exodus of Japanese to California and other American ports for the sake of accruing commissions.”

Now, as to the cause of the sudden decrease in the said arrivals, which became apparent about May and June, 1900, it seems authoritatively to be stated that it has been in a large part due to the action of the Japanese Government in restricting the departure of its subjects for American points.

In this connection the evidence of Mr. Frank Burnett, of Vancouver, president of the United Cannerymen, Limited, is important. He says:

“I was in Japan last winter and took considerable interest in the matter while I was over there. I got introduction to different individuals, and explained the situation to them, that is the large number that came in here last year, and that a great deal of feeling was being created against the Japanese on that account. They seemed to realize the importance of preventing any great immigration of their people here or of reducing the present number that is allowed by law to come from each district. There has been a reduction imposed. That had been imposed prior to my visit. They seemed willing to further restrict and seemed anxious to maintain friendly relations with us.”

Q. “Can you explain why it was such a large number of them came here at one time?”

A. “It was about the time I was going over there, and I got the credit for bringing them over; about that time the Philippine and the Hawaiian Islands had both come under American sovereignty, and on that account those two countries, that hitherto received large numbers of Japanese immigrants, were closed from any further immigration from Japan, and for that reason the tide of immigration was changed to this country.”

Q. "How could they accomplish that? There is no law in the United States against Japanese immigration."

A. "They use their Alien Act to stop them; and there is no doubt that was the cause of so many Japanese coming here last year, and not because I happened to be in Japan."

Alexander R. Milne, C.B., Collector of Customs at Victoria, said:

"The Japanese have decreased in number since August last. There was some restriction placed on the transportation from Japan, I believe. That was the chief cause. I believe the Japanese Government imposed some restrictions on their people leaving the country, and that that was the chief cause of the falling off in the number of Japanese coming here. . . . The Japanese now have a rule by which they only permit a certain number to leave Japan; I think it is 47 a month they will give a permit to."

#### HOW JAPANESE IMMIGRATION IS PROMOTED

In November, 1898, a Commissioner was sent by the United States Government to Japan for the purpose of investigating the subject of Japanese immigration into the United States. [...] He points out that:

"Under the Japanese law every subject is registered in his native prefecture, which he may not leave without permission of the authorities, and from which he, or she, must obtain their passport, when they desire to emigrate. Inasmuch as the Government claims the perpetual allegiance of its subject, it grants a passport limited to three years, and I was informed that a large part of the emigrants who thus go abroad return to their native land sooner or later, and consequently few Japanese, and indeed I may say none, come to the United States with a view to remaining or making homes, the theory of their emigration system being for the promotion of emigration as an educational process and money-making investment for a temporary period, the profits of which accrue jointly to the promoter and to the emigrant, the Japanese Empire being the recipient of what may be described as the unearned increment through its people that thus go abroad, through their contact with more enlightened people, and by reason of the accumulated capital, which they return to their native land. It is through the tenacious allegiance which the subjects of Japan yield to their sovereign that the promotion of emigration becomes a reasonably safe business."

It further appears from this report that there are twelve companies organized to promote emigration, with a total capital of 558,999 yen (a yen, about 50 cents gold value). Six of these companies have agents in the United States and Canada. They have offices at all important emigration centers. At Tokyo they have an association of emigration companies, which is in the nature of an Emigration Board of Trade. It is said that the offices of these companies are well-equipped for business purposes; that the managers and stockholders are among the leading businessmen and politicians of Japan. The emigration companies all advertise more or less in the newspapers for contract labor, designating them to go to Hawaii, Peru and Mexico, and they advertise through circulars, pamphlets and by means of traveling solicitors for emigrants going to the United States.

It is further stated that “the documentary evidence herein presented as a whole shows that the business is vigorously and aggressively prosecuted through personal solicitations of agents, whose earnings depend on their zeal and success. The emigration companies are all provided with blanks for obtaining passports. Agents of the steamship companies and emigration companies do not occupy offices together; they are nevertheless very closely connected through the brokers and hotelkeepers, and it is hard to draw a line of separation of interest. Many of the hotelkeepers are emigration brokers, and nearly all brokers are intimately connected with the emigration companies; while it is safe to assert that if the steamship companies were to establish and maintain a fixed rate for steerage passage, it would cut the profits for the brokers, hotelkeepers, and emigration companies 50 per cent, and it seems to me conclusive that if it were not for the existence of the emigration companies and these agencies for the collection of emigrants to go abroad, the profits of the steamship companies would be materially reduced. By their present methods the steamship companies, whether intentionally or otherwise, clearly offer inducements for the emigration companies to solicit the emigrants, both being large, capitalized enterprises that have a mutual interest, which is inseparable, as long as they are allowed to exist side by side, the one to obtain fees from emigrants and the other to receive steerage passage.

“Great stress was laid by Japanese officials upon the fact that the Japanese government requires every emigrant to provide sureties to provide for his return to the country in case of need, before granting a passport. I talked with many men of long experience in Japan and found but one universal opinion, that not ten per cent of the emigrants leaving the country could or would go unless they had assistance or were helped or assisted by some person or influence. Aside from the facts herein presented, the coolie class could find no proper sureties, such as are required by the government, unless some arrangement was provided by responsible parties for looking after this class of emigration after they land in the United States.”

The commissioner further states that “the great mass of emigrants, say 95 per cent of the whole, are coolie laborers and small farmers who class as coolies.”

He places the population of Japan at forty-three millions, with a density of 293 to the square mile, and says:

“The great mass of the people live by farming, which includes silk raising and fishing, at which occupation they earn from 100 to 150 yen per annum, which suffices to support a family of about four – a man, a wife, and two or three children. In large families the mother and other children work. The agricultural implements used are of the most primitive character, and the allotment of land to the family or individual is in most cases less than an acre. There are no division fences, each little tract being divided from its neighbor by a little ridge of dirt from 1½ to 3 feet wide. Factory employees earn from 15 to 20 sen<sup>2</sup> per day. Farm laborers earn from 15 to 30 sen per day, depending upon locality. The labor which Japan sends abroad is pauper labor. My reasons for thus classing it are that the overpopulation of Japan has reduced the value of labor below a decent living point, measured by civilized standard, and further

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<sup>2</sup> A sen (錢) is 1/100 of a yen.

that this competition is increasing in such force that it seems unreasonable to assume the probability of the value of labor approximating the cost of future products and living.

“The agricultural interests of Japan are practically incapable of expansion, which forces all surplus labor into the employment of various manufacturers and into fishing. Japan’s market for manufactures is, and must for fifty years remain, very limited, if we except silk, pottery, curios, &c., and even the demand for these native products must find a limit. . . .

“The question naturally occurs, how do they raise sufficient money to emigrate? As I intimated in my report of the 24th ultimo, the emigration companies in certain instances furnish them money, sending a *banto* along with the emigrants to look after their interests. I found, by inquiring among the people, that it requires from five to ten years for a Japanese farmer to save 200 yen. Some undoubtedly do this, but the majority secure money by selling their holdings and by borrowing from the emigration companies, friends and relatives, upon whom they are more or less dependent, going their security. [sic.] The laws are very strict in Japan concerning the collection of debts. There are no exemptions, and hence in view of the fact that every emigrant to the United States is able to send money home, this is a safe business. Besides, the pickings of the emigration companies enable them to get back part of the funds loaned the emigrant before he sailed. I cannot, of course, prove this state of facts but all the circumstances occur in supporting this view.” [...]

In confirmation of the statement above quoted, “that the Japanese Government requires every emigrant to provide sureties for his return in case of need before granting a passport,” may be quoted the following evidence referred to in the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the State of California in the year 1900, from the evidence of a Japanese who conducts an employment agency in San Francisco:

Q. “Does your government require all Japanese coming to this country to go back? Don’t your papers require you to go back in three or four years, or get leave to stay longer?”

A. “Yes, sir, any that come here want to get back as quick as possible.”

Q. “You think that the plague in Honolulu made more Japanese come here?”

A. “Yes, I think that is the reason.”

Q. “Why is it?”

A. “The reason is that a great many laborers have been going to Honolulu, and an order has been issued that no more laborers can go there until the sickness at that place dies out. Some Japanese emigration societies promised to send the laborers to Honolulu, and when they could not be sent there they were sent here instead. The emigration societies got a commission from each boy, and do not like to pay it back.”

Q. “How much commission?”

A. “\$5.”

Q. “For how long is your passport issued?”

A. “I would have to ask the consul to renew it.”

Q. “Does not your government command you to come back, or have your passport renewed?”

A. "They sometimes stay without getting new passports. In my passport there is no time stated: [I] came as a student. They are more strict with laborers. When they go back they are punished."

The Commissioner of Labor for the State of Washington, in his report dated January 7, 1900, referring to this class of immigration, says:

"Asiatic immigration to the United States has assumed such proportions, and the certainty of its constant increase, unless something is done to stop it, is so self-evident, that what to do to prevent this subtle ruinous conquest of our American working men and women upon the Pacific Coast has now become a question of such importance that this report would not be fulfilling its purpose did it not present the matter to you for your consideration. . . .

"So long as this class of immigration was limited to the number who, of their own volition and means, came to our shores, their presence could not be said to be a public menace, but when they began coming by the shipload, with not a woman or child accompanying them, the thoughtful, patriotic American had to look for other reasons than those which prompt the white man to leave his native land in Europe and come among us. . . .

"The Asiatic does not come here to become an American; I know this from personal inquiry. According to the strictest meaning of the term, he is here as an exploiter; neither does his presence here, when measured by the attending consequence to our own people, constitute an equal exchange for that which he receives. . . .

"Certain legal persons which the American people have created say they must have these Japanese in order to carry on their business. I admit that if a few of them are allowed to equip themselves with this class of help the others must follow suit or suffer from an unequal competition, hence in order to be fair and treat all alike we must either allow all to have them or deny the privilege to each. If we allow all to have them it means the displacement of at least five million American working men and women to make room for enough Japanese to do their work. If we allow them proportionate wages to that of Americans, their saving power being so much greater on account of living expenses, this number of alien wage-earners would form a constant and dangerous drain upon our gold supply; while their presence as employees in our industries will tend to a general reduction of wages, which will not stop until an equilibrium is reached between the wages paid in Japan and the United States, plus the cost of coming and going from one country to the other. Long before this condition is reached there will be trouble between the two races which will undo all that has been done in the work of establishing friendly relations in trade and commerce between the respective governments of the two races. . . .

"When questioned as to their purpose in coming here the answer was 'to work five years and then return to Japan and buy a ton (one-fourth of an acre) of land and settle down.' Discerning that most of them were boys and young men I made particular inquiry about the amount of money they had earned in their lifetime, and did not find one who, if he had saved every yen that he had earned, could have had enough to buy his suit of blue and pay his fare on the vessel, to say nothing of having

the \$30 to flash before the inspector in order to be allowed to land.<sup>3</sup> When questioned as to how they obtained the money they all told the same story of how their father, or some other relative, had mortgaged their little home in Japan to raise the money. Their first earnings [were] going to pay off the mortgage; after that [they would] save until they had enough to go back to Japan. From these little men I learned that the craze to get to the United States to earn and save a competency is as widespread and intense throughout Japan as the desire of Americans to obtain a bonanza gold placer claim in Alaska. Yet they no more intend to spend their lives here than do our people intend to live and die in Alaska, and on these grounds I doubt very much if they are entitled to be classed as immigrants; however, they were able to comply with every requirement and must be allowed to come in.

“Of those who come in via British Columbia I am convinced that a large majority are contract labor slaves. Of the wisdom or good policy of educating Japanese students in this country to fit them to work both ends of a contract labor bureau by which they barter in the flesh and blood of their fellow Japanese, I am in serious doubt.”

#### WAGES PAID IN JAPAN

The following rate of wages paid in Japan is quoted from the Report of the United States Commissioner above referred to:-

August, 1897

Occupation	Sen
Carpenters	60
Sawyers	70
Cabinet makers	70
Shoemakers, first class	120
second class	80
third class	50
Tailors, Japanese style	40
Foreign style, first class	150
second class	100
third class	80
Blacksmiths	80
Ship carpenters first class	80
second class	70
third class	60
Gardeners	50
Coolies	40

(In estimating the wages as given above it must be borne in mind that it is given in Japanese. A sen is a tenth [sic.] part of a yen, and a yen is equal to about 50 cents of our money.)

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<sup>3</sup> “Show-money,” not a bribe. Arrivals had to show they had enough money to avoid being immediately indigent. British Columbia would impose a similar requirement.

The following table from the report of the California Bureau of Labor Statistics gives the wages paid in Japan in 1897. It is said that wages in Japan had greatly increased within the several years prior to this date.

Wages in Japan, 1897 - (In Canadian Money.)	
Occupations	Day (cents)
Blacksmiths	24
Brickmakers	28
Carpenters	24.5
Gardeners	19.5
Fishermen	23.5
Joiners	22.5
Laborers	17
Laborers, agricultural (male)	15
Laborers, agricultural (female)	9.5
Sawyers	25
Servants, domestic	25
Shoemakers	23
Shoemakers, Japanese shoes	19
Stone-cutters	27.5
Tailors, European clothing	29
Tailors, Japanese clothing	18.5
Wheelwrights	20.5
	Month (cents)
Servants	141
Ship carpenters	79.5

[...] From the above list it will be noticed that the wages of laborers is 17 cents, and farm laborers, 15 cents a day. Domestic servants, \$1.41 per month, servants, 79½ cents a month, fishermen, 19½ cents a day. These are the principal classes who come to Canada.

Gin Kanga, employed on the “Empress of China” [steamship], [who] was born in Japan, referring to the Japanese who came over on the “Empress of China,” says:

“They come from the southern part of Japan, beyond Kobe. I think most of the people are fishermen over there. Those who work in the woods here are in Japan, farmers. Farm laborers in Japan are very cheap. I cannot tell you for sure, but I think \$5 or \$6 a year of your money, and supply them with food, clothing and houses to live in. On many of the farms they work on shares, one-fourth or one-sixth of the produce for working it. I think somebody must put the money up for them to come here – the emigration office.

S. Fuseya, a Japanese tailor, Victoria, stated that:



“In Japan tailors are paid from 20 to 30 yen a month, that will be about \$10 or \$15 a month here. Living is very cheap in Japan. It costs a common laborer to live in Japan about 7 yen a month. It costs here about three times what it costs there. The wages of a common laborer [are] about 15 or 20 cents Canadian money, and it costs him about 7½ cents a day for his living.”

#### THE IMMIGRANT AT HOME

Alfred Dyer, journalist, who traveled through China and Japan for four years in connection with his profession, said:

“Referring to Japanese restriction I may say that an European cannot travel in Japan outside the treaty ports without a passport. For instance, you cannot travel from Kobe to Hong Kong without producing your passport before you can secure your railway ticket. That regulation was enforced in 1895. It does not matter what your business is. The Japanese are very willing to learn. They do not restrict an Englishman as much as one would think, and they employ a great many outsiders. It is a matter of common knowledge that all the cashiers of the principal firms throughout the towns are Chinamen. The Chinese bear such a reputation for uprightness in money matters, which as far as I know is most thoroughly deserved, that they are employed in nearly all the business houses and banks in Japan. There the businessman places his reputation for honesty and uprightness far above anything else. In business matters I would trust a Chinaman as much as I would a white man. The Japanese do the same where they would not trust their own people.

“A Japanese village belonging to the same class as the Chinese would be nattier and prettier. They are not as substantial, but they are cleaner, nattier, flimsier and prettier. They have more rooms and are built of cheaper material, and they can afford to have more rooms. When they get into situations they have not much to lose if they have to leave a house. I think a Japanese house is distinguished by the want of furniture. The Japanese sleep on mats. The Chinese go in more for beds.

“I much prefer the Chinese to the Japanese. They are strictly honest, and as to virtue they are very much better.”

#### THEIR HOMES

The Rev. Dr. Wiley, one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, who published a record of his observations in China and Japan in 1879, says:

“Among the masses of the people their wants are few and easily supplied. Their homes are very simple, and their furniture very limited and cheap, and their clothing scant and inexpensive. The house is built of wood, light and airy, and generally only one storey high. They are partitioned into rooms, not by permanent walls, but by sliding frames or folding screens, so that they can alter almost at will the size and shape of the rooms. The floors are covered with mats made of straw and rushes, and several inches thick, so that they serve at once for seats, after the peculiar fashion in which the Japanese sit, and for beds – a Japanese simply folding himself in his outer coat, and stretching himself on the matted floor, resting his head on a peculiarly shaped pillow. The window frames are all movable, filled with oiled paper instead of glass. The furniture of the house is on the same simple plan. A Japanese, no matter

what his rank or wealth, has but little furniture. The room looks always bare and empty. A few shelves hold some cups and saucers, and there are several small trays and stands. There are no chairs, and the tables are low, small and plain. As to the kitchen, one or two small movable stoves, a few pans of metal, and some brooms are all that are needed. Everywhere, however, you will admire the cleanliness observed in these homes.

“Marriage is universal. The great problem which disturbs so many in western countries, how to keep a wife and home, being unknown here. Their future house is taken, containing three or four little rooms, in which clean mats are put. Each then brings to the housekeeping a cotton-stuffed quilt, and a box of wearing apparel for their own personal use, a pan to cook the rice, a half-dozen large cups and trays to eat off, a large tub to wash and bathe in, and the great problem of home and family is solved.”

A witness stated that an ordinary Japanese house would cost about \$20, built of wood and thatched. Another witness stated that the Japanese village is flimsier than the Chinese; they are more artistic, cleaner, nattier, and have more room.

#### UPON ARRIVAL IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Dr. Alfred T. Watt, Superintendent of Quarantine for British Columbia, said:

“The Japanese go back, a great many of them, and stay over the winter. They come here and make enough money to take them back to Japan, and keep them comfortable until the next season. I believe they have been brought over here for \$7 a head. It is more than that now. Tramp steamers brought over very large numbers. That is the lowest price. About \$30, I think, is the usual price. They do not bring their families. Two or three Japanese in every hundred bring their wives here. The emigration is induced by companies. They furnish them, sometimes, with European clothes. When they come here the Japanese clothing is cast off.”

Q. “Do you mean that those Japanese who come here are brought here by any companies on this side who contract to bring them over and furnish their labor to people?”

A. “I do not believe that.”

Q. “What you mean is that certain persons in Japan make it their business to furnish intending emigrants with information, with the necessary outfit of European clothing, and all that sort of thing?”

A. “Yes.”

Q. “When the individual comes here he is on his own hook?”

A. “He is looked after by the agents of the companies here who induced him to emigrate.”

Q. “You do not consider he is forced in any way?”

A. “No.”

Q. “You do not consider that disadvantageous to this country?”

A. “No. . . . When they are indoors they very often wear Japanese costumes. I believe they purchase their clothing from ordinary stores. They bring an outfit with them to last them for some time, then they go to the ready-made clothing stores. I have seen them at meals, eating rice, fish, and some kind of vegetables. They like to

have their dried fish and salted fish that come from Japan, and with their own fish they like to have their own rice and their own preserves. I know that a great quantity of foodstuffs come over for the consumption of the Japanese, and I do believe the Japanese purchase more from Europeans than the Chinese do. When they come through by the quarantine station we have trouble in getting them to use the water closets. The Japanese I think understands matters relating to sanitation in their own country. They deal very vigorously with any epidemic disease. The Japanese understand that. They adopt vaccination against smallpox. The ones that came last year were mostly from the farming class. There were a certain number of fishermen as well. They wear their own clothing on the vessel. They have a full suit of European clothing they put on as soon as they arrive here in almost every case. They nearly all have a few dollars, up to \$40. Of course, of the Japanese who pass through the quarantine, a great many of them are bound for American ports, and all those have \$30 in gold with them; that is to meet the requirements of the American law. I do not know whether it is their own money, or whether it has been supplied to them. They all have the Japanese kimono or gown, a quilt or blanket, and a suit of European clothes. They are nearly all young men from 16 to 30.”

Q. “Did you ascertain whether they came to settle permanently in the country or with a view to returning to their own country at an early date?”

A. “Well, they come over here expecting to get work and expecting to make a competence in a short time. In the course of last year the Japanese were very much deceived by the emigration companies. These companies represented to them that they would soon make money here in working on railways and so on. I think they have been induced to sell what property they have and invest in tickets to come here. I think they pay their own way.

“I consider they are apparently more like our own people. They dress in European clothing, but you find in the boarding houses where they live – there are three or four Japanese boarding houses in the city – there they will put on the Japanese costume, and [when] sitting around in their own houses, they put on Japanese costume and eat food prepared in much the same way as it is prepared in Japan. The Japanese do not crowd together in the same sense as the Chinese are crowded. They do not all live in the same quarter. The Japanese are congregated in certain houses, large boarding houses, a large number sleeping in one room; I think scarcely as crowded as the Chinese. Of course the Japanese in Victoria [are] more of a floating population; they come and go away again. They go out to farms and canneries and wherever they can get work in good weather, and come back here in the wintertime. The Japanese work for less than you would think of offering to a white man. I think their wages are lower than the Chinese; at least they were this last winter, because great numbers of Japanese came here and there was little or no work for them. That was attributable to misrepresentations made by emigration agents. Few Japanese have arrived since last August or September (that would be 1900). At that time the Japanese Government stopped the issue of passports to Japanese emigrants.”

William Harrington Ellis, Provincial Immigration Officer for Vancouver Island, said:

“As immigration officer I have been enforcing the Provincial Immigration Act, generally termed the Natal Act. This Act does not affect the Chinese, as their entry into Canada is provided for by the Dominion Immigration Act. Japanese immigration has practically ceased since the beginning of the year; [I] have issued only eight certificates of entry during that period, and several of these were issued to naturalized British subjects. [I] have refused admission to three Japanese who were deported by the steamship carrying them here. [I] am given to understand the Japanese Government are not issuing passports to subjects desiring to enter Canada. Japanese passengers destined for Puget Sound ports are still present on Oriental liners. Coasting and Trans-Pacific steamers will not book Japanese from a foreign port to British Columbia unless they have first proved their ability to comply with the terms of the Act.

“I consider Japanese cleanly in habits, industrious and intelligent. I believe them more dangerous competitors in the business of the country than the Chinese. They adopt European dress and food and conform as much as possible to the customs of the country. As a race they believe they are capable of taking an equal place among the civilized nations of the world. They are more aggressive than the Chinese, and if permitted to enter this country without restriction, would in the course of time become a considerable portion of our business and working community, and would undoubtedly insist upon being enfranchised. I do not consider them desirable as citizens from the fact that they do not or cannot assimilate with the white races. At present they, like the Chinese, occupy a special place in the community. They furnish labor at a price with which the white laborer cannot compete. They do not support families, and trade almost altogether among themselves. They are meager contributors to the general welfare and a positive detriment to the white laborer. Their advantage is altogether from the standpoint of capital.

“I am given to understand many Japanese immigrants come to Victoria and Vancouver as being convenient points from which to enter the United States. If refused entry to that country they will return to this, whereas if they sail direct from Japan and were refused entry they would be returned to Japan.

“The Great Northern, Northern Pacific and Southern Pacific Railway systems employ Japanese in large numbers as track repairers, the Great Northern employing alone nearly 4,000. The Oriental laborer cannot be replaced by restriction or head tax. An acceptable immigrant must be brought in, and a practical and earnest effort is necessary to bring him.”

## Antecedents

### “A great kindness toward Japan”<sup>4</sup> (October 5, 1893)

Tigerio Nishiwaki<sup>5</sup> is the name of a Japanese gentleman, well known in Vancouver, now touring the East, who has stated to the Ottawa press that his visit to this country is to study commercial conditions. “I am paying particular attention to means of emigration and railroading,” he said recently. “You may not know that the Japanese Government sent commissioners to Australia and Mexico to test the suitability of those countries for the purpose of emigration, as Japan is overcrowded. The commissioners reported favorably in the case of Australia, and I myself had the honor of presenting to the Government a petition asking that a similar commission be sent here to Canada. The request was granted, and the commission will probably come next year. We have numbers of people in Japan who would make the most desirable settlers in Canada. Many are miners, while others are farmers of a thrifty, hard working class. The Japanese you have seen in Canada so far do not at all represent the people of whom I speak.” Mr. Nishiwaki spent six months in San Francisco, and has visited many of the principal cities in the West, both in Canada and the United States. “I prefer Canada to the United States,” he said without a moment’s hesitation. “The Government and the people of Canada have always shown great kindness toward Japan and the Japanese, and we appreciate it highly.” [...] “There are two things which have surprised me in Canada,” he remarked in conclusion, “firstly, the high price of land in the cities when compared with the price in Tokio, and secondly,” – this with a grave smile – “the beauty of the people. I never saw such handsome men and women anywhere.”

The information that a commission is likely to visit the Dominion in the interests of Japanese labor will not be welcomed by the workingmen of British Columbia, who have already complained to the Government because of their being supplanted by Asiatics. The news will be particularly objectionable to the Nanaimo coal miners and the Fraser river fishermen.

### “Regularly as clock work”<sup>6</sup> (March 13, 1895)

The Government have received the resolution adopted by the British Columbia Legislature asking for an increase in the poll tax on Chinese. This resolution comes to Ottawa regularly as clock work once a year. Doubtless the same answer will be made in acknowledgment, namely, that it is not considered in the public interest to

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<sup>4</sup> From THE MIKADO’S COUNTRY. (1893, October 5). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> “TORONTO, September 21. – Among the guests at the Queen’s hotel is Tejirio Nishiwaki, a gentleman from Tokio, Japan, who is spending a couple of years in travelling through the United States and Canada. Mr. Nishiwaki is an educated man of the Japanese upper class. He dresses after the European fashion and speaks English remarkably well.” FROM TOKIO TO CANADA. (1893, September 22). *The Ottawa Evening Journal*, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> From An Ottawa dispatch. (1894, March 13). *The Nanaimo Daily News*, p. 1.

do anything. What the British Columbia Government might fairly consider at this time is the proposed treaty between Great Britain and Japan, which gives the Japanese full liberty to come and go in any portion of the Empire.

### **“Scarce this year”<sup>7</sup> (August 12, 1895)**

I am in receipt of official information from Japan, said consul Nosse<sup>8</sup> to a reporter on Saturday, to the effect that the local authorities there were instructed by the Government not to issue any passports to their subjects, intending to come out to British Columbia, until further notice, unless they have sufficient means to start farming or to be engaged in trade. I presume this step was taken by the authorities in accordance with the report made by this consulate sometime in May. Although wages are higher everywhere in the Province than they were last year, there are many less Japanese here now than there were then. There are at present not more than 500 in this Province, including about 200 on the Fraser river, half of them having come from the United States and will go back as soon as the fishing is over. There will then be about 300 only next winter in case there are no fresh arrivals. The Japanese laborers are so scarce this year that I had to disappoint on more than one occasion those who wanted them, some for farming, some for mining, some for fishing. I had myself a couple of weeks ago the sad experience of hiring a Chinese cook for more than a week, on account of there not being a single Japanese cook in the city, although I used to give \$25 with board. I have just been back from an extended tour in the country, municipalities of Surrey and Langley, inspecting the state of crops and farming in general, so that I could form some idea if any rich Japanese farmer cared to invest their capital in farming here. I contemplate making another extended tour in the Yale district for the same purpose. I am not able to form any idea yet as to the advisability of Japanese farmers coming to settle in the Province, but in case they should do so they must engage in it on a large scale, each with a capital of at least \$10,000.

### **“It was not Japan’s desire”<sup>9</sup> (January 25, 1896)**

Consul Nosse regretted to hear that there was a possibility of some action being taken during the present session of the legislature in reference to Japanese immigration. In the recent treaty with England, Japan had been placed upon the same footing as other first-class peoples in respect to the favored nation clause. It was not Japan’s desire to see a large emigration of its citizens to this or other countries. He was himself against the Japanese coming here in numbers, and on more than one occasion had made strong representations to his government in the matter, urging

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<sup>7</sup> From JAPANESE IMMIGRATION. (1895, August 12). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Nosse Tatsugoro, Consul to Vancouver and later Consul-General to Canada, also served as Consul to Chicago in the late 1890s.

<sup>9</sup> From TRADE WITH JAPAN. (1896, January 25). *The Victoria Daily Colonist*, p. 8.

that no further passports be issued to Japanese coming to this province. He had so far succeeded in this that very few Japanese had lately come here, neither the government nor themselves desiring that they should go where they were disliked. While this was the case, the Japanese was an excellent immigrant, for he conformed to the customs of the country, in dress and living, and spent what he earned as rapidly as it was made. At the present time, Mr. Nosse stated, there are not more than 600 Japanese in British Columbia. Of these about 130 were at Comox, 120 at Steveston, 60 in Victoria, 50 in Vancouver, 50 on the Skeena, 50 on Salt Spring Island and the remainder scattered over the province.

While not desiring emigration from its shores, Japan would resent the passage of any measure against its people, such as Mr. Nosse had heard was in contemplation. As he had before said, Japan was on equal terms with other nations, and it would be a pity to promote even in a small way any discord in the pleasant relations now existing between Japan and England.

### **“Perfect and efficient laws”<sup>10</sup> (July 6, 1896)**

#### **Consul Nosse details his views on Japanese immigration to British Columbia.**

The number of Japanese residents in this Province has always been exaggerated. The whole population of Japanese has never exceeded 1,000, the average being 800. Some people insist on saying that there are 10,000 Chinese and Japanese, thus making the public believe there are as many Japanese as Chinese. I know there should be more than 10,000 Chinese, but there are many places in the Province where a single Japanese cannot be found. The best instance is that you cannot employ Japanese so easy as Chinese. Probably there is one Japanese to every 20 Chinese. Of course you will always find a great number of Japanese at Steveston during the fishing season, as everyone in the Province congregates there from Comox, Victoria, Vancouver, etc. I noticed in the local papers an item relating to New Westminster which says there are 6,000 Japanese, but I believe it was meant for 600. You may notice there are some 50 or 60 Japanese arriving in Victoria by the steamers, but they are only on their way to the United States; they find the passage more convenient for them to come out in this direction, besides the fare being much less than that of the San Francisco line, where the Japanese laborers were said to be in excess of the demand.

The Japanese Government, unlike that of the Chinese, has one of the most perfect and efficient laws, regulating the immigration of her own people abroad, and the restrictions to be placed on these emigrants in Japan, before leaving their own homes. According to these regulations no Japanese laborers are allowed to leave that country without passports, under a penalty or fine of from \$20 to \$200, with or without imprisonment. Any Japanese laborer on applying for the passport, must deposit with the local Government the sum of \$200, or give two sureties who pay the

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<sup>10</sup> Consul Nosse, quoted in THE CHINESE QUESTION. (1896, July 6). *Vancouver Daily World*, p. 4.

annual Imperial tax of \$10 and upward. The Japanese Government, unlike that of Italy or China, does not desire to see a large emigration of her own subjects abroad. The fact of these regulations being carried out with a great effect are shown by my having made a very strong representation to my Government against the large emigration of our people to this Province. The Japanese Government took the matter up at once and stopped the passports being issued to any laborer intending to come to this Province. The consequence was that not a single Japanese came to this coast during the months of January, February, March and April of this year. So much did this action of my Government affect the passenger traffic of the Empress line that correspondence on the subject took place between the C. P. R.<sup>11</sup> officials and myself on the subject. I need hardly add that they were disappointed at the result. The Japanese Government may stop issuing passports to its people intending to come to this Province whenever applied to by the Dominion Government through the proper channels.

It is a great mistake to suppose that Japanese labor interferes with that of the white people. The Japanese are only engaged in a few saw mills, in the collieries at Comox, and the canneries at Steveston. They never have engaged in the laundry business, vegetable mongers, express wagons, or in the gold diggings, as the Chinese have, who are really detrimental to the welfare of the of the white laborers. Only about one dozen Japanese are engaged up in the Cariboo, and none are in Kootenay. I don't think the Japanese laborers have ever given any obstruction to the white people.

It is hardly worth while to refer to the superiority of the Japanese morals over those of the Chinese. A Mr. Gallagher said the other day "the Japanese are the greater evil of the two." I am surprised to find that gentleman entertains such a mistaken idea. First of all the Japanese have their own Christian Endeavors in this Province. Its headquarters are in Vancouver and it has branches at Steveston, Victoria and Union, Comox. Its members now number 300. It also has a Christian Mission hospital at Steveston, with Dr. Langis<sup>12</sup> as surgeon-in-charge. The Japanese contributed over \$1,000 towards its construction, and give an annual contribution of \$300 for its maintenance. The Japanese seldom or never are brought up before the Police Magistrate charged with theft. They are never found in connection with chicken stealing. They never kept opium dens or gambling houses. They, like other

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<sup>11</sup> The Canadian Pacific Railway company also operated the Empress line of ocean liners.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Langis was the subject of an abortion trial in 1889. "Dr. Langis and Arthur Sullivan were arrested on Saturday night charged with abortion on Mrs. Hogg, who confessed to her husband. Bail was fixed at \$8,000." CASE OF ABORTION. (1889, April 22). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1. Dr. Langis was found innocent. Although Mrs. Hogg was able to give a detailed description of the procedure, and it "was a strange thing that a woman could give such an accurate description of these things without experience," the judge pointed out to the jurors that it may have been due to a prior incident. The judge mentioned that "[h]e considers Dr. Langis a competent man." It was also brought to the jury's attention that Mrs. Hogg had lied about the matter to a priest. The judge "said the jury had no evidence but hers. Reliability could not be placed on the evidence of a woman who could tell such a lie on her knees before her minister." After three days of testimony, the jury took exactly an hour to deliver the verdict of 'Not guilty'. DR. LANGIS AND SULLIVAN. (1889, May 18). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 1.



civilized people, are occasionally tried for drunkenness – the result of whisky supplied at bars kept by white people. I believe no magistrate in this Province can produce any evidence against Japanese in cases of theft. The Japanese coming to this Province are all anxious to acquire some knowledge of the English language, and anything else they consider to be superior to their own. The Japanese are known throughout the world to be a merry, pleasure-loving people, who never think of making or saving money<sup>13</sup>, the laboring classes especially spending their money as fast as they can earn it. It is a fact which can be authenticated by many responsible businesses and well-known financial men in this city and elsewhere in the Province that the Japanese do not send any more money out of the country than do a similar number of white people whose families may be living in the States or elsewhere, dependent upon them for means of support. In fact it is a failing which the Japanese are possessed of, as a nation, that they do not value money, and the manner in which they spend their earnings is proverbial. I am aware that last summer a Japanese at Steveston spent \$200 in two days buying what he could and then giving it away.

The Japanese try to assimilate themselves with the people of this Province as much as they can. Thus they all discard their native dress, etc., and take readily to your Canadian costume and food. Every one of them brings with him some money – from \$50 to \$100 – to buy here a hat, boots, clothing, etc., and in this way he spends every cent of it. So our people bring some money with them when they come: but they return quite empty. The Japanese are known to be very good customers wherever they are found, as they spend their money right where they earn it, never carrying much of it away with them. The Japanese complain that they are no better off out here than they are in Japan.

Since the war<sup>14</sup> a great many industries have sprung up in Japan, and everywhere the laborers are eagerly employed at the better rate of wages. Besides, the annexation of Formosa, and the increase of both the army and navy, have given a very extensive employment to Japanese workmen. A Japanese carpenter who arrived lately from Japan, stated to me that he had come out here with the understanding that he could get \$5 a day, but was disappointed, and had to take work at a cannery where he got only \$1.50 a day. He said that his wages were \$2 a day in Japan, but over in Formosa the sum of \$3 is paid, he added. He could do far better, he said, in Japan than in this Province, as everything is still cheaper in proportion to the higher wages paid to the workman. The average wages are \$2 for a carpenter, bricklayer, ship carpenter and masons. It is easy to get \$1.50 a day in any of the great cities in Japan. The rickshaw man (who draws a cart) makes sometimes \$4 to \$5 a day. He added, owing to the fact that everything [is] so high in price here, what he earns – \$1.50 – does not amount to one-half of what he received in Japan. He was quite disappointed at the result of his personal observation and said British Columbia

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<sup>13</sup> A common complaint about Chinese immigrants was that they sent most of what they earned back to China, spending little locally.

<sup>14</sup> The First Sino-Japanese War (1894 – 1895) ended with China ceding Taiwan to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki. A Taiwanese resistance declared the creation of the independent Republic of Formosa in May, 1895. The Japanese conquest of Taiwan was completed in October, 1895, and lasted until 1945.

is not a fit place for a laborer, and he intends going home by the next steamer. Already about two dozen carpenters received letters from Japan, asking them to go home, as better fortune awaits them over there. From this fact there is no fear of Japanese ever inundating this Province. From the facts above stated there would never be any fear of the Japanese coming to this Province, and I may just point out the reasons, which are:

(1.) The Government is not inclined to have her people emigrate in large numbers.

(2.) The emigration laws restrict the Japanese leaving the country without passports, which could be withheld to anybody under certain circumstances.

(3.) The Japanese are not as well off here as they are in Japan. The wages here are comparatively small, whilst living is very much more expensive.

(4.) The increase of industries and the higher wages now being paid will gradually draw a great many Japanese towards home. You will see one-half of them going to Japan before the year is over. There are, of course, a few hundred who are naturalized as Canadian citizens, who have to remain here.

It is a great pity that an anti-Japanese tendency is so apparent in this Province, that the people talk quite freely against us, when Japan is showing the very best of feeling toward this Dominion and has been most anxious to expand the trade and the commerce existing between the two nations. This anti-Japanese feeling will be heard with regret in Japan and if perpetuated to such an extent that it will result in the matter being brought before the House of Commons at Ottawa, a hostile feeling will be created in Japan.

### **“Not conducive to the general good”<sup>15</sup> (March 7, 1901)**

The large movement of Japanese immigrants during 1899-1900 towards British Columbia alarmed more than the working element of the danger that was besetting the province. Acts, whose provisions were aimed at the restriction of Japanese immigration, and the prevention also of the employment of these already here, in various ways were passed by the legislature, but were vetoed by the authorities at Ottawa on the ground of their inexpediency, or of their being ultra vires<sup>16</sup> of the province. At the last session of the legislature, the “B. C. Immigration Act, 1900,” based upon the lines of the Natal act<sup>17</sup>, its chief provision an educational test to be taken by all incoming immigrants, was passed. There is no claim as yet against the right of the province to pass and enforce such an act, the power being provided by the “British North America Act”<sup>18</sup>. Unfortunately, its terms could not be enforced against the Chinese, their entry having previously been provided for by Dominion statute. It could, and has been enforced, against the Japanese, who, with

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<sup>15</sup> From CAUCASIAN. (1901, March 7). ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS. *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Beyond the authority of.

<sup>17</sup> An act that requires immigrants to prove they can read and write a European language, first popularized by its use in the colony of Natal (now the South African province of KwaZulu-Natal).

<sup>18</sup> The act establishing the Dominion of Canada. British Columbia joined confederation in 1871.

the Chinese, form the great majority of immigrants to British Columbia. So effectively did the act operate against the Japanese immigrants that it is a rarity to find one booked for a British Columbia port, although they continue to arrive at San Francisco and Seattle in considerable numbers. The object of the legislature in passing the act and of the government in strictly enforcing it was therefore being satisfactorily accomplished.

While the chief opponents of the Japanese are in the ranks of the workers with whom they unfairly compete in the labor market, there are also many of the business world who are opposed to their being resident in British Columbia in large numbers. While they may be used profitably in various lines of work, their usurpation of the places of the white laboring element is not conducive to the general good or growth of trade. Like their Chinese cousins, they do not assimilate with the Caucasian races; they have no families to support, and their earnings go to keep those of their brethren who still remain in over-populated Japan. As yet the Japanese have not competed in the business of the province, except to a small extent in the timber industry. They are, however, being educated into the practical working of our several industries, and the time is not far distant when they will take the position of employer in the lumbering and canning industries. They have shown that they are not a people who will be content to remain the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white man, but are determined to take an equal place with him. No one will deny their capacity to do this. They are intellectually and physically competent to take their own part in commerce or war, and, unlike the Chinese, as a united and patriotic nation. Hence the greater danger to be feared from their coming to British Columbia in such large numbers, as was the case last year, when 10,000 Japanese entered this province. Should they be permitted to take up their residence here in this ratio for a few years, they would soon equal and outnumber the white population, and gradually acquire a control not only in the labor market, but also in some of the province's chief industries. They would form the British Columbia "Uitlander,"<sup>19</sup> and would prove to be as difficult a quantity to handle as Kruger<sup>20</sup> found the Transvaal article, unless they were received into full citizenship, which no doubt the Japanese would insist upon.

### **"The Japanese question"<sup>21</sup> (August 7, 1907)**

In view of the presence in Victoria of a number of representatives of the British Press, it seems timely to present what we conceive to be the general sentiment of the people of this part of Canada in regard to the influx of Japanese. It must be admitted that there are many who would welcome immigration from any source provided it would solve the question of labor for domestic, farm and general purposes for which

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<sup>19</sup> British migrant workers who participated in the Transvaal (South African) gold rush of 1886. Taxation of the Uitlanders without representation was one of the factors leading to the Second Boer war.

<sup>20</sup> Stephanus Johannes Paulus "Paul" Kruger (1825 – 1904), president of the Transvaal (South African republic) during the Second Boer War (1899 – 1902).

<sup>21</sup> From THE JAPANESE QUESTION. (1907, August 7). *The Daily Colonist*, p. 4.

unskilled workmen would be useful, but they are in the minority, and even they would not assent to unrestricted immigration, if they believed it would lead to the Orientalization of Western Canada. They deny that any such danger exists. The remainder of the community, while conceding that there is a shortage of unskilled labor, hold that such a remedy as would be afforded by Oriental immigration would be worse than the disease. The question is a broader one than it appears to be on its face, and while at present it involves only the Japanese, the progress of Eastern Asia is so rapid that within a comparatively brief period it will include the Chinese as well. In other words, the somewhat critical condition which has arisen is only the opening phase of what will probably be the greatest race problem in history.

The people of this part of Canada have grown so familiar with this question that they are able to regard it with some discrimination. They realize to some extent the difficulties of the situation as regards Japan. About ten years ago the Marquis Ito was in Victoria, and he took occasion, as he himself expressed it, to give the first statement of his views upon international questions, as they affected Canada, through the columns of the *Colonist*. That distinguished statesman said<sup>22</sup>, among other things, that we need have no fear of any very considerable influx of his fellow-countrymen, because "the work of Japan is in Asia." If we could be sure of this, there would be no Japanese question with which Canadians need concern themselves, but unfortunately Marquis Ito was unable to foresee the effect upon the character of the Japanese people of the changes, which he did so much to inaugurate. The Japanese are developing an individuality apart from the policy of their government, and they aim to go where there are dollars to be earned. The work of the Japanese government may be in Asia, but the work of each Japanese seems to be anywhere he can get employment. Japan is increasing in population at the rate of about 800,000 a year, and there is not room for so many new people at home. They must go somewhere, and they are seeking openings all along the Western Coast of America. Apparently they are not attracted to the opportunities which must exist for immigration in Korea, Manchuria and other Asiatic regions. An Island race, the sea presents no barrier, but only a means whereby they can reach lands where they can put their energy and industry to good advantage. In these things the Japanese have, and they are entitled to have our full sympathy, but after due consideration has been given to them, there remains untouched the greatest factor in the case, namely, racial demarcation. Our

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<sup>22</sup> "Such a law as the British Columbia legislature proposed to pass to exclude Japanese is wholly useless in my opinion. I do not think there is the slightest reason for Canada or the United States to anticipate any influx of Japanese people. Some will come, no doubt, to the continent, but we have our own northern provinces to develop, and Formosa also, and our surplus population will find plenty of room there for years to come. The case of Hawaii does not apply to other countries. Hawaii invited us to send people there, and made special pledges to us by treaty, and so our people went there in great numbers. I do not think that either Canada or the United States need expect many Japanese immigrants. [...] I can say with confidence that if the Hawaiian government should offer us [...] islands, we should refuse them. What do we want of them? They are too far away to be of any use to us. [...] We will be your competitors, but only in China, and that country is so great that there will be ample room for us all." From THE MARQUIS ITO. (1897, May 19). *The Daily Colonist*, p. 8.

people simply will not live side by side with the Japanese on terms of equality, and the Japanese will be content with nothing else.

