

American Women
Missionaries at Kobe
College, 1873–1909

New Dimensions in Gender



Noriko Kawamura Ishii

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A Note on Japanese Names

In this volume, Japanese names are written with the family name first followed by the given name (e.g. Fukuzawa Yukichi). Exceptions to this order are names of the authors in citations.

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Illustration New Rockefeller Chapel, Administration Building and Library at Kobe College, circa 1907. ABCFM Picture Collection: Missions 10:6 Japan: Kobe, Kobe College (2) #350 from the <i>American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archive</i> , by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University and Wider Church Ministries of the United Church of Christ.	156
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

"I have been frequently surprised and almost frightened," wrote Alexis de Tocqueville in 1831, "at the singular address and happy boldness with which young women in America contrive to manage their thoughts and their language amid all the difficulties of free conversation." American women in the nineteenth century enjoyed relatively high standards of independence and education incomparable to the experiences of their sisters in Europe. Tocqueville poignantly observed, "In the United States the doctrines of Protestantism are combined with great political liberty and a most democratic state of society, and nowhere are young women surrendered so early or so completely to their own guidance."¹

The relatively high level of independence and education that American women enjoyed in the mid to late nineteenth century had an impact on cultures outside of the American national borders. The rise of the American woman's foreign missionary movement after the Civil War provided Protestant American women with an unprecedented opportunity to step into a public space under the guise of fulfilling their domestic duties.

Through a case study of American women missionaries at Kobe College between 1873 to 1909, this study examines the following two themes: (1) the emergence of professionalization of women missionaries and the woman officers of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior, beginning in the 1880s, and (2) the implications of the cross-cultural dialogue between American women missionaries and the Japanese women educated at Kobe College to examine how the divergent interests of American women missionaries interacted with the Japanese women's interests at Kobe College. In the end, this study will attempt to shed light on one way to understand how the inflow of American culture changed the way Japanese women were educated and what effect higher education had on actual lives of a small group of Japanese women. By studying both the missionary intent and the Japanese graduates' life choices amidst changing Japanese governmental policies over time, this study will attempt to bridge both U.S. women's history and Japanese

women's history. The understanding of American women's cultural encounter with Japanese women outside of American cultural boundaries will be important for an understanding of American cultural impact in a global perspective, which suggests a way to broaden the study of American culture.

The subject of the American Protestant foreign missionary movement was long neglected by scholars. Prior to the 1970s, writings were mainly celebratory and hagiographic. "Missionaries remained...as shadowy figures in religious and general history," wrote historian of religion William R. Hutchison, because of "the adverse image" of missionaries created in the public mind in the nineteenth century by external critics such as novelists Herman Melville and Mark Twain. These indicted U.S. missionaries for destroying "a once-happy people," as in Hawaii [Sandwich Islands], the only missionary venture regarded as a "spectacular success" between 1810 and 1850.²

The study of the foreign missionary work of the American Protestant denominations began in the 1970s by "secular" scholars, who denounced the movement as a self-conceited disguise of American cultural imperialism. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s 1974 article symbolized such an approach by linking the foreign missionary enterprise to imperialism.³ Defining "cultural imperialism" as "purposeful aggression by one culture against the ideas and values of another," Schlesinger condemned cultural imperialism as "far more demoralizing" than political and economic forms of imperialism; it "maintained that one set of values was better than another."⁴ Approaching missionary work as "cultural imperialism" was probably a resonance of Cold War rhetoric, which denounced the Soviet imperialism, combined with the self-reflective culture of the 70s in America, searching for the meaning of Vietnam. Seeing the missionary movement as an historical "embarrassment" discouraged scholarly attention.

The development of U.S. women's history in the 1970s, with proliferating interests in nineteenth century "woman's culture," inspired scholarly attention to the missionary movement from the perspective of women's history. This perspective opened way for a positive reassessment of the movement and led to Jane Hunter's *The Gospel of Gentility* (1984) on American women missionaries in China at the turn-of-the century and Patricia R.Hill's *The World Their Housebold* (1985) on missionary ideology. Both Hunter and Hill opened a new perspective on the study of a women's foreign missionary movement by applying notions of "woman's culture" and the public application of domestic ideals, analyses that had become well-developed in women's history.

