

THE VANCOUVER JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL

Its Changing Role in the Japanese Community

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INTRODUCTION

In human society, education, in a static sense, passes on culture and language. In a dynamic sense, it forms the personality. It is an essential function in all social groups including immigrant society, and the place where it is practiced is usually a school.

This is a report about the Vancouver *Nippongo Gakko* [Japanese Language school] from the above point of view, centering on the work of Tsutae Sato, who was the school's principal before, during, and after World War II.

THE FORMATION AND WORK OF THE VANCOUVER JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL

Changes in Education Seen in Specific Periods of time.

In his *History of Vancouver Japanese Language School* (1954), Tsutae Sato (1891-1983) divided the history of the education of Japanese immigrants in Canada into six periods.¹⁾

- (1) Private *Terakoya*-style (cramming school) education (circa 1900).
- (2) Education to cultivate Japanese citizens-first period (circa 1905/6 - 1912/3).
- (3) Transition Period (circa 1912/3 - 1922/3).
 --Experiments were carried out for joint education of Anglo-Saxons and Japanese.
- (4) Education to cultivate Canadian citizens (after 1923)
 --Japanese language schools increased rapidly in number as Japanese nationalism began to gain ascendance.
- (5) The breakup of Japanese language schools (1941).
- (6) The Japanese language schools after World War II (1952).

Hereafter, in discussing the development of this Japanese Language School and the changes in its educational role, I will adhere to Sato's six time periods.

The Establishment of the Vancouver Kyoritsu Nippon Kokumin Gakko and the Cultivation of Future Japanese Citizens

The earliest Japanese immigrants in the Vancouver area sent their children to night school or to other private classes which started around 1898 by Rev. and Mrs. Goro Kaburagi, Ko Norimoto, and other members of the Japanese Methodist Church.²⁾ However, these immigrants had to choose whether to continue their children's education in their homeland in Japan, or to establish a school for the Japanese in Canada. A move among white Canadians to isolate Japanese children from public schools occurred in Vancouver about 1902. This move confronted the immigrants with the clear necessity of establishing a Japanese elementary school.³⁾ Having received a donation from Foreign Minister Jutaro

Komura, Kishiro Morikawa who was the Consul of Vancouver at that time, set about to establishing a school. On January 12, 1906, classes were started in a temporary building with Hitoshi Kotsuka as principal. A new school building was completed in July of 1906.

On March 6, 1906, Consul Morikawa dispatched an inquiry about the policy concerning the Japanese living abroad to Foreign Minister Kinmochi Saionji in which he stated that the establishment of a Japanese elementary school should be advocated as a long-range plan for the unity of Japanese residents and in order to supplement the knowledge and morality of their homeland.⁴⁾ It is clear that this school was aimed at being an institution for the education of Japanese citizens, an exemplary institution on the Pacific Coast based on the general principles of the Japanese Elementary School Law.

In reply to Morikawa's inquiry, the Deputy Minister of Education, Masataro Sawayanagi, stated in his letter of October 9, that it would be prudent to approve all schools, complete or incomplete, and then to take concrete measures for their improvement in order to protect and encourage the education of Japanese abroad. The Ministry of Education stated its intention of educating the second generation Japanese abroad by proposing to send teachers, supplies of teaching materials, and a government subsidy.⁵⁾ Encouraged by this letter, Morikawa and other concerned parties petitioned the Foreign Ministry to send a teacher, and the Ministry of Education promised to give assistance in finding a suitable person.⁶⁾

In February 1907, Torao Tanaka was appointed as the second principal. After Tanaka and his wife Kane, Katsunosuke Tashiro, the third principal (1911-1919), came with his wife Taka, and were followed by

the fourth principal, Shigejiro Inoue (1919-1921) and his wife Kiyoe. Succeeding Inoue, Tsutae Sato, a teacher at the school since 1917, was promoted to principal.⁷⁾ Sato, who served as principal for nearly fifty years, and his wife Hanako devoted their lives to the education of Japanese immigrants in Vancouver.