The difficulties presented by the facts as they exist are admitted. We do not know that they are rendered any more serious by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance<sup>23</sup>. On the contrary, it seems as though the close friendship of the two governments ought to assist in removing them. We are told of what is due from us to Japan; not so much is said of what is due from Japan to us. One may assume that the advantages of the alliance are not all on one side, and if we must consider Japanese pride of race, it is surely not unreasonable to expect that they will consider those ideas, call them prejudices, if you will, which the Canadian people entertain. Canadians have never been slow to make sacrifices for imperial reasons. We have, not quite without protest, but certainly without very serious expressions of dissatisfaction, seen choice parts of our territory given up to our neighbors for the sake of the peace of the Empire, but we will not be so complaisant in regard to a policy, which will lead to the overrunning of what we have left by a people alien in blood, institutions, language, and traditions. If the Imperial government is unable to appreciate the importance of preserving the Western frontier of Canada as a British frontier, in fact as well as in name, it is not easy to foresee what steps our own people may feel called upon to take.

Our own impression is that the emergency is not nearly as grave as some people consider; that is, we believe that it can be safely met and overcome, if it is approached with firmness and dignity, and the Imperial authorities recognize that their own flesh and blood are entitled to the same degree of consideration as is extended to aliens. We are not going to discuss what will happen in a decade or so from the present date. Some problems of the future can best be postponed until the future, for time is a great solvent of difficulties. The question of the days is: Shall there be unrestricted immigration of Japanese into Canada? The majority of the people of Canada say: No, and it is for the Imperial government to devise some way by which this determination can be reconciled with the not unreasonable aspirations of the Japanese people and the preservation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. In dealing with this question the Home government ought to understand that there are limitations to the spirit of self-sacrifice of the Canadian people.

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<sup>23</sup> The Anglo-Japanese Alliance between Britain and Japan lasted from 1902 to 1921.

## The Natal Acts

### “There still remains an effectual way”<sup>24</sup> (June 4, 1900)

We are not only on friendly terms, but under hearty union with Japan. Once we permit her subjects to enter our country we are bound by rules of international law<sup>25</sup> to protect them as we would our own, in life and liberty. Those we have once admitted we can neither deport nor expel. But we can restrict and even prohibit the entry of any more. Since 1893 we have been under treaty with Japan, but the utmost the treaty requires is that we accord to Japanese subjects the same rights of entry and residence as the subjects of what are called the “favored nations.” The treaty does not interfere with our right to control immigration into our country, further than this, that any restriction we impose on Japanese immigration must also be imposed on immigration from the other “favored nations.” Therefore once we let the Japanese (or Chinese) land on our shores we must treat them as our own subjects. We must not legislate expressly against them. [...] Consequently the only way to deal with the question is not to let them land on our shores at all. In the case of the Chinese we can restrict their coming by a health tax, but that being a matter of trade and commerce can only be done by the Dominion parliament. We can restrict the carrying power of vessels, but that being a matter of shipping comes under the Dominion parliament.

But there still remains an effectual way in which our own legislature can abate this nuisance. By sec. 95 of the B. N. A. act<sup>26</sup> our province has power to make laws in relation to immigration, and in the exercise of that power I would favor a law prohibiting the immigration into British Columbia by sea or land of any person who, when asked to do so, by the proper officers, failed in his own handwriting to write out and sign an application to the provincial secretary in a European language for permission to enter our province – and any person not exempt from that law, making his way into British Columbia in disregard of it should be liable to imprisonment, and

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<sup>24</sup> Robert Garnett Tatlow (1855 – 1910), MLA for Vancouver from 1900 to 1909, as quoted in TALKS WITH ELECTORS. (1900, June 4). *The Province*, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> “Article 1 of the Revised Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and Great Britain provides that ‘the subjects of each of the two contracting parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel, or reside in any of the dominions and possessions of the other contracting party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for their persons and property;’ and the Article 15 of the same, that ‘the high contracting parties agree that, in all that concerns commerce and navigation, any privilege, favor or immunity which either contracting party has actually granted, or may hereafter grant, to the Government, ships, subjects, or citizens of any other State shall be extended immediately and unconditionally to the Government, ships, subjects or citizens of the other contracting party, it being their intention that the trade and navigation of each country shall be placed, in all respects, by the other on the footing of the most favored nation.’ [...] [T]hough the Dominion of Canada does not participate in the revised treaty referred to, it is contradictory to the international usage that a nation subject to the duties and privileges of international law should be adversely discriminated in legislation in a friendly country.” S. Shizumu, Japanese consul at Vancouver, quoted in OUR LEGISLATION. (1899, January 19). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> The British North America Act of 1867, which created the Dominion of Canada. British Columbia did not join Confederation until 1871.

then to be sent back whence he came. He should not be entitled to a license to trade, mine or fish, or to hold land. Of this nature is the act in force in the colony of Natal<sup>27</sup> and known as the Natal act. An act which the colonial secretary Mr. Chamberlain<sup>28</sup>, recommends to us as one which does not offend against Imperial policy or Imperial treaties with Japan. An act that cannot be objected to at Ottawa, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier<sup>29</sup> bases his reasons for disallowance under Imperial policy as indicated by Mr. Chamberlain. In this way I would shut the gates of our province in the face of these Oriental hordes.

I need not call to your minds the effect of this immigration on British Columbia. In many industries the drive wheel of progress is reversed; machinery and skilled labor have ceased to be the agents of production and bone-labor has taken their place. Instead of native capital we have its foreign substitute; instead of a healthy working white population we will soon have the lowest the Orient can produce; instead of British Columbia, a practical dependency of China and Japan.

With these evils staring us in the face and while not only the laboring, but the industrial interests feel the blight of Chinese and Japanese contact, [...] I say let us adopt the means ready to our hand – the suggestion of Mr. Chamberlain – and by enacting legislation similar to the Natal act have the right to claim the Dominion’s and Imperial assistance in preserving our rich and beautiful country for the home of a pure white race for ensuring the manning of the western bulwark of this great empire by men who have at least the watch word of our nation, “What we have we’ll hold.”

### **“British Columbia had grievances”<sup>30</sup> (June 14, 1900)**

Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced a bill to restrict Chinese immigration in the house to-day. The Premier gave a history of the whole question, dealing with Japanese immigration as well. He said that British Columbia had grievances from both classes, and it was the intention of the government to issue a royal commission to investigate Japanese and Chinese immigration and lay the whole matter before the Imperial authorities so that it could properly be dealt with.

The question was an Imperial one.

He was prepared to deal with the Chinese question, but he recognized that agitation in British Columbia included Japanese as well and should be dealt with. He was not prepared now to put the Japanese on the same footing as the Chinese, thereby probably involving Britain in war in the east.

The government had been asked to put legislation similar to the Natal Act in force, but that would include the Japanese, and he was not prepared to deal with the Japanese now.

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<sup>27</sup> Now KwaZulu-Natal, a South African province.

<sup>28</sup> Joseph Chamberlain (1836 – 1914), Britain’s Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1895 to 1903.

<sup>29</sup> Sir Henri Charles Wilfrid Laurier (1841 – 1919) was prime minister of Canada from 1896 to 1911.

<sup>30</sup> From MONGOL IMMIGRATION. (1900, June 14). *The Province*, p. 1.

In respect to the Chinese the bill would raise the poll-tax from \$50 per head to \$100 per head. [...]

In respect to the Japanese he was satisfied that British Columbia would not wish to jeopardize the interests of Great Britain in the Orient at the present time. Indeed, he was satisfied that the people of British Columbia would be prepared not to put any obstacles in the way of Britain now at war<sup>31</sup> in South Africa, but would be prepared to view the matter as he did for the sake of the mother country and for the sake of the unity of the empire.

### **“Natal Act in Force”<sup>32</sup> (January 2, 1901)**

When the government and legislature of British Columbia have in past years moved in the direction of excluding Chinese and Japanese immigrants from this province, in view of present and prospective evils having their origin in such immigration, the intentions of the local house have been not infrequently frustrated by the vetoing of the several measures at Ottawa, with the information that they conflicted with imperial policy.

The specific objection was raised that no race or class may be specifically legislated against in any part of the British empire, and correspondence was submitted from Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, secretary for the colonies, intimating that the furthest the British Columbia government might go with propriety in this direction would be by the enactment of legislation similar to the famous Natal act, originally passed in the colony from which it derives its name, and subsequently adopted with a large measure of success by the colonies of Australasia.

It was virtually stated by the colonial secretary, that parallel legislation, based upon the provision of an educational test which very few of the coolie class can possibly comply with, would receive his approval, and hence the Dunsmuir government<sup>33</sup> took the earliest opportunity to have such a law passed – thus going as far as permitted them by the house authorities in the direction of Asiatic exclusion.

### **The act is disallowed<sup>34</sup> (August 4, 1902)**

Joseph Martin<sup>35</sup>, M. P. P., has been told that it is the intention of the Dominion government to disallow the act passed at the late session of the Legislature ostensibly designed to restrict the immigration of Japanese. [...] The public are informed by Mr. Martin that “the ground upon which the previous act was disallowed was that the

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<sup>31</sup> The Second Boer War (1899 – 1902), fought between Britain, the Republic of Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

<sup>32</sup> From NATAL ACT IN FORCE. (1901, January 2). *The Province*, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> James Dunsmuir (1851 – 1920) was Premier of British Columbia from 1900 to 1902. He would later serve as Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia.

<sup>34</sup> From JAPS AND POLITICIANS. (1902, August 4). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph “Fighting Joe” Martin (1852 – 1923) was Premier of British Columbia for four months in 1900. Among other political appointments, he served as MLA for Vancouver from 1898 to 1903.



Imperial authorities had requested the Dominion government to do so. No evidence has ever been shown to that effect. [...] Hon. Mr. Chamberlain transmitted a copy of a communication from the Japanese Emperor to the Imperial government, asking that if British Columbia passed any legislation against Japanese immigration it should be done in the form of the Natal Act.” Perhaps Mr. Martin has not seen the following communication from Hon. Joseph Chamberlain to Lord Minto<sup>36</sup>, dated Downing street, 22nd January, 1901:

My Lord, – With reference to my dispatch, No. 25, of even date, respecting the British Columbia Immigration Act, 1900, I have the honor to request that you will invite the serious attention of your Ministers to the question of the competence of a provincial legislature to pass such legislation.

2. It is understood from press reports that the act is of a restrictive nature, based upon the Natal Act, and having regard to the general principles on which the British North America Act is based, it would appear that such a measure is *ultra vires*<sup>37</sup> for any legislative body in Canada other than the Dominion Parliament.

3. The whole scheme of the British North America Act implies the exclusive jurisdiction of the Dominion of all ‘national’ powers, and though the power to legislate for the promotion and encouragement of immigration into the provinces may have been properly given to the provincial legislatures, the right of entry into Canada of persons voluntarily seeking such entry is obviously a purely national matter, affecting as it does directly the relations of the Empire with foreign states.

I have, etc.,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

We submit no instructions could be clearer than the above. The communication also gives us an insight into the difficulties which the Dominion government has had to contend in this matter of Oriental immigration. [...] There has been a change in the relations between Great Britain and Japan since the date of the disallowance of the original restriction act of British Columbia. The alliance between the two great island powers was originally only tentative. Since then a formal treaty, an alliance for the defence of the rights and territory of the two nations in the East, has been entered into. To this treaty, the United States is a consenting party, if not actually a signatory. No one will contend that British Columbia should be sacrificed, or even injured, for the benefit of the Empire as a whole. Japan, on her part, has undertaken to remedy the grievance which we complain of. She has restricted the emigration from her shores. Hordes of Orientals are not pouring over our borders now as they were when the agitation of which this interview is the culmination arose. [...] Certainly nothing is to be gained by antagonizing and attempting to discredit the Dominion government for its action in this matter. Any government, Liberal or Conservative, would, in similar circumstances, feel impelled to follow a similar course.

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<sup>36</sup> Gilbert John Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound (1845 – 1914), 4th Earl of Minto, was Governor-General of Canada from 1898 to 1904 and Governor-General of India from 1905 to 1910.

<sup>37</sup> Legal Latin for ‘beyond the power or authority of’.

## **“British Columbia was sacrificed”<sup>38</sup> (December 15, 1902)**

That British Columbia was sacrificed to Japan when the Anglo-Japanese treaty was entered into seems to be becoming more and more evident. The Federal government at Ottawa has just disallowed three acts passed by the local legislature which had as their object to keep out of this province cheap Japanese and Chinese labor in order that the white men might be given an opportunity to earn a living wage. This, in some lines it is impossible to do because of the Mongolians.

One of the acts disallowed regulated immigration and was based upon the Natal Act. This is the second time that the legislature has passed it only to find it come under the ban of Ottawa. That it will be re-enacted goes without saying and there is a promise of a war between province and Dominion over the matter. The act provided for an educational test and was put through the house after Capt. Tatlow’s similar measure had been given its death blow by the Federal authorities. The new Prior government cannot rest under the snub administered, particularly as its attorney-general, the Hon. D. M. Eberts<sup>39</sup>, was the man who drew up the disallowed bill.

## **The Natal Act is re-enacted<sup>40</sup> (April 9, 1903)**

The bill re-enacting the Natal Act of last year, which was disallowed, was introduced by the Premier, who observed that he supposed the member from Vancouver, Capt. Tatlow, would contend it to be his, which the ruddy captain promptly did.

Mr. Joseph Hunter<sup>41</sup> at once intimated that he would oppose the bill, pronouncing its repeated enactment in the face of disallowance as senseless. Mr. McPhillips<sup>42</sup> suggested an appeal to the courts to ascertain whether such legislation really was ultra vires of the Legislature.

Mr. Joseph Martin said the Federal Government did not claim the bill was ultra vires. If it were, let those who wished to disallow it test its validity<sup>43</sup> in the courts. Personally he was satisfied the legislation was within the Government’s province. [...] Further, the Dominion authorities, without any instruction from the Imperial Government, had recently passed legislation leveled at Chinese. The claim

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<sup>38</sup> From THAT DISALLOWANCE. (1902, December 15). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Judge David McEwen Eberts (1850 – 1924) was Attorney General for British Columbia from 1895 to 1898.

<sup>40</sup> From DISALLOWED BILL WILL BE RE-ENACTED. (1903, April 9). *The Province*, p. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Hunter (1839 – 1935) was MLA for the Cariboo from 1900 to 1904 (and previously, from 1871 to 1875). He also represented Comox from 1890 to 1898.

<sup>42</sup> Albert Edward McPhillips (1861 – 1938) was MLA for Victoria from 1898 to 1903, and served as Attorney General of British Columbia from 1900 to November of 1903.

<sup>43</sup> “The statement that the Federal Government is about to disallow the Natal Act of the British Columbia Legislature, can have no foundation whatever, as the matter has not been discussed in the most remote way so far.” THE NATAL ACT. (1903, October 2). *The Province*, p. 1.

regarding pressure from London was thus blown to the winds. He reasserted his claim that the real opposition to the legislation lay with the corporations interested in bringing cheap labor into the country.

Concluding, Mr. Martin said [...] he would raise his voice in having the rights of British Columbia brought before the Federal Government. The Liberal Government must come out clear on this matter. It had raised the head tax [on Chinese] to \$500, but this was not enough. It simply showed that the provincial contention was correct. They had a right to do something with respect to the Japanese. [...]

The bill passed its second reading without division.

### **“The Natal Act is working overtime”<sup>44</sup> (November 18, 1903)**

The Natal Act is working overtime these days, but it cannot keep even with the United States authorities. The Seattle spirit is too swift. Just at present the United States and Canadian immigration officers are engaged in the delightful pastime of “sloughing off” undesirable citizens on each other. [...]

Only a few days ago an enterprising fisherman of Steveston, recognizing the fact that trade always thrives more briskly in the neighborhood of an international boundary, decided to make a business of chaperoning Japs across the line. In some respects he was a cheap cheechako, for he took them on a basis of \$3 per, which is pretty reasonable considering the size of the country they were getting into, but he at least was wholesale in his ideas, for he took thirty in the first bunch; and he was withal a methodical man in his system, for he collected the \$3 before he landed the Mikado’s children on American soil, leaving the United States to take all the chances connected with the game.

Some of the Japs had been in the United States before and some of them had not, but they were unanimously of the same intention – they were going south to find a climate that would suit their clothes. But their intentions to arrive were all frustrated, for the United States immigration officers swarmed down on them like a tame bear on a beehive and they were all packed off back to the upper side of the 49th parallel.

This morning the bunch arrived. Nearly all of them, it was alleged by the Seattle authorities, had been working during the summer in the canneries along the British Columbia coast, but that does not prove that they were entitled to be in the country before they left it. Many Japanese, since the Natal Act has come into force, have developed a habit of walking across the border, or navigating the imaginary boundary line, whenever they catch the immigration officer not looking. Consequently when the Ramona came in this morning there was a large gathering to

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<sup>44</sup> From OVERTIME. (1903, November 18). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 5.

meet them. Mr. F. Russell<sup>45</sup> represented British Columbia. Mr. Frank Bowser<sup>46</sup> of the customs department, represented the Dominion of Canada; Mr. Morikawa<sup>47</sup>, the Japanese consul, represented the Mikado and his people, and United States Immigration Officer Bartlett represented the Land of the Free. The Japs were all stood in a line on the main dock of the Ramona and examined one by one. The character and pedigree and date of residence, number of passport and practically everything else relating to them, except possibly their birth certificate, was noted down in a big book. After collecting all the statistics and carefully summarizing the case the immigration inspector, Frank Russell, had to admit that the Japs all had the credentials were permitted to land.

### **“A notable fact”<sup>48</sup> (November 18, 1903)**

It is a notable fact, and one that does not point to the very efficient working of the provincial Natal Act, that the majority of the Japs did not understand a word of English. How they managed to comply with the requirements of the act upon their initial entrance to British Columbia is something which passeth the understanding of the authorities. The act requires that the Japs should be able to write in some European language the words of any test the immigration officials may choose to apply. It may be that as the act has been intermittent in its application and enforcement, all the Japs who arrived this morning may have come into the province when the act was temporarily out of force.

### **“Seriously called in question”<sup>49</sup> (December 12, 1903)**

The efficiency of the so-called Natal Act, which was designed to protect this province against the incursions of hordes of ignorant Japs, has been seriously called in question by an examination of the manner in which the act works out in practice, and the good faith of the government has been directly challenged by Messrs. McNiven<sup>50</sup> and Oliver<sup>51</sup> in the House in connection therewith. [...] A select committee of the legislature has been appointed with power to summon witnesses and examine

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<sup>45</sup> Frank J. Russell was among those appointed “to be deputy immigration officers under the B. C. Immigration Act, 1903” in June, 1903. OFFICIAL NOTICES. (1903, June 18). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> Brother of W. J. Bowser, and a Freemason (Acacia Lodge, No. 22, A.F.). “Mrs. Wm. Bowser and Miss Bowser, mother and sister of W. J. and Frank Bowser, of this city, arrived to-day from New Brunswick, on a visit which no doubt their many friends from the North Shore resident in Vancouver will make enjoyable.” Mrs. Wm. Bowser. (1898, September 27). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Morikawa Kishiro, Consul-General of Japan from 1902 to 1908.

<sup>48</sup> From SMUGGLED JAPS RETURNED TO-DAY. (1903, November 18). *The Province*, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> From GOVERNMENT CONNIVES AT EVADING THE LAW. (1903, December 12). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup> James Dugald McNiven (1859 – 1936), MLA for Victoria from 1903 to 1907.

<sup>51</sup> John Oliver (1856 – 1927), and MLA for Victoria from 1903 to 1907 who would serve as Premier of British Columbia from 1918 until his death on August 17, 1927.

them under oath for the purpose of ascertaining the methods which have been pursued in enforcing the statute. The select committee has organized with W. J. Bowser<sup>52</sup>, president, and Geo. Fraser, secretary<sup>53</sup>.

Mr. Oliver personally investigated the methods employed by visiting the ocean wharves and observing the procedure adopted by the officers charged with the enforcement of the act. His charges are practically to the effect that these officials instead of carrying out the spirit of the law which aims at the exclusion of Japanese, connive at their admission to this province and facilitate their entrance thereto. He stated in the House that he heard an officer instruct a Jap ticketed for Victoria, but unable to pass the educational test, how to evade the law by representing his ultimate destination as Seattle. The simple signing of a declaration to that effect and the payment of a fee of \$2 to the notary public in attendance, enabled this man to land unmolested at a British Columbia port.

It will be remembered that the act under consideration has been passed by several British Columbia governments, usually meeting a summary fate through disallowance by the Ottawa authorities, who held that it was discriminatory in its effect against an ally of the British empire. However it has been repeatedly made law in this province, and in the intervals between disallowance, and while in active operation, is popularly supposed to afford an efficient barrier against undesirable immigrants from the land of the Chrysanthemum.

The present being one of the "operative" intervals in question, it is generally believed that while Japanese immigration is not prohibited, those who do secure an entrance to British territory are at least able to read to a limited extent a European language, and that those who are not are barred from entry. This is not the case.

When a trans-Pacific liner docks at Victoria with her steerage quarters full of Orientals, the immigration officers pass on board and proceed to enforce the provisions of the law. In the case of intelligent Japanese ticketed for British Columbia, compliance with the terms set out in the schedule of the act entitles them to walk ashore. But there are as well on the same ship, perhaps, two or three score of Japs, to whom this test is not applied, but who pass down the gang plank after observing the trifling formality (to an Oriental) of subscribing to an oath, and paying a notary public the sum of \$2. The said notary is at the ship's side ready to accommodate the "Aryan brown," so there is little trouble attending the formality.

How does this man obtain his liberty on British soil? By merely stating that he is bound to the United States, or some other foreign country, and that he does not intend to remain in British Columbia. He is thereupon released, and allowed an indefinite time in which to carry out the benevolent purposes which he professes.

If he really wishes to continue his journey to the other side of the line he next interviews the United States consul at Victoria. Here he is confronted with two conditions, with both of which he must comply before he secures an entrance to the land of the screaming eagle. He must give ocular demonstration that he possesses

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<sup>52</sup> William John Bowser (1867 – 1933) would serve as attorney general of British Columbia from 1907 to 1915, and as Premier of B.C. from 1915 to 1916.

<sup>53</sup> This sentence was originally near the end of the article.

\$50, and hence does not come under the classification of pauper, and he must pass a medical examination to demonstrate his physical soundness.

If he fails in either or in both, what does he do? What alone can he do? He may remain just where he is, and the suspicion is that he does. Identification of a Mongolian is practically impossible, and he is therefore immune from pursuit by the officers of the law. Even if they detect him, he may profess delay in his business, etc., as when he landed he merely swore that his ultimate destination was the United States. Even suppose he is prosecuted, the steamship company cannot be compelled to return him, and if he has to be deported it will be at the government's expense.

This loophole in the law practically nullifies the Natal Act in so far as excluding undesirable emigrants is concerned. Under this provision an ignorant, destitute, and diseased Japanese may gain entrance to British Columbia without let or hindrance, provided he is able to pay \$2. A recent ship brought 20 such passengers, and another 44. They walked ashore here, and from them the government received not one cent., the notary alone profiting, as he pocketed the fees off of each one.

### **The New Immigration Act<sup>54</sup> (May 26, 1904)**

The provincial government has issued regulations for the carrying out of the provisions of the B. C. Immigration Act of 1904. This is the new act introduced last session by Attorney-General Wilson<sup>55</sup> and which is founded upon the Natal Act, being a close copy of it.

The spirit of the act is contained in section 3, which reads as follows:

“The immigration into British Columbia of any person (hereinafter called a prohibited immigrant) who, when asked to do so by an officer, fails to write out at dictation<sup>56</sup>, in the characters of some language of Europe, and sign in the presence of the officer, a passage of fifty words in length, in an European language directed by the officer, is hereby prohibited.”

The act provides for the entry of prohibited immigrants, other than those who are able to satisfy the officer that they are travellers. The condition attaching to it is that each shall deposit \$500, which is redeemable within thirty days by obtaining from the minister charged with the administration of the act, a certificate of exemption or by departing from the province. [...]

These regulations, it will be noticed, do not alter in any way the method now employed in admitting Japanese into the province – except that the fee collected from those entering shall be only \$1, which is paid to the officer in lieu of all expenses

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<sup>54</sup> From NEW REGULATIONS FOR IMMIGRATION. (1904, May 26). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Charles Wilson (1841 – 1924),

<sup>56</sup> “In committee on the bill, Mr. Paterson made a vigorous protest against debarring illiterate Canadians under this bill from coming into the province. The Attorney-general intimated that these were limited in number, but finally the committee altered the act to exclude residents of the Dominion from the operation of the bill.” HAWTHORNTHWAITTE ON SETTLERS' RIGHTS. (1904, February 6). *The Province*, p. 13.

incurred in the obtaining of the necessary information<sup>57</sup>. The taking of the necessary affidavits will in future therefore be confined to provincial authorities.

The class of prohibited immigrants requiring a deposit of \$500 is one which it is difficult to apply to this province. It is thought that this is a clause retained from the Natal Act which has no application in this country and is therefore an idle section.

### **“The Immigration Act will not be tested”<sup>58</sup> (July 7, 1904)**

The Immigration Act will not be tested in the Full court at the present time. The proceedings in connection with the seven Japanese who were refused a landing from the steamer Shawmut have been practically dropped in consequence of the six Japanese women and their male companion agreeing to waive all objections and return to Japan.

Mr. Morikawa, Japanese consul at Vancouver, who has been in the city in connection with the matter, reached an understanding with the party by which the latter consented to go back. The passage money was deposited by their friends with the provincial police, who will see that the women and their companion take passage on the steamer this evening for Japan.

This proceeding does away with the testing of the validity of the act in court, the matter remaining just as it was before. W. Moresby<sup>59</sup>, who appeared on behalf of those concerned in allowing the Japanese a landing, was prepared to fight the validity of the act on the ground that it was ultra vires of the province. The provincial authorities, represented by A. E. McPhillips<sup>60</sup>, K.C., likewise were prepared to defend the right of the province to enforce the measure.

### **“Again Disallowed”<sup>61</sup> (January 23, 1905)**

The bill passed by the British Columbia Legislature imposing an educational test on Japanese entering British Columbia has been vetoed by the Dominion Government on the ground that the Legislature infringed on federal rights in passing it. The bill [...] is an Act to regulate immigration into British Columbia. It was passed by the local Legislature and assented to by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council on February 10, 1904.

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<sup>57</sup> Quoted from the act elsewhere in the article: “The following fee shall be paid to an officer by intending immigrants, to cover the expenses which the province may incur in determining whether such persons are or are not prohibited immigrants. For every certificate, \$1.”

<sup>58</sup> From JAPANESE WILL NOT FIGHT ACT. (1904, July 7). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

<sup>59</sup> William C. Moresby (b. 1876), lawyer and eventual partner in the law firm of Moresby, O’Reilly and Lowe. In the 1901 census he is listed as living with his mother, wife and daughter, and reported yearly income of \$1,200.

<sup>60</sup> Albert Edward McPhillips (1861 – 1938), partner in the law firm of McPhillips, Wootton and Bernard. He fought at the battle of Batoche during the Northwest Rebellion, served as British Columbia’s attorney general (resigning in 1903) and as MLA for British Columbia from 1898 to 1903 and again from 1907 to 1910

<sup>61</sup> From IMMIGRATION ACT AGAIN DISALLOWED. (1905, January 23). *The Province*, p. 1.

This is the third time the Dominion Government has disallowed provincial legislation with respect to the entry of foreigners to this province. It is now up to the Legislature to re-enact the bill, and it will be another year from the time it becomes law till it is disallowed by the federal authorities.

The first provincial Immigration Act aimed at the entry of Japanese to British Columbia was fathered by the Hon. R. G. Tatlow, at present Minister of Finance. He claimed that it was modeled after the Natal Act. It was assented to on June 21, 1902. The Japanese placed the matter before Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and on his instructions the Dominion Government disallowed the act, on the ground that it was ultra vires of the powers of the province.

Early in 1903 the legislation was re-enacted, and having received word that it would be disallowed, the Legislature prepared and passed another similar act at the fall session of 1903. The act passed at the spring session was never repealed, it being the desire of the Legislature that as soon as one act ceased to apply the other would take its place, and that is what happened.

Japanese may now enter without hindrance.

### **Mr. Bowser enters the ring<sup>62</sup> (January 30, 1907)**

The electors of Cedar Cove last night listened to addresses from Messrs. Macgowan<sup>63</sup>, Garden and Bowser. [...] Mr. W. J. Bowser briefly reviewed the successful efforts of the Conservative Government to stop all useless expenditures and place the province on a sound financial footing.

The argument of Mr. McInnes and other Liberals to the effect that the Liberals were friendly to the working man was described by Mr. Bowser as cheap claptrap. In this connection Mr. Bowser spoke of the record of the Liberals in regard to the act passed at Victoria for the exclusion of Japanese. The act passed at Victoria was modeled after the Natal Act and the Liberal Government at Ottawa disallowed it, alleging as an excuse that they did so for imperial reasons. This, said the speaker, was a very flimsy excuse, as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain had stated that such an act would not interfere with the relations existing between Great Britain and Japan. The imperial Government had allowed this act in Natal for years.

The attempts of the Liberals to have Japanese, Indians and Chinese placed on the voters' list were referred to by Mr. Bowser. He said that after the Privy Council had decided that British Columbia had the power to pass legislation to protect its lists, Hon. Charles Fitzpatrick<sup>64</sup> had declared that the Liberal Government was above the courts and would disallow the British Columbia Election Act.

In order to disprove the denial of Mr. McInnes that Fitzpatrick had done as alleged, Mr. Bowser produced a copy of the return handed down by Mr. Fitzpatrick

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<sup>62</sup> From GOOD LEGISLATION RECEIVED SUPPORT. (1907, January 30). *The Province*, p. 4.

<sup>63</sup> Alexander Henry Boswall MacGowan (1850 – 1927) served as MLA for Vancouver from 1903 to 1916.

<sup>64</sup> Sir Charles Fitzpatrick (1851 – 1942), Chief Justice of Canada from 1906 to 1918, and Lieutenant Governor of Quebec from 1918 to 1923.



suggesting the amendment of the British Columbia Election Act so that these people could vote.

The audience at the point showed plainly that this move of the Liberals was resented by them. Loud cries of “Shame on such a man” were heard.

### **Mr. Bowser’s Natal Act<sup>65</sup> (March 25, 1907)**

Formal notice was given to the House by Mr. W. J. Bowser to-day of his intention to ask leave to introduce on Tuesday an act which will aim at the exclusion of the cheap foreign labor for the Grand Trunk Pacific, including Mr. Goto and his fifty thousand Japanese.

This will be done by applying the educational test as in the Natal Act. Mr. Bowser, however, intends in his bill to go further than any previous legislation has thus far gone, even if the previous provincial acts have been disallowed by the federal Government, which is quite likely to be the fate of this.

### **“Of more than ordinary importance”<sup>66</sup> (April 3, 1907)**

Yesterday afternoon in the legislature two bills of more than ordinary importance were introduced and given their first readings.

One is an Immigration Act by W. J. Bowser, which recalls the immigration acts passed year after year in the legislature of the province, and which were vetoed in turn by the Dominion authorities. The present act is a close copy of the Natal Act, which has from time to time been pronounced a model to follow in order to avoid the objection that may come from interference with Imperial relations. The act does not name any race as excluded, but submits an educational test to intending immigrants.

The bill introduced by Mr. Bowser submits the educational test. The section covering it reads as follows:

“The immigration into British Columbia of any person who, when asked to do so by the officer appointed under this act, shall fail himself to write out and sign, in the English language, an application to the provincial secretary of the province of British Columbia, to the effect of the form set out in schedule ‘B’ to this act annexed, as well as read in English any test submitted to him by the officer appointed under this act, shall be unlawful.”

Form B is as follows:

Province of British Columbia.

Sir, –

I claim to be exempt from the operation of the “British Columbia Immigration Act, 1903.” My full name is [ ]. My place of abode for the past 12 months has been [ ]. My business or calling is [ ]. I was born at [ ], in the year [ ].

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<sup>65</sup> From WOULD DEBAR JAPS FROM RAILWAY WORK. (1907, March 25). *The Province*, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> From IMMIGRATION BILL REVIVED. (1907, April 3). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

Yours, etc.,

The penalty for violation of the act is a fine of \$500. An immigrant making his way into or being found in British Columbia in contravention of the provisions of this act, shall not be entitled to a license to carry on any trade or calling that is subject to the legislative authority of British Columbia, nor shall he be entitled to acquire and hold land, or to any of the rights or privileges of a free miner, or to a free miner's certificate, or to exercise the franchise, and any license or franchise right which may have been acquired in contravention of this act shall be void.

### **“Desirable exclusion”<sup>67</sup> (April 19, 1907)**

Upon the desirable exclusion of the “undesirables,” the House yesterday heard an interesting debate. It started on the All-Red route, and when it had encircled the Empire, the bill of the senior member for Vancouver had won the conditional approval even of the Liberal leader.

“I approve of some of the features of this bill, and in the hope that the objectionable features will be eliminated in committee I will vote for its second reading.”

This was Mr. Macdonald's condition. But the Government and Mr. Bowser will stand by the bill as it is and to-day will likely see the passage of the most far-reaching “Act to Regulate Immigration into British Columbia” ever introduced in the Legislature.

But even Mr. Bowser frankly admitted that it was legislation all in vain, for the act will go the way of its predecessors into the federal disallowance waste basket.

Not one of the six acts disallowed since 1900, however, could have been fathered with so many facts as Mr. Bowser gave the House yesterday in support of the constitutional and moral right of the province to pass such a law and of the repeated and unjustifiable interference of Ottawa even against the view of the imperial authorities.

Mr. Bowser went that length when he said:

“While the act to exclude undesirable immigrants passed by Australia in 1901 was receiving the sanction of the imperial authorities<sup>68</sup>, Ottawa was disallowing our far less stringent act of the same year for, if you please, imperial reasons. I would like to ask honorable friends opposite how they reconcile that conduct upon the part of their federal friends?” (Government cheers and laughter.)

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<sup>67</sup> From TAKE ANOTHER CHANCE AT DISALLOWANCE BY OTTAWA. (1907, April 19). *The Province*, p. 9.

<sup>68</sup> Respecting Australia's Immigration Restriction Bill of 1901: “It appears that the Japanese Ambassador in London protested on behalf of the Government against the European test being included in clause 4 on the ground that it differentiated Japanese from other civilized nations. The Secretary of State for the Colonies replied that the test had been embodied in the Immigration Act of several colonies since 1897 without exception having been taken to it, and in view of this Mr. Chamberlain said that he saw no good reason to interfere with the proposals of the Commonwealth Ministry.” COMMONWEALTH NOTES. (1901, November 22). *The Sydney Morning Herald*, p. 5.

Natal, Cape Colony, New Zealand, all had, as Mr. Bowser showed, passed such legislation not only with the consent but with the approval of the authorities. And yet Ottawa continued to exercise its drastic power of disallowance with every act the province passed.

But the senior member for Vancouver went still further. Waving correspondence from Downing street to Ottawa he quoted the views of the Earl of Derby and Mr. Chamberlain in support of his bill.

As far back as 1884 the Earl of Derby, writing to the then Governor-General, said regarding such legislation:

“This is considered a matter of internal administration with which each self-governing colony is competent to deal. When therefore the Dominion Ministers advise Your Lordship with regard to these acts you may understand that the question is not held to involved imperial interests and that you should deal with it as a Canadian question only.”

Then with the view of Mr. Chamberlain as former Colonial Secretary, Mr. Bowser brought the history almost to the present.

Mr. Chamberlain was writing to Lord Minto regarding the complaints of the Japanese Consul at Vancouver against that famous act of 1898 prohibiting the employment of Japanese in railway and other work.

“And this,” said Mr. Bowser, “was the view of the former Colonial Secretary:

“Such legislation is justly regarded as offensive by a friendly power. It is hoped that the Dominion Ministers may arrange for the cancellation of the objectionable provisions and the substitution of a measure which, while it will secure the desired exclusion of undesirable immigrants, will obtain that result by means of some general test, as in the Natal Act.’

“And again, in a letter to the Minister of Justice,” continued Mr. Bowser, “we find this:

“His Excellency may impress upon the Dominion Ministers the importance, if there is a real prospect of a large influx of Japanese laborers into Canada, of dealing with it by legislation from the Dominion on lines of the Natal Act.’

“That is the very act upon which I have drafted this bill,” added Mr. Bowser, “and in view of this and the opinions I have quoted I am led to hope for a unanimous approval of this measure.” (Government cheers.)

Passing from the historical branch of his argument, Mr. Bowser declared:

“Now is the time to act in this war with the Dominion. For it is a war, a fight for provincial rights. The Dominion is entrenching upon our right, our constitutional right, to stop the influx of cheap labor with which it would build its Grand Trunk Pacific, with Mr. Goto and his fifty thousand Japs<sup>69</sup>.

“That agreement with Mr. Goto, the Vancouver Japanese labor contract,” continued Mr. Bowser, “was signed, sealed and delivered for those fifty thousand laborers when it would please the Grand Trunk Pacific to commence construction in British Columbia, for in the Grand Trunk Pacific contract no class of labor is specified, nor is there a time limit to commence construction in this province.”

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<sup>69</sup> See the article titled “Fifty thousand Japanese” elsewhere in this collection.

He then referred to the historic letter read by Hon. Mr. Templeman<sup>70</sup> from Mr. Hays in the last general elections in British Columbia, promising early construction.

“That was four years ago,” added Mr. Bowser, “and we have yet to see construction begin.

“Perhaps the immigration shed which the Dominion Government has constructed here in Victoria is to help out the Grand Trunk Pacific with the contemplated importation of aliens. (Laughter.)

“One of the candidates on the Liberal ticket in Vancouver (Mr. Bowser gave no name) said we were not sincere, or we could continue to pass such a law until the Dominion would cease to interfere.”

In explaining the provisions of the act Mr. Bowser said:

“This goes much further than any previous act ever introduced in this Legislature. While the previous acts limited the educational test to the reading and writing of a European language, this limits it to the English language.

“We don’t want Asiatics,” thundered the senior member for Vancouver. “We don’t want Doukhobors<sup>71</sup>. We want British Columbia to be a white man’s country.” (Government cheers.)

Then the voice of Coaltown rose in thundering opposition.

“Buncombe, nothing but buncombe,” snapped Nanaimo. “The senior member for Vancouver has exploited Chamberlain and rattled the bones of Sir John Macdonald in an attempt to stir up an imaginary fight with the Dominion, and all for a party purpose. We all know there is to be a general election within the next twelve months.

“When this bill reaches committee,” continued Nanaimo, “I shall have an amendment to offer – that the language to be read or written be the English language, or any language of Europe.”

He added more references to “claptrap for the coming federal elections.”

“I think,” said the Liberal leader, who followed, “the honorable member for Nanaimo has divined the motives of the mover of this bill.” (Opposition laughter.)

Mr. Macdonald assured the House that the Liberals of the province were just as anxious as the Conservatives could be to lay well “the social foundations,” but this bill was all too broad.

“If there had been like provisions a [few] years ago they would have excluded an honorable member now on the Government side of the House.” He referred to Mr. Behnsen, M. L. A. of Victoria, formerly of Germany. [...]

“Such an act as this,” he added, “would debar half of the Salvation Army emigrants which the honorable Finance Minister is seeking to bring to this province, for I venture that fully that number cannot read and write the English language or comply with the educational test required by this bill.”

Mr. Macdonald referred to many desirable Europeans. Little wonder that there was no hope that such a bill as this would be acceptable at Ottawa. [...]

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<sup>70</sup> William Templeman (1842 – 1914) served as Senator for New Westminster from 1897 to 1906.

<sup>71</sup> Members of a persecuted Russian religious sect who fled who emigrated to Canada from the late 1890s.

The present bill was far too wide. It should be considered in a broad and patriotic spirit, free from party politics and the nearness of a general election, with full regard for the interests of the people of the province and the Empire.

“There are some features of this bill,” concluded Mr. Macdonald, “which should receive the assent of this Legislature, but there are many others, which, in my view, should not, and to give my honorable friend an opportunity to eliminate these I will vote for its second reading.”

### **“Dunsmuir withheld his signature”<sup>72</sup> (May 17, 1907)**

Attention has been already called to the fact that at the closing of the late session of the B. C. legislature Lieutenant Governor Dunsmuir<sup>73</sup> withheld his signature from the act which excludes subjects of the Emperor of Japan and the Hindu subjects of the King, under the provision that all immigrants coming into the province shall be required to pass an educational test to an European language. Since 1898 the provincial legislature has continually adopted laws aimed first at the exclusion of the subjects of the King’s ally, the Emperor of Japan, and later of the King’s Indian subjects, and the federal power has disallowed them. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has declared that so long as Canada remains part of the empire the King’s treaties with foreign countries must be faithfully observed by the federal authority of the Dominion as well as by every province of the confederation. [...] Canada has concluded a commercial treaty with the Japanese now in force, one of the clauses of which in return for certain tariff concessions abolishes the former federal restrictions against Japanese immigration. Subjects of the emperor of Japan are now free to come to Canada under the laws of the Dominion without limitation of any kind except that which provides for the medical examination of immigrants, and large numbers are entering Victoria by every steamer from the Orient.

### **Attorney-General Bowser<sup>74</sup> (July 25, 1907)**

Great enthusiasm was displayed at a largely attended meeting of Conservative ward workers held in O’Brien Hall last night. The reports respecting party

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<sup>72</sup> From SEVERAL MATTERS. (1907, May 17). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> “At the late convention of the labor party at Victoria the appointment of Hon. Mr. Dunsmuir as lieut.-governor was condemned because his honor is a large employer of Chinese labor. [...] [D]elegates are not aware that [...] [i]n a despatch from Dunsmuir (who was then premier) to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, he went fully into the Chinese question from a British Columbia standpoint, urging upon Sir Wilfrid the importance of taking immediate steps either to end Chinese immigration or raise the tax. In the course of the despatch Mr. Dunsmuir used these forceful word: ‘In my opinion, the only satisfactory way to deal with the whole subject is by the increase of the per capita tax in such a measure as to surely limit the number of immigrants, and by enactment of legislation, similar to the Natal act, to regulate their employment while in the country. [...] The opposition of the imperial authorities must not be allowed to stand in the way of this’”. THE LIEUT.-GOVERNOR AND THE LABORITES. (1906, September 28). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> From WARD WORKERS GREET MR. BOWSER. (1907, July 25). *The Province*, p. 7.

organization were of the most favorable character, presaging a sweeping victory for the Conservatives if opposition is offered Hon. W. J. Bowser in the forthcoming by-election.

The newly appointed Attorney-General, replying to a hearty vote of congratulations tendered him on his appointment, delivered an eloquent reply. He thanked the party for past support and assured those present that he would try to prove worthy of it in the future in discharging his new official duties.

### **“It is now up to Sir Wilfrid Laurier”<sup>75</sup> (July 25, 1907)**

It is now up to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the federal Cabinet to declare their intentions with regard to the question of prohibiting the unrestricted entry of Japanese into Canada. The politicians at Ottawa will have to face the matter, and at least state their position as a result of a telegram dispatched yesterday afternoon to Sir Wilfrid Laurier over the signature of Mr. R. G. Macpherson<sup>76</sup>, M. P. This telegram was sent to Ottawa at the conclusion of a conference between Mr. Macpherson and President McVety and four members of the executive of the Trades and Labor Council. The telegram read as follows, and is so worded as to warrant a reply at an early date:

#### **MESSAGE TO LAURIER**

“An immense movement of Japanese coolies now on way to British Columbia. An organized scheme on foot to place twelve thousand here inside of the next six months. Wired Oliver last week. He reported that it would be submitted to you on your arrival. Organized labor and public sentiment generally here very strong against them being allowed to come. The local Government claim Dunsmuir’s refusal to give his assent to Natal Act passed last session is done at the instigation of Ottawa Government. Action should be taken at once.”