AMERICAN WOMEN'S MOTIVATIONS

The widely used notion of “woman’s culture” combined what historian Nancy A.Hewitt has called the triad of Barbara Welter’s “true womanhood,” Nancy F.Cott’s “separate spheres,” and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg’s “woman’s culture.”⁵ Welter connected four virtues —“purity, piety, domesticity and submissiveness”—as the elements of “true womanhood.” Nancy F. Cott added an economic explanation to the formation of Victorian womanhood by probing that the industrial revolution in New England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which separated the “workplace” from “family life” for the New England middling classes, consigned men to the former and women to the latter of these separate spheres.⁶ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg reassessed “women’s culture,” and scholars began to take positive views of women’s separate sphere as a basis for a subculture among women that formed a source of identity and a basis for public action.

Kathryn Kish Sklar’s biography of Catharine Beecher raised the perennial question of which strategy would more effectively advance women’s social status, the strategy which stressed the “commonness” of women with men or that which emphasized the “difference” of women from men.⁷ The former “liberal-to-radical approach” as historian Margaret W.Rossiter named it, demanded full equality of women with men in an egalitarian society. The latter conservative approach accepted prescribed norms of a women’s sphere, yet expanded that sphere by extending the culturally-accepted ideology of domesticity to the public sphere. Margaret W.Rossiter, in her study of women scientists, also identified the “commonness” versus “difference” approaches as choices made by early women scientists. Christine Ladd-Franklin, a mathematician, psychologist and logician, opened graduate schools to women in the 1890s so that women could pursue doctorates the same as men. Ellen Swallow Richards, who founded the field of home economics in the 1890s, created distinctive field for women scientists.⁸ Both Sklar and Rossiter suggested that the approach, which accepted “separateness” from men’s sphere, empowered women to achieve longstanding gains.

Historian Karen J.Blair elaborated on this conservative approach to define a notion of “Domestic Feminism,” by which women extended their domestic attributes to the public sphere as a culturally legitimate outlet for women’s energies and education. Blair vividly illustrated how the clubwomen of the late nineteenth century ingeniously struggled to “leave the confines of the home without abandoning domestic values.”⁹ The concept of Municipal Housekeeping, which justified women’s participation in civic reform, was, as according to Blair, “a second phase of Domestic Feminism” also built on “the premise that women possessed

special moral qualities which ought to be applied outside the home.”¹⁰ The concept of Domestic Feminism and Municipal Housekeeping provided a reason for collegiate training for women and a justification for the first generation of women college graduates to utilize their training in the public sphere.

Scholarly attention to the professionalization of women began in response to the question of how the first generation of college-educated women used their collegiate educations. “After college, what?” Barbara Miller Solomon, historian of women’s education, titles one of her chapters. Women’s assumptions changed over time on the question of how to define their two options to fulfill the family obligations as “womanly” women and to serve society.¹¹ As historian of women’s vocational training, Geraldine Joncich Clifford pointed out, the professions that college-educated women took from nineteenth century to the 1920’s expanded primarily in the following order: teaching, nursing, social work, home economics and librarianship.¹²

Settlement work emerged in the 1890s as an ideal opportunity for the first generation of college women to overcome their “sense of uselessness” and “to prove their right to a higher education by doing something important.”¹³ Allen F. Davis, in his influential book, *Spearheads of Reform*, made a positive assessment of the settlement workers as a humanitarian corrective to the social evils generated by the industrial revolution and urbanization. Davis explained the “settlement impulse” as common to both men and women, “a generation of young, well-educated Americans” with “a nagging sense of uneasiness about their relationship to the world’s problems.”¹⁴ Historian Kathryn Kish Sklar, in her biography of Florence Kelley, elaborated on Davis’ argument by pointing out the special feminine meaning settlements had for young women in the United States. Sklar compared the American case to the British case and pointed out that women dominated the settlement movement numerically in the United States, whereas in Britain men dominated the movement and women remained marginal. Men had other arenas in the U.S. where they could “test their freedom and talents,” whereas for women there was “no better forum” than settlements where they could “explore the question, ‘After college, what?’” For women, settlements became an unprecedented source of empowerment because they provided “alternatives to the political careers from which [women] were barred by reason of their gender.” It was due to this reason, noted Sklar that men and women of the settlement leaders were drawn from different populations; men consisted of clergy and would-be clergy with clergyman fathers whereas women came from politically active families.¹⁵

The scholarly applications of the notion of “woman’s culture” have centered on the study of secular work: the settlement work, woman’s club movement, temperance and the suffrage movement.¹⁶ In this study, I intend to show how Protestant American women of the Midwest and New England developed and expanded their own influence and professional skills as they created a foreign missionary movement that reached massive numbers of women across various classes. The movement flowered from the 1870s to World War I, the heyday of Domestic Feminism. This study joins two path breaking studies of mission work from the American perspective.

