DIMENSIONS OF ETHNIC EDUCATION: THE JAPANESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1880-1940

by

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ABSTRACT

The role of education in the assimilation of British Columbia's Japanese population was significant. In the following pages an attempt has been made to describe and to assess this role. The investigation, however, is dependent upon the concept applied to the term assimilation. For the purpose of this study, assimilation was either structural or behavioral in nature. What this thesis demonstrates is that the public school was to a large extent responsible for the behavioral assimilation of the second generation Japanese. Moreover, the study shows that the first generation Japanese willingly promoted the utilization of the public school system by their children. The Issei were only too successful in this task for inevitably the Nisei, once they accepted the values advanced by the public schools, discarded many of the customs, manners and traditions of their parents.

Because a study which involves only the public school system would provide too limited a scope, considerable attention was given to churches and Japanese institutions. For instance, the Christian church was the first major agency to establish a rapport with British Columbia's Japanese community. In time, the churches set up well organized programs
to provide various forms of education to both first and second generation Japanese. On the other hand, an investigation of Japanese institutions reveals that many of them originally served to separate the Japanese from the greater community. As the years passed the roles of these institutions changed, an occurrence most apparent with the Vancouver Japanese Language School. This school eventually became one of the primary acculturating agents in the Japanese community.

Therefore, what this thesis reveals is the relationship between acculturation and selected (institutional) educational factors. It also examines the interaction of churches, Japanese institutions and the public school. Churches and Japanese institutions ran programs which originally substituted for public education. Later, this role changed to a complementary one. The thesis concludes that churches, Japanese institutions and public schools were, to varying degrees, responsible for the acculturation of the Japanese in British Columbia.
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INTRODUCTION

In the past decade increasing public acceptance of the cultural diversity of Canadian Society has reflected itself in growing concern over the problems of ethnic and other minority groups. The part played by these groups in our historical development, however, has not always been clearly evident. There are perhaps three main reasons for this state of affairs. First, recent investigations of ethnic and minority groups have tended to converge on a few select areas such as the French Canadian and native Indian segments of the Canadian population. Although one cannot deny the value of such work, it is nonetheless obvious that other groups have been somewhat neglected. Second, historians have studied ethnic communities by examining their relations with the outside world.¹ They should also have included investigations of the social forces operating within minority groups. Finally, the study of ethnic groups has concentrated on political and economic matters. While these

undoubtedly are central issues, pursuing them has been at the cost of relegating their social history to an insignificant position and their education history to a minor role. Such accounts leave incomplete the historical background essential for the understanding of any ethnic group.¹ These three conditions are certainly applicable to accounts dealing with the Japanese in British Columbia.²

While this study of the Japanese as an ethnic group has as its central theme the concept of assimilation, it also discusses the related issue of immigration. In considering immigration the thesis analyzes old country conditions which led to emigration and thus tries to reconstruct a picture of the "typical" Japanese immigrant. This initial part of the investigation also examines the reactions of the host community to Japanese immigration. These two dimensions provide the context in which the main theme is studied.

Unlike that of immigration, one cannot as readily define the concept of assimilation. For the purposes of this thesis, however, Milton Gordon's writings provide the most


² For instance, see Charles H. Young, Helen R. Reid and W. A. Carrothers, The Japanese Canadians (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1938).
useful framework. Gordon maintains that assimilation can be either structural or behavioral. By structural assimilation he means "the entrance of the immigrants and their descendants into the social cliques, organizations . . . and general civic life of the receiving society." On the other hand, by behavioral assimilation he refers to immigrants absorbing "the cultural behavior patterns of the 'host' society." The special term for this latter condition is acculturation. This thesis focuses on acculturation including the concept of Anglo-conformity by which Gordon means the immigrants' acceptance of English institutions and social patterns. To what extent the Japanese coming to Canada actually accepted western norms is therefore a main concern of this investigation.

In the Japanese community in British Columbia formal efforts at education were the most important indices of acculturation. For the purposes of this thesis, the term "education" will be confined to the work of three kinds of institutions which tried to help the Japanese assimilate into the host community: Christian churches, Japanese organizations and the public schools. Each of these institutions played an important part in the education of British Columbia's Japanese.

The churches met with mixed success in their efforts to acculturate the first generation Japanese. However, they eventually made substantial headway in their relations with the second generation Japanese. Although at first glance Japanese institutions, particularly the Japanese language schools, appeared to hinder acculturation, one can in fact show that the reverse was often the case. Probably the most important acculturating agent of the three was the public school system. British Columbia public schools successfully imparted Canadian values to Japanese children, a situation which had important consequences in the Japanese community.

While each of these three acculturating agents played an important part in the process, the public school was the focal point. The Japanese may often have lived in ghetto-like situations, social interaction with the rest of the community may have been unpopular, and economic intercourse may have been discouraged, but the one place where Japanese and Occidentals came face to face was in the public schools. The public school was the common denominator or central element in Japanese education.

How then do churches and Japanese institutions fit into the general schema? Certainly, their roles may be examined in isolation but a more complete picture can be drawn by showing their relationship to the public schools.
Initially churches and Japanese institutions provided educational facilities which substituted for the public school system. In time, their role changed to a complementary one. Therefore, what this thesis reveals is that the Japanese utilized educational opportunities offered by churches, Japanese institutions and the public schools. Taken together, the three were largely responsible for the acculturation of British Columbia's Japanese population.
CHAPTER I

ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION

A study of the Japanese in British Columbia may justifiably begin with an examination of Chinese immigration for, as it turned out, the Chinese in Canada bequeathed a legacy of animosity which the Japanese unwillingly inherited. Originally welcomed as an inexpensive source of labour, the Chinese soon came to be the targets of the white man's contempt.¹ By 1879, anti-Chinese feeling was so intense that Noah Shakespeare circulated a petition demanding a restriction on Chinese immigration, a halt to Chinese railroad labour, and the immediate reinstitution of a Chinese head-tax.² Shakespeare


² Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Journals (1879), p. 18. (Hereinafter cited as, Canada, Journals.)
presented his petition to the Select Committee on Chinese Labour and Immigration which issued a Report in 1879. Basing much of its information on California Senate hearings, the Committee tendered a damning account of the Chinese. The Committee stated that the presence of Orientals had a very poor effect on the moral character of white children since "the Chinese took advantage of young boys" and since most Chinese women were prostitutes of lower class origin. Moreover, the Committee attacked the Chinese for their habit of thievery, use of opium, general lack of cleanliness and want of Christian virtue. Some of the testimony before the Committee was particularly vicious; most of it was completely unsubstantiated. For instance, Dr. T. R. McInnis, the Mayor and Police Magistrate of New Westminster, testified about the Chinese motive for importing women. He stated that their immigration was for the purpose of prostitution, "just as people [would] import lower animals." When questioned about the number of Chinese appearing before his court, Dr. McInnis could supply

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2 Canada, Journals (1879), pp. 5, 14.

3 Ibid., pp. 7, 10, 15.

4 Ibid., p. 17.
neither the number of cases nor the number of convictions.¹

Even though testimony before the Committee often conflicted, there appeared to be unanimity on some points: the Chinese lacked necessary moral virtues; the Chinese could never assimilate into white society;² and the Chinese prevented desirable immigration by taking employment away from whites.³ Needless to say, the Committee's findings were somewhat different from the account given by the Honourable H. L. Langevin, Federal Minister of Public Works, who, in 1872 had reported the Chinese to be an "industrious, clean and laborious community."⁴

Only in two instances did the Committee examine the presence of the Japanese in British Columbia. Some of the investigators wished to know whether Japanese women were as "debauched" as were Chinese females.⁵ None of the multitude

¹ Canada, Journals (1879), pp. 16-17.

² Earlier evidence that the Chinese were considered to be a race apart is in The First Report of the Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages for the Province of British Columbia: 1872-73 (Victoria: Government Printer, 1874), p. 6. The Report states that the "Marriage Act" did not apply to the Chinese and, accordingly, officials should not enter Chinese marriages in the registry.

³ Canada, Journals (1879), pp. 20, 53.


⁵ Canada, Journals, (1879), p. 27.
of witnesses could supply an answer. Also, the Committee made
a brief note that, in some cases, Japanese "chain gangs" had
supplanted Chinese crews working on railroad construction.¹
Thus testimony at the hearings brought little attention to the
Japanese. Of course, this in itself was not very surprising as
there were simply too few Japanese to attract much notice.² For
the time being, the Chinese appeared to be the principal threat
to the welfare of the province.

By 1881, British Columbia's population had reached
49,459, of which 4,350 were Chinese.³ The latter figure caused
alarm and soon prompted a federal government investigation.
The Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration in
1885 presented the Chinese in a more favourable way than had
the Committee in 1879. The Commission seemed to conclude that
the Chinese had simply over-stayed their usefulness.⁴ At the
same time, the Commission cautioned against unfounded accusa-
tions and pleaded for a more mature attitude from whites.

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¹ Canada, Journals (1879), p. 27.
² Exact figures are not available.
³ Canada, Census, Population (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1881), I, p. 298.
⁴ Canada, Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Report (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1885), p. xxv. (Hereinafter cited as Canada, Report [1885]).
It stated: "[The Chinese] are not measured by that charitable rule which justice no less than humanity leads us to apply to all other men."¹

Despite the admonitions of the Royal Commission, anti-Oriental feeling did not abate. Just the opposite proved to be the case. In 1885, Simeon Duck, M.L.A. for Victoria City, rose in the Legislature to denounce the Chinese because they had a "system of secret societies which encourage[d] crime amongst themselves, and which prevent[ed] the administration of justice."² The following year, the Lieutenant-Governor raised the question of Chinese immigration in his speech from the throne.³ Thereafter, the Legislative Assembly witnessed numerous efforts to exclude the Chinese from railroad construction and coal mining,⁴


² B.C., Journals (1885), p. 46.

³ B.C., Journals (1886), p. 2. The first attempt by the Legislature to prohibit Chinese immigration was in 1884. See British Columbia, Statutes of the Province of British Columbia (1884), c. 3. (Hereinafter cited as, B.C., Statutes.)

to prohibit Chinese labour on public contracts, to increase the Chinese poll-tax and to permanently exclude all Chinese immigration. The Legislature deemed the latter to be crucial as, by 1891, the Chinese population had risen to 8,910.

Finally, in 1891 John C. Brown, M.L.A. for New Westminster City, asked the Legislature to include the Japanese in a motion which dealt primarily with the Chinese. Apparently the Legislature did not share Brown's concern over the Japanese for they rejected the amendment. In the years to come, the

1 B.C., Journals (1888), pp. lxxv-lxxxvi; (1890), p. 68; (1892), pp 18, 37. Also, see B.C., Statutes (1890), c. 33. Ostensibly, the reason for this was that the Chinese were ignorant of and careless in mining safety procedures.

2 B.C., Journals (1890), p. 67.


4 B.C., Statutes (1885), c. 2. These were certainly not the only pieces of legislation concerning the Chinese. The Legislature prohibited the Chinese from voting and from acquiring Crown lands. See B.C., Statutes (1875), c. 2.

5 Canada, Census, Population (1891), III, p. 391. Also, see British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1883-84), pp. 230-33. (Papers relating to Chinese question, printed for the information of the Select Committee on Chinese Immigration). (B.C., Sessional Papers are hereinafter cited as, B.C., S.P.)

6 B.C., Journals (1891), p. 51. Only occasionally did someone defend the Chinese and then only to point out that they were a threat to "the inferior type of white man." If the Chinese was an asset it was solely because he supplied cheap labour for the province's economic development. This view is in, W. G. H. Ellison, The Settlers of Vancouver Island: A Story for Immigrants (London: Arthur Chilver, 1907), pp. 82-85.
Japanese would discover that most of the charges which had been levelled at the Chinese would be extended to them.

It was rather unusual that someone recognized a Japanese menace as early as 1891 because British Columbia, unlike California, had not received many Japanese immigrants. The first documented account of a Japanese setting foot in the province was in 1877 when Manzo Nagano, a sailor, landed at New Westminster. Nagano borrowed a boat and, with an Italian companion, began fishing on the Fraser River. Other Japanese, these from the United States and perhaps at Nagano's prompting, soon came to fish.

At first, the reaction of the local white population was one of curiosity. The literature of the times illustrated prevailing attitudes concerning the Japanese. Alexander Caufield Anderson advanced a theory linking Coast Indian tribes with the Japanese. He believed that physical resemblances and similar customs provided living evidence that Coast Indians originated from the Kurile Islands. For his analysis, Anderson relied on various nineteenth century accounts of Japanese "junks" being swept off course and wrecked on the

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North American coast.\(^1\) Anderson's hypothesis lasted well into the twentieth century. In 1916, one writer explained that "a Haida and a Japanese dressed in European clothes were practically indistinguishable."\(^2\) He explained that there were certain language resemblances between the two races.\(^3\)

Marius Barbeau later corroborated these theories by proposing that Mongolian peoples, including the Japanese, at some time had migrated to America.\(^4\) Barbeau's theory was apparent in his description of a West Coast Indian chief:

... he was distinctly Mongolian. He was thick and squatty. I thought of Buddha, after he had gone -- a Buddha that had journeyed all the way from Manchuria.\(^5\)

Yet, apart from the many theories, Alexander Rattray when writing about British Columbia in 1862 cautioned against any contact with Japan. In particular, he pointed out "the

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3 Ibid., p. 17.


5 Ibid., p. 406. Barbeau explained that language differences were due to a relatively quick change during the last few generations. See Ibid., p. 413.
jealousy and peculiarities of its people."¹ Rattray's dire warnings constantly alluded to the dangers of a multitude of diseases which, be believed, found their origins in the Orient.²

At any rate, the 1890's saw a rapid increase in the number of Japanese immigrants with approximately 1,000 Japanese entering the province between 1884 and 1896.³ By 1901, they numbered 4,515.⁴ There were several reasons for the large influx of Japanese immigrants. In the first instance, the success of Chinese exclusion created a vacuum for labour which needed to be filled.⁵ Since British Columbia possessed

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² Ibid., chapter 9, passim.
⁵ James Francis Abbot, Japanese Expansion and American Policies (New York: Macmillan Company, 1916), p. 145. The claim that the Japanese settled in B.C. only because they lacked the financial resources to travel to other parts of Canada was a weak one. Although it was fairly certain that the Japanese possessed little capital, economic opportunity still lay in B.C. It would be difficult to imagine many Japanese who wished to try, for instance, wheat farming in Saskatchewan. See Philip Alvin Morris, "Conditioning Factors Molding Public Opinion in British Columbia Hostile to Japanese Immigration into Canada" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1963), p. 77.
countless opportunities for fishing, farming, lumbering and small businesses, the lure of the province was "essentially an economic phenomenon." ¹

The situation in Japan was an equally important factor. The Meiji Restoration ousted the Shogun from power and allowed a surge of both public and private interest in westernization. But this altered few of the traditional concepts which the feudal system, for centuries, had ingrained into the Japanese people. Although the Emperor abolished the feudal hierarchy, class distinctions remained deeply rooted. Obedience to authority and acceptance of social position prevailed despite an infusion of western ideas. ² The Japanese family structure, as did its extension, the hierarchial society, continued to be the dominant social pattern. Life was difficult for the average Japanese since the struggle for survival consumed most of his time. It was extremely likely that under these circumstances only educated Japanese were aware of the potential to

¹ Henry Pratt Fairchild, Immigration (New York: Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 145. One Japanese writer felt that B.C. was attractive because "it was too remote from the Atlantic Coast to be over-run by the low standard of living of groups arriving in Canada." See George Yamashita, "A History of the Occupations of the Japanese in British Columbia" (unpublished B.A. graduating essay, University of British Columbia, 1942), p. 3. For more general information see Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, The Canadian Family Tree (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 195.

be gained across the seas. Therefore, at least in the United States, the first Japanese immigrants were reasonably well educated professional people.¹

Yet, by the 1880's transcontinental railroads had pushed through the American West. Not only did the railroads require thousands of labourers but they also needed farmers to produce foodstuffs to supply these men.² As a result, American immigration companies began to solicit labour in Japan. Many landless Japanese farmers, facing ever increasing land values, realized that there was little chance of acquiring enough capital to purchase their own farms. Moreover, the rapidly industrializing cities did not hold much promise for the surplus Japanese agricultural population. Given such limited opportunity for advancement at home, the Japanese found American offers of ready employment to be very lucrative.³


However, the case of the Japanese who immigrated to British Columbia may have been somewhat different because of the lesser influence of immigration companies. The majority of Canadian Japanese were likely farmers and fishermen from Wakayama Prefecture and from Sanyodo on Honshu and from Saikado on Kyushu. Lyman suggested that they were principally from the village of Mio in Wakayama Prefecture. On the other hand, he stated that American Japanese came from the poorer areas of southern Honshu and Northern Kyushu. Regardless, it is certain that the immigrants did not come from "the lowest economic strata in Japanese society," as some writers have suggested; nor were the immigrants from the "cooler class."


Rather, the Japanese came from the lower middle class. This was probable for two reasons. First, the Japanese government showed pride in the type of immigrant it permitted to leave the country. To allow undesirable emigration would have cast the Japanese nation in a very unfavourable light and brought shame to the Emperor. Second, the poorest classes of Japanese society were unable to finance their passages and likely did not have easy access to immigration information. It was only in the less populated rural and coastal settlements that people achieved the level of prosperity which made emigration possible.

Almost ninety-four per cent of Japanese immigrants to Canada had completed elementary school while a considerable

It was possible that some of the "Eta", the lowest class in Japanese society, found their way to B.C. from California and Hawaii. However, their numbers were small. Consult Winnifred Raushenbush, "Their Place in the Sun," The Survey, LVI, No. 3 (May, 1926), p. 143 and Isao Horinouchi, Educational Values and Preadaptation in the Acculturation of Japanese Americans (Sacramento: Sacramento Anthropological Society, 1967), p. 15.

number had spent time in higher schools. Although seventy-four per cent could neither read, write nor understand English, ninety-eight per cent of the immigrants were literate in their native language. (This latter statistic is interesting when it is realized that almost ten per cent of British Columbia's population was illiterate in 1911.) Perhaps Japanese literacy was somewhat exaggerated but the figure given was nonetheless plausible since the Japanese educational system was reasonably well developed by 1900. The "Imperial Rescript on Education" (1890) had stressed the great value of schooling, making it clear that education was a necessity for all Japanese. Undoubtedly, Japanese immigrants to B.C. knew of the advantages accruing from educational endeavour.

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3 Canada, Census (1911), Population, II, p. 462.

Between July 1, 1896 and June 30, 1901, almost 14,000 Japanese entered British Columbia. Undoubtedly, the majority of these were merely passing through on their way to the United States. However, a significant number decided to remain in the province for, by 1901, British Columbia's Japanese population had risen to 4,515. The people of the province were not always aware that most of the Japanese were in transit. The thought of being inundated by "wily little yellow men" terrified them. Even when it became known that the greater part of the Japanese influx travelled south, some people expressed the view that most of the Japanese would end up back in Canada after being turned away by American officials.


2 Canada, Census, Population (1901), I, p. 327.


4 "The Japanese Influx," Vancouver Province, April 20, 1900, p. 8. In 1911, there were 8,425 Japanese in Canada. In 1931, only 4,817 of these still resided in the country. Even accounting for a substantial number of deaths, many of the Japanese must have travelled to the United States or returned to Japan. See, Canada, Census, Population (1913), I, p. 215.
worsened when United States Immigration Officer Joseph Healy predicted that before the end of 1900 a further 25,000 Japanese would seek entry into B.C.¹

Continued Japanese immigration appeared to be a threat to British institutions and ideals.² Many people believed that Japan might pose a greater threat than had China.³ After all, Japan in a very few years had made great gains in adapting to western ideas and technology.⁴ Foreign powers had not been able to subjugate Japan as they had China. Instead the Japanese had a record of twenty centuries of "independence" and "individuality." Despite many modern changes, Japan and her people remained very much their old selves.⁵ This type of immigrant alarmed the people of British Columbia. Consequently,

¹ "May Cause Trouble," Province, April 24, 1900, p. 8. It may have been the case that the threat of more Japanese immigration rather than the actual numbers of Japanese in the province which aroused concern.


³ Previously, the "yellow peril" was related to China. See, C. Reginald Enock, The Great Pacific Coast (London: Grant Richards, 1909), p. 342.


between 1896 and 1908 the Legislative Assembly passed a series of acts designed to place restrictions on the Japanese in the province and to prohibit further Japanese immigration. Typical of the legislation was "An Act to Regulate Immigration Into British Columbia (1900)". The crux of the "Act", lying in paragraph three, required each immigrant to complete a form in either English or in a European language. Failure to comply meant refusal of entry.¹

As part of its policy, the provincial government hired two immigration officers in 1900. The officer for Vancouver Island refused entry to approximately three out of every five Japanese immigrants he intercepted. The Mainland officer, however, violated the spirit of the "Act" and applied the test to all immigrants. Yet, as strenuous as were the efforts of the two officials, it was doubtful whether they managed to intercept the majority of Japanese immigrants. During the fishing season, it proved virtually impossible to prevent Japanese from slipping into the province by small boat.²

Needless to say, the Dominion government disallowed the "Act" of 1900 since it violated Section 93 of the British North

¹ B.C. Statutes (1900), c. 11.
America Act. However, this did not deter the Legislature. With a few simple amendments, it passed similar legislation in 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1907 and 1908.¹ In each case, the courts ruled the legislation to be "ultra vires". Thus, it became apparent that the province could not control Japanese immigration without the co-operation of the Dominion government.² The latter was reluctant to do this because of pressure from the British government which considered Japan to be a valuable ally.³

However, the matter became further complicated when the Victoria Trades and Labour Council demanded that the Provincial government adopt and enforce restrictive legislation which was free from the loopholes contained in previous measures to thwart Japanese immigration.⁴ In turn, the Provincial

¹ B.C., Statutes (1902), c. 34; (1903), c. 12; (1904), c. 26; (1905), c. 28; (1907), p. 21A; and (1908), c. 23.