#### **MACPHERSON MEANS BUSINESS**

Mr. Macpherson informed the deputation which waited upon him that unless some results were forthcoming within the next few days he would make a special trip to Ottawa to lay before the Cabinet in person a statement of the situation in British Columbia in respect to Japanese immigration.

To-day the Trades and Labor delegation will make an appointment with Hon. W. J. Bowser, Attorney-General, for an interview at which they will ask him to explain his position in respect to the incoming Japanese. He will also be asked to take what steps he can to shut the brown men out.

That the agitation against the Japanese is no mere flash in the pan as far as organized labor is concerned is evidenced by the fact that protests against the present tide of immigration are being received from every union in the province.

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<sup>75</sup> From LAURIER IS ASKED TO PREVENT ENTRY OF JAPANESE. (1907, July 25). *The Province*, p. 7.

<sup>76</sup> Robert George Macpherson (1886 – 1926), MLA for Burrard from 1903 to 1904, and for Vancouver from 1904 to 1908.

## Bowser defies Dunsmuir<sup>77</sup> (July 26, 1907)

The committee of the Trades and Labor Council dealing with the Japanese immigration question had an interview with Hon. W. J. Bowser, attorney-general, on Thursday. Mr. Bowser said that if Lieut.-Governor Dunsmuir could not be got to assent to the Natal act of last session, of which Mr. Bowser claims to be the progenitor, then the Governor-General might be induced to declare it law. If it became law he would see that it was enforced, and if there were not enough men in the government employ to carry out the provisions he would see that more were appointed.

## Martin vs Bowser<sup>78</sup> (August 2, 1907)

**W. J. Bowser's sudden appointment to the attorney generalship was contested, and a three-way election was held between Joseph Martin, Independent, W. J. Bowser, Conservative, and Edwin T. Kingsley, Socialist. Mr. Bowser eventually won the election.**

A crowd that would more than tax the seating capacity of the city hall gathered at Recreation park last night to listen to Mr. Joseph Martin, K. C., in the opening speech of his campaign. It was probably also his closing speech, as polling been tomorrow it is not at all likely that there will be any more meetings. Mr. Martin spoke from a carriage in front of the stand and with little preface beyond a humorous apology for the absence of a chairman because there was no chair for him to sit on, he plunged at once into his subject. Throughout his speech he received marked attention and considerable applause.

He opened with a scathing criticism of the government for setting pooling day for the day following nomination day, something that he claimed was unprecedented in British history. He said it had been the custom from time immemorial both in Canada and in the old country that when a member was called to the cabinet he immediately went back to his constituents, and calling a meeting, laid before them the record of his doings and asked for re-election. Nothing of the kind was done by Mr. Bowser, probably because the government had not believed that anyone would oppose Mr. Bowser. No meeting had been called, probably because they did not think it worth bothering about. It had been the usual custom to return a newly appointed cabinet minister without opposition, but this, he thought, was one time when that should not be done.

When he had been approached to come out and oppose the election of Mr. Bowser he had consented because it seemed to him that there was a great question which he might and would present to the people of Vancouver and British Columbia. It was that which had induced him to come before the electors. The question, he said,

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<sup>77</sup> From BOWSER STATES VIEWS ON JAPS. (1907, July 26). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup> From Mr. Martin and Japanese Immigration. (1907, August 2). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 8.

was one which affected the people of the city and the province, the question of whether there was not a danger that the province would cease to be a place to which white men could come and make a living, and become a province with a half dozen millionaires and a great horde of cheap Asiatic laborers.

He referred to the fact that the Dominion government is responsible for the laws as they are at present on the statute book, and he was glad to be able to compliment the Liberal association and the Dominion member, Mr. Macpherson, for the independent stand taken and the determination to bring the matter to the attention of the government in such a way as to impress on it the needs of this province. He was glad to be able to say that the Liberal association and Mr. Macpherson had shown this road. He believed that the provincial government was just as much to blame and he believed that conservatives should take the same stand and ask themselves if the local government had done what it should in the matter of Oriental immigration.

The provincial government, he said, had been all wrong, and had suppressed the question and it remained for the people to insist that it should not be suppressed but that the necessary action should be taken to make an exclusion law effective.

At some length Mr. Martin then reviewed his connection with local politics since coming to the province in 1897. He had been elected from Vancouver in 1898 and in the first session the question was prominent. The Labor Regulations act had been passed to exclude Chinese and Japanese, but in 1899 the Dominion government had disallowed the act. He was at that time a member of the Semlin administration, and he had taken the stand that it was the most important question affecting the interests of the province. He had told his colleagues that they should call the house together and re-enact the bill. They did not agree with him, he could not force them, and a month later he was turned out of the government. Why he was turned out, he did not think it necessary to discuss at this time, but he thought the majority of his hearers understood.

There had been correspondence between the provincial and Dominion governments and between the Dominion government and the Imperial authorities and in 1898 a despatch from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, secretary of state for the colonies, had advised that instead of the act aimed especially at Japanese and Chinese, it would be better to work along the lines of what is known as the Natal act, an act broad and sweeping and which keeps out cheap labor of every kind.

This act had then been passed in 1898 and repeatedly since then, but had been as many times disallowed by the Dominion government.

Mr. Martin believed that it would be quite possible to keep the act alive all the time – it would be as easy as falling off a log. Each time the act was disallowed the house could be called together and the bill re-enacted. This could be done at very little expense as a quorum of five, eight or ten members could be made sufficient and that number could be had at any time in Vancouver and Victoria. This very course had been decided upon years ago in Manitoba at the time of the Railway disallowance question and would have been carried out had the Dominion government of that time not capitulated.



Had the present provincial government worked along the lines he indicated it would have been impossible for 1200 Japs to land from one steamer a week or so ago, with no law to stop them. If the law had been in force the government would have had its officers at the dock and not one of them could have landed.

Mr. Bowser had said that he had passed the Natal Act last session, but of what good was the act if not enforced? It was an admission that he (Bowser) had done all he could do and an intimation from the McBride<sup>79</sup> government that it had done all it proposed to do.

“If I am elected it will show the Dominion government, the imperial authorities and the Japanese themselves that British Columbia is awake and that if Oriental immigration can be stopped it will be stopped.”

Mr. Martin said the mere question of his being elected was of little importance, but that the result would be watched all over Canada. [...] If he went to Victoria it would be for the express purpose of keeping this great question of oriental immigration before the house and before the people generally. The stand against this immigration was right and fair and it would only be necessary to show this and right and justice would prevail.

Mr. Bowser being bound up with his colleagues could do or say nothing but what was agreed by them in council.

The act had been passed in October, 1906, and disallowed in the same month at Ottawa and since then nothing had been done, the Japs had come without let or hindrance simply because the McBride government had done nothing. Why had they done nothing?

A voice from the stand: “The C. P. R. wants them.”

“That’s it exactly,” replied Mr. Martin. He said that if there was no imperial reason why Asiatics could not be kept out of Australia and New Zealand, why should it not be the same in Canada? The only reason he could advance was that the C. P. R. and other employers of cheap labor have more influence with governments than the people themselves.

At considerable length Mr. Martin discussed the actions of the McBride government tamely submitting to the refusal of Governor Dunsmuir to give assent to the bill when passed at the last session. He said the government was responsible and should have gone to the lieutenant-governor and said that it must be a question of consent or resignation of the ministry. Even the King of England cannot rule the people, and yet Bowser said that the government was not to blame, that it did all it could, but the governor would not consent. As a result some 1,200 Japs had landed from one steamer because Lieut.-Governor Dunsmuir did not think it right for the province to have a law excluding them. Mr. Bowser had shown plainly that he did not care and that the question was of little importance to him or to the government. [...]

Irrespective of party, the people should show on Saturday that this was to be a white man’s country. If the Asiatics were to be allowed to come there would be a good crop of millionaires but few of the kind of people he saw before him, people doing

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<sup>79</sup> Sir Richard McBride (1870 – 1917) was Premier of British Columbia from 1903 to 1915.

well and with their children growing up in British schools and being educated in those principles for which British institutions and the British flag stood. [...]

The meeting closed with clamorous cheers which lasted for a considerable time.

### **A significant typo<sup>80</sup> (August 6, 1907)**

The Vancouver Trades and Labor Council has called upon the provincial government to enforce the so-called Natal Act passed at the late session of the British Columbia Legislature. In the event of the Lieut.-Governor of the province refusing to assent to the enforcement of the act by signing it and bringing it into effect, the government is to be called upon to resign and appeal to the constituencies for an expression of opinion. [...] If it were brought into force it could have no virtue as a preventive measure, because it expressly declares that the immigration of the class it purports to exclude shall be lawful. Section 4 of the act prescribing an educational test says:

“The immigration into British Columbia of any person who, when asked to do so, by the proper officer under this act, shall fail himself to write out and sign, in the English language, or in any language of Europe, an application to the Provincial Secretary of the Province of British Columbia, to the effect of the form set out in Section B to this act annexed, as well as read in English, or any language of Europe, any test submitted to him by the officer appointed under this act, SHALL BE LAWFUL.”

The act in question was drawn up by and passed at the suggestion of Mr. Bowser, now Attorney-General of the province. Whether the omission of the word “not” was deliberate on the part of the author of the measure we shall probably never know, because neither Mr. Bowser nor the government has condescended to throw light upon the matter. The proceeding was probably merely one act in the legislative farce put on the boards by the present provincial government. It is altogether unlikely that the Dominion government, acting on the advice of the Imperial government in accordance with the treaty in force between Great Britain and Japan, had anything to do with the action of the Lieut.-Governor of British Columbia in withholding his assent to the bill. It is altogether probable that His Honor was advised by the Prime Minister of the province to withhold his signature because if the bill had gone through the final stage and became an act, the result would have brought contumely and ridicule upon the heads of the ministers. Possibly the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council is not aware of the actual conditions of affairs. If such is the case, it is surely the duty of the government to make it acquainted with the facts and absolve His Honor the Lieut.-Governor from the odium which properly attaches solely to his constitutional advisers.

In view of the demands of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, article one of the treaty of trade and commerce recently negotiated and adopted between Great Britain and Japan ought to prove of some interest to the people of British Columbia.

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<sup>80</sup> From THE SO-CALLED NATAL ACT. (1907, August 6). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 4.

It stipulates that “the subjects of each of the two high contracting parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel and reside in any part of the dominions and possessions of the other contracting party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for their persons and property.” Article three stipulates that “they shall have full liberty to come with their ships and cargoes to all places, ports and rivers in the dominions and possessions of the other, which are or may be opened to foreign commerce, and shall enjoy, respectively, the same treatment in matters of commerce and navigation as native subjects, or subjects and citizens of the most favored nation, without having to pay taxes, imposts or duties of whatever nature or under what denomination, levied in the name or for the profit of the government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind, other or greater than those paid by native subject or subjects or citizens of the most favored nation, subject always to the laws, ordinances or regulations of each country.”

### **“The fate of the Bowser Bill”<sup>81</sup> (September 7, 1907)**

Mystery has always enshrouded the fate of the Bowser Bill, the measure for the prevention of Oriental immigration which the Lieutenant-Governor refused to sign. It is a constitutional inference that Mr. Dunsmuir acted on the advice of the Premier, and it has been a subject of some speculation as to what could have impelled the Premier to take a course contrary to the expressed wishes of successive legislative assemblies. Information now in the possession of *The World*, however, throws a curious light on the matter. It is asserted on what is deemed competent authority that when Mr. McBride reached Ottawa he interviewed the Secretary of State, Mr. Scott, and said the bill would be disallowed by his advice, and suggested that the Ottawa authorities in their turn reciprocate by facilitating the mission to London to the extent of allowing him a free hand to make the best he could of it. Mr. Scott was so surprised that he wired to the Lieutenant-Governor for confirmation – and got it. The Bowser act was therefore disallowed at the request of the Premier of this province.

When the Hon. Richard McBride, premier of the province of British Columbia, started on his now notorious pilgrimage to the “foot of the throne,”<sup>82</sup> he was probably not looking for trouble on the trail. So far indeed was he from this state of mind that he may have felt that any little thing which he could do to avoid said trouble would be quite in order. Could he by one of those charming side steps which are peculiar to

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<sup>81</sup> From BOWSER’S BILL VETOED ON M’BRIDE’S ADVICE. (1907, September 7). *The Vancouver World*, p. 1.

<sup>82</sup> “The present intention of Premier McBride is to proceed to London on the conclusion of the session of the legislature, and there to do what he sees fit in connection with the province’s contention for better terms. This move on the part of the Premier will come very close to taking the fight as promised to the “foot of the throne.” [...] There has been serious objection taken to the fact that the suggested amendment to the British North America Act, which assigns British Columbia a sum of \$100,000 annually for ten years as a special grant, designates that this shall be ‘final and unalterable.’” From PREMIER WILL GO TO LONDON. (1907, April 3). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

the “Polished Politician” in the “Waltz Wonderful” step around the flank of the enemy, and proceed on his way unobstructed, so much the better.

Hon. W. Templeman is said to be in possession of a letter and certain telegrams. Not just the ordinary letters and telegrams which a minister of Inland revenue would naturally pick up in the course of the voluminous business of his office. These are different. These have to do with many things, such as one Bowser’s Oriental Exclusion Act, and the Lieutenant-governor of the province of British Columbia, and Hon. Richard W. Scott, K. C., secretary of state for the Dominion of Canada, and Hon. Richard McBride,, premier of the province of British Columbia. So you see that they are not ordinary by any means.

The story is as follows:

Those who claim to have seen these important documents say that when Premier McBride was on his way to the “Foot of the Throne,” he dropped off at Ottawa for a little chat with the powers that be. Here he met the secretary of state, Hon. R. W. Scott, and in the course of a conversation with that gentleman stated that there would be no trouble about the then recently enacted Bowser Bill for Oriental Exclusion, as the Premier, out of kindly consideration, and in order to prevent the embarrassment which would naturally follow if the Dominion government had to turn the measure down, had arranged with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of British Columbia to refuse to assent to the bill. This sounded so improbable to the somewhat skeptical Secretary of State that this gentleman promptly wired to Hon. James Dunsmuir for confirmation. To this – so it is said – came in due time the answer, “Yes – Letter follows.”

The price? Well, as the premier pointed out in his sunny, smiling way, there are just two words in the Lt.-Governor’s signature, and just two words in that “British North America Amending Act” – the little words “final” and “unalterable.”<sup>83</sup> Why not allow his efforts to have these two struck out, to balance those two final words without which the Bowser Act would become so much waste paper? Two words for two words. Why not trade?

Such is said to have been the Premier’s little proposition.

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<sup>83</sup> “LONDON, June 14. – Hon. Richard McBride’s negotiations with the British ministers had a sequel in the Imperial parliament today, when Winston Churchill, as spokesman for the Colonial office, introduced an amendment to the British North America Act, readjusting the subsidies to the provinces. Mr. Churchill spoke at some length. [...] He referred to the action of the British Columbia legislature in protesting against the proposed settlement being “final and unalterable,” and in this connection spoke as follows: “The prime minister of Quebec, also Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Hon. Mr. Fielding, have made personal applications to the colonial secretary or myself on this question. On the other hand, Hon. Mr. McBride, prime minister of British Columbia, has also stated his case very fully to us. He has, with great frankness and much force, placed us in possession of the views and grievances of British Columbia. While we are unable to accept his opinions entirely, we have endeavored as far as possible to make the legislation agreeable to him, and we have not introduced into the legislation the words “final and unalterable,” which it had been proposed to introduce, and which would have prejudiced British Columbia’s chance of making some other friendly arrangements in the future with the Dominion and with the other provinces.” From THE PREMIER WINS POINT IN PROVINCE’S CASE. (1907, June 14). *The Nanaimo Daily News*, p. 1.

Hence the telegrams – and the letter – which, it is reported, are all now in the keeping of Hon. W. Templeman, and all of which are to be produced in the fulness of time.

### **“Partly correct and partly incorrect”<sup>84</sup> (September 9, 1907)**

On Saturday the Vancouver World published a statement relating to the disallowance of the Natal Act of Hon. Mr. Bowser last session before he became a minister, and which, although carried in the House, was refused assent by His Honor the Lieut.-Governor.

The World stated that when Hon. Mr. McBride reached Ottawa on his way to London on his better terms mission, that he told Hon. R. W. Scott, secretary of state, that Mr. Bowser’s bill would not become law, but would be disallowed by the Lieut.-Governor on his advice, and suggested that the Ottawa authorities in turn reciprocate by dropping the words “final and unalterable” from the proposed amendment of the B. N. A. Act.

It is further stated that reference by wire and letter to the Lieut.-Governor of British Columbia confirmed this intelligence, and that copies of this documentary evidence were in the possession of Hon. W. Templeman, who is now in Victoria.

The latter was interviewed this morning with reference to the authenticity of the report.

“The World story is partly correct and partly incorrect,” he said. “The facts are that while on his way to London Mr. McBride called upon the secretary of state, Hon. Mr. Scott, and procured from him credentials which it was necessary he should have in appearing before the colonial office, as a representative of British Columbia. He was given these credentials as a matter of fact, and without any proposition being made, or any suggestion of bargain and sale, in respect to either the reserved provincial act or the Imperial Better Terms Act.

“The provincial legislature was sitting at the time, and Mr. McBride was asked by Mr. Scott if the bill affecting Japanese which had passed the House was likely to become law. Mr. McBride assured the secretary of state that the Lieut.-Governor would not give it his assent, the presumption being that the premier had so advised the Lieut.-Governor.

“The Lieut.-Governor on the 23rd of April was asked by wire to corroborate the statement made by Mr. McBride, and on the 28th Mr. Dunsmuir did so, and in an official letter of the 29th of April stated his reasons for withholding his assent, the grounds being that the act was a modified form of other acts dealing with the same subject which had already been disallowed, and also because were it to become law it would seriously affect international relations.

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<sup>84</sup> From NATAL ACT WAS KILLED BY MCBRIDE. (1907, September 9). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

“The provincial act was reserved, therefore, at the instance of Mr. McBride, and the Ottawa government had nothing whatever to do<sup>85</sup> in influencing the Lieut.-Governor or Mr. McBride in the decision arrived at in Victoria, that the bill should not become law.

“The story that Mr. McBride would agree to kill the provincial bill if Sir Wilfrid would agree to strike out of the British North America amendment bill the words ‘final and unalterable’ carries with it its own refutation. The provincial bill was killed by Mr. McBride of his own volition, while the words ‘final and unalterable’ remained in the Imperial act.”

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<sup>85</sup> “It appears from page 82A of the B. C. statutes for 1907 that the Lieutenant-Governor reserved his assent to Mr. Bowser’s bill. The Lieutenant-Governor of a province may under section 55 of the B. N. A. Act, reserve a bill for the approval of the Governor-General, but this is only due under instructions from the Governor-General-in-council, or, in other words, the government in power at Ottawa [...]. If, however, Mr. Dunsmuir had no such instructions from Ottawa and reserved the bill of his own motion, then Hon. Richard McBride is responsible for that course [...] Under our constitution, the Lieutenant-Governor has no personal responsibility. He must always have advisers who will assume responsibility for all his actions. In any event, if Mr. McBride considered the bill of any importance he should not have submitted to any instructions from Sir Wilfrid Laurier directing the bill to be reserved; he should have resigned right then and there. Mr. Dunsmuir would then have been obliged to find some one willing to accept the position of premier and the onus of killing this bill, and any one accepting such responsibility would have been obliged to immediately bring on a general election and obtain the endorsement of the people of the province. As there has been no suggestion from the local government that Mr. Dunsmuir had instructions from Sir Wilfrid Laurier to reserve the bill, we may, I think, safely assume that in doing so he acted on the advice of his premier, the Hon. Richard McBride.” From Martin, J. (1907, September 9). British Columbia Betrayed by M’Bride. *The Vancouver World*, p. 1. Written by Joseph Martin (1852 – 1923), journalist and anti-Chinese politician. As an MLA for Vancouver in the late 1890s, he tried to introduce legislation that would have barred Chinese from owning mining claims.

## Vancouver's Asiatic Exclusion League

### “Excitement in Vancouver”<sup>86</sup> (July 26, 1907)

Vancouver, B. C., July 25. – Startling information respecting the Japanese invasion was made public at a meeting of the Asiatic Exclusion league last evening. This organization is at present a committee of the Trades and Labor council. Next week it will separate and will affiliate with similar organizations in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and other coast cities.

### “A white man's country”<sup>87</sup> (August 5, 1907)

The people who are behind the movement to restrict the immigration of Asiatics into this country have determined that it will be well to have the movement take a wider scope. In consequence a meeting has been called for this evening in the auditorium of the labor hall, Homer street, for the purpose of organizing an Asiatic Exclusion League. To this meeting are invited all persons, whether members of labor unions or not, who believe in keeping Canada a white man's country.

### “Canadians for Canada”<sup>88</sup> (August 13, 1907)

“Canada for the Canadians is a very foolish cry in some respects,” said Mr. R. G. Macpherson, M. P., at the Asiatic exclusion meeting held last night in the Labor hall. “It should be ‘Canadians for Canada.’ This cry against immigration of white people into the Dominion is nonsense. It is the invasion of the Asiatics who are swarming into our country in thousands every month that must be guarded against.” The applause that greeted these remarks, a small portion of a very strong speech, [...] showed how thoroughly the representative gathering was with the speaker, and was a good indication of the sentiments regarding the threatened invasion. “The slogan of this country,” continued Mr. Macpherson impressively, “will soon be ‘Asiatics for Canada,’ if the present condition of affairs is allowed to continue. An empire might consist of two countries where every valley and plain was an El Dorado, countries whose wealth in natural resources would surpass the wildest dreams of avarice, but unless the people were strong and loyal all would be useless.

#### FAMILY LIFE THE BASIS

“The family life of the people of the country is the basis upon which civilization is based. If we allow these hordes of able bodied men, travelling without their wives or families, to come here it is difficult to see just where the family life will come in. In dealing with this important question, we must remember that British Columbia is

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<sup>86</sup> From Excitement in Vancouver. (1907, July 26). *The Manitoba Free Press*, p. 1.

<sup>87</sup> From TO EXCLUDE MONGOLIANS. (1907, August 5). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 1.

<sup>88</sup> From ALL FOLLOW LEAD OF LOCAL LIBERAL MEMMBER. (1907, August 13). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 1.

the farthest west of all Canadian provinces and is, consequently, the buffer for undesirable immigration from the west. Within two or three weeks' journey from us are small, crowded countries with millions upon millions of people struggling for existence. Here in this province we have 270,000 square miles of practically uninhabited and fertile land. Is it, then, any wonder that the Orientals are swarming here? Is it not natural that they should be attracted here? We cannot blame them for coming, but we must keep them out.

"The inevitable result of this great influx of the yellow race will be the retreat of the white race already here. In time, and not so very distant at that, there will undoubtedly not be one man to every thousand coolies. This, of course, will mean that this will be a province of Japan and China, and that to regain possession of it, Great Britain will have to go to war. Where the yellow man comes the white man recedes. He cannot work in competition with the hordes of coolies who live for almost nothing.

#### NO SYMPATHY OUTSIDE

"We are not receiving much sympathy out of our own province, and from some portions of it we are getting too little. I have been accused of being an agitator. Possibly I am. If to be an agitator is to fight for one's country to keep it white, then put me down as an agitator. (Thunderous applause.) For this fight there is only one court of appeal, and that is the Canadian House of Commons. Natal acts can be passed by our province until they are tired of doing so, but they will only be embalmed in the statute books at Ottawa and will grow musty there. The time has come for use to do away with Natal acts and appeal directly to headquarters to have this thing stopped.

"A treaty with Japan was agreed to by the Dominion government because Japan agreed to only issue one passport from a precinct in Japan each year, making a total of 480 a year in all. But Japan evidently lost control of the coolies when they got to Honolulu, and there the trouble lay. Japan should yield to reasonable demands and surely Great Britain will not for any slight treaty benefit she derives, want to see this become an Asian country."

Mr. J. F. Garden, M.P.P., said that he believed the invasion to be a terrible menace to the empire. Thousands upon thousands of them gaining a foothold here, nearly all old soldiers, meant possibly the first step of some foreign power's policy to overthrow the empire. The country should, in Mr. Garden's opinion, be kept solely for the white man. It was his and he should enjoy it alone. To expect the Japanese to help the British out in time of trouble was nonsense. The next great war would probably be between the white race and all other colors. To win, the white race, vastly inferior in numbers, must stand shoulder to shoulder, and when thousands of their opponents were landing on their very shores and filling up their weak points, what chance would they have? The speaker himself wanted in the worst way to see the yellow races driven out and the white race encouraged. The invasion should be stopped and he would do all in his power to have it cease.



Mr. J. T. Crott<sup>89</sup>, of this city, gave a business man's views of the situation. He said that the yellow man, although inferior to the white, would be given the preference by employers on account of his cheapness. He thought that they should all stay in their own countries. If they were not productive and fertile enough that was not British Columbia's fault. She did not want the overflow as a standing menace for all time to come and some action should be taken to stop it. The speaker was anxious to see immigration, but of the right sort.

Mr. Trotter<sup>90</sup>, of Winnipeg, organizer of the Dominion trades congress, compared the present situation in this province with that of the Transvaal. The South African country had been taken, in his opinion, to provide employment for swarms of Chinese, who are now the problem in that part of the world. Twenty-four thousand British soldiers were sacrificed to give the Chinese another country in which to swarm. Under the Boers' rule they would never have got in. The speaker's argument called forth severe criticism from old soldiers in the audience, but the majority appeared to approve them. [...]

The following resolution was passed and adopted before the adjournment of the meeting:

To the governments of British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada:

This public meeting, called for the organization of the Asiatic Exclusion league, representing all classes of Canadians, would respectfully submit the urgent necessity of immediately prohibiting the immigration of Asiatics to Canada, for the following reasons:

That these people differ from us so fundamentally in their family relations, in religion, in habits and methods of living and all that goes to make a national sentiment from our point of view that it is impossible for us to assimilate them into our body politic.

Those whom we have been receiving from the Asiatic countries or are likely to receive are of the working classes who take the place of our own countrymen and of kindred races, and as the working classes of any nation are its mainstay, it follows that if this country is filled with these people it will be an Asiatic country. Those who are already here, and experience teaches it will always be so, form a distinct community.

All experience teaches us that such a condition can be productive of only trouble and dissension.

One of the races now coming here is excessively aggressive, and we fear that they look forward to ultimately controlling this part of Canada.

Coming from a country where the struggle for existence is keener and the standard of living lower than in any white nation, they easily displace the white man and his family.

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<sup>89</sup> In 1907, John T. Crott was employed as a designer at the Scotland Woolen Mills Co., located at 538 Hastings Street. West. They made suits to order from imported material.

<sup>90</sup> W. R. Trotter was recording secretary of the Winnipeg Typographical union as of 1905, and was later associated with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

British Columbia is the western gateway of the Dominion. If it is ever attacked on that coast its defenders must be its own people. If the masses are an alien race with foreign sympathies, it needs no argument to show how easily a foreign nation could obtain a foothold here, and once obtained, how difficult to dislodge.

We cannot conceive that the nations affected by an act of exclusion could object to the measures, as if they were threatened by similar conditions, they would speedily adopt similar measures against us.

The question of today is easy of solution. In time when these men are not only laborers, but merchants and manufacturers with large material interests in the country their ingress can only be prevented to the expense of the peaceful relations now existing between this country and Japan.

### **“Undesirables”<sup>91</sup> (August 13, 1907)**

After the most thorough examination that the Little Brown Man and his yellow cousins have yet received since the agitation against them, they were unanimously rejected as “Undesirables” at Labor Hall last night, their friendly opponents forming an Asiatic Exclusion League, the first in Canada.

From every point of view “the Jap” particularly was considered, and from every point of view found wanting in the qualities required in a white man’s country, just because he is “a Jap,” and the yellow can never assimilate with the white. Upon this all were agreed. The only difference of opinion was in regard to the methods of keeping him out.

The discussion upon this lasted until 11:30 o’clock, when the majority agreed that the remedy is solely with the Government at Ottawa. The longest and strongest resolution thus far framed upon the subject was half an hour later sent to Sir Wilfrid Laurier by the chairman, Mr. John P. McConnell, editor of the *Saturday Sunset*. A copy will also be sent to Premier McBride. A second resolution was also passed to a similar effect, but with a clause that the British Columbia Legislature continue to re-enact Hon. Mr. Bowser’s Natal Act.

But as pointed out the mere enactment or re-enactment of that measure is ineffective unless Ottawa authorizes its assent, the Lieutenant-Governor being a servant of the Dominion Government. So the remedy is alone with Ottawa. [...]

More white and less yellow was the motto of the four hundred who attended the meeting, all being men. Some even went the whole length, “All white and no yellow.” But as Chairman McConnell, who presided with dignity and tact, said, the discussion was carried on with commendable moderation.

It was a meeting representative of all classes of Canadians, and although politics and the Grand Trunk Pacific at times loomed large in the verbal pictures there was an almost entire absence of a partisan coloring.

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<sup>91</sup> From IMPRESS OLIVER ON JAPANESE QUESTION. (1907, August 13). *The Province*, p. 5.

The strongly worded resolution which Sir Wilfrid will peruse to-day was moved by the president of the Liberal Association, Mr. Alex. Gilchrist<sup>92</sup>, and seconded by the president of the Conservative Association, Mr. C. M. Woodworth.

The Dominion Government was again censured for its continued inaction, the provincial Government was praised for the efforts it has made to exclude Asiatics, and the Trades and Labor Council was given the generous thanks of the meeting for taking the next step in the forming of the Exclusion League. [...]

Then Mr. Gilchrist moved this resolution:

“One of the races now coming here is excessively aggressive, and we fear that they look forward to ultimately controlling this part of Canada.

“Coming from a country where the struggle for existence is keener and the standard of living lower than in any white nation, they easily displace the white man and his family.

“British Columbia is the western gateway of the Dominion. If it is ever attacked on that coast its defenders must be its own people. If the masses are an alien race with foreign sympathies, it needs no argument to show how easily a foreign nation could obtain a foothold here, and once obtained, how difficult to dislodge.

“We cannot conceive that the nations affected by an act of exclusion could object to the measures, as, if they were threatened with similar conditions, they would speedily adopt similar measures against us.

“The question to-day is easy of solution. In time, when these men are not only laborers, but merchants and manufacturers with large material interests in the country, their ingress can only be prevented at the expense of the peaceful relations now existing between this country and Japan.”

The cheers were followed by a voice from the body of the hall:

“It isn’t strong enough. It don’t suit me. It’s too milk-and-water.”

From the platform the owner of the voice, Mr. A. G. Perry<sup>93</sup>, repeated in effect the arguments already advanced, and concluded:

“On payday do you see the laborer and family man crowding at the banks with his deposit? No! You see the yellow man getting his draft for Hong-Kong. It would be a good thing if we could make Ottawa the port of entry for the Japanese and Chinese. Then they would realize the seriousness of the situation that confronts British Columbia.”

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<sup>92</sup> Alexander Gilchrist (d. 1907) would die a few months after this meeting. “A gentleman highly esteemed in educational, social and political circles passed away this morning in the person of Mr. Alexander Gilchrist, principal of Fairview public school. Mr. Gilchrist came here from Ontario and had been a member of the tutelary staff of the Vancouver schools for some 10 years. He was [...] for some time a member of the Carnegie library board and at the time of his death was president of the local Liberal Association.” MR. ALEX. GILCHRIST DIED THIS MORNING. (1907, October 24). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 2.

<sup>93</sup> Possibly Albert G. Perry, who in 1907 lived at 364 6th Avenue, Vancouver, and was a motorman for the B. C. Electric Railway.

“These are politicians you have been hearing,” said one Sam Gothard<sup>94</sup>, “and they wouldn’t take the trouble to come here if they didn’t think we were alive to the question.”

Chairman McConnell lost no time in bringing Mr. Gothard to “the question before the chair.”

Mr. Macpherson only smiled his resentment of the insinuation, but Mr. Woodward put his in words. “I came here because I was invited and because I am deeply interested in this question, and not for the purpose of seeking popularity.”

The chairman added that the meeting was for educational purposes, not only for Vancouver, but for the whole of Eastern Canada, which, as Mr. Macpherson had said, did not understand our danger. The meeting was in no way political.

Then another voice in discord echoed from the rear of the hall:

“Before you put that motion, Mr. Chairman, I—”

“Platform! Platform!”

And from the platform Mr. James McGreer<sup>95</sup>, with hat and cane in hand, rapped the previous speakers.

“All we have heard is very fine in an academic way, but I have not heard one speaker suggest a remedy. Now, I was once a politician, too, but I’ve quit it.” (Laughter.)

“Why ask the Dominion Government to do what we know it has no intention of doing – stopping this influx of Asiatics?” he continued. (Hear, hear.)

A Voice – “What we want to do is to stop ‘em now – these that are coming.”

Mr. McGeer – “Exactly. That’s what I say. And how are we going to do it? I haven’t yet heard. But it’s got to be done if British Columbia has to drop out of Confederation,” continued Mr. McGeer, shaking hat and cane to the accompanying cheers.

Mr. Gilchrist’s resolution, the main resolution of the meeting, was unanimously carried. Then Mr. McGreer moved:

“That unless the Dominion Government take immediate steps, a request be made for a special session of the provincial Legislature and the re-enactment of Mr. Bowser’s Natal Act.”

This was also greeted with cheers, and carried.

“Now, let every one here who desires to join this newly formed league sign for his membership and pay his four-bits subscription,” intoned Harry Cowan.

There was a procession to Chairman McConnell’s table. Also one for the door. About a score of members were enrolled. The league will meet regularly on the second Monday in each month exclusive of special meetings. [...]

#### BOWSER POINTS THE WAY

In a letter of regret of his inability to attend the meeting, Attorney-General Bowser said:

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<sup>94</sup> Possibly Samuel J. Gothard, who in 1907 lived at 1677 5th Avenue West, Vancouver, and worked as a linotype operator.

<sup>95</sup> Possibly James McGreer, a resident of Vancouver and city agent for the Imperial Life company.

“It is unnecessary for me to tell you that I am in full accord with your ideas of a league, and only hope your efforts will be successful.

“In my opinion the only thing that can be done to bring this to a successful termination is to convince the Cabinet at Ottawa that this country is unanimous upon the question of the exclusion of the Japanese, and that therefore the Governor-General should at once assent to the bill which I had passed last session, the Natal Act.

“So far as I am concerned, I can only state that as soon as the bill is assented to, as Attorney-General I will see that the same is properly carried out and enforced.

“As outlined above, I am very strongly of opinion that this is the proper line for your league to take, to have the Governor-General assent to the local act, as in that way you can have it enforced at once, whereas if left to future legislation on the part of the Dominion Parliament it simply means that the country will be flooded by Asiatics before any action can be taken by the Parliament at Ottawa.”

“Let me urge every one of you to become a missionary to preach this gospel of British Columbia as a white man’s country,” said Mr. Macpherson in the course of his address which traced the Japanese through history and to his first and latest appearance in British Columbia. “I have done my best to bring this matter to the serious attention of the Government at Ottawa, and will continue to do more. Unless something is done, and done quickly, as sure as the sun will rise tomorrow, just as surely will our fair province be overrun with hordes of cheap yellow labor until they will number a thousand to every one of us.

“I have been called an agitator,” said Mr. Macpherson in referring to the unsympathetic East. “Well, if to strive for that which is in the best interest of one’s country is to be an agitator, then put me down as an agitator. I intend to continue an agitator here and elsewhere.”

There was an enthusiastic wave of applause.

“The provincial Government may pass Natal Acts until the statute books are loaded down with them,” continued Mr. Macpherson. “But I am fully convinced that the only remedy lies with the Government at Ottawa.”

In speaking of the British Columbia of years ago, he said that there was a time when the white man and the Indian were employed in the fisheries of the Fraser. But the Japanese has crowded them out, and that while ten or twelve years ago hardly an Asiatic could be found in the sawmills of British Columbia, now there was not 10 per cent. of those thus employed who were of white origin.

## The Vancouver Riot

### “Let us go down with guns”<sup>96</sup> (August 24, 1907)

“Let us go down with guns to the next vessel that brings Japs to Vancouver and prevent them from landing,” shouted one at a meeting of the Asiatic Exclusion League, attended by all of a hundred and fifty, chiefly laborers. The chairman said this would be unconstitutional. Likewise, the circling inactivity at Ottawa was equally unavailing. A brass band parade to awaken Vancouver to the seriousness of the situation will be held. The idea was adopted to hold a parade next week.

### “The big parade”<sup>97</sup> (September 6, 1907)

The big parade and anti-Asiatic demonstration to be held on Saturday evening under the auspices of the Asiatic Exclusion league promises to be one of the most impressive affairs of the kind ever seen in British Columbia, and if the expectations of the committee are realized the parade will undoubtedly be the largest ever seen in the city.

It is expected that nearly every lodge, labor union and fraternal organization in the city will be represented. A feature of the parade will be the attendance of large numbers of service men who have signified their intention of taking part. All men who have served in the army or navy or any branch of the Imperial forces are requested to parade, and all will wear their medals. Three brass bands will take part and if possible a number of torches will be secured.

The parade will assemble on the Cambie street grounds and the start will be made sharp at 7:30. The route will be along Georgia street to Granville, and to the city hall via Hastings street.

At the city hall a mass meeting will be held at which many prominent citizens will be heard. Mr. Harry Senkler<sup>98</sup> will act as chairman, and Mr. C. M. Woodworth<sup>99</sup> will be one of the principal speakers. Mr. A. E. Fowler<sup>100</sup>, secretary of the Exclusion league in Seattle, will be in the city for the occasion and will also address the meeting.

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<sup>96</sup> From Members of Vancouver Asiatic League Hostile. (1907, August 24). *The Calgary Herald*, p. 1.

<sup>97</sup> From PARADE WILL BE STRIKING. (1907, September 6). *The Vancouver World*, p. 1.

<sup>98</sup> John Harold Senkler (1866 – 1926), a partner in the law firm of Wilson, Senkler & Bloomfield. In 1907 he lived at 1889 Haro street, Vancouver.

<sup>99</sup> Charles Milton Woodworth (1867 – 1941), a partner in the law firm of Smith & Woodworth. In 1907 he lived at 1024 Harwood street, Vancouver.

<sup>100</sup> Fowler had been in contact with British Columbians earlier in the year. “A letter [...] was read from A. E. Fowler, secretary of the Washington Exclusion League at Seattle, suggesting among other things that an international convention of all those interested in the exclusion of Asiatics should be called to meet at some point on British territory, preferably Victoria or Vancouver. He stated that the league was growing in Washington state at a great pace, no less than 5,000 members having been enrolled in

Prominent members of the Exclusion league are confident that the demonstration will afford ample and striking evidence of the sentiment of the citizens of Vancouver concerning Asiatic immigration.

### **“Vancouver hoodlums disgrace their city”<sup>101</sup> (September 8, 1907)**

Vancouver, Sept. 7. – At a big procession of the Asiatic Exclusion League this evening Lieut.-Governor Dunsmuir was burned in effigy in front of the city hall. The parade was organized at the Cambie street grounds, and marched, a thousand or more strong, to the city hall, carrying the effigy and banners bearing anti-Asiatic mottoes. The burning of the effigy was accompanied by the howling of the crowd and the waving of white flags labeled for a “White Canada.” Both in the city hall and outside, orators addressed overflow meetings. The meetings were very tumultuous, but for the most part the speakers counselled moderation.

A resolution was drafted calling on Mr. McBride to resign on account of a statement contained in the *World*, saying that he had counselled the vetoing of the bill introduced by Mr. Bowser last session on condition that the Dominion Government would consent to the elimination of the words “final and unalterable” from the amendment to the B.N.A. Act.

C. M. Woodworth proposed a counter resolution, asking the Dominion government to instruct the lieutenant-governor to consent to the act. Finally an amendment was carried asking Premier McBride to explain his action at the next meeting of the league, next Thursday evening.

When the meeting was in progress a gang of hoodlums went through Chinatown and the Japanese quarter and broke nearly all the store windows. The police were called in and kept the crowd out of the Chinese quarter afterwards. The fire brigade was also called out with hose, to keep back the crowd if necessary, and also in case of a conflagration in Chinatown, as threats had been made on the street to set fire to it.

The crowd, after the meeting, gathered near Wood’s hotel, at the corner of Hastings and Carroll streets, but was kept from Chinatown by a cordon of police. Speakers mounted on telephone poles and counselled moderation.

Later – The anti-Asiatic demonstration swelled into a riot. The Japs resented the window breaking and armed themselves with clubs and boards and charged on the mob, shouting “Banzai!” Police Officer Craig<sup>102</sup> charged the crowd with a drawn revolver and fired to intimidate them. The window of the Japanese bank was smashed. The police arrested seven men. The crowd was very much excited and it took five policemen to arrest one man, as the mob threatened the officers. False alarms were rung in and the fire brigade was called out several times. One white man

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two weeks.” ENDORSES ACTION OF SCHOOL BOARD. (1907, August 28). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

<sup>101</sup> From VANCOUVER HOODLUMS DISGRACE THEIR CITY. (1907, September 8). *The Daily Colonist*, p. 1.

<sup>102</sup> Probably James Craig, who in 1907 lived at 1855 Princess street, Vancouver.

had his head smashed by a Japanese, but was not killed. One old Jap was badly injured. The riot has now died down.

### **“The dimensions of an international question”<sup>103</sup> (September 9, 1907)**

The rioting which took place in Vancouver city on Saturday and yesterday has raised what was before only an anti-Oriental agitation to the dimensions of an international question. Although it is recognized that the worse element of the population was responsible for the scenes which took place, it has been ascertained that the entire white population is in a measure in sympathy with the rioters.

The whole trouble grew out of a parade organized by the Asiatic Exclusion League. For some weeks past the feelings of Vancouverites have been worked up in connection with the steady and increasing flow of Asiatics to this country. A raid was made on Chinatown by a mob some 800 strong. The destruction of the stores there drew the attention of other citizens, who joined the demonstration and descended on the Japanese quarters. The Japanese resented the rioting and gave blow for blow, with the result that something in the nature of a pitched battle was fought.

As far as can be ascertained, some 25 rioters are in prison, several have been injured, a couple fatally, either by knives, broken bottles or bricks, which were hurled on all sides. The city is even now to a certain extent under mob law, as all the dispatches say that the police have been powerless to quiet the rioters. It is likely, however, that stern measures will be adopted to-night to prevent a repetition of the events of the past two days.

As the dispatches printed on this page also show, the inflammatory speech made by a Seattle man seems to have had a good deal to do with setting the match to material which was ready for a conflagration.

A. E. Fowler, the man in question, is the secretary of the Anti-Asiatic League in Seattle, and he pointed to the action of the Bellingham rioters<sup>104</sup> in connection with the Hindus as an example worthy of emulation.