Historian Patricia R.Hill’s study on the ideology of missionary rhetoric of women’s foreign missionary movement provided the first scholarly attention to the professionalization of the women’s missionary movement. By examining the printed periodicals and speeches of the woman administrators of the woman’s boards of primarily the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists of the American Board, Patricia R.Hill identified a shift in missionary rhetoric from moral terms to scientific terms at the turn of the century. Calling this “the science of missions” that included adoption of business methods, Hill attributed this cultural shift to the emergence of the professionalization of the women’s missionary movement in the 1890s.¹⁷

Hunter linked missionary experience with the notion of cultural imperialism and argued that colonial inequalities in China, which provided “status” and “power” to foreigners residing in China, accorded American women missionaries the rewards of “freedom,” “authority,” “vocational competence,” and “opportunities” equal to men at home. Thereby, Hunter poignantly observed that colonial authority provided a solution to a problem at home, by offering an opportunity of gender equality to the American women missionaries in China.¹⁸ Jane Hunter’s book on American women missionaries in China recognized the advantages of mission work for U.S. women.

In addition to showing what the missionaries gained from their China experience, Jane Hunter discussed the recipient’s culture and analyzed the meaning of Christian identity for Chinese women. Yet as she noted, the available sources were scarce, and she could only examine three Chinese women born in the 1890s who came from the genteel class and who were converted to Christianity. From these limited sources, Hunter drew the conclusion that mission institutions became “useful oases beyond the deserts of conventional familial expectation” for both the Chinese women and the American women missionaries.¹⁹

The limitations of these two important early studies are, as Leslie A.Flemming and Peggy Pascoe poignantly observe, that “to date, most

historians of women who focused on missionary sources used them to understand missionary women rather than to understand relations between missionaries and the minority groups they targeted for their work."²⁰ The story of how the recipients of missionary work responded to these ventures is still understudied.²¹

A second purpose of my study is to add to the understanding of the cross-cultural dialogue inherent in women's missionary work. Studies of recipients' cultures have begun only during the past decade. Pui-Lan Kowk's dissertation of 1989 dealt with the relationships between Chinese women and American women's Protestant Christianity transmitted between 1860 and 1927; Kowk used an interdisciplinary approach of history and theology. Kowk argued that "the relationship between Chinese women and Christianity changed over time and was much more complex than hitherto assumed." Christianity in nineteenth-century China worked for the elevation of women's status, enabling women to "move into the public arena," yet "it was condemned as patriarchal and conservative in the 1920's."²²

Peggy Pascoe's important book, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West 1874–1939* (1990) explored this aspect of missionary work, although her research focused on home mission work of women missionaries working with Chinese immigrants to California. Peggy Pascoe, in her investigation of the search for female moral authority by Protestant missionary women in the American West, observed the need to "pay attention...to [Victorian culture's] relations with other cultures within American society" and to "understand social control in the largest sense of the term."²³ Pascoe demonstrated that the two gender systems of the white Protestant American women and that of Chinese immigrant women conflicted. The Victorian Christian values that the white middle-class women took for granted as central tenets of their gender system did not apply to the gender system of Chinese prostitutes in Chinese-American culture to which they returned after they left the Christian Rescue Homes.