Schools for second generation Japanese immigrants were also established in other parts of Canada.⁸⁾ These were also schools for the education of Japanese citizens, and were aimed at maintaining the spirit of their homeland in keeping with the Kyoiku Chokugo [the Imperial Message on Education]. The Japanese immigrants of that time had no thought of assimilating with Canadian society.⁹⁾

Cultivation of "Good Canadian Citizens" and the Reaction to Japanese Nationalistic Education

In time, the inconsistency of educating children to be Japanese citizens within another country became obvious. Gradually, the educational policy of the Japanese immigrants changed to the cultivation of Japanese Canadian citizens;¹⁰⁾ the Japanese School in Vancouver was eventually converted into a school which taught the Japanese language to second generation Japanese children who also attended regular Canadian public school.¹¹⁾ Then, as Japanese nationalism gained strength in Japan, there came a resurgent insistence that nationalistic education should be carried out in the Japanese language schools. Principal Sato tried to obstruct such a movement by codifying an educational policy in which he stated, that the second generation Japanese should be educated to be good Canadians.¹²⁾

However, the prosperity of Japan and the force of nationalism gained more and more momentum, and the position that it was necessary to

work hard at cultivating “Citizens filled with Japanese fervor” gradually strengthened as the Japanese language schools also entered into an unpredictable period of prosperity.

According to the statistics for 1940,¹³⁾ the status of the Japanese language schools in Canada was as follows. The statistics in brackets are relevant to the Vancouver Japanese Language School.

Number of Japanese language schools	48	(1)
Number of Students	4,012	(1,012)
Number of Teachers	97	(13)
Annual Expenses	59,345	(13,106)

From this, we can see the extent of the presence of the Vancouver Language School in British Columbia, in other words, in Canada. In fact, before the war, it was under the leadership of the *Kanada Nippongo-gakko Kyoiku-kai* [the Canadian Japanese Language School Education Society], made up of fifty-four schools in British Columbia.

Education in these Japanese language schools in the period before the war, although limited to the static function of passing on racial/ethnic culture with language as its center, still stood in the midst of a wave of public opinion which eagerly awaited for the revival of “dynamic education” for cultivating Japanese citizens and it can be said to have made strenuous efforts towards such on adjustment.

War and Development After the War

The Canadian proposal to incorporate terms relating to the enclosure of foreign language schools into the Public School Law and other proposals¹⁴⁾—including the abolition of the Japanese language schools—endangered the Japanese Language School.¹⁵⁾ Sato talked to Canadian offi-

cials repeatedly and made efforts to revise the school environment and textbooks in accordance with the demands of the Canadian side. However, these efforts were in vain as war broke out in 1941. All Japanese language schools were closed.¹⁶⁾

One of Sato's noted achievements was that he loaned the school building to the Canadian government and thus managed to re-open the school after the war.¹⁷⁾ In 1952, following a conference concerning the re-opening of the school, classes were begun in the school building on Alexander Street.¹⁸⁾ The concept of education aimed at cultivating second and third generation Japanese to be good Canadian citizens was again foregrounded.¹⁹⁾

TSUTAE SATO'S LIFE AND WORK

From his early days until becoming principal at the Vancouver Kyoritsu Nippongo Gakko [The Vancouver Japanese Language School]

Tsutae Sato was born in October, 1891 (the 24th year of *Meiji* Period), the second son of Genzaemon Sato, at Nakayamato, Chikatsumura (presently Tanakura-cho), Shirakawa-gun, Fukushima-ken. After graduating from *Chikatsu-shogakko* [Chikatsu Elementary School], after passing a cramming school for Chinese classics and *Hakugo Gakuin* [Hakugo Academy], he graduated from the *Higashi Shirakawa-gun Jyun-kyoin Yoseisho* [Higashi Shirakawa County Training Institute for Temporary Teachers] in 1908, and worked for a year as a "temporary" teacher. In April, 1909, he entered the *Aoyama Sihan-gakko* [Aoyama Normal School] in Tokyo, and in March 1913, on graduating, got a job at the *Shibuya Dai-ni Shogakko* [The Second Shibuya Elementary School] (later *Owada Shogakko*), in Shibuya, Tokyo. From 1916 onwards, he studied after work at *Nihon Daigaku, Hosei-Keizai-ka* [Law and Economics Depart-

ment (night school), Nihon University] in Tokyo.²⁰⁾

In June, 1917 (the 6th year of the *Taisho* Period), he was employed as a teacher of the Vancouver *Kyoritsu Nihon Kokumin Gakko* [the Vancouver Japanese National School] on the recommendation of the Ministry of Education, having been recommended by Kikutaro Takizawa, principal of the *Aoyama Sihan Gakko* [Aoyama Normal school].