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<sup>103</sup> From WHITES AND JAPANESE FIGHT IN STREETS OF VANCOUVER. (1907, September 9). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

<sup>104</sup> “BELLINGHAM, [WASHINGTON STATE,] Sept. 5. – One of the fiercest race riots in the history of the northwest is raging in this city. Business is practically suspended and the end is not in sight. That blood will be shed before the day is over is practically a foregone conclusion, and according to Mayor Black if the city police and the extras sworn in are not able to afford ample protection, federal troops will be called out. The trouble was precipitated late yesterday afternoon when the report spread through the rank and file of union circles that the Whatcom Falls Mills company had purposefully laid off many white laborers to give place to Hindus who have lately congregated in this city. The trouble had been expected for several weeks. First Filipinos and Japanese were given employment in the various mills as they could be secured at much cheaper wages than the white men. Then to add insult to injury the Hindus were put to work and white men discharged. Early Wednesday evening there was a spirit of unrest at various labor centers of the city. Finally at midnight, as if by a preconcerted signal, 500 shingle weavers and other millmen started with hoots and yells towards the Hindu settlement. There the men divided and scattered, bent on driving the foreigners from the city. Naked and half naked turbaned Hindus ran here and there, some making a break for the woods and other seeking a place of safety under the docks or among the lumber piles on the water front. The white men entered



## “Bathed in riot”<sup>105</sup> (September 9, 1907)

(Special to the Times). Vancouver, Sept. 8. – For five hours during last night Vancouver was a riot town, ruled by mob. It was daylight this morning before the crowds were dispersed. The police records show that the Chinese and Japanese quarters of the city are wrecked, seven men only placed under arrest, and a dozen persons stabbed and bruised, as subjects for the hospitals. Following the burning of the Lieut.-Governor in effigy in front of the city hall on the public street were the wildest scenes ever witnessed in western Canada. The

### POLICE WERE POWERLESS.

Unable to control the mob the police had actually to appeal to the Japanese merely to resist attacks on themselves and their property rather than to go to the street and fight openly. Hundreds of the Mikado’s subjects had come to town early in the day to witness the parade demonstration of the evening. They were itching for a battle in the streets, which if it had occurred would probably have resulted in many casualties, but in only one case did they make a determined fight and then they put rioters to flight.

It was early this morning that one battle occurred at the corner of Westminster avenue and Powell street. Four blocks along the latter thoroughfare are lined with Japanese stores. Profiting by their experience in [the] Chinatown riot, the police had stretched ropes across the street and were defending [the] entrance to all comers. But at this corner are three handsome Japanese general stores.

### TWO HUNDRED MEN

surged around this point. Suddenly from away up the street came the sound of smashing glass as some plate front was stove in. Instantly hundreds of bricks flew from all directions directed at the corner stores, and in fifteen seconds thousands of dollars’ worth of damage was done. The Japanese could stand it no longer. From stores, from hallways, from roofs they hurried down into the street. Armed with sticks and bottles and even knives they

### CHARGED THE MOB.

“Banzais” filled the air.

In five minutes the Japanese had cleared the street. Away far up Powell street a volley of pistol shots were heard at that moment and the crowd turned its attention to the new scene of fighting. The Japanese pursued, and the white men fled, only to take up fight in another place where the little brown enemy was not nearly so well organized. The Nipponese had been well prepared for this street corner attack. They used broken bottles to perfection. Grasping in his hand the neck of a broken bottle,

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houses and forced the Hindus to dress, gather their belongings and to “get” as quickly as possible.” From RACE RIOTS RAGING – BLOODSHED FEARED. (1907, September 5). *The Seattle Star*, p. 1.

<sup>105</sup> From VANCOUVER CITY BATHED IN RIOT. (1907, September 9). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

the Japanese would jab it into the face or body of the nearest rioter, and many nasty wounds were inflicted by this system of warfare.

#### JAPANESE WOMEN

too came to the rescue of their husbands with a new supply of bottles, already broken with sharp edges that cut like razors. Knives were used in this fight too. Two white men were so badly injured, that they had to be carried away by the crowd.

Up to this time not a single arrest had been made, but by 2 o'clock the crowd had begun to become thinner in places and one by one seven rioters were gathered in. But even the police had literally to fight with their captives' friends every step of the way to the station, which stands only two blocks away from the Japanese district. Early in the evening the police had no chance to make arrests. As often as a rioter was laid hold of for heaving bricks through the windows or assaulting a Chinaman, three or four, or a dozen of his comrades would rush forward and snatch the arrested man from the policeman.

#### THE RIOT STARTED

when the procession had ended at the city hall. The purpose of the meeting held there was to bring to the attention of the federal government the need of stopping altogether Oriental immigration. Long before the parade reached the meeting place, the auditorium was crowded to overflowing and it was to find entertainment for itself that an overflow meeting, seven or eight thousand strong, sought diversion by cleaning out Chinatown. But before this occurred there took place the incident of

#### THE BURNING IN EFFIGY

of James Dunsmuir, Lieut.-Governor. None too popular at any time with the labor people, the representative of King Edward in British Columbia brought himself into particular disfavor with the workingman at last session of the legislature by declining to assent to anti-Japanese legislation.

It was a sorry figure of the Governor that was burned last evening. His Honor boasts a neatly cut brown beard, while the model artistically arranged for the fire was clean shaven. But the figure was labeled to prevent any misunderstanding. Down through the streets it was carried with a banner just ahead, with the words: "We will burn him to-night." The chair was hardly filled inside the city hall before a match was applied to the oil-saturated figure of the governor out on the pavement.

#### THE POLICE TRIED FEEBLY

to stop this, but they might as well have tried to dam up the tide. Then came A. E. Fowler, secretary of the Anti-Asiatic League of Seattle, who addressed the overflow meeting, the scene the while lighted by the burning effigy of His Honor, Mr. Dunsmuir. Fowler told the crowd how the Hindus had been driven out of Bellingham<sup>106</sup>. Five minutes later the crowd was wrecking all that was movable and

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<sup>106</sup> "BELLINGHAM, Sept. 6. – By night few if any Hindus will be in town. In spite of the promises of city officials to protect them, the turbaned men from India have suffered enough at the hands of the white men and are leaving the city, bag and baggage, as quickly as possible. Yesterday afternoon many started to walk to British Columbia. Last night trains and boats took others. Many went south. On the Great Northern train 20 went to Seattle and over 40 left by boat." From HINDUS LEAVE. (1907, September 6). *The Seattle Star*, p. 1.

breakable in Chinatown. In the meantime a series of formal resolutions were carried at the meeting indoors.

Just at the time when festivities were at their height, the steamer Charmer arrived from Victoria with five hundred Japs aboard. They had come across from Yokohama on [the] trans-Pacific liner and could not have arrived here at a more inopportune time. The only lucky feature was that the mob was otherwise engaged. But scores of rioters scented the arrival of the brown men and started for the Canadian Pacific wharf, where the new arrivals were debarking. Unceremoniously, seven of the Japanese

#### WERE THROWN INTO THE TIDE.

Others dropped their baggage and fled. The men were rescued from the inlet.

Curiously enough, while the riot was at its height last night, K. Ishii, director of the Japanese foreign offices who had been sent to America, especially to investigate the labor and immigration question, arrived in Vancouver. The Great Northern depot is in the centre of Chinatown and [the] visitors had not been in Vancouver two minutes before they were

#### OVERWHELMED IN RIOT.

Their carriage finally broke through the crowd and they reached the consulate safely. Ishii immediately sent word to the leader of the Japanese section counselling moderation, and later he paid a visit himself to the district.

#### AN EYE WITNESS

says that all white Vancouver is in sympathy with the rioters. J. B. Tusan, a gentleman who came over from Vancouver yesterday and is staying with J. P. Watson of this city, interviewed this morning said that he saw the parade in Vancouver on Saturday and attended the meeting. The parade commenced with about 800 people, and this swelled as it passed along until several thousand were marching beneath anti-Oriental banners. These banners were inscribed with suitable texts such as, "Who will defend Canada in Case of War?" "What Must We Do to Be Saved?" Others gave the number of Orientals on board the various ships bound for British Columbia.

There was intense excitement and this increased until the mob was worked up to the frenzy pitch. Everyone seemed to be with the movement, even those who took no part in it. The banners were cheered, or hooted, as the occasion required, and never a word was said in defence of the Orientals.

Mr. Tusan says that public opinion, as far as he has been able to find out, is entirely with the movement. He did not meet one person who had anything to say in favor of the Japs and Chinese, or who even deprecated the extreme measures which had been taken.

## “Law and order were lost”<sup>107</sup> (September 9, 1907)

Law and order were lost in the vortex of mob rule which swirled and eddied through the oriental section of Vancouver on Saturday night and during the early hours of Sunday morning. Thousands of dollars' worth of damage was done by the mob to the property of the Orientals, but no violence was offered to their persons. It was the white rioters who suffered bodily injury at the hands of the frenzied population, who, armed with knives, broken bottles, stones and in some cases revolvers, sought to protect their houses and chattels.

Lieutenant-Governor Dunsmuir, blamed by many people of British Columbia in great measure for the recent large influx of Japanese, because he refused to assent to the Bowser Natal Act, passed at the last session of the provincial legislature, was burned in effigy by the mob early in the evening in front of the City Hall.

### BURNED DUNSMUIR IN EFFIGY

Seldom has such an insult been offered in Canada to a representative of the Crown, but the temper of the crowd on the oriental question would brook no half measures as far as the Lieutenant-Governor was concerned.

As explained by a labor man, the burning of Dunsmuir in effigy was a protest of the people against “autocratic rule.” He instanced the fact that the Bowser Natal Act was passed unanimously by the representatives of the people in the Legislature. He declared the measure represented the will of the people of British Columbia, yet Mr. Dunsmuir had, presumably at the instance of the Ottawa Government, refused to make possible its operation as law. It was declared by this man that the people turned against Mr. Dunsmuir as the representative of the Crown because their behests, constitutionally made, had been balked.

“To be burned before the City Hall,” was the inscription on the banner which accompanied the effigy of the Lieutenant-Governor through the streets of Vancouver. When the match was touched to the suspended figure of straw and old clothes the crowd shouted itself hoarse with delight.

### THIRTY THOUSAND ON THE STREETS

By 9 o'clock in the evening the thousands of people who could not gain admission to the City Hall where the big anti-Asiatic mass-meeting was being held, began to search for diversion elsewhere, and it was this crowd, disappointed at not gaining entrance to the overflowing hall, which split into small sections, some of which eventually consolidated into the property-smashing mob.

Thirty thousand people thronged the streets in the vicinity of the zone of disturbance, for there was an indefinable something in the air which carried a message of trouble impending. Curiosity held the citizens to the streets until after midnight. Long before that time, however, the excitement was at fever heat, people were rushing here and there about the streets, and the wildest rumors of bloodshed were in circulation everywhere.

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<sup>107</sup> From CHINESE BUY REVOLVERS FOR DEFENCE IN CASE OF RIOTS. (1907, September 9). *The Province*, p. 1.

### BOY STARTED THE RIOT

While the orators of the Anti-Asiatic meeting were counselling moderation from the platform the mob of congenially violent spirits had gathered. Leaderless, it cast about for some vent for its feelings, which was found when some youngster tossed a brick through a window of a Chinese store on Carrall street. That act was the spark invading [sic.] Orientalism, and in a moment the flash caught the destructive element.

Bricks and stones started to fly in every direction, and the noise of shattered glass falling into stores and to pavement answered the volleys of the mob. Chinese took to their heels, running into stores and barricading doors as rapidly as possible while the tumult lasted.

### ATTACK ON JAPTOWN

Recognizing the fact that the fight of the laboring classes in this instance is directly against the Japanese, the mob soon left the Chinese quarter and headed in the direction of Japtown, lying in the district to the east of Westminster avenue and north of Cordova street to the waterfront.

As the riotous gang from Carrall street poured through the streets its numbers were augmented by hundreds of men and boys along the route of the march. The onlookers on the sidewalks, carried along the route of march by the excitement, swept along on the flanks and in the wake of the mob, which had grown to over a thousand strong when it reached a corner of Westminster avenue and Powell streets, where a number of Japanese stores and boarding-houses are located.

### POLICE RESERVES CALLED OUT

By this time the police were thoroughly alive to the fact that they had a dangerous situation to handle. The alarm had been turned in at the central station, and men were rushed from there to Japtown, while orders were sent out calling in patrolmen from other downtown sections and from the outlying residential districts. By 10 o'clock in the evening practically every policeman on duty in Vancouver was on guard either in Chinatown or Japtown.

Clubs were drawn by the bluecoats, and calls were sent in for the fire brigade because of the fear that the mob might eventually decide to add arson to the list of its other crimes.

### BESIEGED JAPANESE STORES

The crash of broken glass and the shouts of besieged Japanese rent the air as the mob reached the intersection of Powell street and Westminster avenue. The plate-glass windows in a large Japanese store at the southeast corner of the street were in small pieces in less than half a minute, and volley after volley of stones and bricks were hurled into the interior of the shop, with consequent damage to stock.

The police on the scene were utterly unable to cope with the mass of struggling, cursing, shouting humanity which surged back and forth under the glare of the street arc lights. While in front the police were pushing and crowding the mob back, bricks and stones came flying from the rear over the heads of those in the van.

The crash of glass was continual. Window after window was shattered in other stores, and boarding-houses in the vicinity as the riotous gang pushed farther into

the thoroughfare lined with nests of Japanese. To the east on Powell street considerable damage was done to the property of the Japanese, and those occupying stores and houses on Westminster avenue south of Powell street suffered as badly.

#### JAPANESE FOUGHT THE MOB

It was in this stronghold of the Japanese that the besieged showed fight. Armed with sticks, knives and broken glass bottles, the enraged aliens poured forth into the streets as soon as the limit of their patience had been reached. Hundreds of the little brown men rushed the attacking force, their most effective weapons being the knives and bottles, the latter being broken off at the neck, which was held in the hands of the Jap fighter. The broken edges of glass clustering around the necks of the bottles made the weapons very formidable, and many a white man was badly gashed about the arms, face and neck.

Armed only with stones, the mob could not stand before the onslaught of knives and broken bottles propelled by the Japanese while they made the air ring with "Banzais." Many of the Japanese went to the ground as stones thumped against their heads, but the insensible ones were carried off by friends, and the fight kept up till the mob wavered, broke and finally retreated.

#### SEVERAL STABBING AFFRAYS

Following this encounter the Japanese established a protective service of their own in Japtown, and the few whites whose steps led them through the district were set upon by little bands of Japanese armed with knives, bottles and rocks. Several stabbing affrays occurred in Japtown after the riotous scenes were over, and the victims were whites.

In one instance, a newspaperman employed on a morning contemporary was set upon by a crowd of Japanese as he was walking east on Powell street early on Sunday morning. He escaped, went to the police station, returned in company with a constable, and caused the arrest of one Japanese whom he identified as among his assailants. It was at the peril of severe knife wounds that a white man passed through the Japanese section after midnight.

#### HUNDREDS OF JAPANESE ARRIVE

While the mob was raiding the Japanese in the East End of the city, four hundred more men of that race were swarming down the gangplank of the steamer Charmer, fresh from Japan, via Victoria. The Charmer reached port at 7 o'clock, and although there were a number of whites on the wharf to meet them, no violence was offered. It was reported throughout the city that a dozen of the new arrivals had been unceremoniously thrown into the Inlet, and that they had been rescued with difficulty. No encounter of any nature occurred on the wharf.

The Japanese who came from Victoria on the Charmer, arrived on this coast by one of the transpacific liners calling at Victoria. Hundreds of them come in this way every month, debarking at Victoria from the ocean liners and crossing the Gulf to Vancouver.

#### POLICE BARRICADED STREETS

By 11 o'clock the detached sections of the mob had all gathered at the corner of Carrall and Hastings street. There the police had stretched a cordon of bluecoats

across the street to prevent the mob rushing Chinatown. Chief of Police Chamberlin had thrown out guards all over Chiantown to keep the crowds out. The mob fruitlessly tried entrance after entrance, and almost succeeded in breaking through at the rear by way of the C. P. R. tracks, but reinforcements of police shut them out in that direction.

#### FATAL MOVEMENT AVERTED

Threats of arson had brought the Fire Brigade to Carrall street, and several lines of hose were laid and attached to hydrants in readiness for emergencies.

The pushing, roaring crowd held back by the police at the corner of Hastings and Carrall streets were crowding the barricading force of bluecoats very hard, when it occurred to the police that it would be a fine thing to turn a line of fire hose on the mob.

Chief of Police Chamberlin was warned against permitting his men to use the fire hose in this manner. It was pointed out to him that the mob was in fairly good humor, and comparatively easy to handle, but if water was turned on nothing short of a sanguinary riot would occur. The Chief realized the wisdom of this advice, and no attempt was made to try the "water cure."

Had the fire hose been used against the mob, bloodshed would undoubtedly have resulted, and it would not have been long before Chinatown would have been a mass of flames, and Japtown would undoubtedly have been visited again with disastrous results both to rioters and Japanese.

#### ADVISED MOB TO DISPERSE

Speakers from the City Hall meeting had been requisitioned to talk to the mob at the corner of Hastings and Carrall street, with the idea of holding them back from Chinatown. Several arrived, and Mr. A. E. Fowler, secretary of the Seattle Anti-Asiatic League, climbed out on the guy wire of a telephone pole. The mob was calmed and listened to him, though those on the outskirts of the crowd, who could hear nothing of what was being said, kept up a fusillade of rocks which smashed the glass in the windows of every oriental store within a stone's throw. The crowd was advised to disperse, but it was hours before the streets were clear at this point.

Prowling bands of white men were on the streets till daylight on Sunday searching for Japanese or Chinese. The aliens, however, warned by what had befallen them earlier in the evening and counselled by Japanese Consul Morikawa, kept indoors, and gradually the fighting spirit and excitement died out, the strugglers dispersed, and daylight disclosed nothing worse than wrecked store fronts and smashed windows in the Chinese and Japanese sections.

#### WHAT WILL THE RESULT BE?

While the riotous conduct of the street crowd met with general disapprobation on the part of prominent members of the Oriental Exclusion League, there is no use in attempting to conceal the fact that it is felt by many people that the trouble will precipitate a solution of the difficulty occasioned by the inrush of hordes of Japanese coolies.

"I feel very sorry that the mob broke loose," declared a prominent member of the Exclusion League today, "but as no lives were lost and no damage done beyond a

few thousand dollars' worth of broken glass, I cannot but feel that the attention of the provincial, federal and imperial authorities will now be so attracted that they will be forced to recognize the fact that British Columbia's people will not permit this country to be made the dumping ground of yellow cheap labor.

#### VANCOUVER NOT TO BLAME

"It is declared by some that the good name of the city has been injured, but as no serious damage was done I think that it is a far-fetched statement. The people of British Columbia have passed resolution after resolution on this Asiatic question and no attention has been paid to their complaints by the federal or imperial authorities. The people have now reached that stage where their patience is about exhausted, and if we can purchase a solution of the difficulty for a few thousand dollars' worth of plate glass, it is well.

"The people of Vancouver are in no wise to blame. The federal Government has paid no attention to the demands that Japanese should be prevented from entering the country in thousands every month, and this inaction at Ottawa is responsible for the row which broke out on Saturday. Unless some such trouble had occurred, protests would have continued to pass unheeded. Now, I expect that Ottawa and the imperial authorities will realize that the people here are not fooling, and will take steps to prevent a recurrence of trouble."

#### **"Two nights of rioting and destruction"<sup>108</sup> (September 9, 1907)**

Two nights of rioting and destruction of property have left Vancouverites with a new sensation and have given the city much undesirable notoriety. In the European and Asiatic mind, as well as in the American and Canadian, this city has, by the disgraceful folly of a few young men and boys, been placed in the disorderly class and today, too, the Chinese and Japanese quarters are armed to the teeth and burning with resentment of the treatment given them by a mob.

But while Vancouverites feel keenly the disgrace of the disorder that followed the anti-Asiatic parade on Saturday night, they can honestly deny that the character of the Vancouver people is lawless. It was evident to all eye-witnesses that the number of people who threw bricks and stones that wrecked so many Chinese and Japanese fronts on Saturday night was very small. The crowd was big, but it was swelled by the most good-natured lot of people that ever got classed as a destructive mob. The fact that nothing more serious developed and that the police, in spite of their small numbers, could prevent anything more serious than the breaking of glass occurring, proves what was really the case, namely, that almost the entire crowd was simply there to see what was going on. Theater people know that this is the best show town on the coast, and Vancouverites simply treated the window breaking as a show. They were there to see the fun.

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<sup>108</sup> From DEMONSTRATION AGAINST ASIATICS TERMINATES IN ANTI-ORIENTAL RIOT. (1907, September 9). *The Vancouver World*, p. 1.



It was a very small crowd of about 20 or 30 irresponsibles that started the trouble and kept it going. The organizers of and active workers in the legitimate demonstration that ended in speeches at the city hall are in no way to be held responsible for the incidents that followed. As a matter of fact, the gang of hoodlums started its work of smashing on Dupont street while the meeting was still in progress.

When the rioters got through Chinatown it looked like a wreck. Every Chinese window was broken. Thousands of dollars' worth of plate glass lay in fragments; and then a start was made on Powell street, where not a Japanese window was spared. The mob respected the Japanese mission building, but showed no mercy even to the little private houses of Japanese residents. They did not get off quite free, though, the Japanese being more or less armed with clubs and bottles, which they used with damaging effect on a few heads. The Japs, in their turn, state that two of them were injured by stones thrown by the mob.

As the mob surged through the streets of the Asiatic quarters, though composed chiefly of peaceable citizens, bent on seeing what was going on, it was impossible for the police to tell who threw the stones that from time to time hurled over the heads of the crowds into the windows. All the police could do was to keep the mob moving, and after a while, to clear Chinatown and keep it clear by putting a rope and a cordon of police across the end of Carrall street – opposite the Woods' hotel. The fire department was held in readiness all night and was out on several false alarms, but one engine was kept in Chinatown for emergencies.

On Sunday there was much activity in Chinatown and along Powell street where the Japanese have located themselves chiefly since coming here. All down Dupont street, on both sides of Canton and Shanghai alleys on Carrall street and Columbia avenue, not a Chinese window had been missed. Great holes yawned in plate glass a quarter of an inch thick. Some Celestials stood stoically surveying the night's work by the light of Sunday's sunshine; others were busy nailing boards over their wrecked fronts, while curious sightseers, whites, Hindoos and Japanese, men, women and children, gazed on the unusual spectacle of a mob's work in Vancouver. Not for twenty years, when the workmen who had helped to build the C. P. R. and clear Vancouver townsite started to drive the Chinamen out of the infant city, has anything of the kind occurred. Then they kept the Chinamen from returning by building bonfires in the streets and patrolling all night. The Victoria militia and a warship from Esquimalt made a fast trip here to put an end to that.

Down Powell street the mob had done its work as systematically as in Chinatown. Not a Japanese escaped with undamaged windows. Stores, boarding houses and private houses were alike assaulted and the temper of the Japanese population was very ugly as the brown men compared notes on the damage done. Just 46 Japanese buildings had been assaulted, including the Japanese bank, and the owners were getting photographs taken of the results. These will not only be seen at the Japanese foreign office but will doubtless be reproduced in the newspapers and magazines of Japan.

Nothing could be more systematic than the determination with which the mob picked out Japanese and Chinese windows and spared those right adjoining if they

were those of whites. On Columbia avenue, for example, all the Chinese windows were broken and those of two white real estate brokers were left whole. On Westminster avenue where white and Asiatic business places are mingled together, McArthur's real estate office<sup>109</sup> was respected but the adjoining plate glass of Kwong Yuen<sup>110</sup> was broken. The Japanese General Contract Co. and others were smashed. Kawasaki<sup>111</sup>, store keeper on the corner of the avenue and Powell, lost his windows and, as an exception, a stone has struck and broken the adjoining window of the Queen's hotel<sup>112</sup>, but it was obviously done by accident and was the only case in many where the windows of whites and Asiatics adjoined that the whites suffered. The Dominion Laundry<sup>113</sup> windows were broken and they were the only case of deliberate smashing of a white man's windows. This case was just as obviously deliberate as that of the Queen's was accidental.

The work thus done by the mob from nine o'clock at night until close on to three o'clock on Sunday morning, when the sound of breaking glass was still heard occasionally, caused damage which will run into the thousands of dollars for glass alone, and the injury the city has suffered in reputation is hard to compute in dollars and cents. [...]

Last night there was a great change noticeable in the attitude of both Chinese and Japanese. Both were practically standing under arms and both stated openly that there would be bloodshed if any further attempts were made on them by the mob. The Chinese mostly kept indoors, with all lights out in the front of the buildings, but the Japanese paraded in front of their houses on Powell street and had pickets posted at the approaches of the Japanese quarter. These men were all armed with clubs or guns or knives or all three. Revolvers stuck out of hip pockets, sheath knives hung from belts and the least sign of disturbance caused doors to open and more men, armed even with axes, to appear.

### **“Hundreds of Chinese strike”<sup>114</sup> (September 9, 1907)**

Angered by the treatment they had received at the hands of the mob on Saturday night, a number of tye Chinamen met in conference yesterday, and decided to call a general strike of all Chinese workmen in Vancouver and vicinity.

The strike went into effect this morning, and the ticklish situation is further complicated as a consequence. Hotels, restaurants, saloons, private houses, steamers,

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<sup>109</sup> Grant McArthur had a real estate office at 341 Westminster avenue. He lived at 1343 Seymour street, Vancouver.

<sup>110</sup> Kwong Yuen Co., importers, at 339 Westminster avenue.

<sup>111</sup> Kawasaki, U. & Bro., listed in Henderson's Vancouver Directory for 1907 as “importers, exporters and general merchants, real Japanese biscuit and candy, 202 Westminster Ave.”. Their factory was at 214 Powell street, Vancouver.

<sup>112</sup> Located at 216 Westminster avenue, and owned by Henry (or Harry?) Hopkirk, who lived nearby at 206 Westminster avenue.

<sup>113</sup> The Dominion Steam Laundry at 136-142 Powell street, owned by Thomas H. Kirk, whose home was at 1339 Hardwood street.

<sup>114</sup> From HUNDREDS OF CHINESE STRIKE. (1907, September 9). *The Province*, p. 1.

logging camps and shingle bolt camps, railways and other institutions employing Chinese help are without their hoys [sic.] to-day. In nearly every instance the Chinese deserted their employment without vouchsafing any reason.

In order that there should be no possibility of a failure of the general strike the tye Chinese used threats very freely, many of the individual Chinese being intimidated by declarations that unless they walked out they would be killed; others were informed that they would be fined \$100 by some of the tongs to which they owed allegiance unless they stopped work.

#### CHAOS IN RESTAURANTS

The strike of Chinese first became generally known when hundreds of people attended to breakfast at downtown restaurants. Only those places which employed white help exclusively were able to open their doors, and they did an enormous trade. In restaurants where Chinese cooks and helpers held sway, yesterday chaos reigned, waitresses rushed excitedly around and prospective patrons stormed, but it was no use – doors had to be closed for the time being.

Later in the day white help was secured in some of these restaurants, and they are again doing business, but it will be several days before an adequate supply of white kitchen help can be secured. Last night the Cooks and Waiters' Union advised all places employing Chinese that the strike would be declared, offering to replace the Orientals with whites. The proprietors believed this information was in the nature of a bluff, and paid no attention to it. To-day, however, the union has received a number of applications for help, and while some has been placed efforts are being made to advise cooks and other help across the line of the situation, so that men may come here to take the place of the Chinese.

#### DESERTED PRIVATE HOUSES

In the west end of the city, where hundreds of Chinese are employed in private houses, there was great dismay when it developed that no kitchen help had decamped. Housewives to whom the kitchen is an unknown quantity were forced to roll up their sleeves, don their old clothes and prepare breakfast. Husbands fumed and fretted, but had to make the best of the situation.

Five o'clock tea parties have been cancelled, charitable work has become a secondary consideration, days at home are being wiped from the slate and calling lists placed in the stove in order that the ladies may have time to attend strictly to business at their own homes.

Chinese employed in private houses who had not appeared in Chinatown last night, where posters calling the strike were displayed on windows, doorways and telephone poles, were called out over the telephone or by special walking delegate either last night or this morning. Celestials in the midst of preparing breakfast dropped everything when the call came. In many cases they refused to state why they were leaving, but in others they volunteered the information that all Chinese were going on strike and those who did not obey the order would be killed.

In the sawmills where Chinese help is employed the strike situation did not take shape till well toward noon. Then the management of some mills were notified that the Chinese would strike some time during the day. In other mills the

management believes that it will be able to head off the stampede. There is nothing certain, however, that the desertion of the mill plants will not be general, in which event great inconvenience will be suffered and in some cases it is likely that mills will have to close down temporarily.

All day long Chinese cooks and helpers employed at logging camps in the vicinity of the city have been pouring into Vancouver in answer to the strike summons. They declare that they will not return to work till ordered to do so by those who called the strike, and in many quarters the Chinese Reform Association is blamed as being responsible for the strike.

#### STEAMERS LOSE COOKS

Steamship companies operating vessels out of Vancouver are at their wits' end to provide cooks for their boats. As fast as steamers arrive in port, the walking delegates of the all-powerful Chinese Union, secret society, tong or whatever is the mysterious authority behind the strike movement, appears with the order calling on the cooks and helpers to quit work. Implicit obedience has been the rule whenever this summons has been presented.

The tugboat men are in the same fix. The cooks on those boats in port yesterday and this morning were prompt in striking and boats arriving today were deserted by their Chinese help almost as soon as hawsers were made fast to the wharves.

### Opinions in Ottawa<sup>115</sup> (September 9, 1907)

(Special to the Times). Ottawa, Sept. 9. – The general opinion in official circles is that Canada will have to pay the shot and apologize to Japan for damages caused by Vancouver rowdies to property of the Japanese in the city. It is regretted that the outbreak took place at a time when the Japanese immigration question was all but solved between the governments of Canada and Japan. Those who are responsible for the destruction of property will no doubt be prosecuted. It is also thought here that there has been too much strong talk by the advocates of the Japanese as well as those who are opposed to Japanese labor.

Hon. R. W. Scott<sup>116</sup>, secretary of state, in being interviewed said that the treaty between Canada and Japan ratified by the Canadian parliament at its last session was perfectly clear as to the rights of the Japanese in Canada. The treaty says: "The subjects of each of the two high contracting parties shall have full liberty to enter at, or reside at any port of the Dominion and possessions of the other contracting party and shall enjoy full and perfect protection of their property."

"The treaty was not adopted in a hurry," said Mr. Scott. "It was in force between Britain and Japan 10 years before we became a party to it. It was given full consideration before we adopted it." [...]

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<sup>115</sup> From OPINION ON RIOTS IN THE CAPITAL. (1907, September 9). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1.

<sup>116</sup> Sir Richard William Scott (1825 – 1913).

The Dominion government has made good progress in the direction of making an amicable arrangement with Japan restricting immigration to about 500 arrivals in Canada in one year, no matter from where they came, and it is hoped here that the disturbances will in no way interfere with the negotiations.

### **“A strong undercurrent of unrest”<sup>117</sup> (September 10, 1907)**

Vancouver, Sept. 9. – Twenty-four prisoners appeared in the police court today, charged with taking part in the anti-Asiatic riots on Saturday night and Sunday. One was committed for trial, but all the other cases were remanded for one day, and that there might be further time to prepare information.

This afternoon the Japanese held a mass meeting on the Powell street grounds, and all the sawmills in the city were closed for want of hands to run them. The Chinese have also quit work in mills, restaurants and houses, and will not go back till the trouble is over. About one third of the restaurants in the city are closed, and those employing white labor are simply overwhelmed with business.

This morning the Chinese and Japanese began to buy firearms and weapons wholesale, but the city authorities went round to the stores and warned them not to sell. The sale consequently stopped, though the stores were besieged by inquirers for the rest of the day.

On Sunday night a large crowd gathered in Chinatown, and there was some more window breaking, but the police finally drove the white men out and kept them back in Hastings street. Two whites were assaulted and badly beaten in the Japanese quarters on Sunday evening. There are many rumors of other outrages, but very few seem to have any substantial foundation.

A large number of Japs are known to be carrying arms, and it is feared that further trouble may yet take place.

Mayor Bethune<sup>118</sup> has issued a statement expressing his regret that the riot should have occurred, and urging all citizens to moderation. Nothing but condemnation is heard on every hand for the hoodlumism that disgraced the city on Saturday night. It is stated that the Chinese and Japanese will make a claim against the city for compensation for the damage to their property. Leading labor men in the city generally deprecate the outrages as harmful to their cause.

There is no truth in the story of fighting in the streets on Sunday, or of Japanese threatening to use bombs, though on Sunday evening they placed pickets in the Japanese quarters, and placed patrols, evidently in readiness to repel an attack.

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<sup>117</sup> From VANCOUVER ORIENTALS FEAR FURTHER ATTACKS. (1907, September 10). *The Daily Colonist*, p. 1.

<sup>118</sup> Alexander Bethune (1852 – 1947) was mayor of Vancouver from 1907 to 1908.

Mr. Ishii<sup>119</sup>, the Japanese envoy, is in the city and has been in conference with Consul Morikawa today, but refuses to make any statement. He intends to leave for Ottawa tomorrow morning.

Every store window in Chinatown and Japtown was broken on Saturday night, but those of white people adjacent or living among them were left untouched. The damage done must amount to many thousands of dollars, but no accurate estimate has yet been made.

#### ALL QUIET AT NIGHT

At 11:30 all is quiet. All evening there were large crowds on Hastings street, but the police kept the white men out of the Chinese and Japanese quarters, and there was no trouble, though two Chinese were arrested armed with revolvers and knives and carrying white badges marked "Our own patrol." It is evident from that they have organized a police force of their own.

The Japanese held a meeting of their own this afternoon and were addressed by some of their leading countrymen, who advised them to act peaceably, and they promised to do so.

The police this evening captured a box of rifles and two boxes of cartridges, which had been sent over from New Westminster addressed to Sam Kee<sup>120</sup>, a well-known Chinese merchant.

All evening the mayor remained at the police station ready to read the riot act, if necessary, and half a dozen mounted men were held in readiness for an emergency. The fire brigade was also under instructions. The United Service club marched in a body to the police station and offered their services, but they were not considered necessary. There was no hoodlumism tonight, and at this hour the streets are quiet and comparatively deserted.

(Associated Press Report)

#### FEELING OF UNREST

Vancouver, Sept. 9. – Though the rioting proper has not been resumed since Saturday night, there is a strong undercurrent of unrest throughout the city, and it would need little to start a racial conflict. That the Chinese and Japanese expected more evidence of hostility is shown in the large purchases of guns, revolvers and

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<sup>119</sup> Viscount Ishii Kikujirō (1866 – 1945). He is believed to have died during a firebombing of Tokyo on May 25, 1945.

<sup>120</sup> In 1900, Sam Kee gained notoriety in a custody case that reached the B.C. Supreme Court: "Sam Kee claims to stand the loco parentis to the girl Soy King, aged 14 years, who, he alleges, was confided to his charge by her father, a resident of China, to be cared for, supported, and educated as his (Sam Kee's) own daughter. Since April, 1897, the girl has been an inmate of Sam Kee's house, until, on the 30th of June last, she went, or was taken to the Chinese Women's Refuge Home, maintained by the Methodist church in this city." The Home claimed he was an unfit parent by virtue of "maintaining bigamous relations with two women, in other words, that he has two wives, i.e. a chief wife, and a second, or inferior wife." The judge agreed "that the atmosphere of his house is, as viewed from the standard of social life in this country, so grossly immoral that there is serious danger to apprehend that Soy King will be morally contaminated by a further residence under his roof. Whatever rights he may have had must now 'be treated as lost' [and] it is best for the child that she remain in the custody of the authorities of the Refuge Home." Martin, A. (1900, July 27). Custody of Chinese Girl. *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 2.

knives made today. Stores dealing in these were swamped with Orientals until the mayor and solicitor visited the places of business and forbade the sale of weapons. Since then large numbers of people have been turned away. Chinese are gathering in defence of their property, though rather late in the day. The Oriental hands have been called off the coast steamboats in port, and in homes throughout the city where Chinese were engaged as domestics the women are getting the meals and doing the work. In restaurants where they have been handy men there are none visible, and short rations are the order of the day. It is stated that the Chinese will not return to work until they are assured that the rioting has ceased. Both Japanese and Chinese meetings are called, a big one being arranged for Tuesday night, and it may be that the civic authorities will forbid this, as the Oriental is prone to over-excitement. Special issues of the Japanese and Chinese papers are being published, but in these moderation is exercised, and only the list of sufferers and those arrested are given.

In the police court today there was a large array of the offenders, and they seemed to take the matter as a joke. If any are found guilty, it is probable that punishment will be severe, as a lesson against hoodlumism. [...]

There is every reason to believe that the excitement consequent upon the riot on Saturday night is quieting down. The mayor has given assurances that the Orientals will be fully protected, and special police have been sworn in. The Japanese and Chinese are expected to return to work tomorrow morning. Tonight no white men are allowed to enter the streets where the Chinese and Japanese live to prevent any incentive to violence. At 10:30 tonight everything had quieted down in the Oriental quarters, and it is evident that the demonstration against them is at an end. The police were fully prepared to stem any outbreak that might have occurred, mounted men being ready and special men sworn in, but these were not necessary. A number of arrests were made tonight, the most important being Chinese special police. The Chinese had a number of specials out, these being numbered 17 and 18, and when searched at the station were found to have three revolvers, loaded. The Japanese are also armed ready for an attack, but cordons of police are holding back the remnants of the crowd. No further trouble is anticipated tonight, as the crowd, which came down town more out of curiosity than anything else, is dispersing. No attempts at violence have been made, and the arrests were accomplished without any outbreak or unseemly conduct.

#### CONSULAR REPORTS

Ottawa, Sept. 9. – Mr. Nosse, consul-general for Japan, received a message from Consul Morikawa at Vancouver, stating that the mob had damaged 56 Japanese houses at Vancouver, and that he feared a renewal of the disturbances tonight. Consul Nosse called upon Premier Laurier and laid before him the reports received from Vancouver. Every effort will be made to prevent a renewal of the trouble. Asked if any demand had been made for reparation by his government, he said he had no doubt but the good feeling of the Canadian government could be trusted to make good the loss without the formality of a demand by Japan. Mr. Nosse said there had been a good deal of feeling and criticism of the American authorities for not being able to control disorders, and Canada had been admired for the manner in which her laws

were enforced. He regretted that the American practice seemed to have crossed the boundary in the west.

#### ALLEGED CHARMER INCIDENT

The Times last evening printed a long article giving an account of some things that happened at Vancouver Saturday evening and also some things which did not happen. It is marked "Special to the Times," but is identical with what appeared in the Post-Intelligencer of Seattle on Sunday morning. Among other misstatements is the following paragraph:

"Just at the time when festivities were at their height, the steamer Charmer arrived from Victoria with 500 Japanese aboard. They had come across from Yokohama on a trans-Pacific liner and could not have arrived here at a more inopportune moment. The only lucky feature was that the mob was otherwise engaged. But scores of rioters scented the arrival of the brown men and started for the Canadian Pacific wharf, where the new arrivals were debarking. Unceremoniously seven of the Japanese were thrown into the tide. Others dropped their luggage and fled. The men were rescued from the inlet."

This misstatement is made out of whole cloth, as reliable evidence given by reputable Victorians can prove. The Charmer arrived between 7.30 and 8 o'clock Saturday evening, when the procession was just starting and long before there was any trouble. There were probably less than 75 Japanese aboard. They landed without molestation and went quietly up town.

F. W. Bayliss, son of the proprietor of the Queens hotel, and one of the James Bay A. C. four that went over to Vancouver to row, was on the deck when the Charmer came in. Mr. Bayliss said:

"We went down to meet the Charmer to put our boat aboard, and saw her come in. There were from fifty to seventy-five Japanese on her, who landed quietly and without molestation. There was no crowd of any kind on the dock to meet the boat, nor was there the slightest disturbance. The Japanese hung around the dock for a little while, till finally a couple of Japanese agents came down and the whole party went up town. There was no one thrown into the water, nor was there any scuffle or dispute of any kind. Absolutely nothing happened. I was there the whole time and saw everything that took place."

[“NO STATEMENT TO MAKE AT PRESENT”]

London, Sept. 9. – Replying to a telegraphic inquiry as to his views on the anti-Japanese outbreak at Vancouver, Baron Komura<sup>121</sup>, the Japanese ambassador, who is spending a holiday in the country, wired today: "I have no statement to make at present."

The action of the Japanese embassy here, it is understood, will be governed largely by the attitude the Canadian government assumes and whether the latter takes steps to protect the Japanese at Vancouver from a repetition of the incidents and recompense them for their losses.

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<sup>121</sup> Marquess (in 1907, Count) Komura Jotaro (1855 – 1911), who served as Japanese Ambassador to Britain from 1906 to 1908.



## REPORTS WERE EXAGGERATED

Frank Tamlin, who for years was well known in business and political circles in Nelson, but who, after a sojourn in Spokane, has recently located in Vancouver, was seen by a Colonist reporter at the Driard, and said:

“I saw the beginning of the trouble on Saturday evening from the street car,” said Mr. Tamlin. “We were jammed by the crowd and could hardly get through. I saw the governor burnt in effigy, and shortly after a man whom I have been told was an anti-Japanese agitator from Seattle, delivered an inflammatory speech. The crowd was excited and his speech seemed to set things going, for after [he spoke,] the rioting began. I think the newspaper reports have very grossly exaggerated what actually took place. Any talk of mob rule prevailing after the events of Saturday night is nonsense. Several policemen I talked to on Sunday said the trouble had died out altogether, and that if any hoodlums tried to create fresh disturbances they would be very promptly dealt with. They also told me that about seven of the ring leaders had been arrested, [and that] the others were easily managed. I heard several of the more prominent citizens discussing the affair next morning and they expressed the opinion that the leaders of the rioters should be sent to the penitentiary at hard labor. Everything was absolutely normal when I left. I did not visit the Oriental quarters, and it is possible that extra police precautions have been taken there. But in other parts of the city everything is as usual.”

## NO ASSISTANCE NEEDED

Superintendent of Provincial Police Hussey wired to Vancouver yesterday for authentic information on the Japanese riots and received in reply a telegram to the effect that the case was not nearly as serious as the newspaper reports would have it. The Vancouver police department was, it was stated, amply able to cope with any situation that might arise.

## SLIGHT REFLECTION HERE

The trouble at Vancouver had but a slight reflection in this city. Indications present here, however, go to show that the Vancouver outbreak was not a spontaneous affair, but rather organized and well defined.

After midnight Saturday the editorial rooms were called up by “The World,” Vancouver. The question was launched whether the windows of Lieutenant-Governor Dunsmuir’s residence had been broken simultaneously with the burning of his honor in effigy in the Terminal city.

Nothing of the matter, however, could be learned here.

The Chinese colony in the city was decidedly disturbed by the news of the trouble.

All evening long the telephone wires were kept busy as the leaders of opinion communed one with the other. Sunday afternoon a meeting was held, at which it was decided that the Chinese colony was safe in the hands of the city police. The Japanese residents were never in the slightest degree alarmed.

The labor leaders of the city deplore the trouble which has occurred, while with their fellows in Vancouver, they are instant in their demand that the Dominion authorities take action to prevent the influx of Japanese.

### **“Chinese return to work to-morrow”<sup>122</sup> (September 10, 1907)**

The Chinese domestics, gardeners, and the servant class generally, decided at noon to-day that they would return to their respective places of employment to-morrow morning. This decision was reached at a conference of tye Chinese, who have satisfied themselves that all danger of personal violence to their countrymen has passed.

The Chinese have since Saturday night been greatly in fear of violence; indeed, not a few of them claim to have been victims of assault at the hands of rowdies. It has only been with the greatest difficulty that the Chinese have been convinced that they run no risk by leaving Chinatown. It has been explained to the coolie class by the tye Chinese that the better element of the city will see that ample protection is afforded them.

All Chinese employed in restaurants will also return to work to-morrow morning according to the edict issued in Chinatown at noon to-day. Notices calling upon the men to return to their employment will be posted in Chinatown this afternoon.

### **“Hailed with delight”<sup>123</sup> (September 11, 1907)**

The Chinese help in the laundry and kitchen of the Hotel Vancouver resumed work this morning. They exceed sixty in number. Since Sunday night when they went off duty, they have been in retirement in the Chinese quarter.