Kohiyama Rui, in her 1992 book (published in Japanese) on Presbyterian women missionaries and the Dutch Reformed Church woman missionary, who founded girls' schools in Yokohama, Tokyo and Hakodate between 1868 and 1889, also touched on this inter-cultural aspect in the final chapter. The author drew portraits of three Japanese women educated at the missionary schools. One became a novelist, another a social reformer, and the third an educator as the principal of *Joshi Gakuin*, a Presbyterian missionary girls' school in Tokyo. Elaborating on historian Saito Makoto's point that the notion of *gunkoku no haha* [Military Motherhood] espoused at the turn-of-the-century Japan

paralleled Linda Kerber's notion of "Republican Motherhood" at the beginning of the U.S. nation, Kohiyama suggested that the Japanese twin ideals of *ryosai kenbo* [Good Wife Wise Mother] adopted "submissiveness," "purity," and "domesticity" but not "piety" of the "true womanhood" defined by Barbara Welter.²⁴ Thus she concluded that when American womanhood was transformed to good-wife-wise-mother ideology, Christianity was replaced by state and morals, "home" was replaced by "family (*ie*)" [the basic unit of the Meiji family-state system]. This study provided an excellent model for integrating U.S. women's history and Japanese women's history.

Similar criticisms against the lack of scholarship of "the clients' view" in the study of the settlement institutions have been made by historians Michael B. Katz and Ruth Hutchinson Crocker since the 1980s. The conclusions they reached similarly stressed the resilience of the recipient's culture. Michael B. Katz pointed out that "clients have used institutions and organizations from their own purposes, shaping them sometimes in ways quite at variance with the intentions of their sponsors,"²⁵ Ruth Hutchinson Crocker wrote, "often lower-class and client populations resisted the 'controllers' and turned 'controlling' institutions to their own ends."²⁶ Jane Hunter also suggested that "host societies frequently took what they needed from the women's missionary message" and that "the interpretation of the missionary presence, and hence its impact, was determined by the needs of indigenous women." "The Western ideas introduced by missionaries" simply diversified "the weaponry available to indigenous groups."²⁷

To engage the client perspective, one must understand the history of Japan in the late 19th century and the particular importance of women's education in this history.

JAPANESE CONTEXT FOR WOMEN'S EDUCATION

After Commodore Matthew C. Perry's visit to Japan in 1853 opened a two-centuries secluded land to an era of Western cultural contact, one of the cultural discrepancies that struck both the Americans and the Japanese was the difference between the status of women in Japan and in the United States. The recognition of such differences hastened conscious efforts for the cultural inflow of American ideas of womanhood and women's education. Japanese government bureaucrats saw new models, and American missionaries seized on the opportunity to proselytize the non-Christian Asian country.

The U.S.-Japan Friendship and Commerce Treaty of 1858 opened the possibility for Christian missions in Japan. The Treaty permitted the entry

of Americans on Japanese land for the first time after two centuries of seclusion. Yet their entry was limited to the *concessions*, an area designated for foreigners' residences in Japan by the Japanese government. The *concessions* were limited initially to the three port cities of Yokohama, Nagasaki and Hakodate when Japan opened herself to the foreign countries in 1859; Kobe and Osaka were added in 1868 and Edo in 1869. Japanese were critical and felt humiliated by this "unequal treaty," because foreigners residing in Japan were protected judicially by an extraterritorial clause and the Japanese were deprived of tariff autonomy. For more than forty years, the debate over ways to gain parity with Western nations in treaty revisions became a longstanding cause of political controversy and turmoil for the Japanese who sought for rapid modernization without losing their national identity, modernization and civilization the Japanese believed essential to gain parity with Western nations.

The American Protestant missionary boards quickly seized on the opportunity to live in the foreign concessions allowed in Japan. The first missionaries to arrive at the Japanese ports of Tokyo and Yokohama in 1859 were all from American denominations: the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Mission and the Dutch Reformed Church in Tokyo and Yokohama. Because Christianity was still banned in Japan at this time, these pioneer missionaries started their work by tutoring English privately. These small teaching groups established the tradition of using English schools as an effective means to reach grassroots Japanese people.

The political failure of the Tokugawa regime, which had signed unfavorable treaties with the Western nations of the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Russia fueled the growth of dissent, resulting in the Meiji Restoration of 1868; the Tokugawa regime was overthrown and sovereignty was returned to the emperor. The old Tokugawa capital of Edo was renamed Tokyo, and the young revolutionaries of the former *samurai* [warrior] class were eager to create a modern state. It was one year after, in 1869, that Rev. D.C. Greene and his wife arrived in Japan as the first missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A latecomer as an American Protestant denominational board, the American Board resolved in April of 1870 not to step into Tokyo and the Kanto plain where there were preceding missionary boards, but to focus their work in Western Japan instead, centered in Kobe, Osaka and Kyoto, whose ports had opened for foreign entry only in 1868.²⁸