Taking temporary leave from the *Shibuya Dai-ni Shogakko*, he left for his new appointment in July. In April, 1921, through internal promotion, Sato became the principal of the *Vancouver Kyoritu Nippongo Gakko* [The Vancouver Japanese Community Language School].

In May, he married Hanako Awaka who was appointed as a teacher at the same school. Hanako was born in Wakayama-shi, in 1901 (the 34th year of the *Meiji* Period), the eldest daughter of a physician, Junji Awaka, who came from Toyama Ken. After graduating from the *Toyo Koto-jyogakko* [Toyo Higher Girl's School] in Tokyo in 1918, she studied at the *Tokyo Jyoshi Shihan Gakko* [Tokyo Women's Normal School] and graduated in July, 1919.²¹⁾ In August, she got a job at *Hatashiro Shogakko* [Hatashiro Elementary School] in Yoyohata-cho (presently Shibuya), Tokyo. In May, 1921, Hanako was appointed as a teacher to the *Vancouver Kyoritsu Nippon-go Gakko*²²⁾ and married Sato. These were all arranged by Daizo Imazeki, principal of the *Shibuya Dai-ni Shogakko* where Sato had a job before.

Hanako was enthusiastic, had a punctilious character, and was an enormous help to her husband Sato.²³⁾ She died at 82 in 1983. Soon after, Sato died at 92.

Sato's work as principal of the Vancouver Nippongo Gakko and other schools

Sato, as well as taking charge of education as principal of the school,

organized various groups connected with education and also worked hard in public office for the development of the community.²⁴⁾

I have approached this paper from the records left in Sato's own writings, rather than focusing on Sato's individual work, these writings are concerned with the role and activities of the Vancouver Japanese Language School under him as the school contributed to Japanese Canadian Immigrant society as its center, and additionally served as a bridge between Japan and Canada.

- 1 . *Vancouver Nippongo Gakko Ijikai kanji* (Executive of the Trustees of the Vancouver Japanese Language School) (1921-1967)
- 2 . *Vancouver Nippon-Bunko kanji* (Executive of the Vancouver Japanese Library) (1920-1947)
- 3 . *Kanada Nippongo Gakko Kyouiku-kai kanji* (Founder and executive of the Vancouver Japanese Language School Educational Society) (1923-)
- 4 . *Vancouver Nippongo Gakko Boshi-kai komon* (Founder and advisor of the Mothers and Sisters Association of the Vancouver Japanese Language School) (1923-1966)
- 5 . *Vancouver Nippongo Gakko Gakuyu-kai komon* (Organizer and advisor of the Association of Graduates of the Japanese Language School) (1917-)
- 6 . *Kanada Nihonjin-kai Seikatsu-kaizen Iinkai iin* (Member of the Life-style Improvement Committee promoted by the Japanese Association in Canada (1924- 7)
- 7 . *Vancouver Nippongo Gakko narabini Nihonjin Kaikan Kenchiku-iinkai kanji.* (Organizer and executive of the Committee on the Construction of the School Building and the Japanese Association