Their return early this morning was hailed with delight by the management as well as the staff of overworked white waiters, who have been broiling, fuming and sweating over the red-hot cooking ranges for forty-eight hours. In order to keep up the best traditions of the hostelry every white employee worked with a will and practically remained on duty continuously.

The Chinese help, still in fear that the troubles are not over, stipulated with Manager Cummings that they be provided with sleeping accommodation in the hotel. To this proposition Mr. Cummings readily agreed. The Orientals will be provided with beds in the basement until they feel satisfied that they will not be murdered when they return to Chinatown.

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<sup>122</sup> From CHINESE RETURN TO WORK TO-MORROW. (1907, September 10). *The Province*, p. 1.

<sup>123</sup> From CHINESE RETURN TO HOTEL VANCOUVER. (1907, September 11). *The Province*, p. 1.

## “The last embers of the riot”<sup>124</sup> (September 11, 1907)

Vancouver, Sept. 10. – A heavy rain squelched the last embers of the riot tonight, and the sirens resumed their normal condition. The Japanese have all gone back to work, and it is understood that the Chinese will return in the morning. In the meantime many restaurants are tied up for want of domestics.

At a special meeting of the city council held this evening a by-law was passed prohibiting jiu jitsu exhibitions in the city. This is aimed to prevent a match announced to take place in Recreation park on Thursday night before McLagan<sup>125</sup> and the Japanese Kanada. It was felt that this was necessary, as it might lead to further disturbance. Mayor Bethune announced that at the request of Consul Morikawa he had sent a telegram to Colonel Holmes<sup>126</sup>, D. O. C., asking that the militia be placed at their disposal if necessary, and Colonel Holmes had replied that he had instructed Major Boulton<sup>127</sup> in Vancouver to place the Sixth regiment at the disposal of the mayor if necessary. The mayor at the same time expressed the conviction and hope that they would not be needed. The following telegram was sent in reply to a dispatch received from Sir Wilfrid Laurier deprecating injury to Japanese:

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<sup>124</sup> From STORM IN VANCOUVER HELPS TO PRESERVE THE PEACE. (1907, September 11). *The Daily Colonist*, p. 1.

<sup>125</sup> Probably Victor Andrew de Bier Everleigh McLaglen (1886 – 1959), a boxer and actor who would fight Jack Johnson, a heavyweight champion, in Vancouver in 1909. McLaglen started his acting career playing a boxer in 1920's *The Call of the Road*, and won the 1935 Academy Award for Best Actor for his performance in *The Informer*.

<sup>126</sup> Colonel Josiah Greenwood Holmes (1845 – 1928). In 1888, he participated in an action against the Kitsumkalum First Nation of the Skeean River Valley. “Last year an Indian named Kit-Won Cool Jim murdered an Indian doctor at the forks of the Skeena. A posse [...] was sent from this city [Victoria] to arrest the murderer. When they arrived [...] it was discovered that Jim had gone to the mountains to elude the officers. The party consisted of Washburne, Loring, Green, Holmes [no relation to the Colonel], and Parker. [...] On the morning of the 19th June, an Indian brought the news that Jim was in a house at Kitangar. Early in the morning three of the party walked down to the house which was occupied by about 20 Indians. Jim was among the number and was called on to surrender. He made a break for the door and ran towards the bush. Holmes fired a revolver over Jim's head after calling on him to surrender, but he still kept on. Green then raised a Winchester rifle and fired, striking Jim in the back, the bullet going clear through the body. Jim fell and expired in a short time. [...] The specials then returned to Hazelton where they are at present hemmed in by hostile Indians. They have erected bastions of timber and bags of sand and can hold out for a month if the Indians can be prevented from burning the place. [...] About two thousand Indians live on the river and they are all in a high state of excitement. If necessary the local militia will also be forwarded north. Orders were received by the commandant of “C” Battery, Colonel Holmes, to prepare his whole force for service. [...] If fighting occurs all the force will be brought up and serious work may be expected.” IN OPEN REBELLION. (1888, July 18). *The Calgary Weekly Herald*, p. 1. “An expedition against the Skeena Indians sailed from Esquimalt, Vancouver Island, on 16th July, in the Carolina, of the Pacific Squadron, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Holmes, D.A.G. of the district, a distinguished officer of the Canadian Artillery.” THE SKEENA TROUBLES. (1888, November 8). *The Melbourne Age*, p. 13.

<sup>127</sup> F. W. Boulton (1865 – 1933). During his life he worked as a fruit farmer, surveyor, railway engineer and soldier.

“Premier of Canada, Ottawa, Ont. – Telegram of 9th received. Please assure his excellency that disturbance which occasioned so much damage to property, but not to persons, is being kept under control by strong public sentiment. Disturbances were directed against Asiatics generally rather than against Japanese. The offenders, who were apprehended, numbering 20, are now before the courts of justice. (Signed) Alex. Bethune, Mayor.”

The chief of police was authorized to swear in as many specials as he might need.

One more arrest was made today of a man named McClaren, who was conspicuous in the riots on Saturday. In the police court two rioters were committed for trial, and one man was fined \$50 for resisting a policeman. Six Orientals were fined \$10 each for carrying concealed weapons. Tonight a house was burned down on Westminster avenue, and there was a small fire at Hasting’s sawmill. Both were purely accidental, being caused by the high wind driving sparks, and no incendiarism is suspected. The house was a shack at the rear of another, and the damage was not great.

(Associated Press Report)

Vancouver, Sept. 10. – Stringent measures are not relaxed by the police, and mounted men are patrolling the streets tonight. A heavy thunderstorm which swept over the city between seven and eight o’clock did more to keep the crowd at home than anything else. There are comparatively few around town, but cordons of police guard the Oriental quarters, and no white people are allowed in. An apprehensive feeling still prevails, but it is expected that the Chinese will resume their duties in the morning and hotel and restaurant life will be normal.

An instance of how little will arouse excitement was shown this evening when two fire alarms were rung in. It was thought at first that hoodlums were taking advantage of the storm to start further damage, and following the hose wagons was a small crowd, dashing through the rain. It transpired that the wind swept sparks into a sawmill yard, starting a blaze that was soon extinguished. The other alarm was caused by electric wires.

A special meeting of the city council was held privately tonight, discussing the matter generally, particularly reparation. No formal claims are yet filed, but either the city or the government will make full financial amends.

The body of a Chinaman was found dead this morning, who had committed suicide by hanging. It was at first suggested that this was a murder, but investigation showed that his mental condition was impaired, he being old.

Consul Morikawa has asked that the mayor have the militia called out for protection, but his worship declares there is no necessity of this, for since Saturday night no unseemly occurrence has been noted. On Monday night it was stated that an attempt was made to [set] fire [to] the Japanese mission, but as the quarter was strongly guarded the police cannot see how any one could have gone to such a public place without first having been detected. The belief is that the Japanese themselves put the oily waste under the building to arouse suspicion.

In the police court today there was a great array of riot cases, and bowie knives and revolvers formed conspicuous exhibits. Many Orientals were up for carrying concealed offensive weapons, and in cases that were tried the minimum fine of \$10 was imposed, the magistrate holding that they had provocation. That the authorities will not countenance any opposition to law and order was shown in the action of the magistrate in imposing a fine of \$100 on a young man who attempted to pass the police into Chinatown. He said he was intoxicated and did not know what he was doing, but as he was not badly so, the magistrate concluded he knew what he was doing. This is the first case of the whites in which a conclusion has been reached. In one other case a young man charged with rioting was sent up for trial. Other cases are now proceeding.

### **“There is no rioting or drunkenness”<sup>128</sup> (September 11, 1907)**

H. B. Thomson<sup>129</sup>, M. P. P., who returned yesterday from a trip to Vancouver, says that quiet reigned in the Terminal City when he left, though the Japanese were still patrolling the sections where they live. He says that they do not seem alarmed but appear to be quite confident of their ability to take care of themselves. There are a great many Japanese in Vancouver, and many were coming in on every train from Steveston. They spoke of a parade with four thousand Japanese in line, but this was abandoned. Mr. Thomson says there is no rioting or drunkenness among the Japanese, who appear to obey the orders of their head men implicitly. He added:

“One thing amazed me. The effigy of the representative of the crown was carried round the streets in the afternoon and it was publicly announced that it would be burned that evening before the city hall. The civic authorities could not help knowing what was going to happen, but they took no steps to stop it nor to prepare for possible serious consequences. Everybody knows that there is always a gang of hoodlums ready for mischief on such occasions.”

### **“Chinese ask that protection be given”<sup>130</sup> (September 11, 1907)**

Hon. W. J. Bowser, attorney-general, who returned from Vancouver yesterday morning, was waited upon by a delegation of Chinamen representing the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society of this city, which has affiliations in Vancouver.

The delegation, consisting of Lee Mong Kow, Lim Bang, a representative from Vancouver and Mr. Moresby, solicitor of the association, stated that they were in receipt of a request from the Vancouver body that they call upon the provincial authorities, lay the situation in Vancouver before them and request them to take steps to protect the life and property of the Celestials in the Terminal city.

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<sup>128</sup> From JAPANESE ARE NOT IN THE LEAST ALARMED. (1907, September 11). *The Daily Colonist*, p. 7.

<sup>129</sup> Henry Broughton Thomson (1870 – 1939) was MLA for Victoria from 1907 to 1916.

<sup>130</sup> From CHINESE ASK THAT PROTECTION BE GIVEN. (1907, September 11). *The Daily Colonist*, p. 7.

Mr. Bowser informed the delegation that he believed that the police of Vancouver were perfectly [cap]able of keeping any lawless movement in check. The riot of Saturday evening had taken the chief of police by surprise, but he had immediately taken vigorous steps to bring the matter under control. He had on Saturday night, when the mob attempted to visit Chinatown a second time, prevented its so doing, and all day Sunday and Monday he had shown that the Vancouver police were quite able to protect the Asiatic quarter.

The delegation upon these representations of Mr. Bowser expressed themselves perfectly satisfied.

They were particularly anxious to know whether the rioters arrested would be prosecuted. Mr. Bowser informed them that they would be prosecuted at the next assizes.

### **“Conditions are now quite normal”<sup>131</sup> (September 12, 1907)**

Vancouver, Sept. 11. – The steamer Monteagle arrived here this afternoon. All her passengers were landed without trouble, but 103 were held in the detention shed. Mayor Bethune telegraphed to Ottawa asking for the use of the drill hall to lodge them. A subscription has been started, headed by City Solicitor Cowan, who subscribed \$100, to send a carload shipment to Ottawa as a specimen. The subscription list is being readily filled.

All the Chinese cooks and waiters have returned to hotels and restaurants, and now the white cooks and waiters are threatening to strike.

Conditions are now quite normal here.

(Associated Press Report)

Vancouver, Sept. 11. – The quiet which followed the rioting of Saturday night is being disturbed today by the arrival of 900 Hindus, 150 Chinese and 50 Japanese. A large crowd is witnessing the debarkation, but no violence is feared. Their arrival, though, at this time serves to keep alive any smouldering fires against the Orientals, and the tramp steamer Woolwich is due here with three hundred more Japanese.

Today there is no further indication of trouble. Chinese cooks are back to work and life is once more normal in hotels and restaurants.

The following telegram was sent today to Sir Wilfrid Laurier by Mayor Bethune: “Nine hundred Hindus arriving today on steamer Monteagle. Neither accommodation nor employment for them, nor is it possible to house them under sanitary conditions. Shall we house them in drill hall at government expense?”

The suggestion has been made to charter a special train, and send the Hindus across the continent.

The city council decided to keep on mounted and special men until quiet is thoroughly restored, and further will augment the regular force by fifteen men. The opinion was expressed that irresponsible correspondents have been sending out

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<sup>131</sup> From NO FURTHER TROUBLE APPARENT IN VANCOUVER. (1907, September 12). *The Daily Colonist*, p. 1.

distorted and fictitious matter relative to the riot, which had caused a wrong impression. As far as bodily harm is concerned, the whites have suffered almost altogether, no Japanese having been hurt enough to have been mentioned. The Chinese have had more property damaged than the Japanese, but the Japanese have made the most noise through their representatives, having been more excited.

The situation is quiet, though with the landing of more Asiatics today the police are ready to quell any commotion that may result.

The city will oppose any attempt to make it pay damages, holding that as the government is the primary cause in allowing immigration in disregard of repeated protests, it should foot any bills.

#### REPORTED AT OTTAWA

Ottawa, Sept. 11. – There were no developments here today in the Japanese question. Sir Wilfrid Laurier received a telegram from Mayor Bethune, stating that the recent riots were not directed particularly against the Japanese, but against Orientals in general. The mayor reported everything now quiet.

R. G. Macpherson, M. P., this afternoon sent a telegram to his constituents, in which he endeavored to allay the condition of unrest prevalent in the city. He told the people of Vancouver that no good would be done by rioting. It was important that nothing should be done which would further excite public opinion. The federal government was in negotiations with the Japanese government and he was confident that a satisfactory solution of the problem would be reached if good counsels prevailed and there was no further disturbance.

#### THE NEWS IN JAPAN

Tokio, Sept. 11. – The publication of extended accounts concerning the trouble at Vancouver has not developed any further criticism by the press. The public accepts the outbreak as the action of irresponsible who must be punished.

The Hochi, which was the most outspoken newspaper here regarding the recent Japanese difficulty in San Francisco, in an editorial this morning says: “The trouble in Vancouver appears to be over and was confined to one city. Japan can safely leave her interests in the hands of Premier Laurier, who has always been friendly. There is no reason why the people should feel uneasy over the outcome.” The Hochi is considered to be a representative of popular sentiment.

### **From Hawaii’s Japanese press<sup>132</sup> (September 13, 1907)**

The comments of the local Japanese papers upon the Vancouver riot vary according to their colors. The Daily Chronicle says:

#### AN EMIGRATION BACKER

“The trouble in Vancouver is well nigh ‘a drop in the ocean,’ in its degree of seriousness, compared with that of San Francisco. In the present trouble a prompt adjustment of the situation is promised us by the British Government, and we may

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<sup>132</sup> From LOCAL JAPANESE PRESS OPINION. (1907, September 13). *The Honolulu Advertiser*, p. 6.

rely upon the promise of our ally for a responsible solution of the trouble, which is neither so deeply rooted nor well organized as was the case in California.

“A certain vernacular paper entertains a pessimistic view on the situation and tries to find the cause of the trouble in the emigration of our countrymen from Hawaii, thereby trying to justify Consul Morikawa in his attempt to check the emigration tide of the Japanese laborers. We cannot agree with the sycophants who always bow low to consuls and foreigners. In our free and independent opinion, we think Consul Morikawa has been sending all kinds of false and exaggerated reports merely to misguide us; else, ere this, we would have heard of starving Japanese beggars among the passengers of the Kumeric and the Indiana. As the situation stands at present, we do not see any grave difficulty either in the settlement of the present trouble or in the way of future emigration.”

#### CAUSED FROM HAWAII

The Hawaii Shinpo believes that “the direct cause of the trouble is in the Kumeric immigrants, who brought about a general anti-Japanese feeling on the Pacific Coast,” and goes on to say: “We are rather inclined to believe that the present trouble was prompted by the American unionists, who are proud of their recent successes in California, and that they took the chance of Mr. Ishii’s visit for the manifestation of their feeling toward Japanese laborers.”

#### A HEADSTRONG VIEW

The Nippu Jiji regrets the occurrence, but it believes that “the trouble was brewed up at the instigation of the American labor unionists,” and does not think that “the cordial relations of the allies would suffer on account of the present trouble.” However, Jiji is offended at the Jiyu Shimbun, which is of the opinion that “as long as Japan’s fundamental policy – that of sound industrial expansion – is not hindered, a reasonable restriction should be put on the number of its coolie immigrants, and the emigration of Japanese from Hawaii ought to be stopped, in order to avoid any further friction with friendly powers.” The Nippu compares this opinion with a theory of a man giving up his property to another because he had to surrender on other occasions.

#### THOSE TO BLAME

The Jiyu Shimbun retaliates against the Nippu’s attack and says: “We have no doubt that the Dominion Government will prevent the recurrence of the riot, that the damages may be paid, and that the apology may be announced, but will they salve all causes of trouble? We say no, in spite of the shortsightedness of Jiji, which is foolhardy enough to believe that the immigration must be pushed to its goal because there is nothing in the treaty stipulation to prevent it. We have warned against unrestricted exodus of Japanese from here because we believed that there was nothing more detrimental to our general interest – in that it counteracts the policy of our government. We are sorry that we are made prophets in regard to the Kumeric exodus, but will venture to prophesy again that, until the emigration of our countrymen is made to accord with the regulation of our government, the trouble will never cease; therefore, the new understanding between Ottawa and Tokio shall be in the form of restriction, much to our regret. But who are to be blamed?”



## Hawaii and the Gotoh-Bowser Affair

### “Canada’s Treaty with Japan”<sup>133</sup> (January 29, 1907)

Canada has now brought herself within the scope of the treaty known as the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, made by the Imperial government in 1894-1895. That treaty provided that it should apply to both empires, with the exception of certain countries specified. Canada was one of the countries so excepted. The House of Commons at Ottawa, however, ratified the treaty a few days ago, the most favored nation clause being inserted.

The first clause of the treaty reads:

“The subjects of each of the two high contracting parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the dominions and possessions of the other contracting party, and shall enjoy full and perfect protection for their persons and property.”

Considerable exception is taken by British Columbia members to this clause, and Mr. J. B. Kennedy<sup>134</sup>, M. P. for Westminister, entered a strong protest. In his speech against this clause he said:

“People in the east have a very limited idea of the class of people sent to British Columbia from China, Japan and India. Those specimens of Japanese and Chinese who are seen on the streets of our eastern cities down here are not the kind we complain of. They come here in their individual capacities, as independent individuals, able to transact their own business, whereas the hordes of Japanese and Chinese who pour into British Columbia are brought there more as slaves than anything else. They are brought out by other parties, and are not able to transact business for themselves. If any man employing a large number of laborers, such as a railway contractor or a factory owner, wants a lot of these men, he does not go and pick them up individually or send his foreman to do it, but he goes to some Chinese or Japanese boss, and engages at a certain wage the number of men he requires. He does not pay the men individually, but pays the boss, and he does not know what wages the men get, or whether they get any wages at all. That is a species of slavery which should not be tolerated in a country like Canada, which makes the proud boast that slavery never had a hold within her borders.”

Whilst it is true that there is a great objection amongst Anglo-Saxons to the employment of Asiatics, we must remember that very few Japanese have been coming to this country of late years. Japan being the ally of Great Britain, we cannot treat the Japanese as the Chinese have been treated in British Columbia. The Japanese government itself has restricted the immigration of their own people. Practically no immigration is permitted at the present time from Japan, so that the abuses spoken of are lessening.

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<sup>133</sup> From CANADA’S TREATY WITH JAPAN. (1907, January 29). *The Calgary Herald*, p. 2.

<sup>134</sup> James Buckham Kennedy (1844 – 1930) was M.P. for Westminister from 1904 to 1908.

The general tendency of Canada is to improve trade relations with the Orient. A revolution has taken place in Japan, and it is no longer a country of Asiatic civilization, but is fast becoming a European country. Our trade with Japan is improving, and can be increased amazingly in the future.

If we are to trade with Japan, we must recognize that it is a civilized nation, and a friend of the empire.

The government is being asked to build terminal elevators at the coast for the better handling of grain crops from Alberta and other western provinces whose natural outlet is in the direction of the Orient.

Conditions today are different to what they were, and the east is a natural market for Canadian exports; in fact, there is an increasing tendency for more intimate relationship between western and eastern nations.

Our British Columbia friends will have to take a wider view of the question.

### **“Fifty thousand Japanese”<sup>135</sup> (February 1, 1907)**

Arrangements have been virtually completed for the coming to British Columbia of fifty thousand Japanese to build the western end of the Grand Trunk Pacific railway.

Confirmation of this astonishing piece of news was had in Vancouver to-day. All the details of the scheme have been obtained, and the biggest sensation of the campaign is public property this afternoon.

Announcement of the details of the project for an Oriental invasion of British Columbia explains the alliance of the Grand Trunk Pacific with the McInnes-Liberal party, and the hostility of the railway company and its friends to the Conservatives led by Hon. Richard McBride.

With money pouring into Vancouver and all British Columbia, in fact, from the coffers of the Grand Trunk Pacific, with a lavishness and recklessness never heretofore known in any provincial election in British Columbia. Those who concern themselves with the motives that lie behind the actions of great corporations, have been forced to the conclusion that more than the mere desire to get hold of the Indian Reserves and other public lands in the province, and escape the incidence of taxation, lay behind the Railway Company’s unparalleled generosity. They felt this, and they were right, as the facts now available show.

It is a matter of history – notorious, but true – that the Grand Trunk Pacific, for some unexplained reason, has delayed fulfilling its promise of commencing construction on the Pacific Coast. Every one is also aware that year after year, session after session, the McBride government has introduced and passed legislation virtually prohibiting the entry into this country of Oriental labor. This legislation has been as often disallowed by the Liberal administration at Ottawa. Consequently it

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<sup>135</sup> From FIFTY THOUSAND JAPANESE FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA. (1907, February 1). *The Province*, p. 1.

was perfectly obvious to any intending large employer of Oriental labor that as long as McBride was in power he would be a thorn in the flesh.

McBride must be deposed. The Grand Trunk Pacific had decided not to employ one more white man than it could possibly help, in fact to perform the whole work with Oriental labor. But McBride, with his anti-Mongolian legislation, stood in its way, and they consequently decided to delay construction until he was rendered harmless.

When the elections were brought on pressure was at once brought to bear upon the Liberal party here by the company's foster parents in Ottawa – the Laurier administration – to come to an understanding with the G. T. Pacific on this subject, with the result that a hard and fast agreement signed, sealed and delivered has been entered into by which the parties of the first part (the British Columbia Liberals) covenant and agree not to [pass any] anti-Mongolian legislation, if victorious, while the parties of the second part (the company) bound themselves to furnish all necessary campaign funds, and to buy the Guardian newspaper from Joe Martin and turn it into a Liberal organ, which was done on the first of the year at a price of fifteen thousand dollars. So cock-sure is the company, of the so-called Liberals winning, that arrangements are now being perfected to flood the country with Japanese coolie labor, in the spring, to an extent undreamed of. And this is how it is being done:

There is a company carrying on business, here and in Victoria, called the United Supply & Contracting Company, Limited. This concern is in reality the Grand Trunk Pacific, under another name. Its manager is Mr. E. G. Russell<sup>136</sup>, who is, also, the confidential agent for the Grand Trunk Pacific on the coast, and its stockholders are said to be the members of the local Liberal machine. This supply company has, it is understood, entered into an arrangement with a Vancouver Japanese employment man named Gotoh, to furnish, through one of the largest labor firms in Tokyo, Japan (a firm with £45,000 capitalization), at least fifty thousand coolie Japs during this year, and more later. Mr. E. G. Russell, accompanied by Gotoh, was up at Prince Rupert a short time ago, to enable Gotoh to look over the ground and examine into conditions, so that he could report favorably to the Japanese Government, which exercises a paternal care over all emigrants. Gotoh is now in Japan making all necessary arrangements with the Government and the Tokyo firm, for the furnishing and transportation of this army of coolies to British Columbia. Every difficulty has been anticipated, in [fact], Mr. E.G. Russell recently stated that it has cost the company, up to date, over fifteen thousand dollars in expenses, perfecting the scheme.

It may be asked, how can the Alien Act be circumvented? The plan is this: The Grand Trunk Pacific will nominally have nothing to do with the bringing of the labor here. The United Supply company (its creature) will land the coolies at Prince Rupert, under a secret agreement, with the Tokyo firm, as to wages, etc., and arrange to erect huge barracks for their accommodation. The Grand Trunk Pacific emissaries can then appear on the scene and innocently hire them just as they would engage any other residents there.

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<sup>136</sup> Edwin G. Russell took his own life in April, 1907.

But the worst feature of this plot is the statement made on the authority of Mr. Russell that these coolie Japs are not to be sent back to Japan after the railway is completed, but are to be settled by the Railway Company all along the line, so that they can do the rough operating work of the system. As a consequence the workingmen of Canada, who are helping with their money to build this railroad, will derive no benefit from its construction, nor even in its operation after it is built.

These are the facts. This conspiracy, or plot, or whatever you like to call it, is made possible by the expectation that the workingmen of British Columbia will vote for and place in power one of the parties to it, the so-called Liberal-Grand Trunk combination.

The presence of all these Japanese will open up other large questions. Who knows but what the intention of the Railway Company and its political followers to eventually enfranchise this Japanese horde? What a fine plan to run British Columbia could be carried out with fifty or sixty thousand machine votes!

### **“Provincial rights invaded”<sup>137</sup> (February 2, 1907)**

The Liberal party has not only refused British Columbia better terms, it has invaded provincial rights. Almost as soon as Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into power, his government commenced the wholesale disallowance of acts passed by the provincial legislature.

*And they were all directed against this province exercising its undoubted power of prohibiting the employment of Orientals under certain circumstances.*<sup>138</sup>

The Dominion Minister of Justice recommended, in 1898, the disallowance of no less than 19 bills incorporating railway and similar companies, solely on the ground that they contained this section:

“No Chinese or Japanese person shall be employed in the construction or operation of the undertaking hereby authorized, under a penalty of \$5 per day for each and every Chinese or Japanese person employed in contravention of this section, to be recovered on complaint of any person under the provisions of the Summary Convictions Act.”

This was deemed even too much by the Liberal government, and the only thing it dared to do was to “earnestly recommend” that these sections be repealed. Needless to say, the suggestion was received with scorn.

But the provincial government, at the same session, attempted once and for all to secure that only white men should be employed by companies operating under franchises granted by way of private bills. The Labor Regulation Act was passed, containing a similar clause to the one quoted above. An amendment to the “tramway Incorporation Act” was also passed.

*Both these were disallowed not because the province had no right to pass them, but for what Laurier and his colleagues called “public policy.”*

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<sup>137</sup> From PROVINCIAL RIGHTS INVADED FROM OTTAWA. (1907, February 2). *The Victoria Daily Colonist*, p. 11.

<sup>138</sup> Emphasis in the original.

In 1899 another “earnest recommendation” was sent by the Laurier government, asking that a provision in the Liquor License Act prohibiting the granting of liquor licenses to Chinese and Japs be repealed. This received as scant consideration as the previous one.

*Nevertheless, it was an attempt by the Laurier government to invade provincial rights on behalf of Orientals.*

The provincial authorities, seeing that there was no hope to secure Ottawa approval to legislation limiting the influx of Japanese and other undesirable aliens, if they were mentioned by name, sought some other way to make British Columbia a white man’s country as far as possible.

To Hon. R. G. Tatlow belongs the honor of first introducing what is known as the Natal Act. It was passed and permitted to operate in the colony mentioned. The most important provision is that no immigrant can land unless he can read the act in a language of Europe and write at least fifty words in such language as dictated by the immigration officer. The government deemed such an important measure should receive official endorsement, and accordingly Hon. Richard McBride, then minister of mines, was placed in charge of the bill as a government measure. It passed the House unanimously, but it was promptly disallowed.

Amazed at the effrontery of the Laurier government, the legislature passed the bill again unanimously in 1902. It was again disallowed.

In 1904 the Conservative government introduced it for the third time. It met the same fate.

No reason except “public policy” was given for the disallowance. The British Empire is usually thought equally free in all parts, but, at the behest of the Liberal party, British Columbia was refused the same privileges as Natal.

*The Liberal party said to British Columbia: “Natal is running its own affairs, but we can dominate you.” It three times disallowed the Natal Act.*

The same course was followed with regard to the employment of Orientals and other undesirable aliens on works carried on by the authority of private acts of the legislature. The Labor Regulation Act was, in 1900, amended to fall in line with the Natal Act, and passed the legislature without a dissenting voice. But it was disallowed. It was passed again in 1902, and again disallowed.

*The Liberal government said: “You MUST employ Chinese, MUST employ Japanese on the railroads of British Columbia.”*

In 1902 another act, this time intended for the protection of human life, was passed. It was an amendment to rule 34 of section 82 of the Coal Mines Regulation Act. This section has been in force for many years, and prohibits the employment of Chinese as banksmen, onsetters, signalmen and in other responsible positions in coal mines. Not the slightest objection was made by the then Conservative government to the prohibition of Chinese, and there were no Japs in the province.

All the 1902 proposed was to add Japanese to the excluded list. The amendment was disallowed.

*The Liberal party said to the province: “We compel you to employ Japs as onsetters, bankmen and signalmen in the coal mines of British Columbia.”*

These facts, gleaned from the sessional papers of the past few years, show the friendliness of the Ottawa government to the Chinese and Japs, and its antagonism to British Columbia.

### **“Infinite trouble had arisen”<sup>139</sup> (February 2, 1907)**

**A speech by W. J. Bowser was summarized by the Colonist, in part, as follows.**

The [Grand Trunk Pacific] railway was a creature of and created by the government at Ottawa. Infinite trouble had arisen from the employment of Oriental labor on the C. P. R.; and yet, blind to the interests of the province, the authorities at Ottawa had refused to put any clause in the contract with the railway company forbidding the employment of Japanese or Chinese laborers. What was more, the province was actually booked for a repetition of the old trouble. Mr. Bowser stated, and stated upon absolutely authoritative grounds, that a company, the United Construction and Supply Company, had already been organized, and had let a contract to a Japanese labor agent, Gotoh, of Vancouver, for the bringing of 50,000 [sic.] Japanese laborers to the country to work on the G. T. P. Already the contract had been let, and Gotoh was even now in Japan arranging for the shipment of the 50,000 coolies.

### **The Natal test as a barrier to immigration<sup>140</sup> (March 25, 1907)**

Victoria, March 25. – (Special.) – Formal notice was given to the House by Mr. W. J. Bowser to-day of his intention to ask leave to introduce on Tuesday an act which will aim at the exclusion of the cheap foreign labor for the Grand Trunk Pacific, including Mr. Goto and his fifty thousand Japanese.

This will be done by applying the educational test as in the Natal Act<sup>141</sup>. Mr. Bowser, however, intends in his bill to go further than any previous legislation has thus far gone, even if the previous provincial acts have been disallowed by the federal Government, which is quite likely to be the fate of this.

In the Grand Trunk Pacific contract, as it is well known, there is no restriction whatever as to the class of labor that company may employ. It may have the cheapest and most undesirable class of Asiatics. And it is against this class that Mr. Bowser’s bill is aimed.

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<sup>139</sup> From CONSERVATIVE TRIUMPH ON EVE OF ELECTION. (1907, February 2). *The Victoria Daily Colonist*, p. 2.

<sup>140</sup> From WOULD DEBAR JAPS FROM RAILWAY WORK. (1907, March 25). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

<sup>141</sup> “In that act the educational test is applied and no person is able to come into the country who is not able to write in one of the European languages.” CAPITAL GOSSIP. (1900, February 22). *The Windsor Evening Record*, p. 2.

## “A habit in British Columbia”<sup>142</sup> (April 10, 1907)

There has been introduced into the Legislature of British Columbia by Mr. W. J. Bowser a bill to restrict the entry into the province of alien immigrants. The lines followed are those which the Legislature of Natal laid down for the purpose of keeping Asiatics out of the colony. The principal clause reads:

“The immigration into British Columbia of any person who, when asked to do so by the officer appointed under this act, shall fail himself to write out and sign, in the English language, an application to the provincial secretary of the province of British Columbia, to the effect of the form set out in schedule ‘B’ to this act annexed, as well as read in English any test submitted to him by the officer appointed under this act, shall be unlawful.”

It is further provided that an immigrant making his way into or being found in British Columbia in contravention of the provisions of the bill shall not be entitled to a license to carry on any trade or calling that is subject to the legislative authority of British Columbia, nor shall he be entitled to acquire and hold land, or to any of the rights or privileges of a free miner, or to [acquire] a free miner’s certificate, or to exercise the franchise, and any license or franchise right which may have been acquired in contravention of the bill shall be void.

Generally these drastic suggestions are on the line of a law passed in the colony of Natal for the purpose of keeping Asiatics out of the coal mines. The enactment of such legislation has become a habit in British Columbia, as the disallowance of it may be said to be a habit at Ottawa. It is not known what chance there is of the present bill being passed. There is none of its being allowed to go into operation. The immigration of aliens is a matter that Parliament naturally regulates for the whole country. Those who are permitted to pass the frontier must in the general interest be legally maintained in all the civil rights that belong to the people of the country. Domestic considerations as well as considerations of wider scope suggest that this must be the rule. There are also special reasons which will compel the Government of Canada to refuse to allow such a bill to go into effect, even if the whole Legislature of British Columbia approves of it. The Treaty with Japan, to which Parliament gave its approval during the present session, is more than a trade reciprocity arrangement. It stipulates that the subjects of each contracting country shall have full liberty to enter, travel, reside in and pursue their callings in the territories of the other as the people of the country itself. This provision, made the law of Canada by an act of Parliament, would presumably, on appeal to the courts by a Japanese, be sustained, even if the British Columbia act should not be disallowed. There can be no good purpose, therefore, in such a measure and the British Columbian Legislature would show its good sense by not considering it seriously.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> From PROVINCES AND IMMIGRANTS. (1907, April 10). *The Montreal Gazette*, p. 6.

<sup>143</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Dunsmuir refused to give his assent to the bill. Journalist and politician William Templeman (1842 – 1914), in an interview on the matter, said: “In an official letter of the 29th of April stated his reasons for withholding his assent, the grounds being that the act was a modified form of other acts dealing with the same subject which had already been disallowed, and also because

### **The Kumeric prepares to sail<sup>144</sup> (June 13, 1907)**

The S. S. Kumeric is expected to sail from Honolulu to Vancouver with 2,000 Japanese on June 20.

Charles Chillingworth, promoting the exodus by this boat, the charter of which has already been arranged by cable, will take passage in the Kumeric and will go to Quebec to meet certain interests desiring the Oriental labor.

Fifteen hundred Japanese have already signified their desire to take passage in the Kumeric, and it is expected that the number will reach the capacity of the British steamship before she is ready to sail.

### **The trouble with show money<sup>145</sup> (July 9, 1907)**

According to some of the Japanese hotelkeepers, an action will be brought against the charterers of the S. S. Kumeric this morning unless a sum amounting to something over five thousand dollars is paid over forthwith, this being the amount alleged to be in the hands of Moriyama, who signed the charter, and Charles F. Chillingworth<sup>146</sup>, his attorney, payment for passages to Vancouver on the Kumeric which can not be given and money deposited as “show money” to get the Japanese passed by the immigration officials at Vancouver. An attempt was made last night to get a lawyer to take up the case, the idea of the Japanese being to libel the steamer if possible and hold her here until the coin was forthcoming, but nothing definite was done. Attorney General Peters was appealed to and arranged a meeting with the interested hotelkeepers for this morning.

Hamamura, the proprietor of the Ebisuya hotel, is leading in this latest movement against the already delayed immigration steamer, his story being that he is being held responsible for money by certain of the Japanese who have been rejected for one reason or another, their passage having been paid by him from funds with which he had been entrusted. To protect himself, he feels that a suit will have to be brought before the Kumeric gets away with his coin. According to him, two hundred and fifty Japanese who have been rejected because of disease or because the accommodations of the vessel would not permit of their being taken aboard, and who have each paid thirty-six dollars for their tickets, have not yet been paid back their money. Every demand made upon Moriyama during the past three days has been met with the answer that Chillingworth is the attorney who is handling the matter and

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were it to become law it would seriously affect international relations.” NATAL ACT WAS KILLED BY MCBRIDE. (1907, September 9). *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1

<sup>144</sup> From Many Japs Going. (1907, June 13). *Hawaii Herald*, p. 6.

<sup>145</sup> From JAPANESE THREATEN TO MAKE TROUBLE FOR THE KUMERIC. (1907, July 9). *The Honolulu Advertiser*, p. 1.

<sup>146</sup> Charles Frederick Chillingworth Sr. (1877 – 1967) served as president of Hawaii’s territorial Senate from 1915 to 1922.



to whom all such applications will have to be made. When demands are made upon Chillingworth the Japanese are told to wait, that he is too busy to attend the matter now but will do so before he leaves Hawaii. As the question of the sailing of the Kumeric is now only one of hours, these Japanese are growing anxious.

“I am a friend of Chillingworth,” said Hamamura last night, “and I am not trying to work against him in this matter, but these Japanese are in great trouble. They have been refused passage on the Kumeric, after having waited around town for many days and spending their money. Now they want to get back to the plantations but they can not get their money. For myself, I do not believe that Chillingworth intends to pay back that money before he goes. I think that this nine thousand dollars is part of the money he has had to put up to make up the fund the immigrants have to have as show money.

“You know that each of the Japanese have to have twenty-five dollars to show before they are allowed to land at Vancouver. Well, those who had that much turned it in to Chillingworth, and those who did not have that much turned over to him what they had. Here are some of the receipts for this show money,” and Hamamura displayed a stack of receipts, signed by Chillingworth, some for five dollars, some for six and other small amounts.

“The difference between these amounts and the twenty-five was made up by Chillingworth,” continued the hotelkeeper, “and that is why he can not pay the men back their money. Five of these men are staying here, and the rest of them are scattered among the other hotels. Three of us hotel-keepers are going to bring the suit if he doesn’t pay this money the first thing in the morning.

“These men want to get back to the plantations. They can not get away on the French steamer because they have not the money. If they get back what they have paid in to Chillingworth, they will not have enough, because they have to have forty-one dollars for the passage and twenty-five as show money. It is not because I want to ship them by the French steamer that I am trying to get their money back, but because the men are holding the hotel-keepers responsible and we have to protect them and ourselves.

“I wish you would put the whole thing in your paper, because the Japanese are in great trouble,” said Hamamura in conclusion.

#### CHILLINGWORTH’S SIDE OF IT

Attorney Chillingworth tells another story of the trouble altogether. His claim is that there are about 300 Japanese entitled to a drawback of thirty-one dollars apiece, the advance money they paid in to Moriyama on their tickets.

“I could pay all Hamamura’s bunch the whole thing tonight if I wanted to, but he is trying to make as much trouble for Moriyama as he can, and I am not going to trouble myself to help him. The whole secret of the matter is that some of the hotel-keepers are jealous of Moriyama and are trying to get some of his passengers away from him to send by the French steamer. I have room now for twenty-three more, and very possibly if these fellows can pass the medical examination I will take them along tomorrow. Since the stowaways have been landed, we have taken on over sixty more Japanese than we had counted on. At any rate, whatever action these people have is

against Moriyama personally, not against the Kumeric owners or the agents, T. H. Davies & Co., so whatever they do will not tie up the steamer.

“This Hamamura and two other hotel keepers are the only ones making any trouble. The rejected men are all right and know that they will get their money back all right. I have told them that I will commence paying them tomorrow morning, just as soon as the banks open, and if you come around at half-past nine you will see them getting their money. It has been impossible for us to start any paying sooner, for we have had to check over our lists, find out how many had been rejected and where they were staying. I have been perfectly fair with all those with whom I have been dealing. It would have been foolish of me to have been anything else, for I am going to bring more steamers back here and I could not afford to be anything but fair, even if I wanted to be anything else.

“I have just come back from a meeting of the Japanese hotelkeepers’ union and all the members, with the exception of the three kickers, express satisfaction with everything that I have done in the whole matter from start to finish.” [...]

In spite of the many extras coming out of the fund of those back of the Kumeric venture, including the fee of a dollar a head charged for the medical examination of the Japanese immigrants, the lengthy cable bills and the other incidental expenses, it was stated at Chillingworth’s office last night that the vessel will get away with the charterers fourteen thousand dollars ahead of the game.

### **“There is a Joker in the deal”<sup>147</sup> (July 9, 1907)**

According to statements made by responsible Japanese who are in a position to know, there is a joker in the deal by which many of the Japanese who are taking passage by the Kumeric put up the \$25 which they will be required to show to the Canadian immigration authorities.

Many of the Japanese, it is claimed, were unable to put up the \$25. For these it was arranged that by paying \$4 for the accommodation, it was put up for them, to be taken down again as soon as they are landed on Canadian soil.

As the Kumeric is expected to take only nine days to get to Vancouver, and the landing of her passengers is expected to take place within a short time thereafter, \$4 is considered very tidy usury by those who say that this is the arrangement in many cases.

### **“It will not be allowed”<sup>148</sup> (July 9, 1907)**

The \$25 head tax which the British Columbia legislature is putting on all Japanese entering British Columbia will not remain in force long. It will not be allowed. The Dominion government will veto it, or at least will disallow it, as on former occasions.

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<sup>147</sup> From A JOKER FOR THE CANADIANS. (1907, July 9). *The Honolulu Advertiser*, p. 1.

<sup>148</sup> From NO JAPANESE HEAD TAX. (1907, July 9). *The New Orleans Times-Democrat*, p. 1.

Head tax imposition can only be by statute, and at present the Chinese are the only people discriminated against. The terms of the British-Japanese treaty forbid the imposition. Besides, the Grand Trunk Pacific officials need the Japanese to rush work on their railway, or it will not be finished within the contract time.

Up till the present the Japanese immigration to Canada has been small, apparently seventy-five or eighty a month, but it is expected that it will be much larger.

### **“The chartering of the Indiana”<sup>149</sup> (July 17, 1907)**

A steamer to carry eight hundred Japanese laborers to Vancouver is due to arrive here on the 26th from San Francisco. She will remain in the harbor for three days, being scheduled to sail for the north on the 29th. This steamer is the Indiana, a sister ship to the S. S. Ohio, which brought the Los Angeles excursion here and which is now piled up on the rocks of Alaska.

Fred Makino, druggist, is the nominal charterer of the vessel and the leader of the new movement, his attorneys being the new firm of Gear & Harrison. Mr. Makino expects to carry through this venture without any of the trouble experienced by the charterers of the S. S. Kumeric, and has made it clear in the advertisements which appeared in all of the Japanese papers but one yesterday that he is not trying to take away any of the laborers from the plantations, being in the field for only those Japanese who have come here with the express purpose of sailing for Canada at the first opportunity.

In the first place the Indiana is coming here expressly for the purpose of taking away these Japanese. She is of American register and comes down in ballast, so that there will be no delay in quarantine, inspection or customs. Her sole work here will be to take on the Japanese outgoers as soon as possible and clear out. [...]

The fare to be charged for a passage on the Indiana will be \$36, and the charterer has announced that he will take only those who actually have the \$25 necessary to produce when called upon by the immigration authorities at Vancouver.

#### **NOT A NEW MOVEMENT**

The chartering of the Indiana is not a sudden move on the part of Makino and his backers. This hui is distinct from the hui back of the Kumeric charter and was, as a matter of fact, the first in the field. At the time the Ohio was here with the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce excursion, negotiations were entered into with her captain, raising a storm of indignation at the time and getting the Promotion Committee busy, as it would have marred the success of the efforts of the committee in getting the excursion if the result was to be the carrying away of laborers. At any rate, the negotiations with the captain fell through, the captain referring Makino and the late Judge Gear, the attorney of the hui, to the owners.

There was a certain amount of cabling done, the owners at last consenting to send the Ohio back here for two trips, the first to cost the hui eighteen thousand

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<sup>149</sup> From INDIANA NEXT JAPANESE BOAT. (1907, July 17). *The Honolulu Advertiser*, p. 1.

dollars and the second trip to be made for fifteen thousand, the difference in the figures being the cost of putting in bunks and rearranging the vessel to carry the hundreds of Japanese. These negotiations were about to be closed when the sudden death of Judge Gear left the members of the hui without the adviser to whom they were looking, and the matter was dropped for the time being, the Ohio meanwhile going to Alaska and coming to grief.