Between 1868 and 1880, both the Meiji state and the missionaries consciously sought to introduce American ideas on womanhood and

women's education. The state's concerted effort was justified by the Emperor's promulgation of the Charter Oath of Five Articles in 1868, which announced, "Knowledge shall be sought from all over the world and thus shall be strengthened the foundations of the imperial polity." This period, marked by the favorable reception of Christianity and Western culture, was succeeded by an era of Westernizing fashion from about 1883 through 1887.²⁹ The opening of Rokumeikan [Deer Cry Pavilion], a magnificent dancing hall, where the Japanese elites held fancy dress balls in Western attire, symbolized the era.

"The Meiji era was the most turbulent era in all of Japanese history," wrote historian Irokawa Daikichi.³⁰ The years of 1868 to 1887 have been, according to historian Carol Gluck, "often characterized as the pragmatic — and dramatic—years."³¹ Japan was amidst a profound cultural "transition," as historian Marius B. Jansen and sociologist Gilbert Rozman termed the social transformation of Japan in the late nineteenth century, in which a dominant ideology was not yet consolidated. Jansen and Rozman characterize the Japanese experience of the Tokugawa-Meiji transition not as a "revolution," but as a "gradual change" that did not lead to "overturn of the social order," but reasserted "traditional authority—in the person of the emperor." They conclude that the Japanese experience showed that "without the explosion of revolution at the top, without massive change in the circumstances of life below, a radically different social structure can materialize."³² To achieve parity with the Western nations, Japanese government leaders of the Meiji era actively sought Western culture and knowledge in a remarkable openness, regarding Western patterns as synonymous to civilization. This openness contrasted sharply to the anti-Christian sentiment and conservative backlash that intensified after the Rescript on Education was promulgated in 1890.

In the formative Meiji years, the Japanese government sought a wide-range of skills and knowledge from a number of Western countries. Highly selective, they sought to acquire what they considered the distinctive expertise of each country by hiring foreign specialists who came to be known as *oyatoi gaikokujin* (or simply *yatoi*) [government-hired foreigners] at government agencies and schools. The Meiji government also sent young Japanese students abroad on government scholarships to have first-hand contact with Western skills and knowledge.

Even during the mid-1880s when the slogan labeled *bunmei kaika* [civilization and enlightenment] was popularized and Japanese culture demonstrated a remarkable curiosity and receptivity toward things Western, the Japanese perception of Western culture was complex. Because Japanese interest in Western culture stemmed from Japan's

earnest desire to be regarded as “civilized” by Western powers and to achieve parity in treaty revisions, Japanese perception of Western culture entailed ambivalence. On one hand, Western culture was a means for modernization and civilization; on the other hand, Western culture, Christianity in particular, threatened their national identity. To avoid falling into the same dependence as China did with Great Britain after the Opium War, the Japanese sought to preserve and to strengthen Japanese identity. The government ingeniously articulated this double-edged sentiment toward Western culture in the slogan *wakon yousai* [Japanese spirit and Western technique], which pledged that skills and knowledge should be adopted from the West but that the spirit should remain Japanese. When hiring the *yatoi*, the Japanese government took precautions against possible colonization attempts by the Western countries by paying ex traordinarily high salaries³³ and by adhering “firmly to a policy of Japanese control and management,” as historian Hazel J. Jones put it, in order to preserve Japanese sovereignty and independence.³⁴

Among the wide array of skills, ranging from German medicine to British railway expertise, women’s education and the settlement of the newly opened frontier of *Hokkaido* [the northern island of Japan] were the two domains that the Japanese assigned to American expertise.³⁵ Consciously choosing American ideas of women’s education, the Japanese government sent five young girls, including Tsuda Umeko, the youngest at the age of seven, to the United States in 1871 with the Iwakura Mission to be educated for ten years on government scholarships. This investment paid off markedly in the case of Tsuda Umeko, who became one of the pioneer woman educators to open Tsuda College in 1900, the first non-missionary private school for women’s higher education in Japan. The irony, however, was that it was not Japanese government funds, but American contributions raised by Tsuda Umeko, that enabled her to found this collegiate institution, since the Japanese government was becoming disenchanted with American ideas of women’s education by the time Tsuda returned to Japan in 1882.