² "Bills Not Allowed," Province, April 24, 1900, p. 1.


⁴ "Oriental Population," Province, March 17, 1900, p. 4.
Legislature continued to pressure the Dominion government to bring it to the Imperial government's attention that further Japanese immigration would damage British racial purity.\(^1\) The Legislature urged caution when dealing with Japan and hoped that the Imperial government would leave immigration matters to Canadian officials.\(^2\)

In 1902, the Japanese government on the pretext of promoting international relations voluntarily took steps to decrease immigration.\(^3\) Canada welcomed this action, stating that it would eliminate "all causes of friction and irritation" between the two countries.\(^4\) For the time being diplomacy appeared to have provided a satisfactory solution to the problem of the Japanese.\(^5\)


2 B.C., Journals (1897), p. 136; (1900), p. 79; (1912), p. 48.

3 Later, the Japanese government was accused of plotting to subdue Western Canada through waves of subsidized immigration. See, Tom MacInnes, Oriental Occupation of British Columbia (Vancouver: Sun Publishing Company, 1927), p. 21.


5 Perhaps much of the problem concerning immigration stemmed from the fact that the Japanese government did not consider former residents of Canada, family members, merchants, students and tourists to be immigrants. However, Canadian officials seemed to have taken an opposite view. See, Robert Joseph Gowen, "Canada's Relations with Japan: 1895-1922: Problems of Immigration and Trade" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1966), p. 77. For a comparison with the United States, see James A. Scherer, The Japanese Crisis (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1916). See Appendix I for figures on later Japanese immigration.
CHAPTER II

ROLE OF THE CHURCHES

The Christian churches took an active interest in affairs relating to immigration. Generally speaking, the churches felt a "serious obligation" to do something for the "foreign elements" in Canadian society, particularly the Oriental.¹ At the very least, it was a blessing that the Orientals in Canada were finally away from the "deadening atmosphere of heathenism," an influence so pervasive that ministers working with Orientals commonly noticed the "oppression of Satan" still at work.² For a time, the churches viewed Oriental immigration as a grave threat to the Christian way of life. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts believed that: "The yellow peril [could] alone be stayed if the yellow races become Christian,"³ while the Toronto Women's Missionary Society expressed this opinion:

³ Ibid.
While the tide of immigration sweeps over the land it must be met by earnest efforts, its course directed, the impurities and wreckage of centuries of superstition and error removed, lest at the flood it cover with loathsome infection and impregnate the poison of evil customs and degraded habits.¹

However, the first serious attempts to evangelize the Japanese came from neither of these organizations but from Japanese Christians who had received training in Japan. Although the initial work of the Christian churches involved an interdenominational effort, the Methodist Church was particularly active. In part, this was likely due to the efforts of Reverend George Cochran and Dr. D. MacDonald who, as representatives of the Methodist Church of Canada, had opened two early missions in Japan.² Obviously, their work paid dividends because in the late 1880's Japanese Methodists formed a Christian Endeavour Society at Vancouver to better facilitate Christian work throughout the lower Mainland. Soon after, Reverend Yoshioka, a Methodist evangelist from Seattle, visited Vancouver and, in 1892, the Japanese Christian Endeavour Society of Seattle sent Reverend Matsutaro to work with the Japanese on the Steveston River. Later, he was instrumental


² George Takakazu Tamaki, "Canada and Japan: An Historical Analysis of the Immigration, Trade, and Diplomatic Relations to the Exchange of Plenipotentiaries in 1929" (B.A. Graduating Essay, University of British Columbia, 1938), p. 3. Also, see I. M. Tokugawa, "Japan," B.C. Teacher, X, No. 10 (June, 1931).
in establishing the Japanese hospital at Steveston but unfortunately tuberculosis forced a premature halt to his good work. When Matsutararo left the province in 1895 Japanese volunteers were conducting Sunday services and teaching at an English night school in Vancouver.¹

Recognizing the need for a Japanese minister, an influential Japanese Methodist contacted the Reverend Goro Kaburagai who was then studying in Ohio. Kaburagai assumed the Vancouver pastorship but soon found it too difficult to work without formal church affiliation. Accordingly, he consulted with a local Methodist minister who contacted the General Board of Governors for assistance. Their reply was favourable and aid was quickly forthcoming. Under the auspices of the Methodist Church, Kaburagai soon managed to co-ordinate missions at Vancouver, Victoria, Cumberland and Steveston. In 1901, he began an elementary school which taught all its subjects in English and which was, in essence, an intermediate step to the public school.²

The Toronto Women's Missionary Society sponsored much


of this early work among the Japanese. In 1908, the Society secured a boardinghouse as the headquarters of the Victoria Japanese Mission. Immediately thereafter the Mission began sending workers to visit Japanese women in their homes. Moreover, the Society recognized the need for individualized attention in the Japanese community and delegated a certain Miss Preston to act as "resident missionary". By 1908, the Society had established operations in Steveston where its membership totaled 149 Japanese women.  

Between 1907 and 1925, five different Japanese Methodist ministers worked in the Japanese community. During this period the Methodists launched a building program for educational, social and recreational facilities, a large proportion of the cost being borne by the Japanese congregations. Thus, the Methodist Church from the earliest stages of its missionary work encouraged the Japanese to construct their own facilities and, when possible, to staff them with Japanese ministers and assistants. On the whole, the Methodists were quite sympathetic to Japanese needs, both spiritual and

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1 Lavell, Oriental Missions in British Columbia, pp. 8-15. The Reverend J. E. Starr began the Society's work in Victoria in 1887. This involved the establishment of the "Chinese Rescue Home", a venture designed to save girls from the evils of prostitution. In 1908, the Society founded a girls' home which included a kindergarten and a night school for Chinese boys.

material. The Methodists viewed the Japanese as excellent citizens who, through their participation in Christian affairs, were well on their way to becoming useful members of society.¹

One Methodist put it this way:

Apart, however, from any diplomatic considerations, the Japanese by their faithfulness, their energy, their aptness, and their unfailing courtesy, have disarmed hostility.²

When the Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches united in 1925, the Reverend K. Shimizu assumed church leadership in the Japanese community. Under his guidance the United Church's efforts at proselytizing met with great success as by 1931 there were 4,789 Japanese who claimed church affiliation. Of these, only 1,924 had been born in Japan.³ For the most part, the programs instituted were not much different from those for non-Japanese groups. In many instances, Japanese Church members participated with groups from non-Japanese congregations. Sometimes, the Japanese were members of congregations which were not predominantly Japanese -- a common occurrence at the Fairview and Crosby United Churches. In the latter case, Japanese rose to prominent positions in various

² Ibid.
church organizations. ¹

The United Church's concern for education was evident in the Powell Street Night School which offered English courses to adult Japanese four times a week. By the 1920's, Japanese U.B.C. graduates staffed this school. Although it cannot be denied that the school took a decidedly religious approach in its classes, it was nonetheless true that the English program was an excellent means of acculturation for Japanese labourers and housewives (who formed the majority of students). In some cases, Japanese teen-agers used the classes to prepare for entrance into the public schools. Originally begun by the Methodists in 1912, the school's English program enjoyed success until 1933 when declining attendance brought about its discontinuance. ²

Because the United Church's programs emphasized youth, the church operated kindergartens at Vancouver, Mission City, Ruskin, Haney, Hammond, Whonnock, New Westminster and Steveston. Although the primary function of the kindergarten was religious indoctrination, it fulfilled another equally important role as an agent of acculturation to better equip Japanese children for entry into public elementary

² The Japanese Contribution To Canada, p. 28.
schools. It was evident that the kindergartens, in this dual role, reached a considerable number of Japanese children. In 1939, United Church kindergartens graduated thirty-eight Japanese children at the Powell United Church and nineteen at the Fairview United Church. By 1941, the number of graduates for the year from these two kindergartens had risen to fifty-one. Among the staff at the Powell United kindergarten was Francis Takimoto, a graduate of the Vancouver Normal School. Takimoto, along with the other Powell staff members, attended regular workshop sessions designed to improve curricula and teaching techniques.

Most Japanese girls in the United Church belonged to the very active C.G.I.T. while older Japanese youth formed groups like the Steveston and the Powell United Young People's Societies. The latter organization even undertook to publish a newspaper, The Young People, the aim of which was to promote


4 "Bluebird Reunion," New Canadian, April 1, 1939, p. 4.
understanding between Japanese and whites. 1 Japanese Christian youth groups gave evidence of their idealism at the annual Young People's Christian Conference in 1938 when they proclaimed that they sought to strengthen Japanese Christian organization, develop Christian leadership, "unite spiritual forces" and promote "deeper Christ-like living". 2

Undoubtedly, much of the United Church's success stemmed from two factors. First, Dr. S. S. Osterhout, the Superintendent of Oriental Missions for the United Church, proved to be a capable administrator in his efforts to lead the Japanese away from the "doubt and uncertainty of their ancient superstitions and into the clearer light and assurance of the Christian faith." 3 Indeed, Osterhout developed a long-lasting rapport with the Japanese community. When he retired in 1939, the Canadian Japanese Association presented him with an award for his "untiring efforts in elevating the educational standards of the Japanese community, in combatting racial prejudice, in protecting the rights of a minority and in promoting friendly relations between Canada and Japan." 4


The Japanese Consulate also sent a note of thanks to Osterhout for his invaluable service. For his part, Osterhout continued to praise the Japanese: "They are more responsible, willing and faithful in their service." Even after his retirement, Osterhout remained active in Japanese community affairs.

Second, able leadership and plentiful volunteer help in the Japanese community provided the United Church with capable organizers. An excellent example of this was Reverend Kosaburo Shimizu who became minister of the Powell United Church in 1925. A graduate from the University of British Columbia who later studied at Columbia University under John Dewey, Shimizu proved to be more than equal to his tasks. He was largely responsible for the continuance of the adult Japanese night school at the Powell United Church. By the late 1930's the school offered such diverse courses as photography, pattern design, Japanese etiquette and Japanese literature appreciation. But Shimizu was not the only Japanese who was attracted to the United Church ministry. In 1935, Takashi

1 New Canadian, October 6, 1939, p. 1.


4 "Interest Groups Rouse Enthusiasm," New Canadian, July 31, 1940, p. 5.
Komiyama, recently graduated from the University of British Columbia and a former president of the Powell Y.P.S., became the first Nisei to enter Union College.¹

Although early Christian attempts to acculturate the Japanese involved considerable inter-church collaboration, the Church of England did undertake a program of its own. As early as 1894, the Reverend F. Stephenson had visited Japanese settlements near Fort Simpson.² By the turn of the century the Church, in an endeavour to consolidate its tasks, opened the St. James and Fairview Missions in Vancouver. The Diocesan Board of the Women's Auxiliary controlled the latter venture. By 1909, when greater numbers of Japanese women and children began to arrive, the Anglicans found it necessary to open an additional Vancouver mission and to establish facilities in Sapperton. However, because Bishop John Dart of New Westminster was slow to realize the opportunities to be had in the Japanese community, Anglican missions achieved a rather poor beginning.³

Generally, the Church of England's missions offered services designed to accustom the Japanese to Canadian life.

1 "Takashi Komiyama Enters Ministry," New Canadian, September 15, 1939, p. 5.

2 Rogers, Canada's Greatest Need, p. 316.

Prospective members could select from a wide variety of programs including sewing classes, reading lessons, day kindergartens, and regular school classes. To promote success, the Church showed a willingness to accept Japanese as ministers and catechists. However, initial results were somewhat unsatisfactory. The Reverend Norman Tucker presented a rather dismal account when, in 1907, he reported that only 100 Japanese were actively engaged in Church activities; ninety of these were in the New Westminster diocese. Yet, by 1909 the Church was beginning to achieve better results as fourteen Japanese were baptised and another seven were confirmed. In 1931 Church membership had grown to include 1,240 Japanese, of which 547 were born in Japan.

By the 1930's the Church had developed a fairly well organized program for the Japanese. Like the United Church, the Church of England structured many of its activities around Japanese youth. Particularly popular were the Japanese Anglican Young People's groups which regularly participated in

1 Nakayama, "Anglican Missions to the Japanese in Canada," p. 28.

2 Tucker, Western Canada, pp. 81,89.

3 Rogers, Canada's Greatest Need, p. 329. Also, see Philip Carrington, The Anglican Church In Canada (London: Collin Clear Type Press, 1963), p. 249.

a variety of social activities.¹ Also, the Church established kindergartens which eventually reached a considerable number of Japanese children. In 1939, the Marpole Anglican Church awarded kindergarten diplomas to eight Japanese children, the Holy Cross Church to seventeen, the Church of the Ascension to twenty-five, and the Broadway Anglican Church to seven.² Two years later, the Anglican Ascension Nursery School awarded diplomas while the Kindergarten granted fourteen certificates. The Marpole Church presented seven kindergarten diplomas and the Holy Cross Church gave nine.³ Sometimes, Niseis staffed the kindergartens. Aya Suzuki, a graduate of the Toronto Kindergarten Normal School, taught at the Broadway Anglican Kindergarten while three other Niseis acted as teaching assistants at the Ascension School.⁴

The role of the Roman Catholic Church in the acculturation

¹ For examples see the following articles in the New Canadian: "Girls Awarded Service Badges," June 15, 1939, p. 3; "Anglican Y.P.'s Association," September 8, 1939, p. 5; "To Hold New Year Informal at Fuji," December 29, 1938, p. 4.


³ "City Kindergartens Confer Diplomas on Nisei Children," New Canadian, June 19, 1941, p. 4.

of the Japanese was minor when compared with the work of the United and Anglican Churches. Indeed, by 1931 there were only 208 Japanese Roman Catholics in British Columbia. Of these, 104 had been born in Japan. ¹ Perhaps, the poor performance of the Catholic Church was due to its failure to procure a Japanese-speaking priest. It was not until 1941 that the Vancouver Japanese Catholic Mission welcomed Father Peter Katsuno, British Columbia's first Japanese priest. Upon his arrival, Father Katsuno immediately took up his duties at St. Paul's Catholic Japanese Church. ² Yet it would be foolish to think that the Catholic Church failed to achieve any degree of success in the Japanese community. The Catholic Night School on Cordova Street in Vancouver, although poorly equipped and understaffed, managed to offer English classes to Japanese immigrants. ³ As well, the Catholic Japanese Youth Association enjoyed a fair amount of success while, in 1941, the Catholic Kindergarten presented diplomas to twenty-one Japanese children. ⁴


³ "Doctor is Nisei Issei Bridge," New Canadian, March 15, 1939, p. 3.

All told, the Catholic Church measured its greatest, yet humble, successes among the Japanese in Steveston and Vancouver.  

Work done by churches other than the United (including Presbyterian and Methodist), Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches was insignificant. Possibly, the only exception lay with the Japanese Foursquare Church in Vancouver. This Church received an English-speaking Japanese minister sometime in 1939. At any rate, in 1931 only 449 Japanese professed adherence or affiliation to a Christian faith other than that of the United, Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. 

Quite naturally, the Buddhist Church was influential in the Japanese community. Established in 1904, the Hompa

1 "Kimono-Clad Niseis Attend Eucharist," New Canadian, June 19, 1940, p. 3.


4 This study does not include Shinto as a viable force in the Japanese community because it is doubtful whether Shinto really took hold in North America. One source explains that Shinto was completely out of place in Canada and the United States since it was a religion so closely associated with traditions and customs as they were in Japan. Buddhism, on the other hand, was adaptable and was able to take roots in North America. See Arnold and Caroline Rose, America Divided (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 229. Figures for 1911 show 1,277 people adhering to Shinto. By 1931 the number had dropped to 408. See Canada, Census (1911), Population, II, p. 2 and Census (1931), Population, I, p. 796.
Buddhist Church with its staff of Japanese born priests had built five missions and six branch churches in British Columbia by 1935. In 1931, Buddhist adherents nominally stood at 14,707 although actual church membership numbered only 1,500.

To a large extent, the Japanese Buddhist Church designed its programs along the lines of those of the Christian churches. It provided competition for the Women's Missionary Society by offering both night and Sunday school classes. Buddhist competition was so effective that the Anglican Church began Saturday afternoon church activities in an effort to draw away some of the Japanese from Buddhist services. The Anglicans even resorted to offering prizes for excellence in church participation. However, there is no evidence to suggest that bitter rivalries between Japanese Buddhist and Japanese Christians similar to situations in California and Hawaii ever developed.

Yet, despite the efforts of the Christian churches the Buddhists proved to be capable organizers. Like the Christians, the Buddhists placed an emphasis on youth activities. Founded


3 Lavell, Oriental Missions in British Columbia, pp. 15-16.

In 1925, the Canada Young Buddhist League established a system of Sunday schools under the direction of the Buddhist Sunday School Association. By 1939, these schools enrolled about 1,200 students and 110 teachers, the vast majority of which were in British Columbia.¹ To facilitate the staffing of the schools and to ensure the maintenance of standards, the Japanese formed the Canadian Buddhist Sunday School Teachers' Federation.² This organization sought to encourage greater contact and closer ties within the Buddhist community.³ In 1939, under the auspices of the Federation, Buddhist students began publishing their own newspaper.

In conjunction with the Federation, the Hompa Buddhist Church instituted a teacher training course which enrolled about fifty prospective teachers. Lasting for twenty-one weeks, the syllabus of study included both curriculum construction and teaching methods. When teachers completed their courses the Buddhist Church awarded diplomas certifying the candidates as

¹ "Canada Young Buddhist League," New Canadian, May 27, 1939, p. 3.

² "Buddhist Teachers Hold Meeting," New Canadian, April 1, 1939, p. 1. Undoubtedly, the Buddhists wished to avoid any criticisms of their schools. For instance, see "Japanese Women Transplanted to Vancouver," Province, January 26, 1910, p. 7.

³ "Nishizaki Elected Buddhist Teachers Federation Prexy," New Canadian, March 7, 1941, p. 4.
fully accredited Buddhist teachers.¹ The Federation was also keenly interested in procuring English translations of scripture for the schools so that students would not have to struggle with Japanese texts.²

The Buddhists found that their programs achieved a considerable measure of success. In June, 1939, the Fairview Buddhist Church Kindergarten graduated nine students while the Hompa Kindergarten passed twenty-three children.³ However, by 1941, the number of graduates from these two Churches had dropped to twenty-four.⁴ Surprisingly, both Buddhist schools were under the direction of Mrs. A. E. LeWarne who had worked in various Buddhist church schools since 1930.⁵

Another successful segment of Buddhist Church organization was the British Columbia Buddhist Young People's Association, or Bussei. This group met annually to discuss

¹ "Teachers Course Instituted At Hompa Temple," New Canadian, December 7, 1939, p. 5.

² "Nishizaki Elected Buddhist Teachers Federation Prexy," New Canadian, March 7, 1941, p. 4.


⁴ "City Kindergartens Confer Diplomas on Nisei Children," New Canadian, June 19, 1941, p. 4.

⁵ "Honour Buddhist Kindergarten Teacher," New Canadian, June 26, 1941, p. 2. Further information concerning Mrs. LeWarne is not readily available.
topics of common interest to young Canadian Buddhists.\(^1\) In 1939, the Association was fully aware of the growing difficulties facing the Japanese and issued a policy statement expressing "the necessity of all Nisei to pledge unswerving loyalty to Canada . . . and the need of the Nisei to show the Canadian people that they are qualified as true Canadians in every respect."\(^2\) The Association also stressed the great need to explain Buddhism to all Nisei. In part, the Association thought that this could be accomplished if English versions of Buddhist scripture were to be secured and if English was the language employed in Sunday services.\(^3\) Two years later and just months before the Japanese faced internment, the Young Buddhists issued another statement urging all Nisei to conduct themselves "very carefully in public places" so as not to arouse anti-Japanese sentiment. At the same time, the Association reiterated its policy of training respectable leaders for the Japanese community and of fostering better relationships with white members of the community.\(^4\)

\(^1\) "Bussei Confab Set For 26th," New Canadian, February 15, 1939, p. 4.

\(^2\) "Bussei Confab Stresses Loyalty," New Canadian, November 24, 1939, p. 4.

\(^3\) Ibid.