Makino is emphatic in his declaration that there is nothing in his scheme to work to the detriment of the plantations. He stated last night that he had sent no runners to the country to drum up trade, and did not intend to do so. The ones he expects to ship on the Indiana are those who come here with the express purpose of going to Canada, and who made Hawaii the first step on account of the difficulty in getting passports from their government to go to Canada direct.

He expects no trouble in landing his men at Vancouver, expressing at the same time the opinion that the Kumeric Japanese will have no trouble in getting ashore, despite whatever reports may have been sent from here regarding the show money. To support his views he refers to the fact that certificates of deposit were accepted here by the immigration officers from incoming Japanese when it was known publicly that the certificates were being given out without other funds than a deposit fee being at the credit of the holder in the bank. To meet these certificates the Japanese here deposited \$2.50 a month out of their wages from the plantations.

Makino states that he is in receipt of many letters from the prominent Japanese in Canada and knows the conditions there thoroughly. He further is of the opinion that the getting of these Japanese out of the Territory is the best thing that can happen to the planters, because the ones who do not intend to stay here are causing discontent among those who otherwise would be satisfied.

#### THE KUMERIC SETTLEMENT

In regard to the settlement made with the rejected passengers of the Kumeric, three hundred of them being left behind here, it was stated yesterday that the settlement consisted in them receiving one-half of the advanced fare money, a note for the other half and none of the money deposited as show money. The payment of the note and the repayment of the show money are to be made as soon as the money locked up in the pot to get the emigrants landed is released.

To see that this money comes back to its owners here, the Japanese hotel union has sent a man with the Kumeric. [...]

#### INDIANA MAY MAKE TWO TRIPS

Makino did not know last night whether the first trip of the Indiana would be the last one or not. He has an option on her for a second trip if necessary, but thinks that he can clean up all the Canadian bound Japanese at once. According to him, nearly twenty per cent of the incoming Japanese are coming here with no intention of staying, but the number of arrivals of all kinds will be small for some time, he thinks. All the arriving Japanese know before leaving Japan what the wage scale is. They know that the Japanese receive to start with eighteen dollars a month, while the Spanish and Portuguese laborers get twenty-two, but they also know that the Japanese can save more and draw more in overtime than the white laborer. It is not

the difference in the wage scale that is driving out any Japanese, but simply the fact that some are not prepared to stay here and came here with the intention of not staying.

### Arrival of the Kumeric<sup>150</sup> (July 25, 1907)

Steaming direct from Honolulu, with one stop at the William Head quarantine station, the British tramp steamer Kumeric entered Burrard Inlet early this morning and dropped anchor in the harbor half a mile from the shore.

Her sole cargo consists of one thousand one hundred and seventy-seven Japanese coolies employed until a few weeks ago on the sugar plantations of the Hawaiian Islands.

It is said that the immigrants, whose exclusion from the United States was decreed by President Roosevelt's executive order of last April<sup>151</sup> – affecting as it does Japanese from Hawaii – form the advance guard of a host soon to locate in British Columbia. There is speculation and uncertainty as to who are the real parties behind this significant movement.

There was some delay in the work of examining the new arrivals. Dr. Monro<sup>152</sup>, the Dominion immigration inspector, did not go on board until 1:30 this afternoon, and his task will probably keep him busy all day, as the law requires that every individual seeking examination shall pass the most rigorous medical and physical tests. It was suggested around town this morning that the delay in inspecting the human cargo was due to an intimation from the politicians that fresh instructions covering the present situation would be wired from Ottawa.

#### NO SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

At all events, no word was received. "I have received no special instructions from the federal Government," said Dr. Monro to the Province this afternoon. It is intimated that very few of the Japanese on board the Kumeric will be deported, because the parties responsible for shipping them here exercised special care in sending only men who would be almost certain to pass the official examination. Moreover, it is stated that a Japanese named Morizama came over on the same vessel to see the 'goods' were safely delivered. He is a hotelkeeper in Honolulu, and is credited with being the representative of the real men behind the movement – the Japanese Hotelkeepers' Union of Honolulu.

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<sup>150</sup> From DOMINION POLICY IS IN FAVOR OF INFLUX. (1907, July 25). *The Province*, p. 1.

<sup>151</sup> "The Executive order forbidding the admission to [the United States] of Japanese and Coreans [sic.] having passports limited to Mexico, Canada or Hawaii should serve to shut out Japanese labor. It keeps the promise made by President Roosevelt to Mayor Schmitz and the San Francisco Board of Education, in consideration of the agreement to admit Japanese to certain school privileges in that city. The Japanese Government has long refused to grant laborers passports to the United States. Those coming to California have obtained passports to Hawaii, and after a brief stay in the islands have sailed for San Francisco." The Executive order. (1907, March 30). *The Sacramento Bee*, p. 11.

<sup>152</sup> Dr. Alexander S. Monro (1872 – 1932), of Brydone-Jack & Monro, physicians, at 431 Granville. He served as the medical inspector for Vancouver's immigration department from 1906 to 1920.

The Kumeric attracted no little attention as she swung in the stream to-day. Communication with the shore was forbidden. The decks of the steamer literally swarmed with the little brown men. It is said that not a single precaution to insure their landing here has been overlooked. Each coolie will be able to show the authorities \$25 in cash, the minimum amount newcomers must have in their possession as a precaution against them becoming public charges.

#### CONSUL MORIKAWA TALKS

Hon. K. Morikawa, Japanese Consul here, does not regard the Japanese invasion with favor. He expressed himself very freely when addressing the matter with a Province reporter to-day.

“When intimation was first received that there was to be an exodus of Japanese from Hawaii to British Columbia, strong representations were made to the Japanese Imperial Government,” said Mr. Morikawa. “The home authorities agreed with me that the movement was unwise, and instructed me to co-operate with the Japanese Council-General at Honolulu in adopting every measure possible to prevent any of the Japanese laborers from removing to British Columbia. Many cablegrams have been exchanged during the past month in regard to the subject between here, Honolulu and Tokyo. In endeavoring to stem the movement – in fact, to nip it in the bud – we had the active co-operation of the Sugar Planters’ Association of Hawaii.

“Who is behind this movement?” added the Consul, repeating the question. “I am as much in the dark about it as yourself. According to the newspapers, the export of Japanese laborers from Honolulu to this port is being engineered by a white man, aided by certain Japanese boarding house keepers in Hawaii. From first to last I acted in what I considered to be in the best interests of my countrymen. In a cable I sent to Honolulu just before the Kumeric sailed, I intimated the unlikelihood of the newcomers securing employment here. My advice was transmitted to the intending immigrants, but seems to have been completely disregarded. In every step I have taken I am acting with the full knowledge and approval of the Japanese Imperial Government.

“Of course, the individual Japanese away from home, can do as he pleases, and all Japanese Consuls are able to do is to tender good advice.”

“How do you regard the agitation here to exclude Japanese from Canada?” asked the Province.

“Well, I don’t regard it seriously,” replied Mr. Morikawa, speaking slowly and deliberately as though choosing his words. “I cannot imagine that the Dominion Government, in view of the broader issues involved, would ever be guilty of so distinct an act of unfriendliness.”

## “Only eight failed to pass”<sup>153</sup> (July 26, 1907)

Early yesterday afternoon two little boats might have been seen skimming the placid surface of the Inlet to the anchored British tramp steamer Kumeric, with its array of unwelcome invaders.

The first put out from the immigration detention shed with Dr. A. S. Monro and his assistants, armed with serious papers. The second emerged from the shadow of Evans, Coleman & Evans' wharf<sup>154</sup> with men and money, \$30,000 in brand-new Bank of Commerce twenties and fives.

The twelve hundred brownies beamed down over the railing upon both with an expression of calm indifference. Apparently they did not know the difference of either. All seemed to be as happy as if the Kumeric were their own private yacht and they were on a vacation cruise.

“They have been this way since we left Honolulu,” said Capt. Andrew Baird. “I have never seen a merrier crowd, nor a finer lot of oriental immigrants.”

The nineteen hundred and seventy-four men were sitting about the deck smoking, laughing and chatting. All were well dressed, and were remarkably young and vigorous.

### FOUGHT IN WAR WITH RUSSIA

“Four hundred of these fellow fought in the war with Russia, and many of them were in the Port Arthur engagements,” said Dr. John H. Pugh, the ship's surgeon. He agreed with the captain that they were a fine, healthy lot of immigrants.

Upon the appearance of Dr. Monro, most of the nineteen women vanished below deck with their ten children and babes, later appearing bedecked in native silks.

One by one the twelve hundred and three passed down the port side of the ship, where sat Agent-General Moriyama, an interview with whom appears in another column.

Here their names were checked, Moriyama giving to each a ticket which entitled the holder to one Bank of Commerce twenty and one five.

But before the presentation of this the holder was compelled to pass Dr. Monro, who, at the stern of the ship, was assisted in his examination by his office assistant, Mr. Elliott, Mr. Okada of the Sun Ban acting as interpreter, and the ship's surgeon, Dr. Pugh. Dr. Rear had also come over with the party of officials.

### EIGHT FAILED TO PASS

Dr. Monro personally examined each of the twelve hundred and three, scoring a new official record, while his assistants checked the tickets, scanned the passports and the listed name of each.

Only eight failed to pass, and these are to-day in the detention hospital, where they will remain for at least two weeks. Seven have mild cases of trachoma, and the

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<sup>153</sup> From ONLY EIGHT FAILED TO PASS IMMIGRATION OFFICER. (1907, July 26). *The Province*, p. 10.

<sup>154</sup> A merchant and shipping firm started in 1888 by Percy Evans, Ernest Evans and George Coleman. They sold the firm in 1910.

eighth has symptoms of that mysterious ship disease beri beri, or partial or creeping paralysis. From this strange disease one died on the voyage.

Although only two days before all had been examined at William Head quarantine, where their clothes and worldly goods were fumigated, Dr. Monro examined each, including the agent-general, the mysterious Moriyama, with the same care as if they had passed by William Head.

The wife of one of the eight detained declined to leave her husband. She was given her twenty-five, but the eight will not get theirs until they leave the detention hospital.

The payment of this \$30,000 in Bank of Commerce bills, the fine design of which seemed to greatly interest each recipient as he parted with the Moriyama ticket, was the feature of this melodrama a la Kumeric.

#### MONEY PROVIDED

But, as Moriyama explains:

“We knew the men had to have at least \$25. They all have it, and many have much more. But rather than take it away, we had them make their deposit with us. This we gave to the ship’s agent at Honolulu, and to the ship’s agents here, Evans, Coleman & Evans; they sent a draft for the whole amount. But apparently it would not satisfy the law to have this repaid to them on land. They must show this amount before leaving the ship. So the money is refunded on board.”

Moriyama flatly denies that any sum whatever has been loaned to any of the men by his Honolulu boss, Senator Lawyer Chillingworth, or those for whom they act, the Japanese Hotel-keepers’ Union, who are carrying on this wholesale exporting business in human freight, which the Planters’ Association is unable to stop.

“Their opposition is quite natural,” said Capt. Baird. “If their labor escapes, their sugar is up a gum tree.” [...]

In a rowboat Harry Evans brought the officials back from the Kumeric at 11 o’clock last night. He proved that he has not forgotten his sculling days.

Up on Hastings street, even at that hour, the “Jap Invasion” was being discussed at the street corners and on the curb.

“The funny thing about it,” said one, “is, they want labor in British Columbia, and when they get it they don’t want it: isn’t that about right?”

“And tell me,” another apparent stranger was overheard to ask the apparent guest of both, “didn’t they give some Oriental Prince a great reception here not that long ago, and tell him how much they loved his people, or something of the kind? What’s this all mean, anyway?”

The guest is to-day figuring it out.



## “Loads of Japanese may come?”<sup>155</sup> (July 29, 1907)

“There is an organization behind this Japanese invasion and I am one of its agents. It has no representative in British Columbia nor anywhere in America. Its headquarters are in Honolulu, the Japanese boarding-houses or Hotel-keepers’ Union. There are seventy-five thousand Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands. Many of them are dissatisfied with conditions there and are anxious to come to British Columbia. We intend to continue to bring them here until there is a law or head tax against them. Why not? They are free men, and we are doing nothing illegal. The Planters’ Association in Honolulu has done its best to stop us, but has failed, for there is no law against our work there or here.”

Sustuma [sic.] Moriyama, the self-declared agent of the army of little brown men, thus summed up the Japanese invasion past, present and future, as he handed out ticket No. 1203 to the last of the long brown line which for four hours had passed by the desk of this general of the army on the anchored Kumeric at 11 o’clock last night.

One by one they had passed down this crowded “flush” deck to the stern, where Dr. A. S. Munro, as already stated, passed all but eight.

Then the doctor came up to the desk of Moriyama.

“Let me see your passport and \$25,” the doctor demanded, showing the neatly attired Japanese agent-general and official head of the invasion no more consideration than had been accorded to others. Moriyama, smiling, produced both. He was thereupon medically examined and found to be physically sound.

### STORY OF THE INVASION

The Japanese agent, who speaks English fluently, continued to unfold to The Province the story of the “invasion.”

“I am bookkeeper and agent of Senator Chillingworth, a Honolulu lawyer, who has been retained by the Japanese Hotelkeepers’ Association, to ship these men and all who are anxious to leave Hawaii, and come to this free country.

“These came from various parts of the islands. They were not satisfied with the low rate of wages paid by the planters, which is \$18 a month at the highest, and working twenty-six days in the month. Besides, the country is too hot. They were all anxious to come here, where wages and climate are much better, and work more varied. But this they will find for themselves. That is not part of the agreement.”

“What of the statement that the railways here are bringing these men to British Columbia?”

“I have seen the report. It is not so. I read that the C. P. R. and the new line you call the Grand Trunk Pacific, were bringing them here. It is not so. No one here is bringing them out. They are free men to get work that suits them, and at the best wages they can get, and no doubt of it, they will try to get work building the new

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<sup>155</sup> From OTHER STEAMER LOADS OF JAPANESE MAY COME. (1907, July 26). *The Province*, p. 5.

railway. What is to prevent them – good, able-bodied men? But if they can't get that, they will try to get in sawmills or other work that suits them."

#### EACH FOR HIMSELF

"Do any of them know where they are going to work?"

"No. Not that I know of. We are not under obligation to find work for them. I have nothing more to do with them after they land. Each has \$25, and some have a great deal more. Over four hundred are Japanese war veterans, though strong young men. They will make good laborers – just what you need."

"But we prefer white labor," The Province ventured.

"You don't prevent us coming. There is no law. No head tax, as against Chinese."

It was unnecessary to explain to Moriyama that that was one of the federal mysteries. He appeared to be as well informed as one of Prince Fushimi's aides-de-camp. He was also fully aware that this invasion was not pleasing to Hon. K. Morikawa, Japanese Consul.

"We knew that before we left Honolulu. But why should that prevent these men using their own judgment? Many felt themselves slaves in Hawaii. They have their passports from Japan, and so could go where it was free; where there was no law against them. They knew they couldn't go to the United States, but could come here, and so they came."

"And you are going to bring more?"

"Just as many more as want to come, and can pay the passage, \$20, and deposit \$25, which we know they must have to enter Canada."

#### DENIES THIS CHARGE

"Did you see what the officers of the French ship Admiral Duperre said about that deposit?" [asked The Province's reporter,] showing the dispatch from San Francisco to the effect that the Honolulu lawyer, Mr. Moriyama's boss, was "making a business of advancing this money for a liberal commission, and after showing the \$50 to the Vancouver authorities" – the dispatch had made it \$50 instead of \$25 – "and being allowed to land, the immigration agent who accompanies each consignment" – meaning Moriyama – "of little brown men, collects the borrowed money from the coolies and remits [it] to the Honolulu financier."

"That is false," snapped Moriyama, his long, thin, brown face showing a trifle of red. "They are mad because they didn't get the contract to bring these men, and they are put up by the planters to say all kinds of things, because the planters don't want the men to leave."

"Are you making any advance to these men?"

"Not a dollar. We had to make sure they had this amount beyond their fare. So we made them deposit it with us, and gave it to the agent of the line in Honolulu, over \$20,000. They sent a draft for that amount to the agent here, and it was refunded to each man as you saw just now."

#### WOULD GAMBLE IT AWAY

"Why not let each man retain it as is done in New York and other ports?"

“Some would not have had it by the time the vessel reached Vancouver. They would have gambled it away.”

“They don’t look like that class,” said a ship’s officer, who joined in here, “but you can’t tell what a thousand men of any nationality will do to while away the time on shipboard. These fellows have money, and many of them had a lively game or two as it was.”

“When are you going to bring the rest?” [Moriyama was asked] as he moved away.

“I am going to Seattle and San Francisco, and from there will go back to Honolulu.”

But just how many more thousand were coming, he could not say. From what could be gathered, fully one-fourth of the seventy-five thousand Japanese now in Hawaii were anxious to leave those islands, and as they know they are excluded from the United States, British Columbia is their remaining choice.

Tsutomu Horiuchi is Moriyama’s lieutenant, being the “superintendent” or caterer of the one thousand two hundred and three fellow-countrymen. He will accompany Moriyama to San Francisco, where he formerly lived, and will likely return with him to Honolulu.

This is Moriyama’s first trip to America, so he says.

Both Capt. Baird and the ship’s surgeon, Dr. John H. Pugh, in effect told the same story of the “invasion.” They agreed it was a matter of contract with the agents of Andrew Weir & Co., the owners of the ship.

“Our contract was made at Lota, Chile, before we reached Honolulu,” said the captain. “When we landed our twelve hundred Portuguese immigrants at Honolulu, we took on these Japanese for British Columbia. The Hawaiian Board of Immigration was very mad over it, for we were taking from them as many laborers as we brought them. But this was not a matter of sentiment with us. It was business. We had been chartered by the Portuguese from Madeira. We did so. That was the end of that contract, and these Japanese were free to leave, and as there is no Dominion law against them they were free to come here.”

The captain said he knew nothing more about the deal and didn’t care.

“I got my passage money, \$20 for each, and saw to it that each man deposited the \$25. The total collection was made up in the form of a draft on the Bank of Commerce. But as each man individually was required to show this, it was refunded to each.”

#### DR. PUGH’S VIEW

Taken as a whole, he regarded the men as the best type of Asiatic immigrant, and Dr. Pugh, who, like the captain, is several times a globe-trotter, said:

“If you had had the pick you could not have chosen a finer lot. They are all scrupulously clean and some are well off. It is a libel to call such men coolies.”

## “The desire of thousands”<sup>156</sup> (August 19, 1907)

If British Columbia is found by Mr. George Gear, who reached port yesterday in charge of the Japanese on the steamer Indiana, to offer a field for Japanese labor, hundreds more, probably thousands, will be shipped from Honolulu to Vancouver. Mr. Gear is a Honolulu lawyer and a former American. He has been retained by Mikano, charterer of the Indiana and exporter of Japanese laborers from the islands, to look over the local field and ascertain the correctness or otherwise of the reports that there was no room for the Japanese here.

During the past few weeks Honolulu has been placarded with alleged reports from Vancouver to the effect that the Japanese who arrived here on the steamer Kumeric were in actual suffering – that many of them were starving in fishing camps on the Fraser, and that generally they had been stricken with disease since reaching this coast.

### ALL BUT SIX PASSED

Three hundred and five Japanese reached Vancouver on the Indiana yesterday. For a while the steamer lay out in the stream, but she moved to a berth at the C. P. R. wharf after a few hours and her immigrants were inspected by Dr. A. S. Monro, Dominion immigration officer. He found that all but six of them were entitled to enter Canada. The exceptions were found to be afflicted with trachoma and they were ordered detained. It is unlikely that they will be deported, as their disease is of a mild type and will undoubtedly yield to treatment in the course of a few days.

### IMMIGRANTS HAD MONEY

Financially the Japanese arriving on the Indiana were all in good circumstances. In the ship's safe there was stored \$7,625 in gold. This was placed in the keeping of the master of the steamer by the immigrants before sailing from Honolulu, and was to satisfy the immigration authorities as to the ability of the immigrants to keep the wolf from the door in this country. The gold was distributed among the Japanese before they were landed.

Unlike the case of the Japanese arriving on the steamer Kumeric from Honolulu several weeks ago, the money was not taken from the Indiana's men as they walked down the gang plank to the wharf, for the reason that it belonged to them and not to the charterer of the steamer. From those on the Indiana it was learned that the money brought by the Japanese on the Kumeric was undoubtedly merely lent to them by the people who shipped them to Vancouver.

Apart altogether from the money they held to satisfy the Immigration Department of their financial standing, the Japanese on the Indiana all had other funds – some of them showing as much as \$500, while others had from \$50 to \$150.

### ALL PLANTATION WORKERS

The Japanese on the Indiana, unlike those who came on the Kumeric, were really men who had resided in the Hawaiian Islands for some length of time. Those on the Kumeric had never worked at the islands, but had gone there from Japan

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<sup>156</sup> From MANY HONOLULU JAPS STILL WISH TO COME. (1907, August 19). *The Province*, p. 4.

within 60 days from the time they embarked for Vancouver. Investigation of the passports of the crowd which arrived on the Indiana showed that the great majority of the men had been absent from Japan for over two years, and it was stated they had been employed in Hawaii ever since leaving their native country.

#### PLANTERS ARE SORRY NOW

The reason for the desire of the Hawaiian Japanese to leave the islands is the attitude of the planters towards them. In order to grasp the position of these Japanese on the islands, it is necessary to delve a little into the history of the labor and politics on the islands. In the days before Uncle Sam came into the possession of the islands, the sugar planters were much in the position of feudal lords insofar as their labor was concerned. All of it came under contract to them, and they held and exercised power of discipline and punishment over [their] men. It was all well and good in [those] days that the planters should be thus supreme, for the reason that there were none to thwart them.

Then came the question of annexation of the islands to the United States. The planters, in the belief that they would better their market and trade conditions by joining the States, formed themselves into an association, at the instance of American politicians, in order that they might be the better prepared to overthrow the reigning native royal house. Their efforts were successful, but the results have been such that the planters now regret their haste in bringing about annexation.

#### DEMANDED HIGHER WAGES

Subsequently, importation of Latin labor from Europe was started in order to adequately supply the plantations with labor. Portuguese were brought into the country in great numbers: in fact, workers of this nationality are still being taken to the islands, the Kumeric having landed two thousand of them in Honolulu before she brought her Japanese to Vancouver.

The planters were forced to pay the Portuguese about 25 per cent. higher wages than they had been in the habit of paying the Japanese. The latter rebelled, declaring they would not work for less than the Latins received. The Japanese declared that, compared with the Portuguese, they were skilled plantation laborers, and should receive at least as much for their toil. The planters replied that Japanese labor was inferior, and they refused to pay higher. About this time the Japanese became discontented with the quarters and living allowed them by the planters. The result was the desire of thousands of men to leave the islands.

#### CANADA LOOKED GOOD

At this opportune moment, certain Japanese who commanded ready money stepped in and created the opportunity for the Japanese to leave the plantations. In casting about for a suitable country to place the laborers in, the scarcity of labor in Canada was noticed, and it was resolved to send the plantation workers to this country. The first batch of twelve hundred arrived on the Kumeric a few weeks ago. They had no sooner landed here than Japanese Consul Morikawa of Vancouver cabled to Consul Saito at Honolulu, requesting him to do all in his power to stop the sending of Japanese here. The planters took advantage of the occasion to spread the report

that the Japanese sent here on the Kumeric had not been able to secure work, were starving, and were afflicted with disease.

Consul Saito gave out the statement that the Japanese were not acceptable to the people of British Columbia, and he urged upon his countrymen that on account of the friendly relations existing between Great Britain and Japan it would be unwise for them to force themselves upon a people who would not welcome them. This argument, however, had not the slightest effect upon the plantation laborers. It was the fear of starvation and disease which prevented more than three hundred and five from taking passage on the Indiana.

#### THOUSANDS MORE WILL COME

However, Mikano, the charterer of the Indiana, decided to send Mr. Gear to Vancouver to report upon conditions here. If Mr. Gear finds that there is no truth in the reports that there is no demand for the Japanese here and that men of that race are starving, he will so report, and that will be the end of Japanese from the islands. If, on the other hand, he finds that there is no starvation or disease and plenty of work, the consequences will be the sending of thousands more Japanese from Honolulu. It needs no prophet to foretell what Mr. Gear's report will be, and the people of British Columbia had better prepare themselves for the reception of all the Japanese plantation laborers now on the islands. The Indiana was chartered by Mikano for one voyage from Honolulu to Vancouver, with the option of a second voyage. She will probably return here within the next thirty days with two thousand or more Japanese.

#### **“Under contract”<sup>157</sup> (August 19, 1907)**

That the Japanese arriving in this country direct from Japan have all been under contract to work in British Columbia for employers responsible for their advent here has been the certain belief of every white man on this coast who has taken the trouble to give the matter thought. This contracting for labor, however, could not be proved. There lay the difficulty. Could it be proved that these Japanese are coming in under contract, their deportation would be a comparatively easy matter.

For several months, The Province has been making inquiries into this contract system, and one of the results has been the unearthing of the fact that the contracts are really made in Yokohama by the immigrants before they take ship for Vancouver.

#### STANDARD FORM OF CONTRACT

The Japanese employment agencies in Japan have a standard form of contract to which they bind the British Columbia employer and the men who are dispatched to this country to work. The wording of this contract varies only according to the character of the industry in which the Japanese sent here are to be engaged. In all other essentials, all the contracts are similar in their text.

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<sup>157</sup> From JAPANESE ARRIVALS UNDER CONTRACT TO WORK HERE. (1907, August 19). *The Province*, p. 4.

## AGREEMENT FOR FISHERMEN

Here is a copy of a contract made in Yokohama by British Columbia employers with Japanese coolies through the agency of a Japanese employment office. This is a copy of contracts made by fishing interests on this coast, and refers specifically to the labor which the Japanese are to be called upon to perform here as fishermen, their monetary and other remuneration, and the care which the employer is to give them while they are in British Columbia. This contract furnishes interesting reading for every white man in this country who is interested in the Japanese invasion question.

### TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT

Pro Forma "A."

Individual Contract.

Between \_\_\_ of \_\_\_ Commonwealth of Canada (hereinafter called the employer), by his agents, Messrs. \_\_\_, of Yokohama, Japan, of one part, and \_\_\_, aged \_\_\_ years, a native of \_\_\_ ken, Japan (hereinafter called the employee), of other part.

Article 1. The undersigned employee engages of his own free will by this contract to proceed to Canada to be employed there by the undersigned employer or his heir or successor, as seaman or fisherman on board the ship or vessel of the employer or any other work assignable to him on the following conditions:

(a) The length of engagement is fixed at three years, to commence from the day of arrival at \_\_\_, Canada, and to terminate when he shall have completed the full term of labor as specified in Clause (b) of Article 1.

(b) Each year consists of twelve calendar months, the working hours to be the same as those of other fishermen or seamen employed in Canadian fishery, during the currency of this engagement.

Article 2. On his side, the employer engages to give to the employee during the term of his agreement:

(a) Wages at the rate of \$15 (fifteen) per month payable as specified in Article 4 of this contract.

(b) Two complete suits of clothing each year, each consisting of one jacket, one pair of trousers, one hat, one raincoat, two sou'westers, and also one blanket (double) per annum.

(c) Suitable sleeping accommodations and living and sleeping accommodations of 6 feet by 3 feet when employed ashore.

(d) Sufficient rations suitable for Japanese.

(e) In case of sickness, medical attendance and necessary medicines to be provided by the employer, free of charge, to the employee.

(f) The employer agrees to pay and hold the employee free of any and all Government and local taxes, should such be levied upon the employee during the term of his engagement.

Article 3. Only necessary work shall be done on the following days, which shall otherwise be observed as holidays, viz., Christmas Day (December 25), Japanese Emperor's Birthday (November 3), and January 1, and any public holiday observed in the district where the employee is working.

Article 4. The wages to commence from the day when the employee actually starts to work, and to be paid in the following manner:

(a) The monthly wages of \$15 (fifteen) United States gold, of which sum the employer will pay on the customary pay day of each month.

(b) Until the sum of \$50 United States gold has been accumulated, \$5 United States gold shall be preferentially deducted per month to form a fund, which shall be handed to the laborer at the end of his contract with interest at the rate of not less than 3 (three) per cent. per annum.

(c) Should the employee abscond from the employer's service, he shall forfeit all deposits left in the hands of the employer and his right of return passage.

(d) A day's wages shall be calculated by dividing the amount of wages per month by the number of working days of the month.

Article 5. In case of illness, resulting from natural causes, no wages shall be paid, but food will be provided. In case of illness resulting from accident sustained in the service of the employer, the employee shall receive full wages and food.

Article 6. In case of the employee becoming permanently incapacitated for work on account of accident sustained in the service of the employer, or dies thereof, unless such accident is due to his own negligence, the employer undertakes to pay such employee or his bereaved family, the sum of \$100 (hundred) United States gold.

Article 7. The transport of the employee from Japan to \_\_\_\_, Canada, (including food and medicine), to be borne by the employer, and employer further binds himself to provide with a free return passage (including food and medicine), to Japan from \_\_\_\_, Canada, at the termination of the agreement.

Article 8. If, during the first eighteen months of this contract, the employee becomes permanently incapacitated for work from any cause whatever except any unavoidable accident, the cost of return passage shall be paid by the employee, but if the employee should become permanently incapacitated for work from any cause whatever except willful disobedience of orders, after completion of the first eighteen months of the term of this contract, the employer shall be bound to pay his return passage. Each case must be certified by the Government medical officer and the employer.

Article 9. The undersigned employee engages to submit to the discipline in force in the district, and faithfully carry out all reasonable orders which may be given him by the employer, his agents or overseers.

Article 10. The undersigned employee agrees to sign, on arrival at \_\_\_\_, Canada, customary shipping agreement in the fishery, such shipping agreement to embody the conditions of this contract.

Article 11. The undersigned employee hereby acknowledges having received the sum of \$15 (fifteen) United States gold as advance, on account of wages, which amount is to be deducted from the monthly payments at the rate of \$3 (three) per month, until such sum be paid back in full.

Article 12. The English text of this contract is to be taken as valid in case of dispute.

Done in duplicate at Kobe, on \_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_, 1907.



## **The Indiana's charter cancelled<sup>158</sup> (August 28, 1907)**

The re-charter of the steamer Indiana has been cancelled. The vessel, after unloading three hundred Japanese here two weeks ago, was to return to Honolulu for another shipload. But there will be no second shipment of Brownies.

A. V. Greer and F. Makino, the charterers, hearing that the advances made by Senator Chillingworth and his representatives were not refunded, have taken this action to prevent additional disaster to their independent venture, already being losers<sup>159</sup> of from \$5000 to \$15,000. Both are now at San Francisco.

## **“We need and badly want white immigrants”<sup>160</sup> (August 29, 1907)**

Among the arrivals in the city this morning was Mr. John P. McConnell, editor of the B. C. Saturday Sunset of Vancouver. Mr. McConnell in his paper has led a vigorous campaign in the Pacific province against the Asiatic influx which of late has been assuming large proportions.

To a Tribune reporter he said that the influx was undoubtedly the result of an organized movement. An agent of a Honolulu employing agency had recently been in Vancouver with a shipment of Jap coolies and made no secret of the fact that he was in the business proposition.

“Ample evidence that the coolies are being brought in under contract has been adduced,” said Mr. McConnell. “A copy of the contract was secured by the Province newspaper in which it was published, and I am thoroughly convinced it is authentic and that the Japs are being imported. [...]”

“Why do the immigration authorities not stop the landing of the coolies under the alien contract labor act?” Mr. McConnell was asked.

“That is exactly what we in B. C. want to know,” he replied. “The immigration authorities do not appear to have the ability to discover what an enterprising newspaper reporter can. The immigration authorities are not equipped with interpreters, and do not appear to have instructions to do their full duty. The examination of the coolie immigrants is of the most cursory sort and they appear to be landed with even less formality than white immigrants are in Eastern Canada, and certainly with much less than they are in New York.”

“Is it considered an international question in B. C.?” the reporter asked.

“Not by those who have given it careful attention. You see, most of the coolies coming in are from the Hawaiian Islands. Now Japan says she has no control over the Japanese after they leave Japan. I can see no reason why the Dominion Government should not readily exclude Japanese or other Asiatics from any other country than their own, when the Japanese Government admits its inability, and inferentially, its willingness, to limit the number agreed to in the understanding

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<sup>158</sup> From INDIANA'S CHARTER TO BE ALLOWED TO LAPSE. (1907, August 28). *Province*, p. 1.

<sup>159</sup> The first trip of the Indiana cost \$18,000. At \$36 a head, the 305 Japanese passengers would only have paid \$10,980, implying a loss of \$7,020.

<sup>160</sup> From HOW TO SHUT OUT JAPS. (1907, August 29). *The Winnipeg Tribune*, p. 11.

between the Dominion and Japan. Under that arrangement about 480 per annum was the limit which Japan was to allow to emigrate to Canada. B. C. would have no serious objections to this number coming in if it were certain that no more would be brought in under subterfuge.

“As long as Japan is willing to live up to her promise and Canada no more than insists that she does, I can see no reason for any international complications. But Sir Wilfrid Laurier apparently overlooks the simple method in an endeavor to fix responsibility upon Japan, which in my opinion is a sure way to make it a complicated and irritating international question.

“But,” said Mr. McConnell, in conclusion, “oriental exclusion is only one half of B. C.’s immigration problem. While we do not want Asiatics, we do need and badly want white immigrants. The province of B. C. perhaps more than any other in the Dominion is suffering for lack of help of all kinds. Both skilled and coarse labor are scarce and dear. White coarse labor is now paid \$2.50 per day in railway construction camps, for cleaving, and all other kinds of work, and it is impossible to obtain a supply even at that price.

“We believe that the Dominion immigration bureau should come to our relief by encouraging white immigration. By doing so it would accomplish a two-fold result, namely a relief of the intolerable scarcity of help and the wiping out of the last excuse for the importation of coolie labor.”

### **“The biggest question in Canada to-day”<sup>161</sup> (August 29, 1907)**

The biggest question in Canada to-day is the Japanese problem, though as yet British Columbia, bearing the same geographic relation to the rest of the Dominion that California does to the United States, is the only part of the country to feel the question at all acutely. It is not unlikely that Vancouver’s attitude toward the Japanese will, at no distant period, give Ottawa as much concern as the doings at San Francisco caused Washington.

For some years the “Yellow Peril” has been assuming a gradually threatening aspect, but it was not until after the Japanese-American trouble at San Francisco that the excitement became really serious. Then it became apparent that Japanese workers were directing their eyes to British Columbia, and arrivals by every ship told of the steady influx of the Orientals. The Japanese celebration in Vancouver in honor of Prince Fushimi on his recent visit, was an eye-opener to the white population. Between four and five thousand Japanese took part in it, and gave, as one observer put it, “a fairly impressive demonstration of the fact that British Columbia is being pretty effectively invaded.”

Of course, these four or five thousand Japanese do not all live in Vancouver, but neither do they comprise the total number of Japanese in British Columbia. It is safe to say that there are eight thousand Japanese in the province at the present

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<sup>161</sup> From JAPANESE QUESTION IS ACUTE IN CANADA. (1907, August 29). *The New York Times*, p. 3.

time, and press reports say that 2,500 more are expected within the next few months, many of whom are to work on the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The Chinese equal, if they do not outnumber, the Japanese, and there are a large number of Hindus. The total population of British Columbia, allowing for an increase of 50,000 since the last census was taken, may be placed at 200,000, so that the Orientals cut an imposing figure.

There was a time when the white man and the Indian were employed in the fisheries of the Fraser River, but they have been crowded out by the Japanese, who have control of this industry, and, while ten or twelve years ago hardly an Asiatic could be found in the sawmills of British Columbia, now less than ten per cent. of those employed in them are whites.

But what is there in this that is alarming? It is largely a question of labor. Northern British Columbia is being opened for settlement by the arrival of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, whose Western terminus will be Prince Rupert. It is extremely probable that when contracts are let, as they soon will be, for the construction of the mountain section of this railway, Japanese will offer themselves by thousands as laborers. To this there would be no objection, but for the possibility that they may pre-empt for purposes of exploitation whatever natural resources may exist along the line of the railway. In short, what is feared is that they will colonize a large part of British Columbia to the exclusion of white settlers, and that the Province may cease to be or have any prospect of becoming a "white man's country."

It is manifest that British Columbia, like Australia and the American Pacific States, is to be maintained as a white man's country, and that neither Federal nor Imperial considerations will reconcile provincial opinion to the free admission of Japanese labor. White laborers in British Columbia know that they cannot exist on the wages which are acceptable to Chinese and Japanese, and that Japanese labor must be excluded or the mass of white workers be driven out of the province.

The Japanese influx is a little different from any Oriental question that has arisen hitherto. Labor organizations and all laboring classes object to the presence of a large number of men who are able to work for very much less wages than the whites, but the feeling of opposition extends beyond this class. There is a feeling among the inhabitants generally that there is a menace behind the movement. Every one except the employer who is hard up for labor in order to meet some urgent demand seems to share this feeling of distrust. Moreover, it is asserted that the arrival of so many Japanese recently is in violation of an understanding that only 500 were to come in any one year. Mr. Nosse, the Japanese Consul General, says this agreement has been kept, and that the Japanese Government will continue to live up to the terms of the understanding. Mr. Nosse says that more than half of the 1,800 recent Japanese arrivals have not remained in Canada, but have crossed the boundary into the United States or have passed through to other countries. There were about 2,000 arrivals from Honolulu, and over these the Japanese Government has no control. What Canada is desirous of doing, and what she expects to succeed in doing, is to obtain an arrangement with Japan that the number of arrivals in this country will be limited to 500 or 600 a year, no matter whether they come from Honolulu or Japan.

### **“All the Japanese she can accommodate”<sup>162</sup> (September 4, 1907)**

The British steamer Woolwich has been chartered by Deshler & Gowey, of Kobe, to carry all the Japanese she can accommodate from Japanese ports to Vancouver and Victoria. [...] News of the Kumeric and Indiana voyages from Honolulu induced some Japanese emigration companies to arrange for the sending of a large throng of Japanese direct from Yokohama. [...] The Woolwich was arranged after the manner of a troopship and every arrangement possible made, the intending emigrants all being medically examined before entering the vessel. The fare charged was \$32.50 for the voyage here, including food.

### **“Desperately in earnest”<sup>163</sup> (September 8, 1907)**

“The Japanese are a common menace to Canada and the United States – perhaps even more so to Canada than to the Republic, for we have not so many people and it would not take the brown men so long to outnumber the whites – and we must unite to oppose their coming. If serious trouble should occur between either country and Japan, the other must of necessity be drawn into it, and it behooves the nations to stand shoulder to shoulder in a vigorous attempt to cope with the critical situation confronting us.” – R. G. Macpherson, M. P. from Vancouver, B. C.

“America is a white man’s country, and must be kept so. The Japanese are rushing in here so fast that the matter has ceased to be a problem of the future. The question is upon us now and must be met at once and with boldness. It is time to quit mere talking and do something. If we do not act effectively now, the question will soon be too big to handle. We must force our Government to take steps that shall bring the desired end.” – John P. McConnell, president of the Exclusion League of Vancouver.

Canada is becoming very much aroused over the great influx of subjects of the Mikado. British Columbia, which bears the brunt of the immigration, even as California does in the United States, has sounded the alarm, and with no note of uncertainty, for her people are not only fully aroused, but desperately in earnest and apparently determined to stop the coming of the horde of olive-skinned immigrants at any cost.

How much they are in earnest may be gathered from the attitude of one over-enthusiastic Canadian who arose during a mass meeting, called a few nights ago to take steps against the tide of immigration that is depositing so many of the small statured men on these Western shores, and amid much excitement declared that if no other means of protection were found, he proposed to become one of a number to

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<sup>162</sup> From STEAMER TO BRING JAPANESE DIRECT. (1907, September 4). *The Province*, p. 5.

<sup>163</sup> From TRY TO BAR JAPANESE FROM BRITISH COLUMBIA. (1907, September 8). *The San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 47.

meet incoming boats at the docks and with guns prevent the landing of the Orientals. Of course, the proposition was merely laughed at, but the incident served to show how much meaning there is to the present agitation among the people of the United States' greatest neighbor.

#### AGREEMENT WITH JAPAN

The present stir is the second one over the Japanese problem, which the people of Canada thought they had satisfactorily solved long since. In 1900 there was a sudden and vast increase of Japanese in this northern section of America. 11,000 Japs hurrying to British Columbia almost before the people of the country and their officials realized what was upon them. Then measures were speedily begun to stem the tide of immigration, and finally an agreement was reached with Japan whereby the Emperor promised to limit the shifting of his people to Canada to one per month from each precinct<sup>164</sup>, or prefecture. As there are only forty of these prefectures, this would mean only 400 Japanese to come to Canada yearly, a number which could easily be taken care of.

The present trouble is the result of alleged double-dealing on the part of Japan's wily officials, for when Canada protested at the apparent violation of the agreement in the coming of thousands of the brown men during the last few months, she was told in reply that Japan was doing her utmost to live up to the agreement and had not departed from it in the slightest degree. The officials here were informed that passports to Canada had been restricted to the required number, but that the Japanese coming here in such hordes – one ship alone landed 1200 – were from Honolulu, to which passports had been issued by the Government, but that after arriving in Hawaii, territory of the United States, the home Government had no further control of them and they were free to go where they chose.

#### DOUBLE-DEALING OF JAPAN

There are few of Canada's thinking people who do not brand this as a subterfuge, some of the officials showing no hesitation in openly charging that Japan is instigating the coming of her people because of a deep-seated and shrewd purpose of her own.

It is rumored that many of the recent comers are violators of the contract labor laws, similar in Canada to those of the United States, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company having provided cause for the rise of this rumor by taking charge of hundreds upon their arrival and conducting them immediately to railroad camps for employment. The officials have not yet announced the finding of sufficient evidence upon this line to warrant the deportation of any of the Japs, but it has been frequently urged, since the latest agitation began, that stricter watch be kept for evasions of this law and that its provisions be invoked as at least a partial means of restricting immigration.

#### WAS HEAD MONEY FURNISHED?

When the steamer Kumeric landed her load of 1200 Japanese a few weeks ago, suspicion was aroused in the minds of the onlookers when the little brown men, after

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<sup>164</sup> This restriction makes it challenging for families to emigrate. -C.W.

displaying \$25 each to the Canadian immigration officials, as required by the Dominion laws, promptly turned to Japanese Consul Morikawa, who stood at the other end of the gang plank, and dropped every man his \$25 in a sack held by the Consul. A rumor that the immigrants had been given this money as a loan, in order to evade the immigration law, and were then paying it back, buzzed through the crowd gathering, and Consul Morikawa's connection with the matter led later to published charges, printed over the signatures of well known Japanese business men, that the official was encouraging immigration to British Columbia as a result of his alleged connection with a steamship company.

Member of Parliament R. G. MacPherson heard of the incident while it was still going on and, hurrying to the wharf, demanded an explanation. Consul Morikawa stated that he had asked the Japanese to give their money to him for safe keeping, as he feared they would be cheated out of it before they learned to protect themselves in the new country to which they had come. Not satisfied with the explanation, MacPherson insisted that the coin be returned to the ostensible owners, declaring that the very purpose of the law in seeing that aliens were provided with sufficient funds to care for themselves for a time was being defeated, and after an exciting scene the Consul finally yielded, and each Jap was given back the \$25 he had so unprotestingly surrendered. Inasmuch as the money amounted in total to \$30,000, the alleged owners, if there really had been a short time loan business done on such a big scale as charged, doubtless lost no time in reimbursing themselves when they found time for a private talk with the Japanese.