The state attention to women’s roles was initiated by Meiji intellectuals of the Meirokusha [Meiji Six Society] such as Mori Arinori and Fukuzawa Yukichi, who pioneered in visiting the United States in 1860. They decided that the high social status, education, and independent mindedness accorded to American middle-class women were one of the essential sources of civilization. The two attacked the concubine system and wrote extensively on the need to advance women’s status and women’s education as a means to move Japan from a premodern to a modern society.³⁶ The limitation of their views was that they saw

women's education only as a means of modernization and not as a true emancipation of Japanese women. Although their views remained controversial,³⁷ the attention these government leaders and educators paid to the issue of women's education was instrumental in the subsequent development of state policy on women's education.

In 1872, the first government girls' school, the Tokyo School for Girls was established. David Murray of Rutgers University, hired by the Japanese government as *yatoi* to serve as an advisor to the Ministry of Education in the 1870s, strongly advised the Japanese government leaders that women must be included in their reform plans for Japanese educational systems. In 1874, Tokyo Women's Normal School was founded, following Murray's suggestion, to train primary school teachers.

The unlimited openness to Western ideas was reversed in the years after 1889 when the government sought to increase its control over education. The Imperial Rescript on Education promulgated on October 30, 1890, defined the spiritual foundation of the Japanese in the family-state system headed by the Emperor, the source of the Japanese morality. The Rescript signified the civic ethos and consisted of diverse sources, linking *kokutai* (national polity) with loyalty, filiality, Confucian center, civil obedience and national sacrifice.³⁸ This document eventually became an ideological icon of Japanese identity until the end of World War II. The Meiji government's effort to construct gender by defining women's proper role was completed in 1899 by the passage of a law mandating the establishment of at least one high school for girls in each prefecture. In the same year, the Ministry of Education's Order Number Twelve was issued, which forbade religious education at any school authorized by the government. This marked the first governmental attack on the Christian missionary girls' schools that proliferated in women's secondary education after 1870. It revealed the government's intention to appropriate ideal womanhood to industrialized, modern Japanese society based on the Rescript. The twin ideals of *ryosai kempo*, [Good Wife Wise Mother], became the guiding principle for government policy on women's education by the turn-of-the-century.

In the meantime, as Patricia R.Hill, historian of women's foreign missions noted, the women's foreign missionary movement had emerged "as the largest of the great nineteenth-century women's movements and as perhaps the largest nineteenth-century religious movement in America," encompassing a number of Protestant denominations.³⁹ The foreign missionary movement emerged from the mid-nineteenth century feminization of the churches, as increasing numbers of highly educated women found a sense of purpose in the revivals that followed the Second Great Awakening. The women turned their intelligence and sense of

Christian mission to the westward expansion of the United States, first within its continental bounds and then into new Pacific spheres of interest. Importantly, the women's foreign missionary movement provided Protestant women opportunities to extend feminine morality to the public domain under the disguise of fulfilling their womanly duties. The women's foreign missionary movement became the first mass movement of women, incorporating American Protestant women of various classes as women missionaries, as administrators of the sending board, and as donors and constituents. The missionary organizations set a precedent for subsequent mass movements of women, such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the women's club movement that proliferated nationwide in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

During the first decade of missionary entry to Japan, the pioneering women missionaries came as the wives of male missionaries. Single women missionaries did not arrive until 1869, when Mary A. Kidder came under the sponsorship of the Dutch Reformed Church to open a girls' school, Ferris Seminary in Yokohama in 1870. In response to an urgent appeal from the Japan Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Eliza Talcott and Julia E. Dudley arrived in Kobe in March 1873 only a month after the edict banning Christianity had been lifted as the first single women missionaries in Western Japan.

American Protestant missionaries almost dominated the institutions of secondary and higher education for women in Japan between 1868 and 1890. By 1894, fifty-two girls' schools had been opened by Protestant missionaries, which easily outnumbered the fourteen public (Japanese-directed) girls' schools.⁴⁰ In retrospect, the American missionaries adroitly filled the gap opened by the Meiji government's ambitions for women's education. The Meiji government provided primary education for women and established a women's normal school to train primary school teachers, but almost totally ignored other secondary education for women. The missionary-led girls' schools concentrated on secondary education, and a handful began a push for women's higher education between 1870 and 1900.