\(^4\) "Jobs, Morals, Marriage Studied at Bussei Conference," New Canadian, October 31, 1941, p. 3.
Thus it was that, despite the efforts of the Christian churches, the majority of Japanese remained Buddhist. Yet, by the 1930's most Japanese Buddhist affiliations were only nominal. Undoubtedly many Nisei came to reject Buddhism because it was "too unreal."\(^1\) Simply put, Niseis had difficulty understanding Buddhism because it ran counter to western thought and ideas. Also, Occidentals saw Buddhism as further evidence of the Japanese failure to accept Canadian ways. Thus Buddhism increasingly became a liability as it increased the chances of discrimination from the white community.\(^2\)

By 1931, between thirty and forty percent of all British Columbia Japanese professed some form of Christian faith. Although Buddhism continued to be a dominant factor among the Japanese only fifteen percent of Japanese children attended Buddhist Sunday schools (in 1940) while sixty-five percent enrolled at Christian ones. Therefore, in some cases Japanese parents although not affiliated with a Christian church allowed their children to attend Christian services.\(^3\)


\(^3\) *The Japanese Contribution to Canada*, pp. 30-31.
At this point it is evident that the Buddhist Church both hindered and assisted Japanese acculturation. Such a dichotomy, however, was not apparent in the role of the Christian churches. If conversion to Christianity was one acceptable indicator of acculturation, then the Christian churches achieved remarkable results. Some critics have suggested that much of the churches' early success in educating Japanese immigrants was because the Japanese valued the missions not so much for religion as they did for good schooling at inexpensive rates.¹ Supposing this to have been the case, the result was still acculturation. It was ironic that the public never fully recognized the efforts of the Christian churches to acculturate the Japanese. Indeed, unkind comments concerning the churches' role in acculturation were common:

The Churches have never had any other definite policy towards the new-Canadian than to preach the Gospel, but this has not proved very effective because of the complexity of the situation.²

Moreover, despite the earnest attempts by many Japanese to participate in Christian church activities, some observers still maintained that the Japanese were heathen at heart and, therefore, incapable of redemption.³

CHAPTER III

JAPANESE INSTITUTIONS

For most immigrants, including the Japanese, there was a period of adjustment to Canadian life during which time the immigrants formed numerous associations whose purpose it was to lessen conflict with the general community and to provide a community structure:¹

When a new Canadian is set down in a foreign society his most important inclination is to contact someone from the same native country who both literally and figuratively, 'speaks the same language'. It is for this main purpose that many small minority agencies are created: to provide a home away from home for its racial group.²

Thus it was that the Japanese, like other immigrant groups, established a variety of specialized institutions. Generally, these included five categories: trade or business, prefectural, educational, cultural and political. However, North American Japanese communities had no secret societies similar to those


found among the Chinese. The number of associations, clubs and societies was truly remarkable as by 1934 there were 230 secular and religious Japanese organizations in British Columbia. In some cases, where existing non-Japanese organizations could meet Japanese needs, the Japanese chose to join primarily white interest groups, a situation particularly true in agriculture.

Of paramount importance to the Japanese were their


3 George Yamashita, "A History of the Occupations of the Japanese in British Columbia" (unpublished B.A. Graduating Essay, University of British Columbia, 1942), pp. 34, 44, 77. Although it would be difficult to supply a complete list of Japanese associations, the following is a representative sample of organizations found in most Japanese communities. Evidence for the organizations can be found in the cited issues of the New Canadian: Steveston Students' Club, see "Steveston Static," September 29, 1939, p. 7; Japanese Welfare Association, see "Welfare Association Provides Needed Social Services to Community," October 27, 1939, p. 3; Kitsilano Koyukai, see "Town Topics," November 10, 1939, p. 4; Surrey Japanese Girls' Club and Summerland Nisei Club, see "Nisei News From Here And There In B.C.," November 10, 1939, p. 4; Nippon Young People's Association, see "Nisei News From Here And There In B.C.," November 10, 1939, p. 6; Langley Japanese Language School Parents' Association, see "Nisei News From Here And There In B.C.," March 15, 1940, p. 6; Vancouver Japanese Language School Ijikai (School Maintenance Association), see "C.L.U. Has Record of Service," September 15, 1939, p. 3; Japanese Students' Club, see "Fifteen High School Orators to Compete in J.S.C. Contest," March 1, 1939, p. 1
welfare associations. One of the earliest was the Japanese Red Cross Auxiliary of Vancouver founded in 1908.\(^1\) Another organization, the Japanese Fishermen's Society, maintained a hospital and provided support for a six-room school house at Steveston.\(^2\) However, the Japanese Welfare Association which was an affiliate of the Vancouver Welfare Federation co-ordinated most major Japanese social service activities.\(^3\) Certainly, the existence of a large number of Japanese charitable organizations helped to dispel the myth that the Japanese were often burdens on community supported welfare agencies.\(^4\)

One of the most notable Japanese organizations was the Canadian Japanese Association founded in 1897.\(^5\) Relatively few Nisei belonged to the Association, a situation which noticeably disturbed many Issei.\(^6\) Whites sometimes accused the Association

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3 "Welfare Ass'n Provides Needed Social Services to Community," New Canadian, October 27, 1939, p. 3. In 1938, the Association collected $1,500, eighty percent of which went to the Japanese Medical Clinic. See "Welfare Group Plans Drive," New Canadian, September 22, 1939, p. 1.

4 The myth can be found in Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, p. 227.

5 Young, The Japanese Canadians, p. 111.

6 "Canadian Japanese Association Drive," New Canadian, February 1, 1939, p. 8. Also, see "Nisei Join Issei C.J.A.," New Canadian, February 1, 1939, p. 1. Although few Nisei were
of causing difficulties between Orientals and Occidentals:

Ill-feeling toward the Japanese has not been lessened by the propaganda carried on by the Canadian Japanese Association, which includes 90 per cent of the Japanese in the country.¹

Typical of the "propaganda" was a Canadian Japanese Association pamphlet entitled, "What the Japanese in British Columbia Ask." As it turned out, the pamphlet was an argument for voting rights for the Japanese who payed taxes, owned land and received naturalization but could not vote.²

If some of the attacks on the Association were spurious, a few contained shreds of truth. Most damaging was the fact that the Association maintained "pronounced nationalistic" ties with the Japanese Consulate. An organization composed of young Issei, the Camp and Mill Workers' Union, directly challenged this policy because it promoted separation rather than co-operation with the white community. The Union believed that it was their duty to promote acculturation; prejudice could only be

actively involved with the Association, it nevertheless sought to improve relations with the second generation. For instance, the Association began a scholarship program to send Niseis to U.B.C. See Tolmie,"The Orientals in B.C.," p. 182.

¹ Lukin Johnston, "British Columbia's Oriental Problem," United Empire, XIII, No. 8 (August, 1922), p. 571. Whites also forgot that the Association had provided facilities for English instruction as early as 1909. See Young, The Japanese Canadians, p. 111.

² Johnston, "British Columbia's Oriental Problem," p. 572. Only a partial text of the pamphlet is given.
overcome through integration into the general white community.\textsuperscript{1}

The Union's condemnation of the Association, however, was somewhat harsh. Undoubtedly, the Union confused "pronounced nationalistic" ties with cultural links.

Another organization, this one with solid Nisei support, was the Japanese Canadian Citizens League formed in 1936. Seeking to draw its strength from an all Nisei membership,\textsuperscript{2} the League attempted to "interpret the aims and aspirations" of all Japanese youth. The League tried to provide for the social requirements of the Niseis while, at the same time, fostering leadership in the Japanese community. Chief among its interests were efforts to discuss and propose remedies for the problems facing second generation Japanese in Canada.\textsuperscript{3} Indeed, the League's policies were distinctly Canadian. Each year the League sponsored an oratorical contest in English for Nisei children. The winners' speeches often reflected strong Canadian sentiment:

\begin{quote}
We Niseis are Canadian born and know no homeland except Canada; we have been educated and trained in her honourable institutions; our mentality and our customs are practically wholly Canadian; and we regard Canada
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item The League was constantly trying to enlarge its membership. See "Out of Town News," \textit{New Canadian}, February 15, 1939, p. 5.
\end{footnotes}
as the land of our destiny, the land of our ultimate economic and social security, the country to which we dedicate our services.¹

Our future, our destiny lies right here in Canada. It is our task by means of integrity, sincerity and loyalty [sic] to earn the right to share equally with the Canadian people.²

The League sought to establish ties with the Occidental community whenever possible. For instance, it was common for public school officials to judge its oratorical contests.³ Also, the League extended honorary memberships to prominent educators including Dr. Norman F. Black, Henry F. Angus and Professor E. S. Farr.⁴ The League's concern for education led it to make numerous donations to public schools.⁵ On one occasion, the Victoria Chapter presented a silver cup to The Victoria School Board for use at oratorical meets.⁶

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¹ "Co-operation With Canadian Youth," New Canadian, December 1, 1939, p. 3.

² "The Nisei Task," New Canadian, November 24, 1939, p. 3. Also, see "Oratorical Meet," New Canadian, November 24, 1938, p. 2.

³ "3 Island Orators in J.C.C.L. Finals," New Canadian, November 3, 1939, p. 3.

⁴ "Island Conference In May," New Canadian, April 1, 1939, p. 1; "Dr. Norman F. Black," New Canadian, November 15, 1940, p. 1; "Niseis Need Tolerance -- People of Canada Will Be Fair -- Norris," New Canadian, November 15, 1940, p. 3.

⁵ For example, see "Chemainus J.C.C.L. Donates Royal Portraits To Chemainus Elementary School," New Canadian, June 5, 1939, p. 7.

Although the League was a Nisei organization and, as such, was constantly striving to include more second generation Japanese in its programs, its members did not entirely reject their Japanese heritage. In 1939, the League opened a library of "Japanese history, art, literature, music and philosophy."\(^1\) However, this was one of the few occasions on which the League actively promoted Japanese cultural interests. Probably, the approach of war with Japan served to convince the League to be wary of programs encouraging the retention of Japanese culture. Instead, the League reaffirmed its position of loyalty to Canada and things Canadian. In a telegram to Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, the League stated:

> In this hour of national need, the Japanese Citizens League unites with our fellow citizens in pledging our deepest loyalty and devotion to our country and the British Empire.\(^2\)

Thus it was that associations, clubs and societies fulfilled a useful function in the Japanese community. However, at the same time, they were a source of concern to the Japanese since greater involvement in Japanese organizational activity might have led to increasing isolation from the general community. Some Japanese feared that Nisei social clubs hindered

\(^1\) "Nisei Library," *New Canadian*, August 1, 1939, p. 2.

acculturation because they monopolized too much leisure time and, therefore, raised barriers to better relationships with whites.\(^1\) Although race prejudice had resulted in a proliferation of Japanese organizations, the Nisei felt that their clubs no longer performed their original functions. It was time to break away those things which impeded acculturation. One Nisei disgustedly commented: "... we sit back in our little circle, our little club, and indulge in sentimental childish dreams with our companions in misery."\(^2\)

The noticeable lack of communication and centralization among Japanese groups was another serious problem. Of course, this usually led to duplicity and, on some occasions, caused rivalries between the Issei and Nisei.\(^3\) The Nisei increasingly became aware of the lack of organization in what, to outward appearances, was a highly structured community. In part, they felt that this would eventually have a detrimental effect on Japanese youth:

In an area so socially disorganized as the typical Japanese community, the incentive, the example and

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1 "The Dangers of Club Activity," *New Canadian*, March 1, 1939, p. 2. One of the first charges against the Japanese was that they were clannish. See Henry Herbert Stevens, *The Oriental Problem, Dealing With Canada As Affected By The Immigration Of Japanese, Hindu and Chinese* (Vancouver, 191_), p. 5.


the opportunity for delinquency and immoral behavior are all ever-present.¹

Naturally, the search for a remedy was no easy task for two reasons: first, the Niseis felt that there was a lack of second generation leadership; and second, the smug attitude adopted by many Nisei led to dissension within the whole Japanese community.²

Two more types of organizations which undeniably led to the acculturation of the Japanese were the English night schools and commercial institutions. Often Japanese found it difficult to obtain employment because their comprehension of the English language was so poor. To rectify this, the Japanese did one of several things. Sometimes women exchanged their artistic handiwork for language lessons from Occidental women:

Of course such arrangements [were] usually temporary, for the Japanese women [learned] very quickly and they soon appl[ied] their newly acquired knowledge in the management of their homes.³

On the other hand, young Japanese males often became houseboys in Canadian families so that they might better learn Canadian

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² Ibid.

ways and customs. However, the need for a more organized method of learning English was apparent since church and public schools did not always have adequate facilities available. Thus, the Japanese opened their own English language night schools. Perhaps, the most respected of these were the two schools operated by Chitose Uchida, the first Japanese graduate from the University of British Columbia. After attending the Vancouver Normal School and then failing to find a teaching position, Uchida taught in Alberta. Upon returning to Vancouver, she taught at various night schools before opening her own in 1931. By 1938, her schools enrolled sixty students. Because Uchida charged only a nominal fee she did not benefit financially from her undertaking. Rather, the "desire to teach [was] paramount among her wishes."  

Because it was not always the case that the public schools offered useful vocational instruction for girls, Japanese women often found it extremely difficult to find


2 "Canadians From Japan Study English Here," *Province*, December 3, 1938, Magazine section, p. 2. Also, see "Nisei Has English Night School For Isseis," *New Canadian*, November 1, 1940, p. 3. The Japanese maintained a strong interest in night school classes right up to the war. See "Ocean Falls Night School Convention Stresses Need For Adult Education," *New Canadian*, November 1, 1940.
employment after graduating from high school. Thus it was that Nisei girls came more and more to rely on private Japanese commercial schools for vocational training. One of the more successful establishments was the Vancouver Girls' College of Practical Arts on Alexander Street. Mrs. Shinobu, the College's Principal, liked to think of her school as something more than a mere training institution:

Not the mere teaching of practical arts but rather the moulding of the girls' characters first, then instruction along practical lines is the aim of this institution. Nonetheless, the school offered three very practical courses, all of which required at least an elementary education for admission. Classes were conducted between nine and four o'clock during the day, five days a week. The curriculum included dressmaking, embroidery, flower making and arranging, deportment and cooking. Upon completion of a course, the school granted diplomas which were recognized by the British Columbia Department of Labour. The school's popularity might be judged by the fact that many students came from such remote communities as Salmon Arm, Summerland, Prince Rupert and Sunbury.

1 "Nisei Girls Seek True Vocations," New Canadian, February 16, 1940, p. 3.


3 Ibid.
Other successful enterprises included the Academy of Domestic Arts, the Antoinette Yosai Gakuen, the Women's Sewing School and the Marietta School of Costume Design (with a branch in Steveston). None of these schools offered evening classes except the Women's Sewing School. Generally, these institutions offered programs designed to introduce Nisei girls to various aspects of garment making and thus trained them for employment in the clothing industry.¹

There is no evidence to prove that the provincial government objected to Japanese commercial schools as it disapproved of Japanese language schools. However, one might suspect that the government was closely watching the schools for possible infringement of provincial regulations.² In 1940, the Legislature passed a motion which gave the government power to cancel school licenses for the contravention of existing statutes.³ The following year, the government gained the authority to regulate texts, teachers and the means of instruction in all "trade schools."⁴ It might be surmised

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¹ See the following articles in the New Canadian: "Sewing School Marks Anniversary," March 1, 1940, p. 5; "Designing — An Art and Profession," August 7, 1940, p. 6; "Marietta School of Costume Design" and "Women's Sewing School on East Hastings," August 21, 1940, p. 4.

² See B.C., Statutes (1939), c. 54.

³ B.C., Statutes (1940), c. 24.

⁴ B.C., Statutes (1941-1942), p. 46.
that this latter action was directed towards the Japanese.

Perhaps the single most important Japanese institution was the language school. Although Christian churches made concerted efforts to acculturate them, most of the Japanese considered their residence in Canada to be temporary as they someday hoped to return to Japan. Thus, it was important that Japanese children retain the language and customs of the old country since their parents did "not wish their sons and daughters to grow ignorant of its great history or disloyal to its traditions." If Japanese parents could not afford to send their children to Japan for an education, and the majority could not, other methods of providing a Japanese education needed to be found. Accordingly, the Japanese communities in British Columbia established language schools, the first of which was the Kyoritsu Language School founded at Vancouver in 1906. By 1909, this school's enrollment had grown to

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eighty-five pupils. 1 Other Vancouver language schools were at 
Fairview, Marpole and Kitsilano and later, in the East-end. 2

Outside Vancouver, there were language schools at 
Steveston, in the Fraser and Okanagan Valleys, on Vancouver 
Island and in many northern coastal settlements. 3 By 1923, the 
schools enrolled 797 Japanese students while by 1927 this had 
risen to 3,752. 4 The Vancouver Language School had thirty 


1 Lavell, Oriental Missions in British Columbia, p. 16.

2 Evidence for these schools appeared in the following 
articles in the New Canadian: "Niseis Take Part in School 
Bazaar," November 3, 1939, p. 4; "Town Topics," November 10, 
1939, p. 4; "Patriotic Services Now Winding Up," November 15, 
1940, p. 1; "Fairview School Marks Anniversary," September 25, 
1940, p. 1.

3 There were Japanese schools at: Steveston, Hammond, Ocean 
Falls, Sunbury, Chemainus, Summerland, Woodfibre, Langley, 
Nanaimo, Mission, Surrey, Alberni, Coombs, Duncan, Rutland, 
Prince Rupert and Victoria. Evidence for these schools appeared 
in the following articles of the New Canadian: "Advertisement," 
May 27, 1939, p. 4; "Shichiro Suzuki, former Ocean Falls 
Japanese Language School Principal now representative for 
Kokusai Bunkai Shinkokai," August 1, 1939, p. 1; "Language 
School Confab in Chemainus," November 3, 1939, p. 4; "Guest 
Speaker at Sunbury School," June 6, 1939, p. 4; "Summerland 
Sallies," July 1, 1939, p. 4; "Nisei News From Here And There 
In B.C.," October 20, 1939, p. 7; "Nisei News From Here And 
There In B.C.," March 15, 1940, p. 5; "Woodfibre Scene of 
Teachers Confab," April 24, 1940, p. 1; "Language Schools Seek 
Government Approval," March 7, 1941, p. 1; "Nisei News From 
Here and There in B.C.," December 15, 1939, p. 6; "Victoria 
School Honors Teachers," October 31, 1941, p. 7.

4 "Language Schools Are Essential," New Canadian, May 27, 
1939, p. 4. In 1939, there were forty-seven Japanese language 
schools throughout Canada, the majority of which were in 
British Columbia.
teachers and 1,000 pupils in 1939.¹ By that same year the Association of Japanese Language School Graduates in British Columbia, a group which often sought ties with public school officials, had over 1,000 members on its roles.² Expansion of the Japanese language schools and their facilities continued until the beginning of the war, although in some instances language classes were held in public school after regular hours. This happened at Steveston, Ocean Falls and Mission after school board permission had been obtained.³

The accomplishments of the Vancouver Language School were particularly noteworthy. In 1939, the school awarded eight year diplomas to seventy-eight students; ninety-three graduated from the school division (requiring six years of study); and seventeen received certificates signifying a language standard equivalent to that of the Middle School in Japan.

¹ "Language Schools Are Essential," New Canadian, May 27, 1939, p. 4.


(or comparable to junior high school). The following year, the school awarded 194 diplomas and certificates while, at the same time, granting seventy-eight scholastic awards.

Perhaps the most remarkable achievement of the Vancouver Japanese Language School was before 1920. Because so many young Japanese children were so ill-equipped to directly enter the public school system, the language school offered a complete education in the primary grades. Although Japanese was the language of instruction the school offered English as a second language. After the First World War more Japanese children began enrolling in the public schools. In 1920, the school dropped most of its Japanese course content and concentrated on instruction in the Japanese language. For the time being, the school decided to retain English instruction so that the pupils might better adjust to the public school system. Despite some parental objections, the Principal of the school recommended that language classes be held after regular school hours. Thus the role of the language school changed from one which substituted for public school education to one which

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1 "Graduates Win Diplomas," New Canadian, April 1, 1939, p. 5.

2 "Eighty-two Graduates Win Diplomas," New Canadian, March 29, 1940, p. 3. For 1941, see "Gakuyukai Greets 1941 Grad Crop," New Canadian, April 11, 1941, p. 5.
supplemented it.\(^1\)

Only on a couple of occasions did Japanese language schools receive any public attention before 1940. During the 1907 Vancouver riots a mob of whites tried unsuccessfully to burn down the Vancouver Japanese Language School.\(^2\) It is unclear whether the school was an object of special attention during the disturbances or whether it was attacked just like other Japanese property. In 1926 the arrival of four Japanese immigrants who supposedly were to instruct at language schools caused a public furor. Dr. MacLean, the Minister of Education, while investigating the situation discovered that only one of the four immigrants was a teacher and that the Japanese government had no "official interest" in the matter. Likely, public fears that Japanese language schools might supplant the public schools were completely unwarranted.\(^3\)

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3 See the following newspaper articles: "Watch School for Japanese," \textit{Province}, February 10, 1926, p. 1; "Teachers From Japan To Be Watched Closely Says Hon. Dr. MacLean," \textit{Colonist}, February 11, 1926, p. 5; "Japan Consulate Brands Teacher Story
By 1940, the concept of foreign language schools had come under mounting criticism for hindering acculturation. \(^1\) At first, the Japanese seemed unsure as to how to counteract the charge. One suggestion was to invite Canadian public school teachers to visit the Vancouver Language School so that they might witness for themselves the school's work. At the same time, several Japanese spokesmen encouraged the Japanese Language School Association to "make a conscious attempt to put aside their habitual reserve and to go half-way to iron out difficulties." \(^2\) Soon after, 100 Japanese language school teachers met to discuss possible means of surmounting growing criticism. \(^3\) However, it was not until November, 1940 that concrete action was proposed at another teachers' meeting at the Alexander Street School. The meeting's agenda centered on an affirmation of loyalty to Canada and a proposed investigation

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1 Earlier, the Vancouver Province had come out in partial support of Japanese language schools. However, the newspaper did not relish the idea of all Japanese children learning to speak Japanese. See "Would Teach Japanese of B.C. Their Own Language," Province, January 18, 1930, p. 24.