#### WEAKNESS OF NATAL ACT

For many successive years the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia has passed what is called the Natal act, as it is modeled after a similar one used in Natal, Africa, and which provides that the immigration officials may exclude undesirable aliens by an educational test, that may be absolutely prohibitive to any but the well educated, since the examining official is given power under its terms to submit a list of fifty words in any language selected by the applicant, which he must read and write without hesitation. Since the most difficult words in the language may be chosen, the force of the measure as an exclusion act is readily seen. What its opponents declare is its weak point, however, is that the application of the test is made discretionary with the examining official, since if he considers an illiterate alien a desirable immigrant he may admit him without further ado, and that the opportunity for discrimination and graft is, therefore, limitless. At any rate, the measure has always been vetoed by the Governor, upon instructions from the Imperial Government that it was unsatisfactory.

But although many Eastern Canadians are inclined to look with skepticism upon the alarm of the residents of British Columbia as being unnecessarily great, the officials at Ottawa have not been deaf to the entreaties of the most western province, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister, has publicly declared that he will take the matter up with the home Government at once.

### TO LIMIT NUMBER OF ARRIVALS

And what promises to be an effective plan is to be used. Dispatches from Ottawa announce that since Japan has professed irresponsibility for the invasion of this country by her subjects, and has also committed herself in the past to an agreement providing for the restriction of immigration to these shores, she cannot, if sincere, object to this country's putting in force means to check the influx, which she professes herself powerless to regulate. Therefore, it is proposed to limit at this end of the line the number of immigrants to the figure prescribed in the treaty, or 400 per year. If this plan is carried out, it is freely predicted that Japan will not be able to circumvent it without admitting duplicity, and that the problem will therefore be solved.

The fact that England has a treaty with Japan, making her that country's ally, and that Canada has also participated in the signing of that treaty, has been pointed to by some students of the question as a barrier to legislation looking to the exclusion of the Japanese, but others reply that Canada is not bound to submit to impositions because of that document, and freely assert that Japan has not kept faith with this nation in issuing passports to her citizens to Hawaii, in order that they might enter Canada and the United States without an ostensible violation of her agreement.

### TO APPEAL TO PARLIAMENT

One prominent official who does not hesitate to express this view is R. G. MacPherson, Member of Parliament, who has studied the question thoroughly and who proposes to work for an exclusion bill in next November's session of Parliament at Ottawa, if relief is not afforded before that time.

Said MacPherson in discussing the matter: "We cannot afford to permit this influx of Japanese to continue. We have even more to fear here in Canada than you in the United States, for at the rate the brown men are coming in now, it would not take them long to become the dominant race here. They are much more of a menace than even the Chinese. The latter are content to remain in the station which they occupy when they come, and so supply a demand for labor that is more or less prevalent everywhere, while the Japanese are such imitators and so ambitious that they are soon competing with the white man and crowding him out of places rightfully his. There is no use in admitting a race with which we cannot intermarry, associate or sympathize.

"Furthermore, there is a national danger in the tremendous rush of these Orientals here which we must not overlook. Japan, to my mind, unquestionably has an ulterior motive in landing so many of her subjects on our shores, and as she has resorted to a subterfuge in sending her men to Hawaii in order to evade the treaty with Canada, we should have no false scruples about taking the matter in our own hands and excluding those who we do not want. If the protection of our people conflicts with the Anglo-Japanese treaty, the treaty must stand aside. [The] United States and Canada are alike vitally interested in this matter, and we must make a common defense against the yellow plague. If nothing is done before that time, I propose to work with all my might for an absolute exclusion law at the next Parliament."

## WORK OF EXCLUSION LEAGUE

The people of Vancouver have not been idle in resisting the coming of the Asiatics. They have formed an exclusion league, of which John P. McConnell, editor of the *Saturday Sunset* and a stalwart champion of a “white man’s country,” is president and A. W. von Rhein, another leader, secretary, and they have already arranged a campaign which is expected to set all Canada ablaze with a spirit that will make for the exclusion of the Orientals and the saving of Canada for the white man.

McConnell, in his paper, has preached for months the doctrine of the “white man’s country,” and declares he will not give over the fight until it is won. Said he: “We are more fortunately situated than the United States in that in your country the mischief, to a great extent, has already been wrought, while here the rush of Orientals has only fairly begun. If we take the matter in hand now and act promptly, we shall have saved ourselves much of the trouble through which the people of the United States, and especially of California and the Pacific Coast, have already passed. There is no getting around the fact that the Japanese are a menace. Whatever the purpose of Japan in allowing her subjects to come here, the fact remains that we do not want them, and furthermore do not propose to have them, treaty or no treaty. I do not believe the treaty or the makers of it contemplated our being unfairly treated in the matter of Japanese immigration, and I believe we have ample warrant for any steps necessary to stop this great influx. We all know how tricky and slippery the Japanese are, and it behooves us to act while there is yet time.”

### **“On the credit side”<sup>165</sup> (September 18, 1907)**

The ten thousand dollars brought back from the wreck of the twenty-five thousands of show money loaned to the Japanese who had sailed on the *Kumeric* was distributed among the Japanese hotel keepers last night by C. F. Chillingworth. It is figured that the loss to the *Kumeric* hui will not be great, the deficit in the show money being about equal to the profit on the tickets sold. The experience of the hui goes on the credit side to balance the account.

### **“I got ten thousand dollars”<sup>166</sup> (September 24, 1907)**

“I got ten thousand dollars out of the whole thing,” said Chas. F. Chillingworth, who returned in the *Nevadan* this morning from his tour of the mainland, says the *Bulletin*. He is looking very well and glad to be back once more to his native land. While on the mainland he looked into many business enterprises. Before he started back, he was called up to Vancouver to look into the *Kumeric* trouble. On his arrival there he found that his friend Maruyama was perfectly helpless in the management of the *Kumeric* emigrants.

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<sup>165</sup> From LOCAL BREVITIES. (1907, September 18). *The Honolulu Advertiser*, p. 9.

<sup>166</sup> From CHILLINGWORTH IS BACK. (1907, September 24). *The Hilo Tribune*, p. 3.



“Practically all the emigrants have been scattered in the inland districts, at the instigation, of course, of the anti-Japanese whites there,” said Chillingworth. “The money which was advanced to the emigrants by the local hotelkeepers could not be recovered.

“There is a strong feeling against the emigration of Japanese in Canada. When I arrived at Vancouver after I got through with my business, I found that Maruyama [sic.] had not collected any money from the Japanese. In fact, he could not, as he was interfered with by the anti-Japanese. I spent about two days there in trying to make a satisfactory arrangement about the money, which Maruyama utterly failed to collect. I gave him written instruction to guide him in the performance of his duties as agent to the emigrants. When they arrived there, the anti-Japanese were at the wharf ready to stone the emigrants. They lost no time in sending the Japanese arrivals to the inland districts, where Maruyama could not reach them.

“The show money was handed to the Japanese consul, which made it all the more difficult to collect it. After two days of hard work I succeeded in getting ten thousand dollars in Canadian money. I had the necessary papers all drawn up and was ready to bring suit for it. When I got the whole amount I left Vancouver right away and came down to get the first steamer to Honolulu. I left at night time. It cost me about \$300 to get the money exchanged into United States money. It was very fortunate that I got that much when I arrived at my destination, and before leaving for Honolulu I received a cable from Maruyama saying that the Vancouver anti-Japanese whites were looking for me. I was too quick for them. Had Maruyama only followed my instructions, he could have collected all the money from the emigrants before they scattered away in the country. I told him to collect the money immediately upon their arrival but he did not do so. There is no use of talking. The Japanese are not wanted in Canada, and the troubles which are liable to break out at any time will have unpleasant results.”

As it has been generally understood and, in fact, given out by those interested in the Kumeric venture, that the hui of hotel keepers advanced to the passengers the sum of \$25,000 to be used by them as show money in order to obtain admittance to Canada, and then to be returned to the hui, the \$10,000 which Chillingworth obtained for them is a comparatively small proportion of the total. From this it would seem that the local Japanese have lost \$15,000 of the money they advanced, and no matter how great their profits on the charter itself may have been, they can certainly not come anyway near to equaling this amount.

### **“Where do you get them from?”<sup>167</sup> (November 1, 1907)**

“It may be that upon my return to Ottawa I will make representations to the Government for the appointment of a Special Commission to inquire into Japanese employment companies. [In my] view these companies are practically responsible for

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<sup>167</sup> From INVESTIGATE ALL LOCAL JAPANESE AGENCIES. (1907, November 1). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

much of the [recent] trouble now a matter of negotiation between the Governments of Canada and Japan, and the sooner an inquiry is made into these companies, the better I think it will be [for the] parties.”

[This] observation from Commissioner [King]<sup>168</sup> followed upon a lively tilt between the Commissioner and Mr. Howard Duncan<sup>169</sup>, who has been appearing [for] the Japanese Government in the official inquiry into the Japanese actions, begun ten days ago. [...]

#### WHAT THEY ADMITTED

On the previous day the Canada Kangyo Company on Powell street<sup>170</sup>, [one of] half a dozen local Japanese employment agencies, was on the Commissioner’s official dissecting table, [...] with its manager, S. Ogawa, [on the] reclining rack, while on the previous day Katsuzo Ishikawa<sup>171</sup>, who [once] was the president of the company was in that interesting role.

The effect of their admissions was, [that] his company and the Japanese boarding-house Union were “different [names] but same shareholders,” that neither the company nor Ishikawa as the personal agent of S. [Anno], head of an immigration company in Japan, had not yet imported Japanese laborers, “because so many [...] came from Hawaii,” they [were] ready to do so when the supply [fell], if it ever did, and that for the Japanese already here, that were seeking all manner of employment, of [which] the unskilled laborer is capable, making a goodly commission thereupon.

Ishikawa instanced the supply of 150 for the C. P. R. for the [New] Westminster and Eburne extension, [...] Mr. Ishikawa admitting that his company had [through] an agreement supplied “Mr. [illegible] of the C. P. R. with 150 men for construction work in extending the C. P. R. line from New Westminster to Eburne,” the line which is to be operated by the British Columbia Electric Railway Company. [...]

#### ISHIKAWA ON THE RACK

The examination of President Ishikawa of the Canada Kangyo Company the previous day was at times dramatic.

“Do you belong to the Union of Boarding-house Keepers?”

“I am its president.”

“Are all the Boarding-house Keepers in the union?”

“[At least] seventeen.”

“When was it formed?”

“Four years ago.”

“Does the union supply men to contractors?”

“Yes.”

“Where do you get them from?”

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<sup>168</sup> The commission investigating compensation for the riots was headed by William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874 – 1950). He would later serve as Prime Minister of Canada from 1935 to 1948.

<sup>169</sup> Howard J. Duncan, a Vancouver lawyer with an office at 543 Hastings St. West. In 1907, he lived at 851 Hornby St.

<sup>170</sup> “JAPANESE Contractors and Labor Agents, Employment Offices, the Canada Kangyo Company, 205 Powell street.” [Classified Ad.] (1907, May 31). *The Province*, p. 11.

<sup>171</sup> Mr. Ishikawa ran a boarding house at 331 Powell St., Vancouver.

[At] this question Ishikawa smiled. “[We had] trouble to get them this year; so [we obtained] men from Hawaii. We supplied [men] for railway work at Central Park.”

“Do you send to Hawaii for them?”

“No. They just come here.”

“And apply for positions?”

“Yes, and we find them. That is the [business] of the Canada Kangyo Company. [These] men come to our boarding-house [and] stay till they get positions.”

“Are you paid by the men for finding them positions?”

“Yes, contractors usually [do] not pay us; [the] men do.”

“Do contractors pay you anything for supplying them with men?”

“That,” smiled Ishikawa, “depends [on the] agreement to be drawn.”

“Have you had such agreements?”

“Yes.”

“How much did they agree to pay [you?]”

#### WHAT THEY PAY

“That depends on [the] distance to [the place. Up] to \$1.75 per day. We charge [in] some cases five cent, ten cents, fifteen cents, [and] the rest we pay [the] men.”

Ishikawa added, “To men who go to work on railway construction, we don’t charge. All other portions, such as domestic help, we charge about 10 per cent.”

“Are you president of the Boarding-house Union or the Canada Kangyo Company?”

“I am president of both. The company is an employment agency. Been in business less than a year.”

“Does the company supply men in the same way as the Boarding-house Union supplies them?”

“Different names, but same shareholders,” frankly admitted Ishikawa. “Members of [the] Boarding-house Union organized the Canada Kangyo Company.”

“Both still exist?”

“Yes.”

“And each carry on the business of supplying labor?”

Ishikawa [sighed] aloud.

“It is well mixed up. Boarding-house, it gives board and room to [the] men, and when they want [a] job they go to [the] Canada Kangyo Company.” He indicated that both were in the same building and added, “Before Canada Kangyo organized headquarters, Boarding-house Union had license as [an] employment office, and two or three members of [the] union hold this. But when [the] company [was] formed they took over [the] license.”

“And you say this company has an agreement with a number of employers and contractors to supply them with men?”

“Yes.”

“Do you furnish supplies?”

“Yes; sometimes clothes and boots.”

“Do you enter into contract with the railway to furnish supplies while the men are at work?”

“That,” again smiled Ishikawa, “depends on [the] agreement.”

Then the examination crossed the Pacific.

#### CLEAR AS GLASS

“Has your company any agents in Japan?”

“My individual interest, I have that. But Canada Kangyo Co., it has no agents.”

The commissioner saw through it as though it were another broken plate glass.

“I see you alone are an agent, for whom?”

“[The] firm of S. Moriaka in Japan.”

“Do you buy supplies from them?”

“No, that is [an] Immigration Company.”

“And when you get [an] order for men, do you write that firm to send them?”

“I [do] not do it yet, so no men yet come by that company, and without my order they will not send me any.”

The Commissioner made it still plainer with the question: “Have they sent you any at all?”

“None yet, as agent for [the] company. I [do] not do anything yet.”

“How long have you been their agent?”

“Since May. I went to Japan last spring and made arrangements, then if I find any large contract for men, I would send [an] order and they would supply them. [...] Without [the] Japanese Consul’s consent I cannot get them.”

The Commissioner [said,] “With that, of course, I have nothing to do. What I am trying to ascertain is the nature of your business so that I can see what losses you have sustained, and you say that you obtained this agency of your own accord.”

“I [did] not go to Japan specially for this, but while there I made this arrangement. But so many men come this year from Hawaii that I [do] not have [a] chance to send any order to [the] company.”

“Was the company going to pay you for the men you would order?”

“Yes. I would get [a] commission.”

“How much?”

“Just depends on [the] number of men I order, and [the] amount of wages.”

“About what would be the percentage?”

“Somewhere between \$2 and \$2.50 each man.”

“And does this company in Japan charge the men for getting them positions?”

“Yes.”

“Are there many other companies in Japan organized for the purpose of sending men to Canada?”

“Yes, but I don’t think any have sent men yet.”

“Have many of them agents in Canada?”

“Four here; myself, Canada Nippon Co., Mr. Tsugumano and Mr. Tamazona.”

#### EIGHT LOCAL COMPANIES

From one of the claimants attending the inquiry The Province obtained the names of seven local Japanese Employment Agencies, in addition to the Canada

Kangyo Company. The others are: the Oriental Contracting Company, Powell street; Canadian Japanese Developing Company, Cordova street; the Kenney Takahashi Company, Powell street<sup>172</sup>; the Japanese General Contracting Company, Westminster avenue; the Togo Employment Office, Westminster avenue<sup>173</sup>; the Nitto Employment Office, Powell street, and the Nippon Canada Supply Company, Pender street.

### **“In direct contradiction”<sup>174</sup> (November 6, 1907)**

S. Anno, president of the Japanese General Contracting Co., and prominent among the local Japanese, offers a statement in direct contradiction to the report last week that Japanese immigration companies are formed for the purpose of bringing Japanese to this country.

Mr. Anno says: “The influx of Japanese is not caused by Japanese immigration companies, that under the law existing [...] cannot send any laborers to this country. What they do is to stand surety for the Japanese when he applies to the government for his passport; that is, in this case, [if] the emigrant on arrival at his destination is suffering from sickness or [from] other causes, it is thought best by the Japanese consul to send him back at the expense of the Japanese government. If the immigrant himself fails to reimburse the government, the immigration surety company will have to pay the sum to the government. Ishikawa is president of the Kangyo Co. The latter supplies contractors and others with laborers, and [he] is also the agent of the Nishin Goshii Co. Mr. Ishikawa’s position may have been misrepresented, if he touched on immigration while in Japan, as the same company by articles of incorporation and its bylaws should carry on only transactions in general merchandise. Realizing that the Canadian Nippon Supply Company and our own corporation carry on business with our home people, we do not contract for our people to come into this country, and we do not know of the three organizations existing here as it was reported Ishikawa stated last week.”

Mr. Anno was for fourteen years editor and proprietor of a Japanese paper in Honolulu called “The New Japan.” Up until the time of the annexation of the islands to the United States, according to Mr. Anno, there existed the Japanese companies for importing labor to Hawaii, and it was through the columns of his paper and his fight to have the violation of the law stopped that the Japanese government’s attention was called to it, and the companies immediately put out of business.

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<sup>172</sup> Located at 307 Powell St.

<sup>173</sup> Located at 118 Westminster.

<sup>174</sup> From CONTRADICTS STORY OF IMMIGRATION COMPANIES. (1907, November 6). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 13.

**“No money. Promised work.”<sup>175</sup> (November 12, 1907)**

“I no money. Promised work. Board with cousin here; pay him when get work. Relative help me come Canada. But he give me enough for fare and poll tax, \$560. I pay him back, perhaps take me four years, but I pay him back.”

Save for some original but unimportant Oriental variations, this was the reply of twelve of the seventy-two Celestials who yesterday contributed \$36,000 to the federal exchequer, to Commissioner King’s question, “Why did you come to Canada?” The other sixty are on the rack to-day.

Only three of the twelve had money. The first \$1, the second \$2 and the third, by lucky chance, had \$10. Practically all had verbal or written promises of work. But in every case it seemed to be little more than a recommendation or a “contract” that remained to be completed here.

“I make bargain when I see my cousin,” said Ng Yuen Ming.

“Well,” smiled the Commissioner, “you have more faith in your own people than some of us have in each other.”

**IS ALIEN LABOR ACT VIOLATED?**

Whether these “promises of work” are of a character that bring them within the definition of a violation of the Alien Labor Act remains for argument by counsel in the inquiry. This seemed to be the one striking feature of the examination yesterday, and the fact that they came for the work penniless. There was not even a suggestion of a company behind the movement.

“I come myself,” said one.

“Why?”

“Good wages.”

“How do you know?”

“My cousin, he come back to China, he tell me.”

If not a cousin, the distinction a Celestial confers upon a friend, it would be a brother or father either in Canada now or living in the lap of luxury in China on the fortune they made here.

Vancouver was the chosen home till-I-get-richee period of the twelve examined yesterday. Two had tickets to Toronto. One bound for Moose Jaw, having given the Government his last dollar, is compelled to remain here “with my cousin” until his Moose Jaw uncle sends his fare and the price of his board.

**LITTLE LOUE FAT**

But the most interesting of the twelve was little Loue Fat of fourteen Chinese summers. He came before the Commissioner with a smile and a blush. And a blush in a Celestial is rare enough to be startling, while the average smile of the average Chink is infinitely worse than his habitual expression.

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<sup>175</sup> From KING HAD CELESTIALS ON THE INQUIRY RACK. (1907, November 12). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 4.

It was not so with Loue. His well formed face and little loosely clad form attracted every one in the dark, almost dismal room in which the examination was held.

“Boy or girl?” asked the doubting Commissioner.

Loue’s eyes went wide with wonder at such a question when it finally reached him through the interpreter. When sworn – and they were all sworn alike with right hand upraised – little Loue thought that was the end of the ordeal and joined his frowning countrymen huddled like frightened sheep in the most distant corner. But he willingly returned, and with the same smile. Then this dialogue followed:

“Why did you come to Canada?”

“My brother bring me.”

#### LOUE, HE WILL GO TO SCHOOL

The brother was in another class, the 122 “Returning Celestials” who were not required to pay the poll tax. He went back to China last year to spend some of his surplus Canadian coin and to bring Loue to Daddy, who is making a fortune in Nanaimo.

“And are you going to work or go to school?”

“School.”

“In Nanaimo?”

“Yes, stay Vancouver with cousin, Goon Ye Gee, until father comes for me.”

Loue was all too young to question regarding the return of the poll tax to Daddy when Loue shall have attended school for one year. So Loue climbed into the office chair leaving his sandals on the floor and sitting on his shoeless feet in tailor fashion, and listened intently to “the next.”

He was a tall, gaunt, thin Celestial with the typical inscrutable face, and the burden of his story was “come myself, father pay fare and tax. I bring letter from cousin Si Fung to Lee Tony, Vancouver merchant. I to work for Lee.”

“Go get the letter,” said the Commissioner.

The letter was merely a recommendation and not a “contract,” and all the witness knew was, “I have work long and me honest.”

“Then I think you will have it a long time,” was the Commissioner’s tribute to Lee Pong Guey.

### **“We do not import any Japanese”<sup>176</sup> (November 13, 1907)**

The immigration inquiry is getting warm. Having exhausted the Chinese quarter it entered the Japanese circle to-day through Frederick Yosby, invading the first of the eight local Japanese employment agencies, the Canadian Nippon Supply Company of Pender and Burrard Streets.

As vice-president and director he made some interesting revelations. He was until last December secretary of the local Japanese consulate, but with Savri Gotoh,

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<sup>176</sup> From IMMIGRATION INQUIRY GETTING REALLY WARM. (1907, November 13). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

then a labor supply contractor, seeing the possibilities of trade with Japan in both exports and imports, they formed the Nippon Company, which since July has made \$15,000 a month.

Regarding the labor side of the business, he said in effect:

“We do not import any Japanese and know of no companies that do. Last summer we supplied 400 laborers to the C. P. R. and 100 to the B. C. General Contract Company, obtaining the men from the Canada Kangyo Company, the Nikko Kogyo Company and the Japanese General Contract Company.”

The system was in effect – “The companies pay us and we pay the wages to the men, deducting \$1 a month as [the] official fee in supplying an interpreter. We pay a commission to the local companies for obtaining the men for us, and we supply the men with provisions. “

#### NO JAPANESE IMPORTED

“Do the companies who supply you with the laborers bring them out here from Japan?”

“I don’t think so.”

“Would you be likely to know it if they did?”

“I suppose they would not tell.”

“Do you bring out any?”

“None.”

Mr. Gotha, head of the labor branch of the business, into which Mr. Noshy<sup>177</sup> said they had put in from \$30,000 to \$50,000, with the hope of but a fair dividend at the end of the year, is at present in Calgary. He will be brought here to testify before the commission this week. The commissioner will also examine the books of the company and the orders regarding the supply of labor.

Mr. Yoshy, who is a much traveled man, speaks English fluently and has the appearance more of an Englishman than a Japanese, gave his evidence frankly. He said that Capt. C. Gardiner Johnston was the president of the company and Mr. William Boulton was also a shareholder. Neither, however, drew salaries, but each held twenty shares.

“I suppose you have Mr. Gardiner Johnston and Mr. Boulton to represent the Canadian end of your Canadian Nippon Company?”

The witness, in agreeing, added: “Mr. Johnston’s position in our company is [little] more than an honorary one. He knows little of the business.”

The Commissioner – “I should think a president of a company should know of the business of the company of which he is head?”

“He is a very busy man,” returned Mr. Yoshy.

#### CURRENT RUMOR, NOT FACT

Like Mr. Yoshy, Editor John P. McConnell of the Saturday Sunset waived the subpoena service process, and volunteered his evidence.

The effect, however, of Mr. McConnell’s whole evidence was put in his reply to Commissioner King’s question:

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<sup>177</sup> Possibly a typo for ‘Yoshy,’ below.



“You say in your editorial that the alien labor clauses of the Immigration Act have been openly violated. Can you give me one instance of a violation?”

“I cannot.”

“Nor the name of any company here supposed to have violated that act?”

“The Nippon Company is the only Japanese Employment Company I have heard of.”

“Have they violated the act?”

“I could not say.”

“Then the statement here is based not on fact, but on current rumor?”

“Yes, on current rumor, and information I received from John M. Millar, formerly of Blaine, now in Montague, Cal.”

To questions regarding the foundation for other statements of the editorial, the replies were of a like character, and based upon hearsay.

#### GETTING INTO THE UNITED STATES

While Mr. Yoshy did not believe there were any companies in Canada importing Japanese, he was free to admit there were many immigration companies in Japan. He had recently returned from the Flowery Kingdom, and chanced to be at Honolulu when the Kumeric left with Mr. Chillingworth’s little Oriental horde.

Mr. Yoshy did not approve of it.

“Why do you suppose so many come here?”

“To go to the United States.”

The Commissioner pointed out the difficulty of an Oriental entering the Republic.

“But there is no fence,” returned Yoshy, “and I myself have seen maps in the possession of my countrymen where they have the safe points of entrance marked.”

Mr. Yoshy’s evidence is not yet closed.

#### **“I mean to get to the bottom of it”<sup>178</sup> (November 14, 1907)**

The climax in the efforts thus far to dig to the roots of immigration was reached by Commissioner King just before the adjournment late yesterday of the third day’s inquiry. It even threatened to be dramatic when the commissioner, almost exhausted in his attempt to penetrate the Oriental mind by the circuitous route of an interpreter, fell back in his official seat, exclaiming:

“It is my belief that there is something here that either you or some one else is interested in concealing, and I mean to get to the bottom of it.”

The “you” was K. Ishikawa, the man whose interesting, almost sensational statements of a week ago were responsible for this second inquiry. Those statements were to the effect that local Japanese employment companies had agents in Japan, that he himself was a representative of S. Moriaka, head of an immigration company

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<sup>178</sup> From HEADS OF EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES CLASH AT INQUIRY. (1907, November 14). *The Province*, p. 1.

in Japan, and that the Canadian Nippon Supply Company, with offices on Pender street, had agents in Japan.

#### FLATLY DENIED IT

“That is not true! Mr. Ishikawa is greatly mistaken! He knows nothing about us. We have not brought a Japanese into the country, and we have no agents in Japan.”

This flat denial came from the Canadian Nippon Company, through its vice-president, Frederick Noshy, former secretary of the local Japanese Consulate. It was hurled with polite defiance at the bald brown head of Ishikawa, but it came in English, which Noshy speaks well, and so startled all but Ishikawa. When a moment later, Mr. B. C. Haworth, as interpreter, made it tingle in his ears, Ishikawa modified not only this but half a dozen other “previous statements,” provoking the reply of the commissioner that some one was concealing something.

Ishikawa, though bent with age, is the active president of the Japanese boarding-house Union, and connected with the Canada Kangyo Company, an employment agency which has offices “just across the hall.”

It was freely admitted by Mr. Yoshy that the Nippon Company obtained some of its Japanese contract laborers from the Kangyo Company, and Ishikawa’s admission that he was an agent for an immigration company in Japan, and that the Nippon Company also had an agent there, had a double-barreled effect. The truth of it was severely tested when Noshy and Ishikawa faced each other yesterday. Ishikawa retreated as Noshy

#### WARNED HIM OF PERJURY.

“Tell him that the penalty for perjury is up to fourteen years in jail,” said the commissioner, as he warned the sad-faced Ishikawa of the sanctity of his oath. Then he took him over his previous statements one by one, nearly all of which he now modified. He now made his own promised commission \$1.50 per man for the orders he would send to Japan for immigrants. In his previous statement, he had made it \$2 to \$2.50, while the statement that the Nippon Company also had agents in Japan for sending out laborers and that they must receive a commission was not what he had intended to say. There were many like modifications.

“Have you any reason to suppose that Mr. T. Nagao did not correctly interpret your evidence?”

“No, I would not say so.”

“You certainly made these statements just as they are here.”

“Well, there are many things there that I did not intend to say,” Ishikawa returned.

Mr. F. W. Giddens, the commissioner’s secretary, swore to the correctness of the transcribed notes, and Mr. Nagao will later be asked to swear that he faithfully interpreted question and answer.

#### THEY MET IN YOKOHAMA

Frederick Yoshy made some additional interesting statements in the closing hour of his long examination. He admitted meeting Ishikawa at Yokohama early this

spring. But it was merely a chance meeting, both being on distinct and separate visits to Japan.

“Did you talk over immigration with Ishikawa?”

“I don’t remember that we discussed it at all.”

Mr. Yoshy explained in detail the method of securing contract laborers among the local Japanese. His statement contained no new feature. The contractors paid his company and they paid the wages to the men whom they also supplied with provisions, deducting from the wages their commission and cost of supplies.

“Do you employ any Swedes as foremen as they do at Glacier, where I learned they have a similar system?” asked the Commissioner.

“No; our foremen are Japanese and act as interpreters.”

Mr. Yoshy was emphatic in his statement that his company did not import a single laborer from Japan and knew of no company that did.

“Do you know that there are immigration companies in Japan engaged in sending out large numbers of Japanese?”

“There are such companies there, but I do not think they send out any large numbers. It is contrary to the policy of the Government and officials would not issue passports to any large numbers. Passports are hard to get.”

#### DIDN'T EXPLAIN INFLUX

“That hardly agrees with the fact that between seven and eight thousand Japanese have landed in British Columbia this year. I have not yet verified the figures or ascertained the exact number that have come from Hawaii.”

Mr. Yoshy, however, held to his view that the immigration companies in Japan could not get passports for any large numbers of men to send to Canada or elsewhere. He explained the system of granting passports and declared that everything passed through the Tokyo authorities, who exercised careful supervision and had full control. In Mr. Yoshy’s view the steamship companies would have just as much difficulty as the migration companies in Japan in getting any large number of passports. They cost \$12.50 in Canadian money, and every passport must be accompanied by a bond that the recipient will not become a charge upon the country to which he emigrates. For whatever number the Japanese labor companies send out men they must pay the price of the passport, which is later repaid to them by the adventurous laborer and must give this bond of security.

“If he becomes a charge upon the foreign country and is returned to Japan, the company must pay all expenses,” added the witness. In his view this fact prevented the shipment of large numbers from Japan direct, even if passports were easily obtainable. Mr. Yoshy thought that the influx from Hawaii could not be attributed to Japan, and regarded it with great disfavor.

#### PROCESS OF NATURALIZATION

“When a Japanese becomes nationalized, does he not still retain his allegiance to the Emperor of Japan? Is it not true, ‘once a Japanese, always a Japanese?’” was one of the interesting questions asked by Mr. Charles Wilson, K. C., who again appeared for the provincial Government.

“Oh, no,” laughed Yoshy, “I don’t think that is so.”

“When you were secretary for the Japanese Consulate, did you not hear of shipments of men by Japanese immigration agencies?”

Mr. Yoshy’s reply was a decided negative.

When the immigration companies in Japan advance the fee for the passports, as you have said, do they also advance the fares for the immigrants’ passage?”

“I have never heard that they did.”

“Has the consulate office here a copy of the regulations by which the Japanese Government restricts the number of immigrants to Canada?”

Mr. Yoshy – I believe they had a copy when I was connected with the office prior to December last.

The Commissioner will apply for the copy.

#### CANADA, AS VIEWED IN JAPAN

The examination again jumped to Honolulu and back to Japan, the witness finally replying to Mr. Wilson, “There is no company in Japan that I know of which is sending immigrants to Canada.”

“Has there been any literature circulated in Japan describing the advantages of Canada?”

“I have not seen nor heard of any.”

“But you tell the Commissioner that the people in Japan generally know that Canada is a good country to them. How do they know that?”

“By letters received from relatives here, and through those who return to Japan.”

The Commissioner – “Were you ever asked by an immigration company in Japan to become an agent here?”

“Yes, on my last visit to Japan. I refused. I didn’t want to bother with it.”

Regarding his own company, the Canadian Nippon Supply Company, Mr. Noshy repeated to Mr. Wilson regarding the partnership interest of Mr. C. Gardiner Johnston and Mr. Wm. Boulton. They held shares and received a part of the profits, but no salaries. His own and Mr. Gotha’s salaries were \$100 a month. Mr. Gotha, who is the manager of the labor branch of the business, will be examined on his return to the city to-morrow.

#### GREAT NORTHERN GOT MEN

T. Sendoku, connected with the Kangyo Employment Agency, gave a disconnected account of part of the business of that company, with a hesitation out of all proportion to the value of the testimony. The company had this summer supplied sixty laborers for the Great Northern Railway Company, and about 200 for “work at Central Park,” as the witness put it. It was all done by verbal agreement and on the usual terms. He thought the profits of the company would, from all its business, reach \$100 a week. They had supplied the Nippon Company and had also sent men to Comox. There were seventeen directors of the Boarding-house Union, and four members of the Kangyo Company, Mr. Ogawa the manager, Mr. Kashiwa, Mr. Kimura and himself. The profits were snared by Ogawa and himself, although Mr. Kashiwa was Ogawa’s brother.

“Why hasn’t he the same name?”

“I don’t know.”

“Different father?”

“I guess so.”

“And does Mr. Ogawa think more of you than he does of his own brother, that he allows you and not his brother to share in the profits?”

The answer was indistinct. He added that his share was three-sevenths and Mr. Ogawa’s four-sevenths. But it was all verbal and not in writing.

“Why not in writing?”

“Didn’t have time or paper.”

“[The] Company [was] formed six months ago, and [you] haven’t had time nor paper to reduce your partnership agreement to writing?” asked the amazed Commissioner.

“I don’t know why we didn’t write it down.”

“I think you do know, and I don’t believe your statement.”

The witness made no better impression upon Mr. Wilson, who dismissed him with half a dozen questions. In reply to one, the witness said that the company deducted as high as ten cents per day from the wages of the men for whom they secured employment.

He gave this list of other local companies besides the Kangyo and the Nippon companies in the same business. The Canadian Development Company, Cordova street, Mr. Hiakowo manager, formed a month ago. The Oriental Contract Company, Powell street, Mr. Okamoto manager, formed last month. The Nitto Company, Powell street, formed this year. The Kewny Takahashi Company, Powell street, the oldest of all.

### **“The wily scheme”<sup>179</sup> (November 25, 1907)**

The wily scheme of American and Japanese trans-Pacific steamship companies of debarking at Victoria all Japanese holding passports for the United States has been peremptorily stopped. Both the Canadian and United States Governments have declared that the practice must cease, and by the new orders now effective on both sides of the line, the Japanese on the steamship Kumeric who had passports for the United States were not permitted to land at Victoria – they are compelled to proceed to their rightful destination.

For months the steamship companies operating vessels between Japanese ports and Puget Sound have been debarking all their Japanese passengers at Victoria. There the Orientals bound for the States would call upon the American immigration officers for inspection. If they passed, they would proceed to Seattle and Tacoma, but if not, they would remain at Victoria seeking to pass Canadian inspection so that they might remain in this country. When rejected by Canadian inspection, the Japanese would undergo treatment at the expense of the Canadian

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<sup>179</sup> From STOP SMOOTH WORK OF STEAMSHIP MEN. (1907, November 25). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

Government, and finally many of them on re-examination would be permitted to remain in the country.

The steamship companies benefitted in that if the Japanese were taken to Sound ports and refused admission there, they would have to deport them to the Orient at their own expense, but by debarking the Japs at Victoria two opportunities of landing them, either in Canada or the States, were afforded and the companies saved many return voyages to Japan.

### **“May be deported”<sup>180</sup> (November 27, 1907)**

Tacoma, Nov. 27. - Twenty-six out of 106 Japanese arriving here last night on the Oriental liner Kumeric are detained on board and may be deported. Eighty were passed. Of the twenty-six held, nine have an eye disease resembling trachoma, and will be subjected to a searching investigation by physicians before being allowed to land.

The remaining sixteen held are women. All of these claim they either have husbands in this country or else have come at the solicitation of some would-be Japanese benedict. The immigration officials are by no means certain these women are worthy of entering, suspecting they may be the purchased property of some Japanese, according to the customs of that country.

The majority of the Japanese are students, the remaining ones being merchants, laborers and gardeners.

### **“The intentions of the Grand Trunk Pacific”<sup>181</sup> (November 27, 1907)**

“I observe that Mr. Bacon is particular not to say what the intentions of the Grand Trunk Pacific are in the future in regard to Oriental labor. This is somewhat significant in view of the fact that actual construction work in British Columbia has not yet been begun.”

This was the observation of Mr. Charles Wilson<sup>182</sup>, K. C., counsel for the Provincial Government in the immigration inquiry, after the reading of the affidavits made by Mr. Bacon, G. T. P. harbor engineer at Prince Rupert, and Mr. D. M. Hays of the British Columbia Tie & Lumber Company, which has a contract with the G. T. P., both of which documents denied the importation of Oriental labor and, in effect, their employment only when white labor could not be secured.

This was the feature of this morning’s session of the rapidly closing inquiry.

Three witnesses were examined this morning: Mr. Nakayama of the Boardinghouse Keepers’ union, Mr. John B. Harstone, local representative of Foley

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<sup>180</sup> From MANY JAPANESE ON KUMERIC REFUSED. (1907, November 27). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 20.

<sup>181</sup> From BUT WHAT ARE G. T. P.’S INTENTIONS IN THE FUTURE? (1907, November 27). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

<sup>182</sup> A partner in the law firm of Wilson, Senkler & Bloomfield. In 1907 he lived at 1075 Barclay St.

Bros., the contractors, and Mr. Anno of the Japanese General Contract Co., whose examination is being continued this afternoon. [...]

#### MR. HAY'S STATEMENT

Mr. W. C. Brown, barrister, who upon the request of the commission, went to Prince Rupert to take the affidavits of Mr. D. M. Hays and Mr. J. H. Bacon today delivered the documents.

In this affidavit, Mr. Hays, who is a brother of Mr. C. M. Hays<sup>183</sup>, stated that the B. C. Tie & Lumber Company, of which he is secretary, was not, and never had been, a subsidiary company of the Grand Trunk Pacific, nor had the shareholders of the Grand Trunk Pacific any interest in the company. It was composed of Vancouver business men and residents of Dundee, Scotland. He added:

“I was never connected with the Grand Trunk Pacific, but for organization purposes, I am a director of the Pacific Northern & Omineca railway.”

The policy of the B. C. Tie & Lumber Company, he continued, is to obtain the best men as laborers, and white men are preferred. Last spring he had brought twenty-five white laborers from Ottawa, but these had left the service of the company voluntarily a few months later.

“Mr. Hays told me,” interjected Mr. Brown, “that his company lost \$1000 by bringing those men from Ottawa.”

Mr. Hays concluded his affidavit with the statement that the B. C. Tie & Lumber Company at present employed 32 white laborers and 37 Japanese.

#### MR. BACON AGREES

The affidavit of Mr. James H. Bacon, G. T. P. harbor engineer, was similar. He stated that the company were at present employing 70 laborers, of whom 60 were white and 10 Japanese. The average number of Japanese employed during the past year was from one to ten monthly. The Grand Trunk Pacific had made no contract or agreement with any Japanese or other boardinghouse-keeper for supplying Orientals. Nor had he received any instructions from the company either to import or employ Orientals. Preference was always given to the white laborers when possible.

In referring to a letter written by the late E. G. Russell – which was presumably read to Mr. Bacon, but has not yet been brought out at the inquiry – Mr. Bacon stated:

“Mr. Russell had no authority to enter into any agreement to engage Oriental labor or any other laborers.”

#### CONSTRUCTION NOT YET BEGUN

The affidavit continued: “As far as I am aware, the Grand Trunk Pacific has not been importing Orientals, nor has it entered into any contract with any person or persons with a view of importing them. The late Mr. Russell was well aware of this policy.”

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<sup>183</sup> Charles Melville Hays (1856 – 1912), president of the Grand Trunk Railway. He died in the sinking of the Titanic.

The Pacific Northern & Omineca, continued Mr. Bacon, had not yet entered upon actual construction, but had merely been doing the work of surveying and clearing under Foley Bros. & Larsen, and they were not employing Orientals.

Mr. Wilson – They wouldn't get the provincial subsidy if they did employ them.

The affidavit then referred to the 1570 acres on Kaien Island which are now being cleared. One tract of 87 acres had been declined by white men and the contract had to be awarded to Japanese.

#### RAPPED MR. BACON

“He who excuses, accuses,” smiled Mr. Wilson. “Mr. Bacon has denied what was not averred and has even alleged disobedience of orders by a man who is dead.”

The Commissioner in reply stated that the affidavit was extensive perhaps for the reason that he had requested Mr. Bacon to make his answers “direct, comprehensive and unequivocal.”

“I myself had very strong suspicions that the Grand Trunk Pacific was connected in some way with this influx before arriving here, and I am glad both Mr. Hays and Mr. Bacon have made such full and complete denials.”

Mr. Wilson added that Mr. Bacon had evidently taken great care not to say what the intentions of the company were, which was particularly significant since actual construction had not yet been commenced.

The inquiry then turned to the taking of evidence.

#### GAVE THEIR ASSISTANCE

Jishano Nakayama<sup>184</sup>, a member of the Japanese Boarding-house Keepers' Union, admitted that the union had helped some of the Kumeric's passengers to get employment. But more had helped themselves.

In Mr. Nakayama's opinion, the union had suffered no damage in the riot.

“I am glad to know that,” smiled the Commissioner, “for the country is saved at least \$140 if that be so. I have a cheque made out for that amount to the credit of Mr. Ogawa, the union's secretary, who said he was the proper party to receive it. I have all the cheques made out, but have not paid all yet. I will wait until this inquiry is concluded.”

#### THAT PROVINCIAL SUBSIDY

“I can throw no light upon this influx of Orientals,” said Mr. John B. Harstone, who since August has been the local agent for Foley Bros. for the purchase of supplies and employment of labor.

“We do not employ Orientals.”

“Not even as cooks?” asked Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Harstone [replied,] “Not even as cooks. We have white cooks.”

The Commissioner [asked,] “Have you received instructions in regard to the employment of labor?”

“Yes, from Mr. Angus Stewart of our company. They are instructions against the employment of Orientals.”

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<sup>184</sup> Possibly the J. Nakayama living at 210 Powell St. Mentioned in Henderson's Vancouver Directory for 1907.



Mr. Wilson [added,] “It may not be out of place for me to say here that the Pacific Northern and Omineca is a provincial company with a provincial charter, and they dare not employ Orientals.”

The Commissioner [said,] “Very good reason.”

#### TALE OF PROSPEROUS PLANTERS

“The Planters’ Association of Hawaii control the financial and political interest of Hawaii,” said Mr. Schintar Anno, secretary of the Japanese General Contract Company of this city, formed last July, which he declared employed but did not import Japanese laborers. He was recently a visitor [to Hawaii, and the Commissioner] questioned him at length upon the arrival and departure of Japanese to the Sunny Isles.

The planters’ crops this year netted them \$350,000,000, and part of their proceeds the planters always set aside to secure laborers. They did not like the action of Japan in cutting down the number of Japanese to Hawaii from 200 to 500 a month. They had failed in their prosecution of the boarding-house keepers in sending out the 1200 on the Kumeric.

The witness added that while the regular price of the ticket from Honolulu to Vancouver was \$30, the boardinghouse-keeper charged \$40 and \$45.

The Commissioner [said,] “Then they are making a commission of from \$10 to \$15.”

“Yes – on each ticket.”

#### **The Planters and Asiatic Exclusion<sup>185</sup> (November 28, 1907)**

[In his latest interview before the Commission, Mr.] Anno first said the planters of Hawaii backed up the Anti-Asiatic league of San Francisco in order that they might be able to retain their labourers and cut down wages at the same time. He believed that the Planters’ association, which was the controlling influence in Hawaii, was also responsible for the Asiatic Exclusion Act passed by the United States government.

The commissioner, jocularly: “Do you think the Planters’ association formed the league here?”

Anno, seriously: “I believe so to the best of my knowledge.”

The commissioner, smiling: “You think they are in league with the planers of Hawaii?”

Anno: “I believe they were at that time. Two weeks after the Kumeric arrived here I met a gentleman at the corner of Granville, F. M. Swanzie, who is a managing director of a big company interested in the Planters’ Association<sup>186</sup>. When I left him I

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<sup>185</sup> From REVEALS SECRETS OF EXCLUSION LEAGUE. (1907, November 28). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 8.