The American Board missionaries in Japan calculated that women's education was much more rewarding and important for their proselytizing purposes than were men's colleges. "The immediate benefits of a good Girl's School, such a school as this one in Kobe, would be six, eight or ten times as great as that of a college [for men] could be, for the Mission work, the Evangelization of Japan," wrote Wallace Taylor, an American Board missionary in Kyoto in August 1876. Working on the Board's plan to develop a men's Christian college in Kyoto, which

later became the Doshisha Theological Training School, Wallace Taylor suffered from Japanese governmental opposition; men's higher education was a field that the Japanese government itself was interested to develop and determined to control. "A [men's] Christian college however great and good its influence, is not a necessity in the mission work of Japan... but a Girl's School is a necessity, I may say in the mission work of Japan," continued Taylor.⁴¹

The first attempts for women's higher education in Japan appeared between 1882 and 1918 through the three channels of the government schools, private non-missionary schools and private missionary schools. The only governmental attempt for women's higher education during this period were the two normal schools of Tokyo Women's Normal School of 1874, which developed into Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School in 1886, and the Nara Women's Higher Normal School of 1908. The first private non-missionary schools for women's higher education were the following four, all in Tokyo: Tsuda College of 1900, Tokyo Women's Medical College of 1900, Women's College of Fine Arts of 1900 and Japan Women's University of 1901. All of the above schools were recognized by the government as *semmon gakko* [Specialized Schools] in 1903.

Scholars differ on how to distinguish whether the education offered at the various missionary schools were higher education and/or secondary education especially prior to the passage of the 1903 Act of Semmon Gakko, when the systematic education of women at a school setting itself was innovative.⁴² The school records of the higher departments of girls' schools suggest that five missionary-led schools offered education comparable to women's higher education in the U.S. before 1900. Ferris Seminary opened in Yokohama in 1870 by Mary E. Kidder of the Dutch Reformed Church started a higher department in 1882; it was forced to close the higher course twice before it was permanently abolished in 1919.⁴³ Julia Carrothers of the Presbyterian Mission opened *A6-ban Jogakko* [No. Six Girls' School] in 1870 which, after being merged into *Sakurai Jogakko*, probably brought along and established its higher department when it merged with *Shinei Jogakko* and became *Joshi Gakuin* in 1890.⁴⁴ Dora E. Schoonmaker of the Methodist Episcopal Mission opened *Joshi Shogakko* (later renamed *Aoyama Jogakuin*) [Aoyama Girls' School] in 1874, which developed its higher department after 1895.⁴⁵ Eliza Talcott and Julia E. Dudley of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions opened Kobe Home in 1875, which was renamed Kobe College in 1894. Finally *Kwassui Jogakuin* founded in 1879 by the Methodist Episcopal Mission in Nagasaki, started a two-year collegiate

course in 1887, which emulated the curriculum of Mount Holyoke, as Kobe College also did.⁴⁶

KOBE COLLEGE

Of the above five schools, the English Literature Department at *Aoyama Jogakuin* and Kobe College were the only schools recognized by the Japanese government in 1904 and 1909 respectively as *semmon gakko*, the highest governmental accreditation of collegiate status available in Japan at the time. Of these five early attempts, the first three schools in *Kanto* area [Tokyo, the capital and the surrounding area including Yokohama on the *Kanto* plain] were superseded in 1918 when Tokyo Woman's Christian University was founded as a collaborative effort of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Presbyterian Mission, the Methodist Episcopal Mission, and the Canadian Methodist Mission.

Of these earliest missionary attempts, this study examines the missionary enterprise of Kobe College, the only missionary women's college with an early governmental accreditation of *semmon gakko* in Western Japan that still exists today. Kobe College, founded by two American Board women missionaries and supported by the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior, developed in the years 1873 to 1927 as an amalgam of collaborative efforts of American women as missionaries, administrators, and constituents, and of Japanese women alumnae of the College.

As an effort to examine the impact of the missionary movement on both American and Japanese women, this book draws heavily on substantial primary sources kept both in the United States and Japan. Perhaps due to the Congregational tradition, a voluminous collection of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereafter ABCFM or American Board) papers and a somewhat incomplete set of woman's board papers are kept at Houghton Library, Harvard University. Kobe College Library in Japan also holds a rich collection of missionary leaflets, periodicals, records of college expansion, alumnae records and unpublished scrapbooks of leading American missionary women. The Kobe College collection is particularly fortunate, since no records were destroyed or lost in WWII or as a result of the devastating earthquake in 1995. Credit may be given also to the meticulous diligence of the women missionaries including Charlotte B.De Forest, the fifth President of Kobe College, in preserving these documents.