3 "Woodfibre Scene of Teachers' Confab," New Canadian, April 24, 1940, p. 1.
of school curriculum. The Japanese teachers and trustees, representing twenty-five schools, were "unanimous in upholding the strictest adherence to the program of study, designed to inculcate true Canadian citizenship in the pupils." The curriculum in the elementary grades was to contain only reading, writing, speaking and composition as time limitations permitted little else. Also, the delegates agreed to procure more suitable texts which were "in line with the life and interests of the pupils themselves and the Canadian scene."

The representatives stated that the schools were to re-emphasize Canadianism with a view to creating good citizens. The Japanese concurred that the public school was the leading educational force in the community as it promoted citizenship for all children. The consensus was that the language schools were duty bound to promote better understanding and co-operation with groups concerned with education and, above all, with the general public. In a concluding note, the delegates

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1 "Japanese School Trustees To Discuss Loyalty Stand," New Canadian, November 15, 1940, p. 1.


3 Ibid.

4 This was often the case. See, for example, "Nisei Give Union Jack to Marpole School," New Canadian, June 12, 1941, p. 1.
reaffirmed the usefulness of the language schools. They were still valuable as they undeniably contributed to the intellectual development of the child and, thus, helped to mold better and stronger character. 1

The meeting of teachers and trustees was held on the eve of an important provincial government decision concerning language schools. G. M. Weir, Minister of Education, introduced an amendment to the "School Act" which gave the Department of Education the power to close language schools where instruction was not satisfactory. Moreover, schools could only remain open with government permission. Needless to say, the Japanese fully realized the significance of this impending legislation. 2

While the House debated the merits of the proposed amendment, the Japanese Educational Society issued a policy statement which affirmed the primacy of the public school over the private school and which stipulated that Canadianism was of central importance in all Japanese language schools. Still contending that language schools were essential to the well-being of the Japanese community, the Society warned that it was "absolutely essential that no cause be given to justify


the government stepping in to impose a rigorous and dictatorial supervision of the schools." Japanese community pressure was to ensure absolute conformity to government regulations.¹

When in January, 1941, Vancouver City Council began a lengthy debate over the presence of Japanese language schools and recommended their abolition, the British Columbia Japanese Language Association was quick to submit an explanatory report. The brief denied the support of Japanese government funding for the schools since tuition fees covered all expenses. The use of (foreign) Japanese texts was simply due to the impossibility of obtaining them locally while the curricula of the schools differed vastly from any course of studies used in Japan. Moreover, the Association stressed that the Japanese found the schools essential for employment, family relations and good citizenship.²


Shortly thereafter, to counter charges by Vancouver Alderman Halford Wilson that the Vancouver Japanese Language School hindered acculturation, three British Columbia Japanese Language Association officials appeared before a special committee of City Council. The committee, composed of Aldermen Wilson, Jones and Buscome and Mayor Cornett, was to investigate matters relating to the Japanese Language School. The Japanese representatives stated that their school's textbooks were not tinged with Japanese militarism. Neither were they "inimical to Canadian thought and ideals" since school officials deleted objectionable portions before the books were used. Efforts to print Canadian Japanese textbooks, as early as 1924, had failed because of a scarcity of funds. Because all the schools were funded locally little money was left for proper printing. Mr. T. Sato, the head of the Japanese group, added that although attendance at language schools was not compulsory, approximately seventy percent of all school age Japanese children participated. Contrary to popular opinion, Sato declared, there was no medical evidence to show a relationship between attendance and declining health in Japanese children.¹

¹ Vancouver City Council, Minutes of the Meetings of Vancouver City Council, Meeting of January 24, 1941. Also, consult "Report of the Special Committee re Japanese Registration and Japanese Residents of the City of Vancouver" (unpublished, Vancouver City Council, January 24, 1941). For additional information, see "City 'Oriental' School Books Carry Japanese War Pictures," Sun,
Before the Provincial government could bring in its amendment to the "School Act," the Japanese Language School Association contacted A. J. Willis, the Superintendent of Education. By filing all details concerning pupils and curricula in Victoria, the Association made formal application to conduct the Vancouver Japanese Language School. The Association even expressed its desire to co-operate in the registration of pupils by offering to translate any government forms into Japanese. However, the Department reply was held until the Honourable G. M. Weir could return from Ottawa. ¹

The Association then approached public school authorities and the Department of Education to seek their aid in printing new textbooks, a move unanimously approved in a previous meeting of Japanese school teachers. The Association proposed an editorial staff of six members, one of which was to be a Nisei. Funds totalling 5,000 dollars to pay for research, compilation and translation were to be sought from

¹ "School Officials Present Case to Mayor," New Canadian, January 17, 1941, pp. 1, 4.
Following the passage of the amendment to the "School Act" in the House, the Superintendent of Education complimented the Japanese on their prompt applications for language school permits. The Department of Education had received twenty-two applications as of March, 1941. The Superintendent stated that, although the Department had not refused an application, a few were being delayed pending investigations of complaints concerning the health of Japanese children. Department enquiries to local school boards revealed that Alberni, Coombs, Duncan and Rutland objected to local Japanese children receiving language school training. Chiefly, these objections showed concern for possible detrimental effects on the health of the children.

Shortly thereafter, Halford Wilson who was a staunch supporter of the Native Sons of B.C. charged officials of the Vancouver Japanese Language School with refusing to produce


2 "Language Schools Seek Government Approval," New Canadian, March 7, 1941, p. 1. There were only a few serious incidents involving the language schools during this time. For instance, a group of juveniles painted swastikas on the walls of the Vancouver Japanese Language School. See "Swastikas On Wall of B.C. Nippon School," Province, April 11, 1941, p. 11.

textbooks for City Council inspection. School officials pointing out that the textbooks in question were somewhat different from the ones currently in use, offered to search for original copies.¹

At a subsequent meeting of City Council, Dr. Harold White, Director of School Health Services reported:

Daily observation of these children for many years had convinced health workers that in general they are suffering from the over-strain shown by the appearance of fatigue and by irritable action of the heart.²

Of course, the Japanese suspected that something else besides medical considerations inspired White's rather shallow comments. But even when taking White's report at face value, some Japanese were of the opinion that the "strain was worth the benefits" for the strain "of burden was an inevitable part of an immigrant's effort to assimilate." At any rate, Japanese school officials soon began to welcome advice from public school health officials on how to lessen possible health hazards.³

In May, 1941, Mr. Sato again appeared before a committee of Vancouver City Council. He assured that Japanese

¹ "Health Officer Reports Over-Strain," New Canadian, April 18, 1941, p. 1.

² Ibid., and "Japanese Language Schools Termed Detriment To Health," Province, April, 16, 1941, p. 13.

³ "The Strain of Language Schools," New Canadian, April 18, 1941, p. 4.
textbooks omitted "objectionable features" and proposed regular medical and dental inspection of Japanese pupils. A Dr. Uchida who had accompanied Sato admitted that in some instances Japanese children suffered from strain but, he stated, in extreme cases he advised them not to attend the language school.¹

In late May of 1941, the City Council committee brought forward five recommendations concerning the Vancouver Japanese Language School. These were: the appointment of a school trustee selected by the School Board to assist the Japanese Language School Association; a Provincial Department of Health investigation into the effects of language school attendance on health; Department of Education approval of texts to ensure that subject matter was of interest to all Canadians; the introduction of completely new texts as rapidly as possible; and the appointment of Nisei rather than native born Japanese to staff positions. In part, the recommendations were based on several Japanese submissions.²

The committee's suggestions seemed quite reasonable to the Japanese but Halford Wilson, in renewed verbal onslaughts, demonstrated his complete disapproval. However, City Council


was beginning to weary of Wilson's tirades. Alderman John Bennett became so annoyed with Wilson's wild accusations that he heatedly told Wilson:

City Council will support legitimate things, but not the kind of political propaganda you keep shooting off here.\footnote{1}

The controversy surrounding the language schools brought about a curious reaction in the Japanese community. For the most part, former graduates defended the institutions but some Japanese voiced disapproval of the schools. Undoubtedly, this was an attempt by only a few Japanese to disassociate themselves from an institution which the public considered to be un-Canadian; a charge never proven. One student commented:

Glancing back over my adolescent years, which I so reluctantly spent -- an hour or two, that is -- in tracing the intricate characters, in mouthing parrot-like, the sounds which were emitted from the lips of the instructor. I think how futile, how wasted were the teacher's efforts as far as I am concerned. For nothing very much remains but a 'conditioned' allergy to the study of Japanese language, which persists to this day \ldots \footnote{2}

Learning little and caring less, the former student claimed that disorder and disrespect for the teachers had been common

\footnote{1} "Wilson Charged With Political Propaganda," \textit{New Canadian}, August 15, 1941, p. 4. City Council could not really be characterized as anti-Japanese. With the exception of Halford Wilson, Council members including Mayors Cornett and Telford were generally on good terms with the Japanese community. See "Niseis, Rise to Challenge! Says Mayor," \textit{New Canadian}, October 25, 1940, p. 1.

\footnote{2} "Schools Uphold Loyalty to Canada," \textit{New Canadian}, January 17, 1941, p. 5.
occurrences. All in all, the study of Japanese proved to be "remote and confusing." Indeed, "the exploits of old heroes ... were as intelligible ... as French would be to an Eskimo." The student concluded that: "If we have built up a strong prejudice of dislike for what we could not comprehend, then the fault is not entirely and wholly ours."¹

Throughout the furor, the Japanese newspaper, the New Canadian, vacillated between supporting the schools and disapproving of them. In one article, the New Canadian declared that it was no longer an issue whether the Vancouver Japanese Language School was a "hot-bed" of Mikadoism:

It [was] now a foregone conclusion among sociologists that the schools provide only fundamental knowledge of reading, writing and composition in the Japanese language and the chief medium of expression of the Canadian-born Japanese [was] the English language.²

The editor conceded that double schooling might have had some effect on the health of Japanese children. Moreover, the paper declared that the original purpose of the language school was no longer valid. No longer was it the case that Canadian Japanese needed the language schools to obtain employment. A common language between the Issei and Nisei could not bring

¹ "Schools Uphold Loyalty to Canada," New Canadian, January 17, 1941, p. 5.

to an end the "deep-rooted ideological and cultural differences" between the first and second generations. The role of the language school obviously required redefinition. The New Canadian proposed a novel interpretation which was somewhat heretical to the Issei:

One solution lies in the creation of a specialized academy, open only to the gifted, regardless of race, and affording the key to the vast cultural and artistic storehouse of Japan.¹

Of course, opposition to this suggestion was quickly forthcoming. Some Japanese declared that employment still depended on the acquisition of the Japanese language. But other Japanese criticized the proposal from a different point of view. And it was this criticism, the work of a few Japanese, which gave anti-Japanese agitators more material for their hate campaign. One Japanese wrote:

An open language school might work if the fellow Canadians of other races understood the Japanese language. But even so, can he recognize and comprehend the real soul of Japan, and of the Japanese people, the Japanese way of looking at things; all of which is absolutely necessary to acquire the cultural background and knowledge of Japan? Definitely not. But Niseis who have a strong racial tie with Japan can! The acquisition of the cultural and artistic background of Japan would come hand in hand with the understanding of the true soul of Japan . . . .²

¹ "Language Schools," New Canadian, April 1, 1939, p. 2. A few non-Japanese students attended the Vancouver Japanese Language School in the 1930's. See Yoshihara's manuscript.

Thus, the writer held the Japanese to be distinct as a race. Whites, he claimed, could never really understand the Japanese. By maintaining that the basis for understanding Japan was racial, the writer reiterated the stand taken by Japanese protagonists. The lack of acculturation evidenced here was by far the exception and hardly the rule.

In 1940, the Minister of Education moved to bring all language schools under direct supervision and thus avoid any public criticism. However, it was not until December, 1941 that the Department of Education assumed full responsibility for the schools in a move "designed to guard against possible subversive teaching . . . . It provides for inspection of the schools by officers of the department and supervision of the curriculum." A few days later, the government decided to close down the Japanese language schools, an action which sent shock through the whole Japanese community except, perhaps, for the very young Nisei who celebrated the holiday. It was

1 Keenleyside, Special Committee On Orientals In B.C., p. 15.
2 "Education Department Gets Control Over Language Schools," New Canadian, December 8, 1941, p. 5.
rather ironic that a few weeks before the closure the Japanese language schools had begun a campaign to raise funds for the purchase of war savings stamps.¹ For several Japanese teachers, now without means of a livelihood, the situation became particularly difficult. Yet, on the whole, the Japanese accepted the government's decision rather fatally. The New Canadian could only make the terse comment: "War is grim."² The Japanese realized that the prospect for reopening the schools was slight as, "The longer the war drags on, the fainter will be the chances for a wholesale revival of the schools."³

Even though the government had closed the language schools it had never been proven that they were un-Canadian or, for that matter, directly hindered acculturation. Rather, just the opposite came to light. One man was largely responsible for the excellent records of the language schools. This was Tsutae Sato, Principal of the Vancouver Japanese Language School. He was a tireless worker whose numerous tours and guest appearances at language schools throughout the province


² "Loss of Language Papers Severe Blow But Kids Rejoice In School Closure," New Canadian, December 12, 1941, p. 5.

³ "Marginal Notes," New Canadian, December 20, 1941, p. 3.
ensured that unanimity and organization would always be present. But more importantly, Sato made it clear that the Vancouver School was an agent of acculturation which strove to inculcate Canadian customs and ideals:

Sometimes I am accused of teaching my students things that are inimical to Canadian thoughts and ideals. I always strive for one goal that the Nisei might become a good Canadian Citizen, that his citizenship will be a broad and tolerant one, one that has a breadth of vision, a certain cosmopolitanism.

This remarkable man's interests extended beyond the sphere of the Vancouver Japanese Language School to include a concern for the community at large. In 1941, with the endorsement of the University Board of Governors, he established a loan fund for needy university students regardless of their race. Sato did this as "it was his wish to assist needy students in view of his long years of experience as an educationalist, and as an expression of gratitude for the privileges of enjoying the benefits of Canadian democratic institutions."

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1 "Lecture Tour Huge Success," New Canadian, December 29, p. 4. Also, see "Language School Confab in Chemainus," New Canadian, November 3, 1939, p. 4.


The esteem with which the Japanese community held Sato was reflected by this comment in the New Canadian:

Years of teaching have given Mr. Sato the opportunity to identify himself intimately and constructively in the future of well over a thousand Nisei graduates, and through them, in the entire second generation. Kindly, patient, understanding, and in love with his work, the Principal has been admirably fitted for the uniquely difficult task of not merely teaching, but rather of guiding a generation of growing boys and girls through the tortuous maze that always accompanies the adjustment of a foreign to a native culture. ¹

CHAPTER IV

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

While churches and Japanese institutions were vital factors in the acculturation of British Columbia's Japanese, an equally if not more important role in acculturation belonged to that of the public school. Initially, the public did not protest against the presence of Orientals in the school system. Indeed, it was likely that there were too few Oriental students to attract much attention. This is not to say that the Oriental presence had little effect on the public schools. Interestingly, the "Report of the Principal for the Nanaimo Boys' Public School" in 1888 pointed out that efforts to exclude the Chinese from the mines at Nanaimo had created a serious labor shortage. A large number of youths, ten to fourteen years of age, having been induced by offers of immediate employment dropped out of the Nanaimo School.¹

It was not until 1898 that an Oriental became prominent in a British Columbia public school. In that year, Yeen Mun

in the ninth division at the Vancouver East School was the winner of the Punctuality and Regularity Award. Mee Yung, a school-mate, captured the Proficiency Award. In the same year, Tom Ah Sue in the first division at the New Westminster Boys' School received the Deportment Award. In 1902, Peter Hing passed the midsummer high school entrance examination and later graduated from the Victoria Boys' Central School. Although exact figures were not readily available, approximately twelve Chinese successfully entered high school and at least four graduated before 1910.

The first Japanese student to receive official recognition for scholastic endeavour was Tsnuezo Tanaka,

1 B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1896-97), Appendix B, p. xcvii.

2 Ibid., Appendix B, p. xxxix.

3 Report of the Public Schools (1901-02), Appendix B, p. xcvii; (1903-04), Appendix A, p. xcix. In fact, many Chinese were fairly successful at school. In 1903, Edna E. Chew and Valma C. Chew from the Vancouver Dawson School and Floy I. Fooshee from the Vancouver Strathcona School passed their high school entrance exams. Edna Chew later graduated from the Vancouver Centre High School in 1905. See B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1902-03), Appendix B, pp. ci, cii; (1904-05), Appendix A, p. civ.

4 Reliable figures are not given for two reasons: firstly, even a cursory examination of the B.C., Reports of the Public Schools (1893-1909) shows them to be inaccurate and incomplete; and, secondly, the identification of Chinese names proves to be difficult without corroborative data.
a Cumberland resident, who passed his midsummer examinations in 1903.\(^1\) Shortly thereafter, Japanese names regularly began to appear in official roles. Hattie Uchida, Hisashi Hata, and Hozo Taka from the Strathcona School passed their high school entrance exams in 1905\(^2\) and became the first Japanese to graduate from the Strathcona School. The following year, Katsuji Oya, also from the Strathcona School, passed his high school entrance exams.\(^3\) All told, six Japanese entered high school while three graduated before 1909. Except for one student, the Japanese concerned attended either Vancouver or Sapperton schools.\(^4\)

At this point, the presence of the Japanese in the schools began to arouse some concern. Although there was little chance of an immediate influx of Japanese students, James H. Hawthornthwaite, Member of the Legislature for Nanaimo, proposed the establishment of a separate school

\(^1\) B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1902-03), Appendix B, p. c.


\(^3\) B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1905-06), Appendix A, p. cx.

\(^4\) See footnotes, 1-3. In 1907, Oriental students in Vancouver schools numbered no more than 150. See "Orientals In City Schools Do Not Exceed 150," Province, September 13, 1907, p. 1.
system for Orientals. He claimed that forced association with Oriental children had a poor effect on white children. Hawthornthwaite warned that, if the government did not soon take action, the public would of necessity take matters into its own hands. The Minister of Education did not really oppose the plan but he did remind the Legislature that, if it amended the "School Act" to establish separate schools, the Dominion government was likely to intercede. However, under existing statutes local school boards possessed the authority to organize separate systems if they so wished.

1 "Asks For Separate Schools For The Orientals," *Province*, February 9, 1910, p. 8.

2 "Separate School Proposal Doomed," *Province*, February 21, 1910, p. 1. In 1901, the Victoria Trades and Labour Council asked for segregated schools for the Chinese but the school board declined the request since there were only twenty Chinese students. Moreover, the board felt that such action might set a dangerous precedent. See B.C., *Report of the Public Schools* (1901-02), p. A58. However, in 1907 the Victoria School Board attempted to segregate the Chinese. See "Victoria to Have Exclusion League," *Province*, September 5, 1907, p. 12. There was a separate Chinese school at Rock Bay but it closed in 1916 because the decreasing number of Chinese students no longer justified a separate teacher. See B.C., *Report of the Public Schools* (1915-16), p. A43. In 1922, the Victoria School Board segregated Chinese children in the North Ward School. Thereupon, the Chinese withdrew their children from the school claiming that the measure was discriminatory. Board officials explained that the move was necessary because "pupils of foreign extraction with a defective knowledge of English were retarding the progress of other pupils." A year later, the Chinese and the Board reached a compromise: Chinese with an adequate knowledge of English would remain in regular classes; other Chinese would remain segregated until such time as their control of the language improved. See B.C., *Report of the Public Schools* (1922-23), pp. F44-45; (1923-24), p. T67.
Although no school board ever exercised its option to maintain a separate school, some schools placed Japanese children in segregated classes and, in a few instances, attempted to prevent Japanese students from registering.\(^1\) On March 26, 1919, a teacher from the Vancouver Japanese Language School led forty Japanese children to the Strathcona School where he tried to register them. It was not surprising that school officials declined to do so since the unexpected arrival of such a large number of foreign students would have taxed school facilities.\(^2\) Another incident took place in January, 1925. The Marpole School Board segregated Orientals, including Japanese, in a measure to overcome language difficulties.\(^3\)

Generally speaking, public interest over the Japanese in the public schools did not amount to much until 1925, the year the British Columbia Bureau of Public Information released

An interesting account of the attempt to segregate the Chinese is in Boggs, "The Oriental on the Pacific Coast," p. 321.


2 Mitsui, "The Ministry of the United Church," p. 120.

3 Ibid., p. 132.
information which claimed that the Japanese School population had increased by seventy-four percent in three years. During the same period, the number of white children had increased by only six percent. The Bureau added the following statement:

There is little doubt that the great majority of these are not children in the sense in which the world applies to most immigrant races, but are potential competitors in industry from the moment of arrival.¹

In the same year, the British Columbia Department of Education began publishing lists of children having foreign parents.² In 1925-1926, there were 2,477 Japanese students out of a total school population of 101,688. By 1927-1928, the number of Japanese students had climbed to 3,273. The Japanese total continued to grow until it peaked at 5,573 in 1937-38 but from here on it showed a continual decrease.