- Hall) (1925-1928)
8. *Shogaku-kai* (Organizer of the Scholarship Association) (1931-
 9. *Brown Kocho Nippon Shisatsu Kouen-kai kanji* (Organizer and executive of the backing group for principal Brown's observation in Japan) (1929-1930)
 10. *Kouritsu Gakko Kyoshi Nippon Shisatsu Kouen-kai kanji* (Executive of the backing group for the public school teacher's observation in Japan) (1938-1940)
 11. *Chichibunomiya Ryodenka Sougei-iin* (Member of the Committee to Welcome Prince and Princess Chichibu) (1937)
 12. Establishing the Mr. and Mrs. Sato Loan Fund (U.B.C.) (1940)
 13. Helping to get the Licence for managing a foreign language school in Canada (1940)
 14. As part of the movement to form countermeasures against the "Anti-Japanese Language School Problems," changing "Abolition" into "Improvement of Methods" in a statement of the city council. (1941)
 15. Head of the Editorial Committee on textbooks used in the Canadian Japanese Language Schools (1940)
 16. Visit to Japan to publish the textbooks (1941)
 17. Dealing with the reorganization of the school after its closure, keeping the building and estate of the school by lending them to the Canadian Department of Defense. Also, managing the affairs of the School Board of Trustees in College Heights, Lacome, State of Alberta.
 18. Movement for the restoration of the Vancouver Japanese Language School and its reopening. (1952) Permission from the Minister of Education, the State of British Columbia.

19. *Koutaishi-denka Sougei-iinkai kanji* (Executive of the Committee to Welcome the Crown Prince of Japan (1953)
20. *Nihon Suigai Kyusai Inikai kanji* (Executive of the Committee for the relief of Flood Damage in Japan - Kyushu district and central Japan) (1957)
21. *B.C. -shu 100 nen Sai Shukuga Inikai kanji* (Executive of the committee for the celebration of the B.C. Centennial (1958)
22. "*Vancouver Geppo*" (Publisher and editor of the Vancouver Monthly Bulletin) (1958)
23. *Nihon Suigai Kyusai Inikai kanji* (Executive of the Committee for the Relief of Flood and Damage in Japan - Izu Peninsula and Kanto district) (1958)
24. *Nitobe Kinen-Teien Kensetsu Inikai kanji* (Executive of the Committee on Constructing the Nitobe Memorial Garden) (1959)
25. *Kanada Nikkei Imin 100 nen Sai kinen shasin-cho "Senkin no Yume"* (Cooperation in the photo album *Senkin no Yume*, the centennial of Japanese Canadian immigrants) (1979)
26. Endowment of the Mr. and Mrs. Sato Loan Fund to Toronto University (1969)
27. Foundation of a scholarship for each of the secondary schools in Britannia, Gladston, and Templeton (in Vancouver).
28. *Sato Tsutae-Hanako Kinen Bunko* (Endowment for the Tsutae-Hanako Memorial Library (Tanakura Townhall - presently Library, and Chikatsu Elementary School)

Sato's view of life and education

If one visits Sato's hometown, Tanakura, one will find the natural surroundings and the human character of the place to be much as it was

years ago. Sato loved his hometown, and cared dearly for his parents and younger sister. His Kisei-Nikki [Homecoming Diary] is a record of those young days.²⁵⁾ Sato's life was a progression of seriousness, hard work, and perseverance. This cannot be disassociated from the fact that Sato looked up to Principal Takizawa and was deeply influenced by this man's dedicated promotion of education and his simple, vigorous nature. Takizawa always emphasized "being sincere, hardworking, and working on one's administrative capabilities."²⁶⁾

In this connection, in his *Shu-kun* [moral discourse to his students], Sato extols the virtues of hard work, sincerity, endurance, unfailing effort, respect for one's name, for the Imperial Family, for one's ancestors, filial piety, regard for one's family, maintaining one's health, gratitude for the help of others, self-reliance, compassion, nobility, listening to the advice of others, discretion, and other similar virtues.²⁷⁾

This was the Confucian way of thinking, advanced by primary level educators in the Japan of that time. Interestingly, at this point in time, the affect of Sato's many years in Canada does not seem apparent. This is perhaps because he interacted primarily within Japanese society with the Japanese Language School as his base. He used to say: "Proceed normally in an unusual way."²⁸⁾ His educational philosophy was not typical, or standard. Rather, we may say that he perfectly exemplified the best of the pre-war primary level educator.