<sup>186</sup> “Mr. Anno told of the arrival here in August last of Mr. Swanzie, who was a former president of the Planters’ Association and who was also connected with the T. H. Davies & Co. of Honolulu, who were interested in the Planters’ Association.” SIX JAPANESE “HEADS” EXAMINED BY KING. (1907, November 28). *The Daily Province*, p. 14.

joked with him as to how much money he was leaving here to keep out labourers. I was afraid at that time trouble would happen.”

The commissioner: “Did trouble happen?”

Anno: “Yes; there was a riot.”

“Your theory is that all this anti-Asiatic movement is the result of the Planters’ agitation in Hawaii and intended to keep the men?” queried the commissioner, and the witness nodded vigorously<sup>187</sup>. [...] He noticed that the local league had only 316 members who had paid their subscription, and as they had sent speakers to Victoria, Nanaimo and other places he supposed and believed that the Planters’ representative had provided money for that expenditure.

The witness next translated, at the commissioner’s request, cables from Mr. Yoshi, of the Canadian Nippon Co., and Consul Morikawa, which appeared in the Hawaiian Japanese newspapers. Mr. Yoshi’s cable stated that the majority of the immigrants could not get house room or work and had been sent twelve miles out of the city. The condition of the immigrants was pitiable. The cable of the consul was to the effect that he understood many of the immigrants would not be able to get work and that they were bound to suffer. He hoped the Japanese consul in Hawaii would try every way to stop any more coming.

“I am convinced it is conclusive evidence that neither Mr. Morikawa nor Mr. Yoshi wanted laborers to come here if they could help it.”

Anno’s breath was next almost taken away by Mr. Wilson suggesting that as Mr. Morikawa and the Vancouver Anti-Asiatic League were equally desirous of preventing the Japanese coming here from Hawaii, they were both influenced in the same way by the Hawaii Planters’ association. He thought there was a distinction but could not point out why, if the local league was financed by the planters’ money, Mr. Morikawa was not.

Mr. Wilson: “Can you tell me what are the league’s monthly receipts?”

Anno: “I am told a little over \$200.”

Mr. Wilson: “And their expenditure?”

Anno: “They expend a great amount of money over their receipts.”

Mr. Wilson: “How much, do you think?”

Anno: “I have not any information.”

His was a joint stock company and he had 25 shares in it. He supplied common labor generally, but he sometimes supplied a few carpenters. They never made personal application to employers for the supply of labor; they simply advertised in the newspapers. He did not know the name of the gentleman who gave him the information about the Anti-Asiatic League, though he knew him personally.

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<sup>187</sup> “It is an open secret in Honolulu,” said Mr. Anno, ‘that the Planters’ Association is behind the Asiatic League of San Francisco.’ SIX JAPANESE “HEADS” EXAMINED BY KING. (1907, November 28). *The Daily Province*, p. 14.

## Mr. Gotoh's story<sup>188</sup> (November 29, 1907)

Proclaimed as the star witness of the Oriental immigration company and the man whose correspondence held important secrets, Gotoh has started in to sustain the reputation which has been built up for him by the commissioner who has been delving into his correspondence, and the most important letter produced this morning was the famous letter said to have been written by Mr. E. G. Russell of the Grand Trunk Pacific.

Dated December [10], 1906, [from Vancouver,] it stated:

“Making reply your verbal inquiry of recent date upon the subject of Japanese labor for general and railway work in northern British Columbia, I would say 5000 will undoubtedly be required should they apply in reasonable numbers, and there is no doubt such men could secure a remuneration of \$1.50 a day. There would not be any difficulty in securing 5000 acres of land in British Columbia at \$12 an acre and upon reasonable terms, but not for speculation. There could be no objection in giving an exclusive right to a company to secure Japanese labor required so far as was legal and so soon as the company demonstrated its ability to perform such an undertaking and so long as good labor and acceptable citizens in the numbers required were furnished, and you could control them, their actions as law abiding people or removing them and everything done as required.”

Gotoh was in Japan at the time the letter was sent to him, and when he returned Mr. Russell died<sup>189</sup> and there was no one with whom he could arrange a contract then if one had been desired. As a matter of fact, no contract had been made<sup>190</sup>, he asserted.

Gotoh stated that when in Japan he endeavored to create the impression that there was a definite agreement existing to supply five thousand men to the G. T. P., and that was why the foreign office cabled here to see if such was the case. The foreign office received a reply in the negative.

Nevertheless, strenuous efforts were made to get a specific contract with the G. T. P., and agent Yoshi was appointed to get in touch with Mr. Morse. Having

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<sup>188</sup> From GOTOH TELLS STRAIGHT STORY. (1907, November 29). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 1.

<sup>189</sup> Edwin Gillmor Russell committed suicide at Prince Rupert on April 26, 1907, after serving as the Grand Trunk Pacific's financial agent for three years. “An entry made in the dead man's diary and dated the day of his death read as follows: ‘My head drives me wild. No one can know what I have gone through during the past two months. Everyone seems to be on my wrong side or I am on theirs. I cannot sleep or eat. My whole person is worn out. The three years with the Grand Trunk Pacific have worn my nerves out.’” Prominent Man Suicides. (1907, May 10). *The White Horse Daily Star*, p. 2. “When in Montreal a short time ago Mr. Russell severed his connection with the railway company in order that he might devote all his time to his personal business affairs. He was general manager of the United Supply & Construction Company which has large dealings with the Grand Trunk Pacific and interests at the new townsite of Prince Rupert.” WESTERN RAILWAY MAN TAKES HIS OWN LIFE. (1907, April 26). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

<sup>190</sup> On being asked whether he had an agreement with the G.T.P. while in Japan: “Nothing but this letter from the late E. G. Russell,” replied Gotoh. [...] ‘I do not think now that Mr. Russell had authority to make [the] statements in the letter he gave me.’” GOTOH DECLARES HE HAD NO CONTRACT. (1907, November 29). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

succeeded thus far, a wire was to be sent by Gotoh, who would hurry to the scene of action and use his business tact in driving the best bargain, the agent Yoshi being considered unfitted for such an important deal. Furthermore, Yoshi did not know the nature of the agreement that already existed.

According to another letter, Yoshi found that when he reached Montreal he was unable to make any headway [with] the G. T. P., and the Japanese consul-general had asked the G. T. P., before allowing any contract to be drafted with any firm, to inform him.

The witness said: "That agrees with the Japanese government's policy." The witness added that so far he had not succeeded in making any agreement to supply labor to the G. T. P.

When it was generally known in Japan that the Tokyo company was sending immigrants to Canada, other agents were here by the dozen, but they found that Gotoh's company held a monopoly, and readily consented to compromise with the Tokyo company to withdraw from the field and accept a percentage of future contracts. The Tokyo company did not want any rivalry, said the witness.

Gotoh, on taking the stand, was thanked by the commissioner for the frank manner in which he had assisted him and his secretary. [...] Gotoh commenced voluntarily a statement that the Japanese immigrants had been decreasing year by year. The first year he furnished the C. P. R. with 600 men, the second year with only 400, the third year, 1904 to 1905, only 200, and last year only about 70. The Canadian Nippon Supply company was formed by him in September, 1906, because at that time he thought he had a chance of taking a contract with the Grand Trunk Pacific and the C. P. R. Mr. Yoshi became his partner. In January he visited Japan because of his father's death, and at the same time he looked into the question of obtaining a supply of laborers. He found the policy of the Japanese government was against laborers leaving the country. He had relatives working for the Tokio Immigration company.

#### COULD GET PASSPORTS

The commissioner now produced the first of the witness' documents, and proceeded to show that the immigration companies of Japan succeeded in gaining from their government a concession granting them passports on producing agreements finding the men work in the foreign country to which they were going.

The letter was written from Yokohama by Gotoh to his clerk, and stated that the immigration companies were making a movement against the policy of the government towards emigration, and he thought if he made a rank statement to them of the nature of his business he would be able to make certain arrangements. He had been waited on by many emigration companies' agents, but had tried to avoid them, until he found out how the action of the companies would result.

The Commissioner – What was the nature of the arrangements that were subsequently made? As I understand it, when you go there in January you found you could not make any headway until the emigration companies managed to influence the government. Are the men in the companies prominent men in Japan?

## UNDERSTANDING WITH THE GOVERNMENT

Gotoh – Some of them are financiers and politicians. The Tokio Immigration company, with which I made arrangements, was composed of prominent business men.

The Commissioner – You consulted with them and told them that if they could make some arrangements with regard to the issue of the passports, you could dispose of the men when they got here?

Gotoh – Yes, I guaranteed that.

The Commissioner – About the end of February or March you received word that under certain conditions, if they could produce a duplicate of the arrangement to find employment, passports would be issued. What was the purpose of the seal of the Japanese consul on these?

Gotoh – To show whether such an agreement existed really or not.

The Commissioner – So that what you would have to do was to send over to Japan [a] copy of an agreement which you had made with some company here, and then the Tokio Immigration company would make application for passports for the laborers, and in order that the Japanese foreign office could not be deceived they required that the agreement should be signed by this Japanese consul in this city as a bona fide agreement?

Gotoh replied in the affirmative.

The Commissioner – Does the government keep track of the immigrants that come out of Japan?

Gotoh – Yes, they have to register every time they land in a foreign country, at the consul's office.

Letters written by the witness were read stating that he had been asked to find 300 men for the Alberta irrigation scheme over a period of three years. Because of the restriction on emigration he could hardly secure such a number in the province, but he thought he could get the number from the arrivals expected from Hawaii.

### HAD C. P. R. AGREEMENT

An extract from another letter was: "I am going to try and get an agreement with the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern similar to the Canadian Pacific agreement, and at the same time extend the C. P. R. work up to Swift Current, an increase of 500 laborers, but as the season is getting near to winter, I am not trying very hard until next spring."

## Details of the contracts<sup>191</sup> (November 30, 1907)

The Boarding-house Union of Honolulu and the antagonism of the Planters' Association were responsible for the influx of Japanese from Hawaii.

After all the other local Japanese employment agencies had denied the importation of laborers direct from Japan, the Canadian-Nippon Company, when

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<sup>191</sup> From FIVE YEAR CONTRACTS WITH COAL COMPANY AND C. P. R. (1907, November 30). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

confronted with the confiscated proof, “frankly” admit that between June and September they brought over direct from Japan fourteen hundred Japanese laborers and miners.

Of these, forty were supplied to the Wellington Colliery Company, one hundred and fifty to the British Columbia General Contract Company, and over one thousand to the C. P. R.

This company was formed by Mr. Gotoh and Mr. Yoshi, former secretary to Mr. Morikawa, just before Ottawa last January ratified the treaty which abrogated the “understanding” that no more than five hundred Japanese would be permitted to leave Japan for Canada in any one year.

These are the chief results of the immigration inquiry which will close to-day.

#### LAST SCENE OF ALL

With the formal evidence of Mr. C. Gardiner Johnson and Mr. W. W. Boulton, directors of the Canadian-Nippon Company, which is being heard this afternoon, the immigration inquiry will close after being in session for nearly a month, and having examined over two thousand witnesses.

Of all these Saori Gotoh has been the star, adding to his interesting admission of yesterday that during four months of this year his company has brought in fourteen hundred Japanese laborers, a still further interesting account to-day of their distribution.

In this he revealed, after much argument of counsel, the terms of two contracts, one with the Wellington Colliery Company, signed by His Honor James Dunsmuir, and another with the C. P. R. [...]

These were the features of the agreement with the Wellington Colliery Company. Five hundred coal miners were required, and the contract was for five years. The colliery company paid the total wages to the Canadian Nippon Company, and the latter paid the men. The scale of wages varied from \$1.35 to \$1.90 a day, according to the work. The company promised not to employ any others except where the Canadian Nippon Company fails to supply the men required in this agreement. Suitable dwellings will be supplied as to the Japanese laborers now in our employ. Rent, \$3. Deductions from wages will be made for medical and other attendance as from the wages of those now employed. In the case of a strike, the colliery company was not to be held liable for breach of agreement. The Canadian Nippon Company was to receive \$5 for each Japanese supplied. The agreement could be terminated by either party on sixty days' notice. Signed by W. W. Boulton as secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Nippon Company, and S. Gotoh as director. Also by the Wellington Colliery Company.

This contract is not in effect, the Canadian Nippon Company having been able to supply only forty of the five hundred miners required.

#### TERMS OF THE C. P. R. AGREEMENT

These were the features of the agreement with the C. P. R. made in June of this year, a renewal of a previous agreement, as Mr. Gotoh frankly admitted. The renewal was to remain in force until 1912, but subject to cancellation by either party for any breach thereof upon thirty days' notice.

The supply was to be “as many competent Japanese laborers and workmen as from time to time demanded.” The Canadian Nippon Company would not be liable if conditions rendered it impossible to supply the laborers. The rate of wages varied from \$1.35 to \$1.65 a day, the C. P. R. paying the Canadian Nippon Company and the latter paying the men, who were to be considered the employees of the contracting firm, which was liable for their care and attendances in case of illness. Free transportation guaranteed on the Pacific Division, attendants of the C. P. R. accompanying the men. The freight rates on their supplies were to be as favorable as to any of the other laborers employed. If the laborers were unsatisfactory to the company, the agreement [was] to be terminated on one month’s notice. Or, if the Canadian Nippon Company was unable to secure the men, it could terminate the agreement upon the same notice.

Not one laborer was brought in by the Canadian Nippon Company in contravention of the Alien Labor Act.

The Commissioner then read a letter sent by the superintendent of the C. P. R. to the Canadian Nippon Company last April, in which Mr. Busted estimated the number of Japanese laborers the company would require this year at from 500 to 2000.

To Mr. Wilson, Mr. Gotoh stated that this agreement differed from the former agreement only in the clause regarding wages.

“Lower or higher in this?”

“Lower.”

He added that the Canadian Nippon Company supplied these laborers as far as Swift Current, Saskatchewan, and that they had also supplied about 30 porters for the C. P. R. this year.

### **“There are enough here now”<sup>192</sup> (November 30, 1907)**

“During the four months, from June to September of this year, we imported 1400 Japanese laborers and miners direct from Japan to work on railways and in mills and mines. We then had four offices, the head office here, the Canadian-Nippon Supply Company, a branch at Yokohama, another at Victoria, and the fourth at Revelstoke. This and the office in Vancouver are the only ones retained. We are bringing in no more Japanese because there are enough here now for our purposes.”

When Saori Gotoh, head of the Canadian-Nippon Company, had added to this admission – one which he was forced to make, Commissioner King having the proof of it in the company’s confiscated documents – a description of the methods of collecting the laborers in Japan and of their distribution here, the Commissioner said: “I think the object of the Commission has been fulfilled.” [...]

The fact [was] made plain that both Mr. Morikawa and the Foreign Office at Tokyo were constantly made aware of this importation of Japanese laborers in reports

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<sup>192</sup> From FOURTEEN HUNDRED IN FOUR SHORT MONTHS. (1907, November 30). *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1.

made direct to the local consul by the Canadian-Nippon Company here, and to the Foreign Office through the Tokyo Immigration Company, for whom the Canadian-Nippon Company were “correspondents.” Mr. Gotoh didn’t like the term “agents.”

#### LIBERAL WITH PASSPORTS

The Foreign Office granted a passport for every one of the 1400 in the four months, or for 900 more than the limitation of 500 for the whole year, which prevailed until abrogated by the treaty which Ottawa ratified last January, a month after the Canadian-Nippon Company was formed.

According to Mr. Gotoh, the Foreign Office was thus obliging because it was assured that all had work in advance. This assurance was in the form of a duplicate agreement with six companies here with whom the laborers were placed, this duplicate having the signature of the local Japanese Consul, and being conveyed to the Foreign Office through the Canadian-Nippon Company’s branch, while it existed at Yokohama, and later through the Tokyo Immigration Company.

Another interesting fact is the admission of Mr. Yoshi, Mr. Gotoh’s native partner, that he, Mr. Yoshi, until shortly before December, when the Canadian-Nippon Company was formed, was private secretary to Mr. Morikawa.

These were the companies which Mr. Gotoh said he supplied with the 1400 laborers: the B. C. General Contract Company, the Canadian Pacific Railway, Macdonnel & Z. Gzowski, the Wellington Colliery at Nanaimo, the various sawmills and the mines of the Kootenay.

Of 135 Japanese brought out for the colliery only 40 were acceptable, added Mr. Gotoh, sadly.

The Commissioner – “What became of the others?”

“They went to work on the railways.”

#### A BUSY FOUR MONTHS

Taking up the company’s records from May to August, the Commissioner read the following shipments of little Brownies from Yokohama to Vancouver:

May 29, arrived, 26; June 9, 60; June 12, 60; June 19, 61; June 26, 64; July 7, 77; July 9, 75 laborers and 2 miners; July 24, 87 laborers and 3 miners; August 7, 28 laborers; August 21, 15 laborers and 45 miners.

The Commissioner – “This makes a total of 766 Japanese immigrants, of whom 185 were miners, all brought in between may 29 and August 21. The balance followed in September.”

Mr. Gotoh nodded in agreement.

Taking up a handful of passports, also the property of the Canadian-Nippon Company, and similarly confiscated by the Commissioner with the other documents, the Commissioner said: “I find that all these had passports for ‘British Canada,’ ‘British Columbia,’ and others marked, ‘Canada, British Columbia.’” [...]

#### COMPLAINED OF OVERCHARGES

The Commissioner read a letter sent by the Canadian-Nippon Company to the Tokyo Immigration Co. complaining of overcharges made by the Tokyo Company’s agents in the province among certain immigrants who on arrival here had complained



to Mr. Gotoh. His company's letter to Tokyo was a request to have the practice stopped.

"Do you always look after the welfare of the immigrants to that extent?"

"Yes, and when they are sick. We have a fund in the office to which all the Japanese we bring out contribute from 50 cents to \$1."

Mr. Gotoh added that they had sent back to Japan this year twelve Japanese who were physically unfit to work. One had become insane. In all, nine of those brought out in the four months had died.

He admitted that some three hundred had been brought from Hawaii, but all were found unsatisfactory.

"They do too much loafing," said Mr. Gotoh.

He had even cabled his agents in Tokyo to see the Foreign Office and endeavor to have the influx from Hawaii stopped.

In revising the figures, Mr. Gotoh made the importation 1000 direct from Japan, and between 360 and 400 from Hawaii. [...]

[The Commissioner -] "Are there any agents here now or in Victoria of Japanese immigration companies?"

"No."

"You are the first?"

"I am not an agent."

"What do you call yourself?"

"Correspondent."

"Their business is to send out immigrants and your business is to employ?"

"Yes."

In describing the methods by which the Japanese immigration companies collect the laborers, Mr. Gotoh said:

"The companies get the Government's consent to send agents throughout all the provinces in Japan. They work on commission, not on salary. They send immigrants to Canada, United States, Hawaii, Mexico, Peru and practically all over the world."

#### HAD THEIR PHOTOS

Handing Mr. Gotoh a book of photographs and registration of the laborers brought out by the Canadian-Nippon Company, the Commissioner asked him to further describe the methods it indicated had been followed.

"These are for the purpose of keeping a complete record. The immigration companies attach these photos," said Mr. Gotoh, "to the duplicate of the registration which they obtain from the court office where the original records are kept. The record and character of each intending immigrant is ascertained before the passport can be obtained, and without which they are not allowed to leave Japan."

After further examination the Commission reviewed the evidence.

"As I understand it, you or your company here send to Tokyo a duplicate of the agreement you make for the supply of certain laborers for railways, mills or mines. Then the Tokyo Immigration Company from whom you get the laborers forward to the Government the duplicate agreement to see what number of men they will allow

to come to Canada, and this document is then verified by cable to the Japanese Consul, or by his signature upon it. Then instructions are issued to the Governor of a province to allow a certain number of men to leave the country. The agent then collects his men and each produces a register. This is sent to the Foreign Office, and they then issue the passports to the immigrants themselves. The agent of the immigration charges each man 25 yen. That is the only charge made.”

#### PASSPORTS AND SEALS

“Is it possible to have a fraudulent passport?”

“No. They are all numbered and bear the immigrant’s seal, and so any frauds are easy to detect.”

By way of illustration, the Commissioner produced a number of passports obtained from the office of Mr. Gotoh’s company, the Canadian-Nippon Company, while Mr. Gotoh produced his own little ivory-encased seal and red ink pad.

“Every Japanese has his seal, a copy of which is kept in the Government Registry Offices.”

Then the examination got back to the immigration companies, all of which, Mr. Gotoh said, were required to furnish a cash bond that the immigrants sent out would not become a public charge in the country to which they were going. The companies, in turn, obtained from two or three relatives or friends of the intending immigrant a similar bond.

“Does the immigration company undertake to bring them all back in the event of war?”

“The companies supply the army office with a record, and [the army] also requires service of from two to three years of all male Japanese between the ages of 21 and 32, and over 5 feet 2 inches in height.” Mr. Gotoh here laughed immoderately. “I am under that, and I escaped.” [...]

“Do you keep the Tokyo office informed as to the whereabouts of your laborers?”

“Yes, we report to the Japanese consul when they arrive, and the number, and also the Tokyo office as well as keeping the latter informed of our distribution of the immigrants.”

“You report to the Japanese consul here?”

“Yes, and he keeps a record, the same as the Registry Offices in Japan.”

#### **“Impossible to reproduce”<sup>193</sup> (November 30, 1907)**

The Commissioner [...] asked for a history of the first approaching of the immigrant by the companies to his getting work here.

Gotoh told him that the companies sent out agents who had to register under the government. The country was divided into prefectures, and the companies had to notify the government from what prefectures they intended to collect men. Men were sent to different countries, principally to Mexico, Peru, Chili, Manila, and Hawaii. He

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<sup>193</sup> From OBJECT OF THE COMMISSION HAS BEEN FULFILLED. (1907, November 30). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 8.

did not think the companies had carried on any operations with regard to Canada before this year. There was no need for the agents to talk persuasively to the men of this country; they were anxious enough to come.

The elaborate way in which the government keeps track of every one of its subjects was next explained by the witness, who produced a duplicate of the family record of an immigrant's family. In every village was a county hall where was kept the registry of families. When a baby was born or a marriage celebrated it was registered on the record of the family, and this record was kept throughout Japan. Whenever a man wanted to prove his identity and record, he had to get his record from the office. Sometimes officially a photograph was attached, but that was uncommon. Duplicates of the records of the immigrants had to be sent to the foreign office by the immigration companies when application was made for passports, and he also liked to get a duplicate record of those for whom he found employment, so that he could keep track of them. No man was allowed to leave without his passport.

#### CAN'T TRADE PASSPORTS

The Commissioner: "Would it be any use sending the passport back so that another man could leave with it?"

Gotoh: "It would be no use sending it back, because the passport is stamped with the date on which he left Kobe or Yokohama."

The Commissioner: "I have half a dozen passports here from your office. Have you any reason to believe that any of the passports produced here are fraudulent?"

Gotoh: "Not one of them."

"Would it be easy to produce a fraudulent passport?"

#### EVERY JAP HAS SEAL

"No. We have a seal, and although the printing could be reproduced it would be impossible to reproduce the government paper on the seal. The sealing in Japan is very sacred, and everyone who makes an oath uses his seal."

"Have you a seal?"

"Yes; I could not travel in Japan without it."

The seal was examined by the Commissioner, who said it was contained in a little ivory box, which was divided into two parts, one for the seal and the other for the paste or ink. Copies of the seal of every Japanese were kept in the record office.

### **"Prepared by Bowser"<sup>194</sup> (January 24, 1908)**

As is pointed out in the excellent report of Mackenzie King<sup>195</sup>, the origin of the influx of Japanese into the province of British Columbia during 1907 began with the advent of Saori Gotoh. This gentleman had a wide experience in supplying labor to American railways. He had furnished men to the Oregon Short Line, Union Pacific,

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<sup>194</sup> From Ross, D. (1908, January 24). Bowser Responsible for Japanese Influx. *The Victoria Daily Colonist*, p. 1. Written by Duncan Ross (1870 – 1915), then Liberal M.P. for Yale-Cariboo.

<sup>195</sup> Mackenzie King, W L. (1908). *Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the methods by which Oriental labourers have been induced to come to Canada*. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau.

Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific. In 1901 he came from Tacoma to Vancouver and established a connection with the Canadian Pacific. He succeeded in effecting an agreement between railway companies and Japanese contractors across the line. The

#### AGREEMENT WAS PREPARED BY BOWSER

between Gotoh and the Canadian Pacific. Mr. Bowser was then acting for Gotoh. This agreement was renewed from time to time until finally in December, 1906, Gotoh organized the Canadian Nippon Supply Company, Limited, and a similar agreement to that prepared by Bowser, was entered into between the Canadian Nippon Supply Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and also the Wellington Colliery Company.

### Limited responsibility for immigration<sup>196</sup> (January 27, 1908)

If the present inquiry has revealed anything, it is that the Japanese government has permitted to come to Canada during the past year, only the following classes:

1. Merchants, officers, students and travelers to the number of about 100 as described.

2. Japanese formerly resident in Canada.

3. Such persons as may be designated 'relatives' or 'friends' of Japanese resident in Canada, and this only where the consul resident in Canada has certified that they were wanted, and that upon their arrival they would be sure of immediate employment or a home. This number has been approximately 190.

4. Contract laborers for work under a bona fide contract with a Canadian company or corporation, the bona fides of which contract has been certified to by the resident consul, and a duplicate of which has been produced at and approved of by the foreign office of Japan – a class of immigration which has been allowed only since April of the present year. With the immigration from Hawaii, the Japanese government has had nothing to do.

### An affidavit<sup>197</sup> (April 15, 1908)

Duncan Ross took up [...] his (Ross's) charges against Mr. Bowser, naming them in detail as follows:

- “1. That W. J. Bowser was solicitor for Saori Gotoh.

- “2. That Saori Gotoh discussed with W. J. Bowser the effect of the Canadian Alien Labor Act, upon a contract of this character and that the contract was drawn up with special reference to the Alien Labor Act.

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<sup>196</sup> From King, W. M. (1908, January 27). RESPONSIBILITY FOR JAP INFLUX. *The Victoria Daily Colonist*, p. 1. From a report by William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874 – 1950).

<sup>197</sup> From Duncan Ross Again Makes Charges Against Bowser. (1908, April 15). *The Vancouver Daily World*, p. 1.

“3. That all subsequent contracts between Saori Gotoh and the Canadian Pacific Railway company were duplicates of the contract prepared by W. J. Bowser.

“4. That during the last provincial election W. J. Bowser used information secured as solicitor for Gotoh to convince the public that a contract had been entered into between Saori Gotoh and a company acting for the Grand Trunk Pacific railway to bring in 50,000 Japanese laborers to work on the Grand Trunk Pacific railway.

“5. That the information contained in the election roorbach<sup>198</sup>, which appeared in the Vancouver Daily Province the evening before the last general election, was supplied by W. J. Bowser, since the editorial columns of the same paper in the same issue gave W. J. Bowser credit for having warned the public regarding the alleged contract.

“6. That the Victoria Colonist of the morning of the election gives as a report of a speech delivered by Mr. W. J. Bowser, the substance of the allegation contained in the Province article.

“7. That W. J. Bowser, as solicitor for Gotoh, knew at the time that the Province article was untrue and was published solely for the purpose of deceiving the electors.

“8. That, as solicitor for Saori Gotoh, he knew that the contract was not between the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Co., but between Gotoh and the Canadian Pacific Railway company, a powerful political ally in the last provincial general election.

“9. That W. J. Bowser knew of the existence of the Gotoh contract when he introduced the Natal Act in the legislature on April 2, 1907, and that this act, for which he was primarily responsible, was drafted in such a way that even if it did receive the assent of the lieutenant-governor, it could not be enforced against the Gotoh contract.

“10. That under the arrangements made by the Dominion government with Japan, and by the enforcement of federal immigration regulations, the Japanese can be brought into the country under the Gotoh contract, and that consequently this contract stood no longer in the way of W. J. Bowser introducing a good Natal Act in the legislature.

“11. That he did so for political effect, and for the purpose of jeopardizing a satisfactory settlement of a serious international question.”

Mr. Ross then read an affidavit, signed by Gotoh:

“Yokohama, April 7th, 1908.

“Gotoh says as follows: Bowser did not draft his contract to bring Japanese to Canada, but as Bowser was his solicitor for over two years until October or November, 1906, Bowser knew the nature of every contract made during that time. There was a case of changing contractors’s name from Faruya to his company Shoko<sup>199</sup>, in July,

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<sup>198</sup> A lie or forgery published for political gain.

<sup>199</sup> “On the register of Joint stock companies in Victoria is No. 49,416, and you will find it is the number of the Shoko Company, limited. The date is June 15, 1905, and you will find that the witness to the signatures on the articles was William Henry Johnston, law clerk in Bowser’s office, and endorsed on the memoranda of association of Gotoh, and under date of June 8, 1905, appears ‘Shoko Company, Ltd., Bowser & Wallbridge, solicitors, Vancouver, B. C.’ Attached is the statement under date of July 3, 1905, that this company was formed to take over from Furuya & Co. contracts with the C. P. R., the

1905, and Bowser recopied the contract. The contract was with the C. P. R. to supply Japanese in Vancouver.”

(Signed) “TAMURA.”

“The above is true fact under oath.”

(Signed) “S. GOTOH.”

### “Bowser’s Alliance”<sup>200</sup> (October, 26 1908)

The Conservatives are to-day preaching a white British Columbia. Think of it, you who have lived here for the quarter century or more the Oriental has been an issue! Think of the party that is bound up with corporations that are always wanting cheap labor, white or Oriental, preaching a white British Columbia to the people of British Columbia! All they gave you up to 1896 – and they were in power in the Dominion and the province – was a \$50 head tax to keep this a white British Columbia. That head tax was raised to \$100 and then \$500 by the Liberal government when it was found necessary, and it proved effective.

The question why that head-tax was not imposed on the Japanese should be answered. The royal commission reported that as Japan had voluntarily undertaken to restrict emigration from that country to Canada, the tax should not be imposed in their case. But a very much stronger reason than that is found in the existence of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, and I know it will appeal to the loyal Britishers of British Columbia. Whether we like it or not we must, if we are going to remain loyal, consider that treaty in our every act. (Cheers.) Since it was signed in 1902 [sic.] Sir Wilfrid Laurier’s policy has been largely directed by the fact that the treaty is in force. Were we to adopt hostile legislation in the face of it? (“No.”) Canada pointed this out to Japan, as well as the fact that the feeling of British Columbia in opposition to Oriental immigration must be respected. Japan appreciated our friendly feeling and through Consul-General Nosse gave us the written assurance that the Japanese government has no desire to force their people into British Columbia against the wishes of the province.

Japan kept that agreement in 1903, 1904, 1905 and 1906. There was no Japanese question in 1907, when over 8,000 arrived in British Columbia. No wonder there was agitation, culminating in those unfortunate riots! What did the government do? Sent Mr. Lemieux to Japan to find out why the agreement was not kept. He discovered that during ten months only 210 Japs had left that country, under regularly-issued passports. The others had come in under contracts made by one Gotoh.

Who is Gotoh? A very clever and well educated Japanese who had been engaged in supplying Oriental labor for the Northern Pacific and other large

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consideration being \$15,000 to the Furuya company.” Ross, D. (1909, November 20). ROSS MAKES CHARGES AGAINST MR. BOWSER. *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 13.

<sup>200</sup> From Ross, D. (1908, October 26). Crushing Exposure of Bowser’s Alliance With His Client Gotoh. *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 1. Written by Duncan Ross (1870 – 1915), then Liberal M.P. for Yale-Cariboo.

corporations. He came to Vancouver, succeeded in making large contracts, organized a sister company in Tokio, sent over the contracts as proof that the labor was required, and got passports issued. Those who could not get here direct on account of the agreement with Canada were sent to Honolulu and got in that way.

When the facts were discovered and represented to the Japanese government, it at once said it would not allow any of its subjects to emigrate under the Gotoh contracts. They have kept that agreement. Our government passed rigid immigration laws and stipulated that all must come direct from their own country. This left Canada and Japan exactly as they were in 1903. Contrast that with the record of the Conservatives, who cry for a white British Columbia.

Here I come into contact with W. J. Bowser. You remember the election of February, 1907. The day before that election the Vancouver Province published details of a contract between Gotoh and the G. T. P. for the supply of 50,000 Japanese, giving Bowser credit editorially for the information. It looked true, people believed it, and it won the Vancouver and Victoria seats for the Conservatives. Bowser came over here and regaled a large audience with the story. The Colonist gave it. You could not have elected the Archangel Gabriel in the face of that. The people of British Columbia will never stand 50,000 Japanese, or any Japanese, coming into the province for the purpose of constructing our great national highways. (Cheers.)

After the mischief was done, it was found there was absolutely not one word of truth in that story. Watch for roorbacks to-morrow. Bowser is ill and cannot furnish them, but he has able assistants. They get published in New York a story that the G. T. P. is giving up, and in Seattle another that Japs are being brought in to build the line. Strange, is it not, that these Japs are always going to arrive just before an election? As a matter of fact the G. T. P. line in British Columbia is being built by contractors who never employ any but white labor. (Cheers.)

While there was no truth in the story, there was a contract between Gotoh and the Canadian Pacific, and that was drawn up by Bowser. He took those legal papers of his own client Gotoh down to the office of the Province, the C. P. R. paper, and deliberately substituted the name of the Grand Trunk Pacific, and had the contract printed as if the 50,000 laborers were for the G. T. P. instead of the C. P. R.

I don't know what the ethics of the legal profession are, but any lawyer who would make the misuse of a client's papers that W. J. Bowser did, instead of being Attorney-General of the province, ought to be disowned by the Law Society.

Bowser denies that he was Gotoh's solicitor, but with the beautiful harmony that prevails in the Conservative party his leader, Premier McBride, confesses that the Attorney-General was Gotoh's solicitor. Think of Bowser ill in bed in Vancouver and his leader telling the people of Victoria the very things poor Bowser did not want a Victoria audience to hear!

## Bowser's Defence<sup>201</sup> (November 24, 1909)

My legal firm acted as solicitors for Gotoh from 1904 to 1906. There is hardly a law firm in Vancouver but what acts for Orientals. But we did no business for Gotoh after November, 1906, three months before the last general election.

I never drafted an agreement for Gotoh to bring in Japanese for the C. P. R. or any other railway. Ross got his letter from Gotoh through the notorious Liberal machine operator, Preston. He got other documents from Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who seized them during his investigation in Vancouver. [...]

I did not give the information to The Province for the report published the day before the last election of negotiations of the G. T. P. to bring in 50,000 Japanese. The truth is I got my information, which I used in my speech in Victoria, from a reporter on the staff of the Province, who gave me as his informant a prominent Liberal. But both The Province and I were justified for the reasons I give you. [...]

I wish to be perfectly fair with Mr. Ross and the public. My legal firm, not necessarily myself in person, from 1904 to 1906 acted as solicitors for M. Furuya & Co. of Seattle, of which Gotoh was the manager. I understand from the statement of Mr. Ross that Gotoh came here in 1902 [sic.] with the idea of introducing Japanese laborers on railway work, but my firm did not do any business for Gotoh or his company until 1904, two years after he came to Vancouver. [...]

My law firm does business for white, black, Chinese or Japanese who pay for the business they transact. And we are not to be discredited for that. There is perhaps not a law firm in Vancouver but what does business for Orientals. [...]

[Let me read you Gotoh's sworn affidavit:]

### GOTOH'S AFFIDAVIT

Canada, Province of British Columbia,

To wit-

I, Saori Gotoh, of the city of Vancouver, in the Province of British Columbia, do solemnly declare,-

1. That during the years 1904, 1905 and 1906 I was in the employ of M. Furuya, who himself was carrying on business at the city of Seattle. He commenced business in British Columbia and I had full charge and control of that business, the same being carried on in the name of [the] M. Furuya company. The business in British Columbia consisted in the operation of a shingle bolt camp on the Capilano river and the furnishing of workmen to the Canadian Pacific Railway company.

2. The contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway company in regard to the furnishing of workmen was not drafted, prepared or revised by Mr. W. J. Bowser, or by any member of his firm or by anyone connected with his office. The contract entered into with the Canadian Pacific Railway company was copied by [the] M.

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<sup>201</sup> From Bowser, W. J. (1909, November 24). BOWSER EXPLODES ALL CHARGES MADE BY ROSS. *The Vancouver Daily Province*, p. 1. Written by William John Bowser (1867 – 1933), then MLA for Vancouver. He would be premier of British Columbia from December 1915 to November 1916.



Furuya company from a similar contract which they had with the Northern Pacific railway in Washington.

3. I never on behalf of the said M. Furuya company, myself or otherwise consulted Mr. W. J. Bowser or anyone connected with his office or discussed with or was advised by him or any of them as to the effect of the Canadian Alien Labor act upon a contract similar to that which we had with the Canadian Pacific Railway company or upon that contract itself.

4. It is not true that when this Canadian Pacific Railway company contract was turned over from [the] M. Furuya company to the Shoko Company Limited that the contract was copied by anyone connected with the office of Mr. W. J. Bowser.

5. I never discussed with Mr. W. J. Bowser in any way about any contract of mine about bringing Japanese laborers from Japan to British Columbia.

6. The last work done by Mr. Bowser's office for the Shoko Company was in November, 1906.

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

S. GOTOH.

Declared before me at the city of Vancouver in the Province of British Columbia, this 30th day of January, 1909. R. W. Harris, commissioner for taking affidavits within British Columbia.

That is the sworn evidence of Gotoh. And yet Ross would have you believe that in a single speech in Victoria at 11:30 o'clock on the night before the election of 1907 I turned the whole province in favor of the Conservatives at the polls. (Renewed laughter.)

The last work my law firm did for Gotoh or the Shoko company was in November, 1906, three months before the election. And yet Ross says that I used my business relationship with Gotoh and by an underground system I had given to The Province the material for the celebrated statement published in The Province on the day before the last election in 1907 – the story of the negotiations of the G. T. P. to bring 50,000 Japanese to work on the construction of that line.

But I did not give that information to The Province. The truth is that I received it from a reporter on the staff of The Province who gave me as his informant a certain prominent Liberal. (Renewed laughter and applause.)

### **“A malevolent falsehood”<sup>202</sup> (November 15, 1913)**

The times were somewhat out of joint in 1906-1907, and during the winter which intervened between those two years many workingmen were out of employment. The stress of hard times was upon the province, and in the coast cities, as well as in many interior places, a large floating population of unemployed and

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<sup>202</sup> From Baer, W. W. (1913, November 15). BOWSERISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA – ARTICLE II. *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 15. Written by Walter Wesley Baer (1865 – 1939).

consequently discontented people were abroad in the land. The everlasting strife between Oriental and Occidental and the right of British subjects to maintain in British Columbia a white man's country was a burning question. Enter Bowser as the white man's friend, the uncompromising opponent of Oriental immigration and the champion of a "white" British Columbia. Anti-Oriental demonstrations in Vancouver had inflamed the public mind, and prepared the mental soil for the seed Bowser had so carefully "quicken" in anticipation of its planting.

The "sensation" was sprung in Vancouver the day before the general elections, and in Victoria on the eve of the same event. In Vancouver a government organ published in large type upon its first page a wholly fabricated story of threatened Oriental invasion which had been carefully prepared by Bowser, and in Victoria, upon the rostrum of the Victoria theatre, Bowser himself uttered, in even stronger terms, the untruthful statements which reflected memorable credit upon his genius and equally memorable discredit upon his veracity, his honor and his eagerness to treat confidentially the relations between his clients and himself. On that occasion Bowser evinced his ability and willingness to use information obtained in the practice of his profession for disgraceful political ends and at the same time demonstrated his ability and willingness to warp, twist and pervert such information to his own purposes in a manner so diabolical as to brand him forever unworthy of public confidence. [...]

Bowser's story will be long remembered by those who heard him tell it and by those who read it the next day, telegraphed, as it had been the day before, to every government paper in the province. The story bore all the earmarks of credibility and from what higher critics might designate "internal evidence" carried its own conviction. But it had more (or less) substantial foundation than such internal evidence of its credibility. Its veracity was vouched for by Bowser himself. Behind the story stood the man who, cleverly, he was careful to explain, had, just in the nick of time, discovered the alleged nefarious plot. Who could hesitate to give it credence when Bowser vouched for its truth? Had it been published even a day earlier the malevolent untruthfulness and diabolical falsehood of the fabrication might have been exposed. [...]

The story told by Bowser, with all the circumstantial detail of one who had surpassed Sherlock Holmes in his ability to fathom mysteries and discover traitorous plots, was that he (Bowser) had information that the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company had entered into an agreement with a certain Japanese contractor to bring into British Columbia 50,000 Japanese laborers to do construction work on the line of the Grand Trunk Pacific railway. Bowser declared he knew the name of the Japanese contractor and had even seen the contract. Such a malevolent falsehood, as it was afterwards proved to be, told by Bowser in his inimitable style on the stage and published throughout the province but a few hours before the candidates of both political parties were making their appeals to the electorate for their votes and influence, caused a tremendous sensation. It excited workingmen to a pitch of resentment against all who could by any flight of imagination be connected with such an outrage on the rights of British subjects; such flagrant violation of the principles for which laboring men were organized; such flaunting of defiance in the

faces of those who needed work as they needed bread. It gave the Tory ward heeler a weapon with which to belabor the cause of every Liberal candidate in the province, and the time was too short for an effective refutation to be put forth. [...] The result was a numerical reduction in the Liberal membership in the legislature and a corresponding increase in the government support. [...] [Bowser] plumped himself on his achievement so much that he demanded and received a place in the cabinet, being made attorney-general six months after this monstrous achievement.

### **“The facts of the matter”<sup>203</sup> (November 19, 1913)**

The facts of the matter appear to be that one Gotoh, a Japanese immigration agent, had been for years a client of the Bowser legal firm in the city of Vancouver. For several years Bowser knew the entire working of Gotoh’s business. There existed a contract under the terms of which Gotoh was to bring in 8,000 Japanese laborers to do railway work. The railway for which the work was to be done was not the Grand Trunk Pacific railway. Bowser knew the exact wording of this contract. He drafted it himself, by amending the original form in which it had served to secure the employment of Japanese laborers in the United States. Breaking all faith with his client and using information obtained in his professional capacity as legal adviser to Gotoh, Bowser perverted the fact of the existence of the contract to political uses, exaggerated the terms of the contract and changed the name of the railway which had entered into contract with Gotoh.

### **“Heartless and cruel”<sup>204</sup> (November 22, 1913)**

How heartless and cruel was Bowser’s bluff at redeeming his pledge to exclude Orientals is shown best by an examination of the exclusion act drafted by him and passed by the legislature in 1907. It must not be assumed that Bowser did nothing to stage his bluff. He did pass an act, but he did it [...] in such a way as to protect the corporate interests while absolutely sacrificing the interests of the class to whom he made his earliest gallery play. Bowser is a lawyer and, it may be admitted, a rather clever lawyer. He need not have been clever to know that a provincial government has no power or authority to enact exclusion laws repugnant to the immigration laws of the Dominion. If the laws of a province transcend the powers given that province, or if a small part of the Dominion enacts laws pretending to make it more difficult to enter the province than it is to enter the Dominion as a whole, it is easy to read the fate of such laws. The federal government alone can restrict, prohibit or regulate the immigration of foreigners into Canada. When Bowser promised an effective Natal Act he promised what he knew he could not perform.

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<sup>203</sup> From Baer, W. W. (1913, November 19). BOWSERISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA – ARTICLE III. *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 7. Written by Walter Wesley Baer (1865 – 1939).

<sup>204</sup> From Baer, W. W. (1913, November 22). BOWSERISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA – ARTICLE IV. *The Victoria Daily Times*, p. 12. Written by Walter Wesley Baer (1865 – 1939).