What many critics failed to point out was that between 1934-1941 the Japanese school population remained fairly constant. There were yearly fluctuations but the rapid enrollment gain evident in the late 1920's and early 1930's was an event of the past.³

¹ B.C., British Columbia Public Service Bulletin (Victoria: Bureau of Public Information, 1925), II, No. 4, p. 64.
² B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1925-26), p. R9. There was little information concerning the number of Japanese children who were born in Japan and who attended public schools. As late as 1940, eleven elementary and two high school students who had been born in Japan enrolled for the first time in Vancouver schools. See Report of the Public Schools (1940-41), pp. D64-65.
³ See Appendix II.
Enrollment figures for the Japanese showed that in 1926 there were 1,244 Japanese in city schools, 951 in municipal schools and 282 in rural schools. Thereafter, statistical data became more detailed but failed to clearly differentiate between rural and urban students. Nonetheless, it was evident that until 1933 there was a balance between rural and city students. However, in 1933 elementary schools in rural municipalities showed a considerable decrease in Japanese children. By 1941, Japanese enrollment in rural elementary schools had dropped twenty-four percent from the 1932 level. On the other hand, city enrollments decreased but at a rate below that of the rural municipalities.¹ Japanese school attendance was usually higher in urban rather than in rural districts since prolonged attendance at the latter often involved considerable economic sacrifice.²

Many citizens began to view increasing Japanese school enrollment with alarm when, in 1927, the provincial government warned of a possible menace posed by Japanese school

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¹ See Appendix III. By far, the greatest concentration of Japanese school children was in Vancouver. Comparative figures for 1937 showed 792 Japanese pupils in Richmond, 350 in Steveston, 300 in Mission, 400 in Maple Ridge and 2,199 in Vancouver. See "Big Part In B.C.'s School Life Is Played By Japanese Group," Province, December 27, 1937, p. 2.

children. The following year, Theodore Davie, M.L.A. for
Victoria City, explained to the Legislature that there were
4,000 Japanese school children in the province — a figure
which he inflated. Davie alluded to the Japanese birth rate
which, he claimed, was two and one-half times as great as the
white birth rate. Accordingly, he put forward a motion to re-
patriate the Japanese so that their numbers in British Columbia
would not exceed the number of Canadians in Japan. Of course,
it was easy for alarmists like Davie to form a relationship
between the high Japanese birth rate and a large number of
Japanese school children. Another such alarmist was Vancouver
Alderman Halford Wilson who charged that by 1968 one-third of
Vancouver's population would be Japanese. In view of the
alleged "fact" that the Japanese did not pay their fair share
of school costs, the problem was particularly serious. Wilson
prompted Vancouver citizens to demand immediate action from the
provincial government and, at the same time, urged City Council
to restrict Japanese trade licenses, a move which impelled the

New Canadian to state:

1 B.C., Report On Oriental Activities Within The Province
(Victoria: King's Printer, 1927), p. 9. Also, see Charles E.
Hope, "British Columbia's Racial Problem," (Part II), Maclean's,
XLIII, No. 4 (February 15, 1930), p. 4.

2 B. C., Journals (1928), pp. 176-177.
Apparently his only method of ensuring that Oriental parents pay more school taxes is to campaign for the right to rob them of their legitimate rights to earn a living.  

Apparently, Wilson did not care to notice the declining Japanese birth rate which indicated an eventual decrease in the Japanese school population. This oversight brought the following comment from the Japanese:

\[\ldots\text{since children as a rule do not begin school immediately after birth, this decline is not immediately noticeable in figures for school registration.}\]

It was difficult to determine how Wilson arrived at his prediction for 1968. Likely, he took recent increases in Japanese school enrollments, converted them to percentage increases and then compounded the percentages. The New Canadian expressed this view in the following comment:

\[\ldots\text{he undoubtedly is trying to apply the laws of compound interest he learnt in his younger days as a bank clerk. Even then he cannot claim the doubtful distinction of being the first man to put forth his theory that human beings increase by geometrical progression.}\]

The opinions of Davie and Wilson showed that they held the common view about Japanese fecundity. Generally, people believed that "inferior" immigrants like the Japanese posed a

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2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.
threat to the native population because "lower-class races" could replenish their numbers at an alarming rate:

The native-born population, in the struggle to keep up appearances in the face of increasing competition, fails to propagate itself, commits race suicide, in short, whereas the immigration population, being inferior, and having no appearances to keep up, propagates itself like the fish of the sea.¹

One writer felt that the problem became even more serious when one considered the relatively small Anglo-Saxon population and the natural fecundity of all Orientals.² And of course, the Asiatic Exclusion League of Canada in 1921 direly predicted that, by 1928, Japanese births would outnumber those of all the white population and that British Columbia would soon become a Japanese province.³

Opponents of the Japanese so distorted many of the statistics concerning Japanese births as to render them virtually useless for gaining accurate information.⁴ One critic


⁴ For instance, the Provincial government purported the 1929 Japanese birth rate as 40 per 1,000. Actually, the correct figure was 37.5 per 1,000. This error was pointed out in Tolmie, "The Orientals in B.C." p. 48.
pointed out that there were twenty Japanese births registered in 1910 while in 1920-1921 there were 803 registered. That, said the critic, was an increase of 3,915 percent in Japanese births in only ten years! Another Japanese opponent, after hinting that the Japanese were concealing the actual number of births, stated that there were 1,485 Japanese births registered in 1928. In fact, this was true. However, he failed to mention that there were only 771 Japanese who were actually born alive and registered in that same year. The previous figure, 1,485, included still births and some births not registered in previous years.  

Sometimes, anti-Japanese protagonists simply omitted statistical evidence when describing the Japanese birth rate. One such protagonist, in true poetic fashion, portrayed the Japanese birth rate as follows:

1 Charles Lugrin Shaw, "Canada's Oriental Problem," Canadian Magazine, LXIII, No. 6 (October, 1924), p. 337.

2 Charles E. Hope, "British Columbia's Racial Problems" (Part I), Maclean's, XLIII, No. 3 (February 1, 1930), p. 4. Also see, Appendix IV. Hope presented no evidence to support his charge. Available evidence suggested that the Japanese did not conceal the true number of births by not registering them. In fact, Provincial government officials in 1941 discovered fraudulent birth registrations were being made. R.C.M.P. and Canadian Immigration officials proved this to be the case. However, the actual number of false registrations was quite small. See, B.C., Seventieth Report of Vital Statistics: 1941 (Victoria: King's Printer, 1942), p. G45. (Hereinafter cited as B.C., Vital Statistics.)
The little cloud of twenty or thirty years ago, no bigger than a man's hand, has been constantly growing and is gradually darkening the heavens. How long will it be before the storm bursts?  

Actually, the registration of Japanese births was quite legitimate even though there was a considerable number of late registrations. In September, 1928, H. B. French, the Deputy Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths declared that the Japanese over the years had registered births in the same proportion as had whites. Much of the confusion can be attributed to the Provincial government's rather haphazard methods in collecting reliable birth statistics. Often it was the case that Japanese nurses or midwives were the only medical staff in attendance at Japanese births. It was not until 1929 that the government made a point of supplying birth registration forms to these people.

Some investigators attempted to explain the high Japanese birth rate. As a whole, the Japanese were considered to be a fecund race for four reasons: firstly, a high birth rate was common in periods of rapid industrialization; secondly, births were more common among the lower classes; thirdly, large

3 B.C., Journals (1923), p. 94.
families were an economic asset; and fourthly, Japanese women were in the prime of their child bearing years.¹ Most observers completely ignored the fact that the Japanese traditionally considered it a moral obligation to beget children.²

One defender of the Japanese went so far as to suggest that there was no exact data to prove that Asiatic birth rates were any higher than that of Europeans. The crude birth rate may have been higher but when one took into account the number of Japanese women of child-bearing age, the situation explained itself. He contended that, in fact, if the latter method determined birth rates, then Great Britain's rate was higher than that of India.³

Some critics disagreed when it was suggested that a high birth rate was a phenomenon peculiar to first generation immigrants. This argument held that declining births would be characteristic of the second and succeeding generations. One observer stated:

> It may be shown that, up to the present, the birth rate of the average foreign race in Canada has increased

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rather than diminished with length of family residence, which implies that certainly the second generation, and in some cases the third, reproduce more rapidly than the original immigrants. 1

At any rate, in an accurate analysis of the Japanese birth rate one must keep in mind that an excess of births over deaths was not alone indicative of the natural increase of the Japanese population. There had to be a minimum number of births to ensure the continuance of the population. Because of the initial scarcity of Japanese females in the province a fairly high birth rate was necessary to maintain population in view of the increasing number of single male deaths. 2 Moreover, the high infant mortality rate and the large number of still births among the Japanese indicated that the Japanese population was not increasing at the rate which the public believed. 3

Furthermore, much of the controversy concerning birth rates was due to the fact that until 1907 there were very few

1 W. B. Hurd, "Is There A Canadian Race?" Queen's Quarterly, XXV, No. 5 (October, 1928), p. 624. Hurd based his analysis on 1926 figures for the Prairie provinces. These were primarily concerned with Ukrainians, Austrians and Roumanians.

2 Tolmie, "The Orientals In B.C.," p. 36.

3 In part these can be attributed to the lack of prenatal and postnatal health care facilities in the Japanese community. It was not until May, 1939, that a prenatal unit at the Japanese Hospital Clinic was opened. See, "Welfare Ass'n Provides Needed Social Services To Community," New Canadian, October 27, 1939, p. 3.
Japanese females in British Columbia. Statistical evidence bore this out. In 1902 there were only two Japanese births registered and, in 1910, only thirty-eight. But by 1922, after a considerable number of Japanese women had settled in the province, the birth figure stood at 745. After these women passed their child-bearing years, the birth rate rapidly declined. In 1931 there were 22,205 Japanese in the province while in 1938 there were only 22,075 Japanese. During this same period, the number of Nisei had only risen from 11,081 to 13,143. The New Canadian analyzed the declining Japanese birth rate and made the following comment:

The passing of years has already brought with it an evident decline in the number of births of Japanese children each year, a decline that is not and will not, for sociological

1 For an American opinion, see Marjorie R. Stearns, "The Settlement of the Japanese in Oregon," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXXIX, No. 3 (September, 1938), pp. 263-264.

2 B.C., Journals (1923), p. 94. Also, see Appendix IV. Washiji Oya, the first Japanese woman in B.C., landed at Vancouver in 1887. See Adachi, History of the Japanese Canadians, p. 5. The first Japanese born in B.C. was Hatsuye Uchida in 1891. See "In Days of Yore," New Canadian, May 27, 1939, p. 8. Many of the Japanese women were "picture-brides" who had never seen their husbands before their marriage. See Tien-Fang, Oriental Immigration, p. 131 and "No Marriage By Photo," Colonist, March 24, 1908, p. 7. Archie Wills has done a more recent account although it is quite inaccurate and emotionally flavoured. Consult "The Picture Bride," Colonist, November 15, 1970, pp. 4-5.

reasons, be compensated for by third generation births.\footnote{1}{"Alderman Wilson And His Oriental Menace," \textit{New Canadian}, February 2, 1940, p. 4.}

Thus, like so many of the controversies surrounding the Japanese, the question of birth rate proved to be a mixture of fact and fallacy. Henry Angus explained the situation in this manner:

Subconsciously we are all Malthusian at heart. The situation seemed a nightmare; Malthusianism with its geometrical ratio reinforced by immigration, and with its tempo accelerated by the high birth rate of an immigrant group, in a land of plenty.\footnote{2}{H. F. Angus, "A Contribution To International Ill-Will," \textit{Dalhousie Review}, XIII, No. 1 (April, 1933), p. 29.}

Although constantly increasing Japanese school enrollments distressed the general public, the actual influence of Japanese children in the public school system remained obscure. However, many questions pertaining to Japanese school children were answered by the Putman-Weir Survey (1925) which largely dealt with matters of curricula, testing, financing and health. Even though the Survey did not intend to directly deal with Japanese school children, the overall study included a separate report on the Japanese. In particular, this report under the directorship of Dr. Peter Sandiford attempted to measure the mental capabilities of Japanese and Chinese students in Vancouver public schools. The Japanese merited...
a separate examination because it "... was felt that the
tests involving a use of the English language would not be
fair to them." Accordingly, Sandiford and his staff set out
to test 500 Japanese children but time limitations eventually
reduced the study sample to 150 students.¹

When test results showed the Japanese to be far
superior to white children Sandiford was not in the least
surprised as he had fully expected this to be the case. He
attributed Japanese success to selection in immigration. The
"clever," "resourceful" and "courageous" people were the ones
who immigrated; the "dullards and less enterprising [were]
left behind." Sandiford's vindication for this theory rested
on two rather dubious points concerning immigration in other
countries. Firstly, he claimed that Great Britain owed "her
eminent position in the world to the fact that only the sturdy
could secure a footing on her shores." Secondly, Sandiford
stated that American Army tests proved that only persons of
higher intelligence had originally been able to conquer the
Rocky Mountain barrier to the Pacific Coast.² With only this
as evidence, we might rightly question Sandiford's sweeping
conclusion.

¹ J. H. Putman and Weir, G.M., Survey of the School System
(Victoria: King's Printer, 1925), p. 506.

² Ibid., p. 508.
Sandiford also felt that Japanese parents sent only the more intelligent children to school -- a higher percentage of intelligent children than the white community sent. Thus the problem was one which concerned an "industrious, clever and frugal alien group" whose mental capabilities permitted them to compete more than adequately with the white community. The Japanese were "probably the most intelligent of all racial groups which made up the total Canadian population." ¹

The following year Sandiford enlarged the first study sample from 150 to 276 Japanese children. He assumed the base score (of 100) to be the white median. Whereas previous testing showed the Japanese achieving a median score of 113, additional data raised the median score to 114.² Five-sixths of Japanese males exceeded a score which only one-half of white male children surpassed. This time, Sandiford held the results to be distorted. According to some commonly employed methods of testing analysis, Japanese scores should have been much


lower. However, if this was actually the case, the testers were at a loss to discover the method for making an accurate readjustment in their data analysis. This aside, Sandiford still maintained that, although Japanese scores were high, this was to be expected since Japanese immigrants were undoubtedly a select group and, therefore, not representative of Japanese in general.¹

Despite Sandiford's claims that high Japanese scores were due to a selection process, the testers viewed their results with some alarm. In an effort to check the findings Ruby Kerr, Sandiford's assistant, conducted tests on 419 white children. She used the same tests as in the previous study. This examination, completed in 1927, excluded Chinese and Japanese children. Kerr's results were much different from previous findings. White children achieved a median score of 113, leaving them only 1.2 points behind the Japanese but almost six points above the Chinese. Of course, because this particular survey excluded Orientals a comparison of scores between the first and second tests was the basis for Kerr's assessment.² On the foundation of this impossible comparison,


Kerr believed that the Japanese were poorly suited to Canadian conditions. She concluded:

Personally, I am inclined to believe that the climate of Canada, with the exception of British Columbia, will prove too severe for most Asiatic immigrants.

It was obvious to J. E. Brown, Principal of the Vancouver Strathcona School that Sandiford's testing lacked much validity. Prompted by Sandiford's spurious conclusions, Brown administered a series of intelligence tests to both Japanese and white pupils in 1927. He excluded students whose mastery of the English language was liable to seriously affect test results. Brown's findings showed Sandiford's conclusions to be unfounded. While finding the Japanese to be inferior to white children in subjects requiring a sound knowledge of the English language, he discovered that the Japanese were superior in mechanical and mathematical ability. Thus, Japanese children proved to be neither inferior nor superior in general intelligence. It was apparent that Japanese children were frequently handicapped in their opportunities to acquire the English language. Brown attributed this to three factors: attendance at Japanese language schools, the use of the Japanese language in the home and the lack of similarity between the Japanese and English forms of expression.

1 Sandiford, "Inheritance of Talent Among Canadians," p. 19.
2 J. E. Brown, "Japanese School Children," B.C. Teacher, VII,
Brown also reviewed athletic and deportment performances among the Japanese in order to gain a wider perspective. Although no objective data was available on the former, Brown offered a subjective comment: "The Japanese boys [were] more enthusiastic and energetic on the playfield than [were] the white boys." Concerning deportment, the Japanese with only a few exceptions obtained "A" ratings.  

Thus, according to Brown, the Japanese possessed neither inferior or superior intelligence. But many Japanese parents came to believe otherwise and more or less accepted Sandiford's original claims. The common belief in the Japanese community held Japanese students to be "as a whole . . . more proficient in their studies than any other race." A private study completed in 1939 showed their children to "rank above the average in scholastic ability." The reason for this, the Japanese maintained, was due to select immigration since,

"... the majority of Japanese immigrants in B.C. [were] of a select group and consequently the intelligence quotient of their children [was] above normal for all school children." 

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No. 10 (June, 1928), pp. 8-10. The text of this article is practically the same as A Few Facts About Japanese School Children (Vancouver: Canadian Japanese Association, 1927).

1 Ibid., p. 11.


3 "Nisei I.Q. Higher States Scholar," New Canadian, March 15, 1939, p. 1. This study was part of the research conducted by Karl Gross, a Ph. D. candidate at the University of Ohio.
The Putman-Weir Survey also reviewed difficulties associated with school financing, a problem which school inspectors had been pointing out for years. Putman and Weir discovered that the general public throughout the province was concerned about school taxation. In many instances, local school tax assessments were unduly high; in other cases, they were ridiculously low. After examining mill rates in the province, the Survey found evidence of inconsistent assessment of property. Thus, the Survey unwittingly exonerated the Steveston Japanese from a charge frequently levelled at them, namely, that they purposely evaded school taxation. First, it was common practice for property to go untaxed, thereby contributing nothing to school revenues. And, secondly, the school mill rate in Richmond was only 4.25 as opposed, for instance, to 21.74 in South Vancouver. The white residents of Richmond were certainly not burdened by the Japanese presence. At any rate, the provincial government had rarely been able to supply accurate information detailing the exact amounts which Japanese property owners were supposed to be contributing towards the schools.

1 For instance, see B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1903-04), p. A64 and (1912-1913), p. A47.

2 Putman and Weir, Survey, p. 277.

3 B.C., Journals (1916), p. 25.
However, school problems had plagued the Richmond School District for some time. The Steveston Public School established in 1894 laboured under particularly difficult conditions.¹ The Department of Education recognized the quality of instruction to be sub-standard but it was not until 1915 that the school received adequate reports from inspectors.²

By 1920, when the Japanese population at Steveston numbered about 2,000,³ it was rumoured that instruction at the public school was in Japanese.⁴ However, there is no evidence to substantiate this claim. In 1925, the Richmond School Board raised some objection when over 300 Japanese children began registering for classes at Steveston. The Board contended that very few Japanese paid school taxes since they often rented dwellings from the canneries or lived in boarding houses.⁵ Thereupon, the Japanese Fishermen's Benevolent Society voluntarily agreed

1 B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1894-95), p. 287.
5 Mitsui, "The Ministry of the United Church," p. 133. Archie Bell, Sunset Canada (Boston: Colonial Press, 1918), p. 120.

The Board also made plans to bus white children to the Steveston school to rectify the racial imbalance. See "Steveston School Needs White Pupils," Province, September, 1925, p. 20.
to pay five dollars a child per year to the School Board. Three years later, the Society with the permission of the Minister of Education offered to raise 20,000 dollars for new school construction.¹ Despite the good intentions of the society, criticisms of the Japanese continued to mount. In part, this was due to the presence of several Japanese students who, though they lived outside the municipal boundary, still attended school in Steveston. Because the Steveston school was the closest, the Richmond District was legally obligated to supply these children with an education even though their parents paid no school taxes.² Furthermore, from all indications received from the Japanese Language School Board, Richmond residents were foretold of a rapid increase in Japanese school enrollment.³

In 1934 the Richmond School Board and the Japanese met to discuss the impending crisis in school financing. The five dollar levy from the Society did not nearly cover costs which

¹ "Minister Visits Japanese Schools," Province, December 18, 1929, p. 28. Also, see "Nippon School Has Novel Angles," Colonist, December 20, 1929, p. 3 and "City and District," Colonist, December 8, 1929, p. 6.

² Hope, "British Columbia's Racial Problem," (Part II), p. 45. The Japanese attended school in five or six different buildings. Segregation was common but often necessary because of language difficulties. See "Quaint Japanese Pupils Overflow Steveston School," Province, February 9, 1930, p. 10.

³ Hope, "British Columbia's Racial Problem" (Part II), p. 45.
averaged fifty dollars a child. The Japanese, while comprising forty percent (or 629 students) of the school population, paid only ten percent of their school costs. (This included the five dollar levy and school taxes where applicable.) Moreover, the Benevolent Society was having difficulty collecting the donations from Japanese parents who, after all, were not obligated to make their payments. Unfortunately, the meeting failed to resolve the tax difficulties and, at the same time, served to convince Richmond residents that the Japanese were evading their financial responsibilities.¹

Four years later the Board, denouncing the Japanese for only paying one-sixth of their share of school costs, challenged the right of the Japanese to use school facilities. Arthur Laing, Chairman of the Board, suggested a levy of thirty dollars be placed on each Japanese child. He also pointed out that the Japanese had contributed 20,000 dollars towards school construction, thereby entitling them to take advantage of school facilities.² However, Laing did not attempt to refute charges that Japanese students spread foreign ideas among white school children; nor did he offer any evidence to


support the charges.¹

Yet, the question of school financing was just one obstacle facing the Japanese. Another argument against the presence of the Japanese in the public schools was the question of disease. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the public believed the Japanese to be carriers of every type of disease imaginable.² In part, this idea stemmed from statements made before large scale Japanese immigration occurred. In 1885, Simeon Duck, M.L.A. for Victoria City described all Orientals as "leprous in blood and unclean in habits."³ He added that they were contaminated "with contagious diseases, peculiar to this people, which they have already introduced to an alarming extent upon this Continent and against which we have a right to defend ourselves and our children."⁴ Four years later, the House moved that efforts should be made to "represent to the Dominion Government the great necessity which exists of taking steps at an early date to establish


² Rattray, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, Ch. 9, passim. This idea persisted until the 1950's. See, for example, Fred H. Goodchild, B.C.: Its History, People and Industry (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1951), p. 180.