THE EDUCATIONAL ROLE PLAYED BY THE VANCOUVER JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL AND FUTURE ISSUES

The Vancouver Japanese Language School as the Center of Education and Culture of Japanese Canadian Citizens

Established in 1906 as the Vancouver Japanese School for the education of Japanese citizens living abroad, the school changed its purpose in 1920 to that of educating Japanese children as Canadian citizens. Throughout its history, the school served as a center of Japanese culture as well as a place of interchange between Japanese and Canadians. In that sense, the role played by the school in Canadian society must receive high praise. In looking at the financial base and the organizing and steering committee of this school, one finds well organized community support: the *Iji-Kai*²⁹⁾ (the body which established the school or the board of trustees), the *Boshi-Kai*³⁰⁾ (parents association or P. T. A.), the *Gakuyu-Kai*³¹⁾ (the Alumni Association or the Association of graduates), the *Nippon Bunko*³²⁾ (the Japanese School Library).

The site of these activities and of Japanese/Canadian interchange was the school building itself, in particular, the great hall. When I visited the school during my research, what most deeply impressed me was precisely this building's atmosphere. It was old, having seen some sixty years by this time, but its quality made me reflect on the various roles that this great hall³³⁾ (with its comparatively large kitchen) had played historically in the community.

The school, in addition, played a part in promoting international exchange. In 1930, the school sponsored Principal Brown's visitation to Japan together with other organizations such as the *B. C. shu Kyoikukai* [the British Columbia Provincial Educational Society], Japanese Christ-

ian Churches,³⁴⁾ Buddhist churches, *Nihonjinkai* [Japanese Association], and others.³⁵⁾

In *Kansha no Issho* [A Life of Gratitude] (1980), Sato himself writes "The Japanese Language School became the basis of the development of Japanese immigrant society."³⁶⁾ But the contribution of the school is not confined solely to this society. In 1978, the Canadian Government conferred on him "the Order of Canada", rewarding Sato's contribution to Canada.

Present Situation and Future Issues

Currently, the role of the Japanese Language School in Vancouver is again changing. In recent years, the number of third and fourth generation Japanese who feel the need to learn the Japanese language has decreased greatly. Instead, Canadians of non-Japanese origin are enrolling.³⁷⁾ This school, which was established in 1906 for the education of Japanese abroad, developed into a school aimed at their assimilation into Canadian society. And now, the goal of the school has become to contribute to Canadian society and ultimately, to international society.

According to the 1989 School bulletin, the number of students have been increasing rapidly over the last few years, but enrollment is changing content wise to a Japanese school for Canadian children rather than children of Japanese ancestry. This implies that "A completely new change is beginning to occur that has not been seen in the past eighty years of history."³⁸⁾ "Recently, large numbers of Canadian students of non-Japanese ancestry are entering the school", principal Egawa said to me during my research, which can be an indication of the future direction and role of the school.³⁹⁾

I would like to commend Sato for coming to Canada in 1906 for the

education of Japanese abroad and developed a school aimed at their assimilation into Canadian society. And now the goal of the school is to contribute to Canadian society and ultimately to international society.⁴⁰⁾

NOTES

- 1) Tsutae Sato, *Bankuba Nihon Kyoritsu Gogakko Enkaku-shi* [History of Vancouver Japanese Language School] (1954), pp. 19-36.
- 2) Ibid., pp. 53f.
Toshiji Sasaki, "*Kanada ni okeru Senzen no Nisei Kyoiku*" [Pre-war Second Generation Japanese Education Issue in Canada] Ritsumeikan Gengo-bunka Kenkyu, (1991)
- 3) Sato, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
- 4) Kishiro Morikawa, "Kaigai Zairyuminni kansuru Kyoiku Hoshin no Ken Ukaigai" [An Inquiry about the Policy Concerning the Japanese Living Abroad] to Foreign Minister Kinmochi Saionji (March 6, 1906), "Zaigai Honpo Gakko Kankei Zakken" [Miscellaneous Affairs Concerning Japanese Schools Abroad] (Diplomatic Records Archives, hereafter cited as "Zaigai Gakko Shiryo" [Historical Documents in Schools Abroad]).
- 5) Masataro Sawayanagi, "Gaimu Jikan Chinda Sutemi ate Bunsho" [Correspondence addressed to Deputy Foreign Minister, Sutemi Chinda] (October 24, 1906), p. 1 in "Zagai Gakko Shiryo". It is stated that "on this occasion it is best to determine even schools which are not completely finished as approved schools abroad and to make them take measures for gradual improvement and development, in order to protect and encourage the education of Japanese abroad."
- 6) Morikawa, "Bankuba Kyoritsu Nihon Kokumin Gakko Kyoshi Shohei kata Irai no Ken" [Matter of a Request for the Engagement of a Teacher for the Vancouver Japanese National School] (October 24, 1906), pp. 2f. in "Zaigai Gakko Shiryo". The terms for the engagement of a teacher to be the principal of the school requested by Gakumu Iin [the Japanese Society Educational Committee in Vancouver] were as follows:
 - (1) A mature married man over thirty years of age, holding a regular and a higher elementary school teacher's licence, and both husband and wife must take charge of education.
 - (2) A robust, respectable, and modest person.