³ B.C., Journals (1885), p. 29.

⁴ Ibid.
quarantine stations at New Westminster, Vancouver, and Nanaimo.\textsuperscript{1}

In 1893, Mr. Thomas Keith, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Nanaimo, moved that because of small-pox, "a loathsome disease," and "Whereas there [was] a great danger that Asiatic cholera may at any time be introduced from China or Japan," all passengers and goods from the Orient should be thoroughly inspected at their points of departure.\textsuperscript{2} In 1897, Mr. Walkem spread further alarm when he pointed out that "small-pox, cholera, plague and other infectious diseases had their home in the Orient."\textsuperscript{3} He proposed that all Orientals be immediately quarantined upon their arrival and that all Oriental luggage be disinfected at the time of embarkation. Undoubtedly, the small-pox epidemics in Vancouver and Victoria in 1892 prompted Walkem's actions.\textsuperscript{4}

Practically, all the accusations reporting the Japanese

\textsuperscript{1} B.C., Journals (1889), p. 30.

\textsuperscript{2} B.C., Journals (1893), p. 54. Also, see B.C., S.P. (1893), p. 275 (Papers -- In relation to representations made to the Dominion Government respecting Quarantine Matters).


\textsuperscript{4} Ibid. As late as 1936, the Provincial Secretary told the House that the incidence of syphilis and gonorrhea was higher among the Japanese than among whites. See B.C., Journals (1936), pp. 33-34.
to be carriers of disease proved to be false. For example, in 1921 the Henry Hudson School P.T.A. had charged that Japanese pupils were infected with skin diseases and, accordingly, demanded the exclusion of Japanese children from the school. When investigations by the Vancouver School Board and the Japanese Consul proved the accusations to be unsubstantiated, the P.T.A. dropped the charges.¹

However, there was some evidence to suggest that the Japanese, in fact, were overly susceptible to tuberculosis. Even the New Canadian admitted that the tuberculosis rate among the Japanese was abnormally high.² In 1923 alone, there were twenty-three Japanese deaths attributed to this disease. The Japanese rate of infection for that same year was 1.63 per 1,000 as compared to .63 per 1,000 in the white community.³ Throughout the 1930's the number of Japanese deaths from tuberculosis averaged thirty-one a year.⁴ The lack of adequate health care facilities and trained personnel in the Japanese

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⁴ See Appendix IV.
community was very likely a contributing factor in the prevalence of the disease. In 1916, only one out of the fifty tuberculosis patients at the Vancouver General Hospital was Japanese.¹

Although sanitary facilities among the general public were often inadequate, the living conditions of most immigrant groups were thought to produce situations conducive to the spreading of disease.² Of course, the public believed that because the children of immigrants were easy prey to a host of illnesses, all school children stood a chance of infection. One provincial health official commented:

The odour of these places is characteristic, and so heavy and penetrating that it can readily be detected upon the children in school.³

Certainly, schools were not the healthiest places and school officials placed the eradication of common illnesses at the top of their list of priorities.⁴ Nonetheless, health information permeated its way throughout the general public and


conditions slowly improved. The Japanese had long been conscious of the need for proper health care facilities and adequate sanitary conditions. The hospital established by the Japanese Fishermen's Benevolent Society always met government standards for health care. Likewise, the Japanese did their best to eradicate sources of disease:

A clear understanding of the common laws of sanitary hygiene along unselfish lines is much needed by the general public and the results of such knowledge would be of estimable value . . . . The value of good drinking water has been strikingly illustrated by the fact that at Steveston this year there have only been two cases of typhoid fever. 2

Occasionally, a school official charged that the Japanese were unco-operative in school health problems although most school officials denied that the Japanese either hindered or defied health regulations. 3 In 1937, T. J. Ross, a Richmond school trustee, claimed that Japanese parents refused to permit school nurses to examine their children. 4 Art Laing, Chairman of the Board, promised an immediate investigation into the matter which was likely a misunderstanding due to language

1 B.C., Board of Health (1917), p. 5.
3 "Big Part In B.C.'s School Life is Played By Japanese Group," Province, December 15, 1937, p. 16.
difficulties encountered by Japanese parents. Such difficulties, however, were not new. In Vancouver, Tsutae Sato, the Principal of the Japanese Language School, had for years acted as an interpreter for health officials so that Japanese parents would know exactly what was required of them along with an appropriate explanation. As it turned out, Sato's arrangement was more than satisfactory in Vancouver as there is little evidence to suggest that school health authorities felt that the Japanese were circumventing health regulations.¹

It was fairly obvious that the provincial government and, for that matter, most of the public harbored anti-Japanese sentiments. Accordingly, one might expect to find a parallel attitude among public school teachers. However, this may not always have been the case. J. B. Bennett, an early teacher at the Cumberland School was not particularly receptive to Oriental students. Indeed, he was quite happy that there were "very few Chinese or Japanese on the roll."² Yet, evidence suggests that only a minority of teachers shared Bennett's attitude. Perhaps, more typical of teachers' feelings was the view expressed by J. E. Brown, Principal of the Vancouver Strathcona School which, in 1928, enrolled 550 Japanese students. Brown found the

¹ Brown, "Japanese School Children," p. 11.

² J. B. Bennett, "Some Recollections of Teaching in the Comox District," B.C. Teacher, VI, No. 4 (December, 1926), p. 25.
Japanese to be excellent pupils who, while not without their faults, compared favourably with their white school mates.¹

A questionnaire sent to the principals of Vancouver schools in 1930 solicited staff opinion concerning the presence of Japanese school children. The response was

... unanimous to the effect that after teaching hundreds of Japanese children, since schools were first established in Vancouver, the principals and the teachers were decidedly of the opinion that these children were not a detriment. As a matter of fact every teacher who has had to do with is outspoken in praise of their superiority as pupils to other children [sic]. They are no trouble, they are easily taught, they are industrious and honourable, they are free from objectionable habits, they are in short ideal pupils.²

Although this assessment tended towards hyperbole, it was nonetheless apparent that many teachers welcomed the presence of Japanese school children. While prejudice existed in the general community against the Japanese, teachers were not inclined to discriminate against Japanese children since they seemed to be ideal pupils.³

A later survey among teachers at Britannia, King George, Vancouver Technical and Grandview high and at Templeton junior


² Arthur P. Woollacott, "Oriental Born Canadians," Canadian Forum, XI, No. 122 (November, 1930), p. 52. Apparently, the questionnaire was sent to most Vancouver school principals. Subjective in nature, it required general opinions regarding the desirability of Japanese students. The number of respondents, while unknown, was likely high.

³ Further evidence can be found in "Parents, Teachers Discuss Pupils," New Canadian, June 15, 1939, p. 1.
high school represented Nisei students as "studious," "well-behaved," "hard-working," "respectful" and obedient." However, the teachers at the same time criticised the Nisei for their lack of initiative, their emotional reserve and for "aping . . . the defects of their Canadian friends." Probably, much of this criticism would have been better directed to the Japanese family structure in which reserve and conformity were necessary elements of the Japanese ideals of reverence, filial piety and "gentleness of spirit."\(^1\)

Many teachers were also concerned about the problem of Japanese dual nationality. The Japanese government considered a child, regardless of his place of birth, to be a Japanese national if his natural father was Japanese. This obvious conflict of interests proved to be a source of anxiety to many teachers for whom the thought of educating foreign nationals was not very palatable.\(^2\)

It was not until the late 1930's that the B.C. Teacher, the official organ of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation,

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1 "What Do Isseis and Canadian Teachers Think of Nisei Moral Standards?" *New Canadian*, April 12, 1940, p. 3.

began to voice strong opposition to the unfair treatment of the Japanese. Writing in the *B.C. Teacher*, Katie Thiessen cautioned against government legislation which would try to solve the Japanese problem. Although the first generation had been subjected to "hardship and misunderstanding," sometimes legally enforced, Thiessen urged teachers to "study the effects which these legal restrictions [had] upon the generations of boys and girls in our schools, whose permanent home will almost invariably be the land of their birth."\(^1\) In 1938 the editor of the *B.C. Teacher* finally voiced an opinion on the subject. Optimistically describing teachers as "conspicuously free from prejudices," he wrote:

> We know, by experience and by the exercise of common sense, that likeable and unlikeable, clever and stupid people, efficient and inefficient people, are to be found among the representatives of any race. It is silly to admire or to dislike folk in wholesale lots. It is profoundly dangerous to Canadian society at large and to the Canada of the future if Canadians of whatever racial origin are treated as pariahs.\(^2\)

This, however, was only the opinion of the editor and did not reflect an official stand by the B.C.T.F. nor, for that matter, by the *B.C. Teacher*. Even by 1940, when the situation appeared to be "worsening rather than bettering," the B.C.T.F.

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2 Editor, "Isn't It About Time We Spoke Up?", *B.C. Teacher*, XVIII, No. 2 (October, 1938), p. 49.
had not yet "publicly or officially committed itself to any general attitude or policy" regarding the Japanese. The best the editor of the B.C. Teacher could profer was that discrimination no longer held any rationale. For once, "ethics, political expedience and self-interest" agreed.¹

By October, 1940, the B.C. Teacher finally stood firmly behind the Japanese. The magazine at last denounced those people who, for reasons of racial prejudice, had slandered the Japanese. Moreover, the magazine declared that it was the teacher's duty to inhibit prejudice since "teachers have had special opportunity to become acquainted with young Japanese at first hand." Teachers would have to do this

Unless, of course, they admire and prefer to emulate the example of the Priest and the Levite, who very well knew that the best way to keep out of trouble is to see little, to say nothing and to 'pass by on the other side.' ²

Not surprisingly, the B.C. Teacher neglected to draw a parallel to the B.C.T.F. which, of course, for many years had assumed the roles of the Priest and the Levite. Of course, the evidence presented here is much too limited to conclusively state that teachers (on the whole) sided with the Japanese. However, the absence of contrary information intimates that teachers,

¹ "Editorial," B.C. Teacher, XIX, No. 7 (March, 1940), pp. 327-328.

² Editor, "The Stranger Within Our Gates," B.C. Teacher, XX, No. 2 (October, 1940), p. 55. Also, see Editor, "Racial Intolerance," B.C. Teacher, XX, No. 6 (February, 1941), p. 254.
at the very least, were neutral in the debate or, at the very most, were generally in favour of the Japanese.

Also, it appears that, for the most part, Japanese children enjoyed amicable relationships with their white school mates. Many school officials concurred with this statement.

It must not be assumed that these Oriental youngsters are in anyway a detriment in the schools; they are exemplary pupils for the most part and quick to learn -- quite equal to white children in intelligence -- mix well with other children, are clean, tidy, and as a rule are models of behavior.\(^1\)

One stirring account of Japanese-Occidental friendship involved the case of Satoru Omori, a Woodfibre high school student who drowned despite the efforts of a local teacher to revive him. Sympathetic school officials dismissed students early so that they could attend the lad's funeral. Moreover, two of the pall bearers were white high school students.\(^2\)

Teachers were usually confident that, if there was prejudice among white children, the school would be the means of overcoming it.\(^3\) However, there were a few isolated

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1 Lukin Johnston, "British Columbia's Oriental Problem," United Empire, XIII, No. 8 (August, 1922), p. 575. Actually, Johnston was quite critical of the Oriental presence in the public schools. He was taken aback by the account of Yip Sang, a Vancouver Chinese who reportedly had four wives and twenty-seven school-age children.


3 Hope, "British Columbia's Racial Problem" (Part II), p. 45.
incidents of conflict between white and Japanese students.¹ There was even some evidence to suggest that white parents, on a few occasions, urged their children to ostracize Japanese students.² By their own admission, the Japanese were sometimes responsible for arousing the animosity of white children. One Japanese wrote:

Some Japanese students carry on most of their conversations amongst themselves in Japanese, and, in addition to that, some even bring and read openly, Japanese books at English class.³

Perhaps, the lack of overt animosity from teachers, school officials and white children can, in part, be attributed to the fact that Japanese children were assets in any school. They often excelled at public school, frequently winning awards for academic endeavour, school service and sports activity.⁴ In 1939, fifty Nisei students were recommended for high school matriculation while a total of sixty eventually obtained


matriculation standing. In the following year, over 100 Japanese successfully completed junior matriculation requirements. At the same time, school officials recommended sixty-five Niseis for high school matriculation. By the 1930's a greater percentage of Japanese students out of those students attending elementary, high and commercial schools graduated than did their white counterparts.

The Niseis were also very active in extra-curricular activities. For instance, a largely Japanese choir captured the Stevens Shield at the British Columbia Music Festival in 1930. Noting the diverse ethnic composition of the choir, the adjudicator praised the children for their co-operative efforts. In 1939, the Toronto Conservatory of Music presented


2 "Successful Nisei Matriculants Announced," New Canadian, July 24, 1940, p. 1. Eighty-three Japanese obtained their junior matriculation in Vancouver at the Britannia, King Edward, Vancouver Technical, Grandview Commerce and Magee high schools. One student received it by correspondence while living in Tokyo.

3 "School Slants," New Canadian, July 1, 1940, p. 20.


fifty Niseis with diplomas while in 1940 the Conservatory awarded another fifty Niseis with similar honours.\(^1\) Besides their avid interest in music, Japanese students participated in student radio broadcasts, basketball, rugby, tennis, debating, recitals, service clubs and school money raising projects.\(^2\)

Although the Nisei showed zeal in participating in extra-curricular activities, the Issei often felt that their children were not realizing the full benefits of school programs. One Japanese put it this way:

"Those in school should take full benefit of their opportunities. How can this best be effected? By mere study? No! Nisei on the whole have made the mistake of neglecting many duties which school and extra-curricular activity entails -- activity along political, social service and athletic lines. Especially inactive are the girls.

Let us remedy this unflattering condition. Let us join in on a year of unprecedented activity on our part so that on graduation we will be better prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with our fellow-citizens . . . .\(^3\)


\(^3\) "High School Highlights," *New Canadian*, October 6, 1939, p. 4. Undoubtedly, "political" refers to student council work. It was a particular honour among the Nisei to be elected to student governing bodies and to participate in civic affairs. One Japanese student received a particular honour. Yutaka
Many public school teachers voiced the same opinion by pointing out that the "average Nisei [did] not participate in as many activities as they should."\(^1\) What resulted, therefore, was a campaign to encourage the Nisei to join as many school activities as was possible. One remark was particularly interesting:

There are committees of all descriptions where a person's executive abilities may be developed, debate societies where oratorical and forensic experience may be gained; numerous library, science arts, modern language, and hobby clubs give play to one's knowledge or talents; still more recreational clubs which afford relaxation and enjoyment; and lastly sports which, in addition to its definite physical and social value, tempts the individual with the lure of fame and glory.\(^2\)

Obviously, the Issei managed to impart a respect for education to their children.\(^3\) Like their parents, the Niseis appreciated and honored the work done by school teachers. One girl expressed her opinion this way:

Next to the love of our parents is the love of our teachers. Great indeed are the difficulties experienced by our teachers while they are educating us. But we sometimes

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Kobayashi, a Richmond high school student, was chosen as one of seventeen students to attend the Coronation of George VI. See "Elizabeth Yamashita Installed As Student Prexy," New Canadian, September 29, 1939, p. 5 and B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1936-37), p. 1131.

1 "High School Highlights," New Canadian, October 6, 1939, p. 4.

2 Ibid. This point is reiterated in "High School Highlights," New Canadian, October 13, 1939, p. 4.

3 "Nisei Education," New Canadian, August 21, 1940, p. 4.
forget their kindness and turn our backs on their instruction. In spite of this, with unchanged love and tears they continue to teach us.¹

The Niseis also realized that the school was the best possible place for acculturation.² They felt that contact with children of other races was healthy and should be encouraged.³ Yet, if the schools were a vehicle for acculturation, they also brought to light some of the difficulties facing the Japanese. Hide Hyodo made an excellent analysis of the overall situation. She pointed out that Japanese and white children enjoyed amicable relationships while at school but that social intercourse abruptly ended after graduation. The school simply failed to reflect general conditions in the greater community.⁴ Hyodo's point was well taken. The public school was remarkably successful in acculturating the Nisei but it also brought distress and frustration. The schools taught democracy and equality, principles which the Japanese quickly learned did not always extend beyond the bounds of the classroom. One Nisei girl observed bitterly:

In the schools of British Columbia children of every race are molded into Canadian pattern [sic]; each becomes

¹ "Prize Winning Speech," New Canadian, August 21, 1940, p. 4.
² "Magee Medley," New Canadian, June 15, 1939, p. 5.
³ Yuasa, "We Must Lose To Win," p. 305.
a Canadian patriot . . . and the hands that shape the process . . . are surely guided to put our democratic ideals into practice.

But children soon learn that these principles are too commonly forgotten in life after school. Soon they learn that discrimination and inequality . . . exist in many powerful forms. They have cause to look with bitterness upon the state . . . inevitably their belief in Canadian ideals is shaken.

The editor of the B.C. Teacher agreed with the young Nisei that it was unjust to treat Japanese children with fairness during their school lives and then to "break their hearts, paralyze their normal human hopes and ambitions by varying degrees of social ostracism and by the curtailment of political rights."^2

S. Ichiye Hayakawa, perhaps the most articulate of all Japanese spokesmen, offered his thoughts on the situation. He claimed that Japanese children eagerly accepted the "patriotic and idealistic sentiments of [their] Canadian teachers." Teachers explained to the children the ideals of democracy and it was the teaching profession that the Nisei could thank for a position which bordered on the schizophrenic:

. . . the Japanese-Canadian has to a great extent his Canadian school-teachers and professors to thank for his present admirable attitude. It is they who, for better or worse, inculcate such political ideas into him and it is also they who have encouraged him to persevere in

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1 "Loyal Canadians," New Canadian, June 5, 1940, p. 2.

2 Editor, "Canadianization," B.C. Teacher, XX, No. 10 (June, 1941), p. 445.
those ideals. (For all that is said against the teaching profession, the school-teachers are the ones who do the real work in the matter of spreading and perpetuating the ideals of society among its members). Consequently, whenever political parties bring misery to the young Japanese Canadian by pointing him out as the little yellow rat that is gnawing out the vitals of provincial prosperity, it is the teacher who reassures him and comforts him, and tells him that democracy is democracy, or will be.

Despite the fact that the school taught one thing while society did another, the Nisei nevertheless maintained a surprisingly altruistic view of education. Like their parents, the Nisei considered education to be more than simple vocational preparation; education was valuable in itself:

True education teaches us to reach our own conclusions by thinking critically and independently and make [sic] our own decisions of right and wrong, of good and evil on the basis of real knowledge... True education which appeals to reason seeks truth...

One Nisei girl steadfastly refused to admit defeat and hoped that conditions would improve some day. She committed her thoughts to poetry:

Your brain, your deep mind was so designed
to mold our hopes and dreams,
to make our name our place,
securer for this round
and for the coming ones!

One can attribute the Nisei's keenness for education


to the attitude taken by the Issei. As a rule, Japanese parents held education in very high esteem, perhaps because they realized that education was a means of achieving a higher status than had been attained in Japan. Already familiar with the benefits of education from experiences in Japan, they realized that modern education aimed at specialization but nonetheless felt that education had a far greater role, "the training of the mind to meet situations in life." One observer stated:

The Japanese mothers are particularly impressed with the importance of educating their children, and they deny themselves much to have them properly equipped for school, and it is only just to add that the Japanese children in Canadian schools, by the intelligent grasp of their studies and their courteous demeanour, do their mothers infinite credit.

Moreover, the Japanese showed great respect towards public school teachers, often honouring particular educators for their service to the Japanese community. Such was the case with Dr. Norman F. Black, editor of the B.C. Teacher, whom the Japanese recognized as a "staunch and loyal friend."

On the other hand, teachers honoured by the Japanese recognized the valuable role played by Japanese parents. Mr. J. Fitchett, a teacher at the Sea Island School, paid tribute to the Issei in a banquet speech:

The Japanese Canadian pupils behave very excellently at school, and this can well be attributed to the conduct at home and to the fact that parents take a sound interest in their child's education.¹

Co-operation between Japanese parents and public school teachers was quite common as both parties frequently met to discuss problems peculiar to Japanese school children.² Many Isseis already belonged to the Boshikai (or Japanese Language School Association) and now were urged by the Nisei to participate in P.T.A. activities. Here was "an opportunity for the Isseis not only to take part in the shaping of the destiny of their children, but also to furnish social relations with other people in the community."³ The Japanese believed that these parleys with public school teachers were of great importance:

This mutual exchange of ideas between Occidental teachers and Japanese parents is a most valued one. Through hearing

² "School Heads Address Fairview P.T.A.," New Canadian, May 9, 1941, p. 5.
³ "High School Observes P.T.A. Week," New Canadian, October 20, 1939, p. 4.
the views of the teachers, the parents can appreciate more fully the changes to which their children must adjust themselves in Canadian schools.  

Japanese parents listened intently to the teachers explain the areas of difficulty which the Nisei encountered. Of course, many teachers had the impression that bilingualism was the most serious problem because it hindered the acquisition of English and separated the Nisei from their white school chums. Also, school officials cautioned parents against removing their children from schools before the end of term; a practice which many Issei saw as a financial necessity. But the Issei did more than just act as passive receptors in these meetings with public school officials. They promoted a continuing dialogue by pointing out a central weakness of the school system. The Issei pleaded for the schools to more carefully consider the Japanese family situation and cultural heritage when dealing with Japanese children. Undoubtedly, this led to a much finer understanding of Japanese pupils and their particular problems.

Besides making their presence felt in elementary and high schools, the Japanese achieved a remarkable record at the

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1 "Parents and Teachers," New Canadian, June 19, 1940, p. 2.

University of British Columbia. Likely, there were few protests against the attendance of Japanese at the university. Charles E. Hope who opposed enrolling Orientals in elementary and high schools welcomed the Japanese at the university because they would help Canada and Japan "to know each other better." The first Japanese to graduate from the university was Chitose Uchida who received her degree in 1916. Between that year and 1941, seventy-three Japanese including ten women graduated in arts, commerce, engineering and agriculture; twenty of these graduates held more than one degree. Graduates found employment in dentistry, teaching, journalism, secretarial work, agriculture, (general) business, insurance and the ministry. In 1941, thirty-three of forty-eight graduates still residing in Canada lived in Vancouver while

1 Hope, "British Columbia's Racial Problem," (Part II), p. 49.


twenty-one of the remainder had returned to Japan or were in
Manchukuo, a Japanese protectorate.\(^1\) This latter figure aroused
the suspicion that many Nisei were studying at the university
with a view to making their livelihood in Japan.\(^2\) However, a
survey indicated that most Nisei travelled to Japan for ex-
tended study rather than for employment purposes.\(^3\) Nisei were
unlikely to take up permanent residence in Japan because of the
difficulty in cultural and economic adjustment. Moreover, some
of the Japanese who did go to Japan had been born there and had
only come to British Columbia to attend the university.\(^4\)

In the late 1930's the average Japanese university
enrollment was approximately fifty students.\(^5\) To assist the

\(^1\) "U.B.C. Grad Bulletin Now Off The Press," New Canadian,
August 8, 1941, p. 1.

\(^2\) "A Higher Education For Nisei -- Hopeless," New Canadian,
January 5, 1940, p. 2.

\(^3\) "The Nisei In Japan," New Canadian, March 15, 1940, p. 3.

\(^4\) "Just The Same We Go To College," New Canadian, May 14,
1941, p. 2. It might be contended that the surprisingly high
number of Japanese university students resulted not from public
schooling in B.C. but from the fact that many Nisei received
some schooling in Japan and continued it here. This position
is challenged in Dorothy Swaine Thomas, The Salvage (Los Angeles:

\(^5\) Actual enrollments for 1938, 1939 and 1940 were 50, 60 and
50 respectively. See, "Fifty at University," New Canadian,
November 24, 1938, p. 4; "Past-Present-and-Future," New Canadian,
September 22, 1939, p. 1; "On The Newsfront," New Canadian, Sep-
tember 11, 1940, p. 1
growing numbers of Japanese on campus, the Japanese Students' Club was formed in 1932. The Club sought to promote pride in scholarship among its students and to develop better understanding between the Nisei and the greater community. The Club's program included the sponsorship of an annual high school oratorical contest, a yearly parent-student meeting where both English and Japanese were spoken, and a variety of social and athletic events. In 1937, the Club sent two delegates to the Third National University Students' Conference at Winnipeg. It also participated in three Japan-America Students' Conferences held in the United States.

In February, 1941, the University of British Columbia suspended the Charter of the Japanese Students' Club, a move which prompted Japanese fears of discrimination. However, it seemed that the Club had failed to make its activity reports readily available to the student's society. Within a few days the university reinstated the Club after it promised to produce all the information which the student society required. Indeed, this one incident was the only blemish on the Club's record. L. S. Klink, President of the University, found

1 "Student Club to Confer with Parents," New Canadian, November 14, 1941, p. 2.

2 "Fifty At University," New Canadian, November 24, 1938, p. 4.

3 "Student Club Wins Official Approval," New Canadian, February 7, 1941, p. 3.
that the Club's students performed well academically and were becoming increasingly involved in campus activities.¹

In 1936, Japanese graduates formed the U.B.C. Japanese Alumni Association and chose Chitose Uchida as their first vice-president. Also on the executive were Reverend K. Shimizu and Dr. Edward Banno. Prior to the war, the Association became fairly active in alumni affairs. For instance, the Association collected funds for the university library, a gesture which was recognized by both the librarian and the Board of Governors. It also maintained contact with Japanese who had left the province.²

The public gradually came to recognize that the leaders of the Japanese would, in the future, come from among Nisei university graduates. Arthur Woollacott stated:

Leadership in their communities naturally fell into their hands, and they were those in a position to repay the country of their birth by a community service that will be of great value in the future. Having acquired western learning and an understanding of western life, they are in a position to interpret the European, the American, and


² See the following issues of the New Canadian: "Editorial," December 29, 1938, p. 3; "Dentist Fights For Nisei Cause," July 15, 1939, p. 3; and "U.B.C. Alumni Meet," March 15, 1939, p. 5.
the Canadian to their less informed countrymen.¹

The Nisei who had attended U.B.C. were also very much aware of their favored role in the community. They saw themselves as leaders of an oppressed minority group. The following comment, although somewhat glib, was a fairly accurate description of Nisei sentiment:

The University is a place where not only learning but almost everything is dissipated in moderation. Of course, one must expect to make exceptions for the perverted few who specialize in excess absorption of book-knowledge or of social pleasures or athletic glory.

Nisei University men of today, whatever their other characteristics may be, are prisoners of an oppressed minority group. It is to them that the community invariably looks for leadership in making new adventures in untried fields.²

Yet, not all Japanese saw the university this way. Some even questioned the usefulness of obtaining a university education as it became more and more obvious that Japanese graduates experienced great difficulty obtaining positions for which they had been trained. However, this feeling was not a prevalent one. Realizing that a university education was not necessarily a key to vocational success, the Japanese showed a marvellous insight into the value of higher learning. University education was for them a "step in obtaining a proper

¹ Woollacott, "Oriental Born Canadians," p. 54.

² "Nisei Students And Varsity Life," New Canadian, September 15, 1939, p. 4.
background, an intellectual perspective for the recognition of merits which could prove of incalculable value to the great lessons which are ours when we shall go out into life -- the lessons of experience."¹

¹ "A Higher Education For Nisei -- Hopeless?" New Canadian, January 5, 1940, p. 2.
CHAPTER V

THE TURMOIL OF THE 1930'S

The 1930's unleashed a resurgence of anti-Japanese agitation as organizations like the White Canada Association and the Native Sons of B.C. sought to rally public opinion against the Japanese.\(^1\) The New Westminster Canadian Legion and the New Westminster Provincial Liberal Association made vicious attacks on the Japanese, accusing them of squalid living conditions and of school tax evasion.\(^2\) At the same time, a flood of anti-Japanese literature hit the market. F. Leighton Thomas's *The Octopus of the East and Its Menace to Canada* was fairly typical of the hate literature.\(^3\)

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\(^3\) F. Leighton Thomas, *The Octopus of the East and Its Menace to Canada* (Vancouver: A. H. Timmins, 1932). Also, see *Are You An Accomplice in This Crime?* (Vancouver: Canadian League For Peace And Democracy, n.d.) and *Are You In Favour of This?* (Vancouver: The Medical Aid For China Committee, n.d.).
Much of the anti-Japanese sentiment was attributable to the rivalry between the local Chinese and Japanese communities. Chinese spokesmen warned that the Japanese had "provided themselves with powerful armaments" and were now a power to be feared. Of course, the Chinese along with pro-Chinese groups such as the Friends of the Chinese People pointed to the situation in Manchukuo as an example of Japanese treachery. Unfortunately, the local Japanese found it extremely difficult to disassociate themselves from the actions of the Japanese government. Critics were quick to draw attention to the fact that British Columbia Japanese had for years maintained close ties with the Japanese Consulate. The Japanese distributed pamphlets throughout the province "to meet unfair and untrue propaganda, and in an effort to clear away misunderstandings which may have arisen, so that the people of Canada may feel that there is no reason why the mutual trust and friendship


... should not flourish and grow throughout the years to come. However, it is doubtful whether this type of material greatly aided the Japanese cause.

By the 1930's the Nisei were experiencing problems in obtaining suitable employment. At first glance, this would not appear to have been the case since in 1893 the number of Japanese occupations (in British Columbia) was only six but by 1933 had risen to sixty. Although the increase in the number of occupations was significant it was undoubtedly due to the simple fact that by 1933 there were many more Japanese in the province. As early as 1897, the Legislature attempted to restrict Japanese choices of employment. In this and in subsequent action the government claimed that it did not seek to restrict the Japanese from all trades but wished merely to prevent them from monopolizing certain segments of the economy. Supposedly, the government "scrupulously abstained from any interference with the employment of Japanese by private ... companies, and has not sought to put any restrictions on their


3 B.C., Journals (1897), p. 51.

4 For example, see B.C., Journals (1898), p. 149.
engaging in any ordinary occupation or business . . . ."¹

More likely, the real reason was that the Dominion government would step in if the work of the Legislature became too discriminatory. ²

Even though convincing arguments had shown the Japanese to be little threat to the economy, the provincial government never ceased its attempts to restrict Japanese occupations. ³

The 1920's and 1930's saw the Legislature renew its anti-Japanese immigration, to prohibit the purchase of timber, mineral and agricultural lands, and to prevent proprietary interests in fishing enterprises. ⁴ Moreover, the government

¹ B.C., Sessional Papers (1900), pp. 498-499 (Return to an Address to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, asking him to be laid before the House all correspondence, memorials and documents between the Dominion Government and the Provincial Government, relative to the disallowance by the Dominion Government of the "Labour Regulation Act, 1898," or legislation of a similar character since the Return presented to the House on the 18th January, 1899).

² B.C., Sessional Papers (1899), pp. 711-712 (Return to an Address to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, praying him to cause to be laid before the House copies of all correspondence between the Dominion Government and the Provincial Government, touching the protest made by the Emperor of Japan to the Imperial Government, calling in question the "Labour Regulation Act, 1898," or legislation of a similar character concerning Japanese subjects).


⁴ B.C. Journals (1922), pp. 60, 137. The Victoria Daily Colonist (in 1908) stood against efforts to prohibit the Japanese from acquiring land. See "Japanese As Farmers," Colonist, June 12, 1908, p. 4.
sought to prohibit all Japanese employment in industries related to these fields. In 1924, various government members sent letters to large employers, including the railroads, urging them to gradually eliminate Japanese labour. The letters may have had some effect at least with the railroads as by November, 1924, the number of Oriental labourers had dropped twenty percent from the 1922 level. At the same time, the Legislature even tried to limit Japanese commercial enterprises. Yet, it had the audacity to go on record as being opposed to the "introduction of resolutions which . . . are calculated to stir up religious and racial dissension." 

Despite government restrictions, the Japanese found their way into a variety of jobs. Because so many Japanese had been fishermen in Japan it was natural that they should have sought their livelihood in British Columbia's fishing industry. For a very short time, three months to be exact, the Trades and Labour Council of Vancouver recognized a

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2 B.C., Journals (1924), p. 45.
3 B.C., Journals (1924), p. 158.
4 B.C., Journals (1925), p. 66.
5 Tien-Fang, Oriental Immigration in Canada, p. 110; Canada, Report (1902), p. 390
fishermen's union comprised of Indians and Japanese. However, this somewhat shaky alliance crumbled when the (white) Fishermen's Union charged the Japanese with illegally obtaining fishing licenses and demanded the use of government troops to ensure the enforcement of regulations. It also occurred to some fishermen that the Japanese were trying to infiltrate the industry and, thus, would one day control it. Subsequently, the police arrested six Japanese but the ensuing trial did not result in one conviction. Even though the court acquitted the defendants, the public remained convinced that the Japanese fishermen (and for that matter, most Japanese) were generally a dishonest lot. The reaction against the Japanese in the fishing industry continued into the 1920's and 1930's. One writer stated:


2 Hope, "British Columbia's Racial Problem" (Part I), p. 63.

3 B.C., S.P. (1901), pp. 529-534. (Return of Correspondence relating to fraudulent naturalization of Japanese.)

The clumsy, inefficient yellow men who came twenty-five years ago learned how to handle the boats, taught their wives, and later became naturalized when Canadian labour stormed and protested against fishing licenses for Orientals.  

The writer failed to explain just how the Japanese could have been so "clumsy" and yet so successful as by 1925 they comprised almost fifteen percent of British Columbia's fishing labour.  

The Japanese also sought employment in the lumber industry and its related fields. Before the Japanese, Indians and Chinese had supplied the bulk of non-skilled labour. In no time the Japanese established their own businesses and soon held a virtual monopoly on shingle mills and cordwood production.  

Undoubtedly, the labour shortage during the First World War encouraged the increase of Japanese fishermen. In 1919, about eight percent of the fishing force in British Columbia were Japanese. By 1925, this number had increased to almost fifteen percent. For a resume of the efforts to expel the Japanese from the fishing industry see Hozumi Yonemura, "Japanese Fishermen in British Columbia and British Fair Play," Canadian Forum, X, No. 118 (July, 1930), p. 357. Additional information on the number of Japanese in the fishing labor force may be obtained from the Annual Reports of the Department of Labour as found in the B.C., Sessional Papers (1920-1940). However, these only show Japanese "employees" in selected industries and do not list self-employed Japanese. Furthermore, the Reports often deal with the Japanese according to birthplace and thereby sometimes exclude Nisei labour. As such, this material is valuable as an indicator but by no means does it supply accurate data.


2 B.C., Journals (1926-27), pp. 14-15. This was an increase from about eight percent of the fishing force in 1919. For a resume of the efforts to expel the Japanese from the fishing industry see Hozumi Yonemura, "Japanese Fishermen in British Columbia and British Fair Play," Canadian Forum, X, No. 118 (July, 1930), p. 357. Additional information on the number of Japanese in the fishing labor force may be obtained from the Annual Reports of the Department of Labour as found in the B.C., Sessional Papers (1920-1940). However, these only show Japanese "employees" in selected industries and do not list self-employed Japanese. Furthermore, the Reports often deal with the Japanese according to birthplace and thereby sometimes exclude Nisei labour. As such, this material is valuable as an indicator but by no means does it supply accurate data.

War enabled many Japanese to obtain work in the lumber industry. By 1918, the Japanese comprised thirteen percent of the industry's labour force but by 1925 this had dropped to seven percent. This decrease may be attributed to the provincial government's continuing efforts to eliminate all Oriental labour from logging operations.¹

Although the Japanese engaged in all phases of mining activity their numbers were never very large. By 1902, not more than 300 Japanese found employment in the mining industry.² Of course, the provincial government took steps to ensure the exclusion of the Japanese from mining operations because the "ignorance, carelessness, or negligence" of the Japanese endangered the lives of white miners.³ When the government failed to completely exclude Japanese labour, white miners began a terror campaign to force Orientals out. In one instance, 300 white miners "escorted" seventy-five Japanese from the town of Atlin and made it perfectly clear that the Japanese had


³ B.C., Statutes (1905), c. 26.
better not return. ¹

During World War One the Japanese formed approximately twenty-six percent of all coal mining labour. Yet, by 1922 this had dropped to eighteen percent. Three years later, by which time the Japanese accounted for only 1.18 percent of all mine labour, they were practically excluded from the metal mining industry. ² The 1930's saw even fewer Japanese miners as depressed markets and declining mining exploration caused large scale unemployment. ³ With the closure of the Sidney Inlet Copper Mine in 1939 almost all the Japanese engaged in mining were at Britannia Beach. ⁴

Many Japanese turned to agriculture because restrictions in other fields "made it difficult to secure a position with any degree of security." ⁵ By 1900, there were Japanese farms at Richmond, Steveston, and in the Fraser and Okanagan Valleys. ⁶


By 1921, there were 421 Japanese farm operators in the province, 1 a situation which caused some people to accuse the Japanese of "over-running intensive agriculture." 2

As is now evident, employment opportunities for the Japanese were not always plentiful. A Japanese could not become a Member of the Legislative Assembly or a school trustee; he could not be employed by a municipality or by a government contractor; he could not work on crown timber land or obtain a license for hand logging. 3 Likewise, the Japanese were prohibited from law, pharmacy and engineering. 4 Indeed, it appeared to the Japanese that the only field holding any promise was business. 5

1 Canada, Census (1921), Agriculture, V, p. 64.


4 "A Higher Education For Nisei -- Hopless?", New Canadian, January 5, 1940, p. 2. The Japanese could become dentists or doctors although in the latter case they could not take their internships in B.C. hospitals. In 1927, there were five Japanese dentists and two physicians. See B.C., Report on Oriental Activities Within The Province (Victoria: King's Printer, 1927), Appendix.

5 An examination of the Japanese Directory (Vancouver: Taiyo Printing, 1939), shows the Japanese to be in a variety of business ventures. A copy of this is in the Vancouver City Archives.
If professional opportunity was difficult for Japanese men it was almost impossible for Japanese women. Perhaps the only professional field open to Nisei girls was nursing but even the Vancouver General Hospital discriminated as it segregated Japanese living quarters from the rest of the student rooms.\(^1\) Nursing, while providing Japanese girls with a highly respected career, also contributed measurably to the rise of health standards in the Japanese community.\(^2\)

Although there were no legal restrictions prohibiting the Japanese from becoming teachers,\(^3\) only one Japanese, Hide Hyodo who taught at the Lord Byng Elementary School in Richmond, found a position in the public schools.\(^4\) Hyodo was very active in the British Columbia Teachers' Federation and represented that group at the 1937 Convention of the World

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1 I obtained this information from a (white) nurse who took her training at the Vancouver General Hospital in 1940. For accounts of Japanese student nurses see "People and Things," *New Canadian*, September 15, 1939, p. 5; "On The Newsfront," *New Canadian*, October 11, 1940, p. 1.


Federation of Educational Associations. ¹ Hyodo was also a prominent member of the Japanese community as she regularly participated in the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League, organized Young People's Christian Conferences and contributed to the New Canadian.²

However, Hyodo's professional success was most certainly an exception.³ Following high school graduation, regular employment became a serious problem for many Nisei. Ability and zeal seemed to count for little when it came to securing employment.⁴ Some Nisei felt that as many careers were closed to them their only hope lay in the Japanese community itself:⁵

When we complete high school and seek to enter more fully into the life of the white community by [entering] various occupations, we are made to feel keenly their discriminations . . . This tends to keep us to ourselves . . . Doors into the Western professional, social


³ This is not to suggest that Hyodo was the only Japanese qualified to teach in the public schools. In 1921, Annie Kiku Nakabayashi graduated from the Vancouver Normal School. See B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1920-1921), p. F100.

⁴ "Congratulations," New Canadian, July 1, 1939, p. 2.

political and economic life are closed in our faces because of our color.\(^1\)

Of course, the Nisei realized that the economic hardships brought on by the depression made their predicament far more difficult.\(^2\)

As the war approached, the Japanese found it even more formidable to obtain positions. Naturally, some Japanese questioned the value of education and vocational training when there were few chances to exercise what had been learned in school:

The usual cry is that there is not opportunity, and yet without a knowledge of some trade or profession, opportunities would be of little value. It is also true . . . that special training would be of little value unless there is a chance of putting it into practice.\(^3\)

Regardless of the lack of opportunity, Niseis still attended university in the hope that they, in time, would be able to enter their chosen occupation.\(^4\) And if this day never came, education was nonetheless important:

\[\ldots\] there can be no question as to the cultural benefits of higher education. Not only that but benefits which may

\begin{itemize}
  \item \(^1\) Yuasa, "We Must Lose to Win," p. 305.
  \item \(^3\) "Niseis Who Seek Opportunity In The East Need Training," \textit{New Canadian}, January 1, 1940, p. 3.
  \item \(^4\) "Just The Same We Go To College," \textit{New Canadian}, May 14, 1941, p. 2.
\end{itemize}
be termed psychological are reaped. Constructive attitudes of mind, habits of rational thought, self-reliance and individuality, all these are developed through the medium of education.

The more pessimistic Japanese, both Issei and Nisei, believed that education should be a secondary concern. Emphasis should be placed on small business and agriculture, the two areas where the Japanese had already exhibited considerable success, and where a high degree of formal training was not necessary.

One of the main controversies surrounding the Japanese in the 1930's concerned their right to vote. The larger question, of course, involved the immigrants' right to enfranchisement. Granting the vote to immigrants whose "mental attainments and physical courage count[ed] for naught" seemed to pose a serious threat to society. Because Canadians simply assumed that their institutions were superior to those of other lands the "block vote" of a large immigrant group supposedly threatened the very fabric of Canadian society.