(3) They will be expected to deal with general affairs relating to the educational matters of Japanese residents and, along with the educational committee, assist in the raising of public funds.

(4) The period of employment will be four years, and may be extended if so desired. They may also be released from office when it is difficult for them to remain in office owing to illness or misfeasance.

(5) The principal's payment is 25 U.S. dollars a month, and 10-15 dollars for the wife. A house and utilities will be provided.

(6) The couple will be provided with the sum of 200 yen to cover lower-class boat fares and preparations. However, even though the ticklets are lower-class, the Yusen Gaisha [the Mail Steamer Boat Company] will be contacted and they will be treated as middle-class passengers.

Gaimu Jikan, "Bankūba Kyoritsu Nihon Kokumin Gakko Kyoshi Shohei kata Irai no Ken" [Matter of a Request for the Engagement of a Teacher for the Vancouver Japanese National School] (November 22, 1906), p. 1 in "Zaigai Gakko Shiryo".

- 7) Tanaka Graduated from the special English course of the Tokyo Higher Normal College and his wife from the Kyoto Normal School. Tashiro graduated also from the Tokyo Higher Normal College and his wife from the Tokyo Women's Normal School. Inoue and his wife from Toyama Normal School. Sato was from Aoyama Normal School and his wife from Tokyo Women's Normal School; they were appointed on the basis of temporary leave from the office, while working as elementary teachers in those respective prefectures.
- 8) Chonosuke Yada, "Sutebusuton Shogakko Kyoin Yohei no Ken" [Matters of Engaging a Teacher for the Steveston Elementary School] (September 21, 1910). "Zai-Sutebusuton Gyogyosha Jizen Dantai Setsuritsu Gakko" [a School Established by a Fisherman's Charity Group in Steveston] in "Zaigai Gakko Shiryo". In the case of Steveston Elementary School, a regular teacher from a normal school was engaged under the same procedures.
- 9) *Gaimu Daijin* [Foreign Minister], "Bankuba ni oite Kyoritsu Nihon Kokumin Gakko Setsuritsu-jo Zaigai Hojin Kyoiku no Hoshin ni kansuru Kaito" [Answer concerning the Policy towards the Education of Japanese Residents on the Establishment of the Japanese National School in Vancouver] (October 11, 1906). p. 1, in "Zaigai Gakko Shiryo".
- 10) Tsutae and Hanako Sato, *Kodomo to tomoni Gojyu-nen - Kanada Nikkei Kyoiku Shiki* - [Teaching Japanese-Canadian Children for 50 Years] (1969), p. 54.