4 W. A. Carrothers, "The Immigration Problem in Canada," Queen's Quarterly, XXXVI, No. 3 (Summer, 1929), p. 523. Also, see J.R. Conn, "Immigration," Queen's Quarterly, VIII, No. 2 (October, 1900), p. 123. The same opinion prevailed in the
The first Japanese to fight for the franchise was Tommey Homma, a naturalized citizen who applied for placement on the voters' list in 1893. Needless to say, Homma was turned down. What then began was a series of legal procedures, all of which ended in failure. Finally, in 1896, the British Columbia Legislature officially prohibited the Japanese from voting.

The enfranchisement of the Japanese became a major political issue in British Columbia during the 1930's. The Liberal Party soon claimed that a vote for the C.C.F. was, in fact, a vote for Oriental enfranchisement. Thus, the Liberals

United States and can be found in Madison Grant, The Passing of the Great Race (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 218.

1 "Tommey Homma," New Canadian, March 1, 1939, p. 3. Homma was again refused in 1900. See "Japanese Will Fight In The Canadian Courts for Registration As Voters," Province, October 27, 1900, p. 10.

2 The legal problems of enfranchisement and, in particular, the extension of the franchise to the Japanese are discussed in H. F. Angus, "Canadian Immigration: The Law and its Administration," and in Gordon Lindsay and D. R. Michner, "The Legal Status of Aliens Resident in Canada," both in The Legal Status of Aliens Resident in Pacific Countries, ed. Norman Mackenzie (London: Oxford University Press, 1937). Also, see B.C., Sessional Papers (1903), p. 3 (Return to an Order of the House for a Return of a copy of the Judgment delivered by the Privy Council In Re Tommey Homma).

3 B.C., Statutes (1896), c. 38 and B.C., Revised Statutes (1903-04), c. 17. Also, see B.C., Journals (1901), p. 41. In 1913, the Provincial government forbade the Japanese from making applications to be placed on the voters' list. See B.C., Statutes (1913), c. 20.
openly played on anti-Oriental sentiment for votes. Surpris­
ingly, the success of this policy was questionable. Of six
Liberals who actively participated in an anti-Japanese campaign
during one election, only three were elected.¹

A few Japanese war veterans obtained the franchise in
1931 when by a nineteen to eighteen margin the Legislature
amended the "Provincial Elections Act."² This minor triumph
was largely due to the lobbying of two groups. Firstly, the
Camp and Mill Workers' Union persuaded the Trades and Labour
Congress of Canada to endorse a request for equal rights and
full citizenship to all Canadian born Japanese. Secondly, the
Canadian Legion felt it unjust that Japanese war veterans,
forty-five of which formed Branch Nine in Vancouver, could not
exercise the rights for which they had once fought. Brigadier
Foster, the Vancouver Chief of Police, was quite instrumental
in the Legion's successful lobby.⁴

¹ Henry F. Angus, "Liberalism Stoops To Conquer," Canadian
Forum, XV, No. 3 (December, 1935), pp. 389-390. For additional
early background see B.C., Journals (1923), p. 106.

² B.C., Journals (1931), p. 151; B.C., Statutes (1931), c. 21.


⁴ "C.L.U. Has Record Of Service," New Canadian, September 15,
1939, p. 3; "Japanese Veterans Volunteer For Home Defence," New
Canadian, April 15, 1939, p. 1. During World War One about 197
Japanese enlisted in the Canadian Armed Forces. Of these, 131
were wounded and 54 were killed. See E. E. Braithwaite,
"Canada and the Orient," Canadian Magazine, LX, No. 1 (November
1922), p. 15.
It was relatively easy to construct a plausible argument against extending the franchise to the Issei.\textsuperscript{1} The retention of old country customs and language seemed to be an adequate vindication for most people. But the public (and most politicians) ignored the fact that while the Japanese could not vote for school officials they were nonetheless obliged to contribute taxes towards educational costs. Thus, the Issei had neither control over the formulation of educational policy nor over the appropriation of school funding.

Now even if it was plausible to contrive grounds for restricting the enfranchisement of the Issei, it was almost impossible to do the same with the Nisei. They had been born in Canada and had been educated in Canadian schools and universities.\textsuperscript{2} As such, the Nisei were Canadian citizens and deserving of full political rights. Percy Sabin of the Pacific Coast Fishermen's Union recognized the injustice of this situation and advocated voting rights for Canadian born Japanese (although he was not in favor of extending the franchise to the Issei).\textsuperscript{3} Also, Colin Cameron and Harold Winch of the C.C.F.

\textsuperscript{1} F. W. Howay, \textit{B.C. And The United States} (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1942), p. 404.

\textsuperscript{2} Henry F. Angus, "The Kyoto Conference On Pacific Relations," \textit{B.C. Teacher}, IX, No. 6 (February, 1930), p. 25. Also, see "Full Citizenship For The Canadian Born," \textit{New Canadian}, September 4, 1940, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{3} "Weekly Whirligig," \textit{New Canadian}, April 15, 1939, p. 1.
continued to press for full Nisei rights.\(^1\) Of course, the outbreak of war ended any possibility of extending the franchise and also convinced many Nisei that if they were prepared to fight for democracy they then should be allowed to participate in it.\(^2\) Some Nisei found themselves torn between total loyalty and simple participation in the war effort for it was difficult to justify enlistment when the Nisei, even after spending years in Canadian schools, possessed few of the rights of the average Canadian.\(^3\)

The 1930's also saw many wild accusations hurled against the Japanese. In one instance, Major Lenox Macfarlane charged the Japanese with forcibly occupying Galiano Island and urged immediate government action to protect the local residents. As it turned out, Macfarlane's indictment was completely false. In fact, the Japanese on the island had, for years, enjoyed amicable relations with the rest of the residents.\(^4\)

Perhaps the most sensational claim involved the Vancouver News-Herald charge that certain Japanese were

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2 "No Vote For Orientals Even If They Serve In Army Says B.C. Legislature," New Canadian, December 6, 1940, p. 1.

3 "Nisei And War," New Canadian, September 15, 1939, p. 2.

responsible for the circulation of indecent literature in the public schools. Assisted by the Japanese Canadian Citizen's League and by the Japanese Canadian Association, the Vancouver City Police Department launched an investigation. Three weeks later, the Japanese and, in particular, a Japanese Steveston resident were completely exonerated from any wrong-doing. At the same time, the police obtained evidence to prove conclusively that the guilty party was a group of white juveniles.\(^1\)

In 1939, Vancouver City Alderman Halford Wilson warned of a business takeover by Japanese merchants. Obviously under the influence of outmoded economic arguments,\(^2\) he urged City Council to seek power to discriminate against the issuance of trade licenses to Japanese businessmen. Although Wilson received only the support of Alderman Harry DeGraves in Council, he managed to convince J. Howard Forester, M.L.A. for Burrard, to introduce legislation in the House. However, by this time the Legislature was showing signs of restraint\(^3\) and the House

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\(^3\) B. C. Journals (1938), p. 119; (1940), p. 23.
Private Bill Committee quickly rejected DeGraves' bill. A year later, and again with little success, Wilson attempted to convince Council of the Japanese business danger. Thwarted in his moves to restrict business licenses, Wilson asked Council to pass zoning regulations segregating residential areas because the presence of Orientals in some Vancouver Districts had supposedly drastically reduced land values. Council demurred; for the time being, Wilson seemed to have spent his invectiveness.

Naturally, acts against the Japanese became more frequent as anti-Japanese agitators like Wilson persisted in their campaign of hate. In May, 1939, the Hotel Vancouver under the pretext of mounting "public pressure" dismissed thirteen Japanese bellboys. Four months later, the Vancouver Club fired its seven bellboys.


Japanese employees. On Hallowe'en night, 1939, over 300 youths surged through the Powell Street area and attacked Japanese businesses. Surprisingly, Japanese children in the public schools escaped the criticism levelled at the Japanese in general. In fact, H. G. T. Perry, Minister of Education, appealed for fairness and cautioned against any type of discrimination in the schools. In response to one worried woman's letter, Perry stated:

While I can readily understand your feeling towards the Japanese, yet we must be careful not to be unfair, even to the children of our enemies.

Perry also began an investigation to determine just what effect the presence of Japanese school children was having in the schools.

Perhaps, the Japanese community deserves much of the credit in preventing ill-feeling from turning into widespread violence. The Japanese usually urged calm and restraint in the face of continuing anti-Japanese propaganda:


4 "Japanese Children Problem For Schools," Province, December 18, 1941, p. 28.
True we have passed through a year of unprecedented anti-Oriental feeling; and the new year promises no abatement. But we must face this new year courageously and without fear. We must strive to ameliorate those conditions which we are called upon to face.  

Moreover, the Japanese realized that only a few dedicated agitators were responsible for most of the trouble:

These are indeed difficult days but we must remember that there are many fair-minded Canadians who strenuously oppose drastic or unjust treatment of citizens in their midst.

The Japanese scorned agitators like Wilson who, without adequate evidence, made the most preposterous slanders. The New Canadian reflected this disdain:

What Mr. Wilson proposes is additional discrimination to cure problems that discrimination had created. One is reminded of ancient doctors who used to cure anaemic patients by blood-letting.

Undeniably, public opinion was unfavorable towards the Japanese but if the public did not accept the Japanese it was at least tolerant. In many cases, Japanese relations with the white community reflected more than tolerance; they were outwardly

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amicable.¹

The 1930's also meant difficult times for the Japanese family. But to understand the family problems of the pre-war years it is necessary to examine traditional Japanese family structure, the basis of which lies in the sixteenth century. It was at this time that all powerful feudal lords who wished to consolidate their power established sets of rules which, they hoped, would endure regardless of the personal weaknesses of a ruler. The law set out a strict class society in which the ruling elite prescribed everything from dress to etiquette. Since deviation from norms often meant death, the price of survival became conformity. Strength of character lay in adherence to tradition, not in rebellion. What developed, therefore, was a society where everyone and everything held an ordered position. Codes of behavior stipulated how one acted in the presence of other people because "correct" conduct was essential for the maintenance of "face" and "self-esteem."²


Each Japanese family had a particular place in the social order; each person within a family had a status which was not unlike his position in society. Accordingly, the precise rules governing behavior in society were also present in the home. All family members by lending obedience and deference to the father evidenced their reverence for the Emperor, the surrogate of all fathers. Although the Meiji Restoration officially abolished the feudal structure of Japanese society, the Japanese family unit remained very much intact. At the same time, the Restoration promoted educational ability as a status symbol and as a means to material success. Thus, the Japanese immigrants to British Columbia brought with them a traditional conceptual model of the (Japanese) family and an awareness of the benefits of educational endeavour.

Initially, there were several forces acting on the Japanese family in British Columbia: a new legal system, a new educational system, and a new social structure. The legal system introduced a new set of rules for family matters, which differed from the traditional rules. The educational system also played a significant role in shaping the family structure, as it encouraged individuals to pursue educational opportunities and strive for success in society.

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a different industrial arrangement, the Christian churches and
the public schools. These worked to break down the traditional
family structure and, in some instances, brought about its
reorganization on western lines. Because of the myriad of social
forces operating on the family a curious phenomenon occurred
which can be linked to the uniformity demanded in the Japanese
social order: second generation Japanese personalities tended to
be homogeneous. In Canada, three such types were obvious: the
"conformist" who shared parental values and traditions; the
"rebellious" who reacted against the old ways (without having
any other consistent form of behavior); and a third type which
neither rejected one culture nor the other but sought advantages
in both.\(^1\) Undoubtedly, the majority of Nisei fit into the last
category. The Issei while wanting their children to retain
Japanese traditions hoped that they would become successful in
western society. At first, the Issei failed to realize that
their children's successes in adapting to western society in-
evitably meant alienation from the old world culture and
estrangement from the family.\(^2\). The Nisei soon found the ways
of Japan to be strange and irrelevant, a condition which was

\(^1\) William C. Smith, "Changing Personality Traits in Second-
Generation Orientals in America," *American Journal of Sociology*,
XXXIII (May, 1928), pp. 927-29.

\(^2\) Stanford Lyman, "The Oriental in North America," C.B.C.
heightened by the Issei's failure to acculturate.¹

By the 1930's marriage had become a point of disagreement between the Nisei and the Issei. Traditionally, Japanese parents arranged the marriages of their children through intermediaries (or Nakaudos). Thus, Japanese young people had little, if any voice in the choice of their spouses. Since the Issei considered the western form of courting to be immoral² they naturally aimed to perpetuate the old system in British Columbia but the Niseis began to object to their parents' interference.³ Young Japanese males balked at rising wedding costs, a large portion of which was the "yuinoh" or gift to the brides' in-laws.⁴ Gradually, prospective brides and grooms began to make their own matrimonial arrangements, sometimes deciding to be married in a Christian church ceremony. This is not to say that the Nisei no longer consulted their parents


over marriage matters. However, it is to say that the Nisei often ignored parental objections.\(^1\) In an effort to smooth matters between the first and second generations, the League of the Young People's Buddhist Association suggested that a "compromise between arranged marriages and love matches" be worked out.\(^2\) However, no ready solution was forthcoming as both parties remained intransigent, a situation which led one young Nisei to state:

If he really wants to get married under the western system, all he need [sic] is a girl, love, a little cash, and plenty of guts.\(^3\)

But marriage was only a symptom rather than a cause of the widening gulf between first and second generation Japanese. Generally, the Issei felt that their children's behavior was ill-mannered, disrespectful and disobedient while, on the other hand, white Canadians saw these as signs of "sociability and spiritedness."\(^4\) Many Nisei believed conflict with the Issei

\(^1\) Smith, "Changing Personality Traits," p. 938; "Matrimony Seems to be the Rage," New Canadian, April 4, 1941, p. 5.


\(^3\) "Weekly Whirligig," New Canadian, April 11, 1941, p. 1.

\(^4\) "Let's Grow Up," New Canadian, April 12, 1940, p. 2. The Issei likely exaggerated their complaints. Certainly they imparted a respect for law and order in their children. Up to 1941, only six Japanese boys and four girls had served time in juvenile detention homes. See the Annual Reports of the Provincial Industrial School For Boys as found in British Columbia,
to be inevitable if the former were to pursue acculturation. It was true that the Nisei may have sympathized with the protests of the Issei but the young Japanese could not let this affect their drive for acculturation:

At present the Nisei are charged that they lack moral fibre and strength, initiative, and the traditional spirit; while the Issei group is accused of being narrow-minded, too conservative and self-centered and unwilling to adapt itself to new conditions.

I quite understand the love and devotion that the Isseis have for their land. I ask their indulgence in trying to understand, what to some may seem a sacrilege, that I have . . . the same affection for Canada . . . .

Briefly, we share exactly the same feelings of loyalty and devotion to the country where each of us was born.¹

However, by now a rift had even developed among the Niseis. This intracommunity split may have intensified Japanese alienation from the larger society.² Years of persecution brought a great deal of bitterness to some Niseis who finally came to recognize that they fit into neither the white nor the


Japanese communities. Rather, they existed "in a sort of no-man's land" where alien cultures fell into a wild pot-pourri. Thus, the Niseis' untenable situation existed for two reasons: firstly, the Issei were obviously successful in implanting some of the old country virtues in their children; and, secondly, the public schools and the Christian churches (as well as the Japanese language schools to some extent) succeeded in imparting western norms to young Japanese.

* * * * *

The main thrust of this study was to underscore the relationship existing between churches, Japanese institutions and the public schools. Lawrence Cremin described this kind of approach as one which incorporates the concept of "configuration." This concept shows the relative disposition of the three acculturating agents and demonstrates the complex pattern of their over-all arrangement. The "configuration" concept does not rule out the possibility of either the churches, Japanese institutions or the public schools achieving central importance

1 "Reply to Nisei," New Canadian, October 20, 1939, p. 2.
3 "Our Voyage to Enfranchisement," Tairiku Nippo, August 27, 1938, p. 2.
In this thesis the public school stands out as the primary acculturating agent of the Japanese. This stand disagrees with some current revisionist history which denigrates the role of the public school in its relations with immigrant children. For instance, Colin Greer argues that American schools in dealing with immigrant children have "failed to perform according to their own as well as the popular definition of their role." After reading a Jacob Riis account of the late nineteenth century New York schools one is inclined to agree with Greer. But Greer's wholesale condemnation simply does not apply to the Japanese in British Columbia. In the 1920's and the 1930's when Japanese school children were making considerable impact on the British Columbia public school system,

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1 This material is from an address given by Lawrence Cremin to a graduate history seminar at the University of British Columbia on July 28, 1972.


Canadian educators were coming more and more to realize that immigrant children had particular needs which required special care. While frankly admitting that the public schools sometimes treated immigrant children unfairly, educators also confessed that they often did not know the correct methods for instructing immigrant school children. Yet, at least one point is very clear: the public schools, despite their numerous shortcomings, made a conscious effort to help immigrant children. Even though the public schools never undertook to implement widespread programs designed to acculturate the Japanese, the fact does remain that the public schools successfully imparted western norms to Japanese children. Certainly, the Japanese respect for education and their concern for their community image facilitated this task.

1 B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1923-24), p. T27. Also, see Lucille Curtiss, "How Canadians are Trained to Begin Citizenship in Canada," Maclean's, XXXVII, No. 9 (May 1, 1924), p. 72.


3 In fact, the Department of Education in 1934 offered a special night school English course for adult Japanese. See B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1934-35), p. S44. This course was dropped in 1937 but was reoffered in 1940. See B.C., Report of the Public Schools (1937-38), pp. J41-J46; (1940-41), pp. D56-D61.

By no means does this thesis pretend to include all the material essential for an understanding of Japanese education in British Columbia. Several areas remain open for further research. As Bernard Bailyn points out in *Education in the Forming of American Society*, informal educators such as the family are worthy of study.¹ Oscar Handlin suggests a decline in the power of the European family in America.² One might therefore ask to what extent was this true for the Japanese family in British Columbia. Furthermore, how did the family fit into the Japanese community and what was the latter's role in informal education?³ Additional study may point out the difference between rural and urban education and might draw relationships between Issei socio-economic backgrounds and Nisei educational achievement. And, of course, any further work on Japanese education in British Columbia demands an investigation of Japanese language sources, particularly newspaper records.⁴

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4 The neglect of the ethnic press as a source of materials can have serious consequences for the ethnic historian. For instance, see Victor Greene's review of Joseph A. Wytrwal,
Also, some effort to relate Japanese education to Oriental education and, in turn, to immigrant education in British Columbia would ensure the preservation of the "configuration" approach to the history of education.¹

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APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION: 1906-1925

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
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<td>269</td>
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* Under 18 years of age.

APPENDIX II

JAPANESE IN B.C. PUBLIC SCHOOLS: 1922-1941

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<td>105,008</td>
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<tr>
<td>1927-28</td>
<td>3,273</td>
<td>108,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-29</td>
<td>3,674</td>
<td>109,588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>4,014</td>
<td>111,017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>4,128</td>
<td>113,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>4,702</td>
<td>115,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>4,068</td>
<td>116,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td>5,176</td>
<td>115,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>5,405</td>
<td>117,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>5,363</td>
<td>116,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>5,499</td>
<td>118,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-38</td>
<td>5,577</td>
<td>120,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td>5,360</td>
<td>120,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>5,441</td>
<td>120,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-41</td>
<td>5,395</td>
<td>119,634</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures for 1922-1924 are compiled from B.C., Journals (1923), p. 102; (1925), p. 97. Figures for 1924-1925 are from B.C., Report On Oriental Activities Within The Province (Victoria: King's Printer, 1927), p. 7. The remaining figures were compiled from B.C., Annual Reports of the Public Schools of British Columbia (1925-1941).

* An alternative figure of 2,414 is given in B.C., Journals (1925), p. 97.
APPENDIX III

DISTRIBUTION OF JAPANESE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS: 1927-1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year*</th>
<th>Junior</th>
<th>Elementary</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Superior School</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>City Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927-28</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-38</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-41</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures are compiled from B.C., Annual Reports of the Public Schools in the Province of British Columbia (1925-1941).

* In 1925-26, the Department of Education showed 1,244 Japanese in city schools, 951 in municipal and 282 in rural schools. Conflicting data showing 771 Japanese in municipal schools and 247 in rural can be found in B.C., Journals (1925), p. 53.
APPENDIX IV

JAPANESE BIRTHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Registered Births</th>
<th>Born Alive and Registered in that Year</th>
<th>Illegitimate</th>
<th>Still Born</th>
<th>Deaths Under 1 Year of age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>102*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>662*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>348**</td>
<td>706*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>622*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>595*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>617*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
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<td>1,104</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>1,170</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1,354</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1,587</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1,570</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1,342</td>
<td>784</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Conflicting data exists.
** For six months ending 1921.

Figures compiled from B.C. Annual Reports of the Provincial Board of Health (1922-1941) and from B.C., Journals (1923), p. 94;(1924), p. 104; (1925), p. 104.

Also, see B.C., Report On Oriental Activities Within The Province (Victoria: King's Printer, 1927), p. 5; Canada, Census (1921), Population, II, p. 291.
### APPENDIX V

#### JAPANESE DEATHS: 1921-1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Deaths</th>
<th>Deaths from Tuberculosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>192</td>
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<td>1929</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
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<td>1939</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>26</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figures are compiled from B.C., *Annual Reports of the Provincial Board of Health (1921-1941).*