"Tairiku Nippo", *Kanada Doho Hatten-shi* [The History of the Japanese Immi-

- grants in Canada] (1924), p. 67.
- 11) Sato, *Enkaku-shi*, pp. 86-90.
 - 12) Sato states three points. (Ibid., pp. 30f.):
 - (1) The education policy towards second generation Japanese is to cultivate good Canadian citizens.
 - (2) The nucleus of the school education consists of second generation Japanese in the (Canadian) public schools.
 - (3) It is necessary, in the Japanese language schools, to carry out education in knowledge and virtue by introduction of the Japanese language to the second generation Japanese.
 - 13) Sato, *Bankuba Nihongo Gakko Kyoikukai-shi* [History of the Vancouver Japanese Language School Educational Society] (1953), pp. 34f.
 - 14) Ibid., pp. 58-76.
 - 15) Ibid., pp. 76-89.
 - 16) Sato, "Nichi-Ei-Bei Kaisen Zengo no Nihongo Gakko" [The Japanese Language School before and after the outbreak of the Pacific War] (T. Sato Collection, U.B.C.).
 - 17) Sato, "Sengo no Jyousei to Nihongo Gakko" [The Situation after the War and the Japanese language Schools] (1952, T. Sato Collection, U.B.C.).
 - 18) Ibid.
 - 19) For an understanding of the textbooks and cultural state of teaching in the schools after the war, Sato's "Nihongo Gakko Kyoiku no Shomondai" [Various Problems Concerning Education at the Japanese Language Schools] (1966) furnishes us with much information.
 - 20) Tsutae and Hanako Sato, op. cit., p. 620.
Nikkei Kanada-jin no Nihongo Kyoiku [The Education of Japanese Language for the Second Generation Japanese Canadian] (1976), pp. 219-221., *Kansha no Issho* [A Life of Gratitude] (1980), pp. 166-168.
 - 21) Gaimu-sho Tsusho-kyokucho, "Bankuba Kyoritsu Nihon Kokumin Gakko Kundo Yohei-kata ni Kansuru Ken" [Matters of engaging a Teacher for the Vancouver Japanese National School] (April 30, 1917).
 Monbu-sho, Akashi Futsu-Gakumu-kyokucho, "Gaimu-sho, Nakamura Tsusho-kyokucho ate Bunsho" [A Document from the Chief of Education Affairs Bureau, Akashi, the Ministry of Education, to the Chief of Commerce Bureau, Nakamura, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs] (May 10, 1917) in "Zaigai Gakko Shiryo".
 - 22) T. and H. Sato, op. cit., p. 630.

- Satoji Ukita, "Bankuba Nihon Kyoritsu Gogakko Kyoin Shohei ni kansuru Ken (Matter of Engaging a Teacher for the Vancouver Japanese Language School), Gaimu daijin Koya Uchida ate [to the Foreign Minister, Koya Uchida] (March 15, 1921) in "Zaigai Gakko Shiryo".
- 23) T. and H. Sato, op. cit., pp. 542-557.
 - 24) Ibid., pp. 621-627.
 - 25) Sato, "Kisei Nikki" [Homecoming Diary] (1961), Matsumoto Collection.
 - 26) T. and H. Sato, op. cit., pp. 38-39, 27.
 - 27) Sato, "Shu-kun" [Moral Discourse to the Students] (1942, T. Sato Collection, U.B.C.).
 - 28) Ibid., p. 13.
 - 29) Sato, *Enkaku-shi*, p. 233-248.
 - 30) Ibid., pp. 361-422.
 - 31) Ibid., pp. 425-469.
 - 32) Ibid., pp. 473-514.
- "Bankuba Nihon Bunko Ichiran" [A List of the Vancouver Japanese Library] (T. Sato Collection, U.B.C.).
- 33) Sato, op. cit., p. 179.
 - 34) Sato, *Kyoikukai-shi*, pp. 119-127.
- Gordon G. Nakayama, *ISSEI*, (1984), p. 183.
- 35) Sato, Ibid., p. 124. Kozo Shimotakahara (General Secretary), Kosaburo Shimizu (Auditor), and others, people connected with Christian churches, are participating as support group executives.
 - 36) T. and H. Sato, op. cit., pp. 158-166.
 - 37) Toronto Soryoji-kan Bunshitsu [Toronto Japanese General Consulate Branch Office], "Kanada Nihongo Gakko Ichiran" [List of Canadian Japanese Language Schools] (October 1989).
 - 38) "Bankuba Nihongo Gakko News" [Vancouver Japanese Language School News] #48 (1989).
 - 39) Naohiko Okumura, "Egawa Kocho Intabyu" [Interview with the principal Motoaki Egawa] (August 12, 1990).
 - 40) G. G. Nakayama, op. cit., p.185.