The study's time period is limited to 1873 to 1909, because these were the years in which the American women missionaries and the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior enjoyed relative freedom and autonomy

to develop Kobe College, the higher department in particular, as they wished. The year 1873 was the year the two single women missionaries, Eliza Talcott and Julia E. Dudley arrived at Kobe and began a small girls' school. The ending year of 1909 was chosen because in 1909, Kobe College was legally authorized by the Japanese government as a *semmon gakko* [specialized school]. This was the first governmental recognition that Kobe College obtained as an institution for *higher* education, thereby marking the end of missionary autonomy and the beginning of the Japanization of Kobe College as a collegiate institution.

This study explores how the American Protestant missionary movement dramatically changed the lives of both American and Japanese women in a cross-cultural case study of the developments at Kobe College. It explores the ways in which American women supported and carried out their work by developing new organizational autonomy through independent Woman's Boards and how they gained confidence as professional women. It examines how the American missionaries responded to shifting cultural landscape in Japan as Japan struggled to consolidate its national polity and anti-Christian sentiment intensified in the 1890s. It attempts to explore how women of both cultures connected the concepts of religion, education, gender, civilization and modernization and how these syntheses changed over time. The book suggests that the college expansion of Kobe College in 1894 was a product of the professional motivations of the first generation of college-educated missionaries strengthened by the Japanese demand for women's higher education as a vehicle for modernization. It also studies the ways in which Japanese women found creative ways to combine what they gained from missionary education with the traditional Japanese gender concept and contributed to the formation of the modern Japanese gender construction.

By examining the process and impact of the professionalization of the women missionaries at Kobe College, the book attempts to show that the professionalization reflected changes in both cultures of Japan and the United States. Women missionaries coming to Kobe College had higher education, more specialized training and more specific objectives across time, reflecting the transformation of American women's culture. At the same time, their professional identities and objectives were further shaped and clarified by the shifting demands of the Japanese women. In this realm, I intend to fill the following gaps of previous scholarship.

First this study intends to show that despite the pervasive imagery of American women missionaries and women administrators of the woman's boards as the most conservative Victorian women, the missionary women of Kobe College were in fact, also professionalized in

the same ways as women undertaking secular work, including settlement work and social work. They were not exempt from the transformation of women's culture at large in the 1880s and 1890s in the United States. The American women who developed Kobe College directly as missionaries or as administrators of the WBMI were, in fact, "feminists under the skin," achieving autonomy, under the guise of their "ideological cover," as Karen J. Blair has claimed in her study of nineteenth century American clubwomen.⁴⁷ Contrary to the traditional perception of missionary women as the most conservative guardians of women's sphere, missionaries exemplified female ambition. In fact, Emily A. White Smith, the second President of the WBMI (from 1871 to 1906), ardently supported women's suffrage.

On the question of professionalization of women's culture, my study supports Patricia R. Hill's argument that, despite the fact that past scholarship centered on women's secular work and missionary women went largely unnoticed, professionalization *did* take place in women's foreign missionary movement. My study will add a new dimension to Patricia R. Hill's thesis of the professionalization of the missionary ideology of the woman's boards in the United States by showing the professionalization of the women missionaries themselves in the field. Instead of analysis of the rhetoric of printed documents, I examine biographical data of women missionaries to explore how the emergence of professionalization related to a transition in the familial and educational backgrounds, and the recruitment patterns of missionary women. I also analyze missionary correspondence with the ABCFM and the WBMI to study what choices these women missionaries made in the founding and development of Kobe College and to test my hypothesis that these choices grew from professional aspirations.

Second, in contrast to the overwhelmingly one-sided scholarship that emphasizes the experiences of the American women missionaries, this study offers a more balanced survey of the missionary intent and the interests and responses of the Japanese women who attended Kobe College. For this purpose, the study relied on archival sources in both countries—the mission board records of the ABCFM, the WBMI, and the papers of the American women missionaries held primarily at Harvard University on the U.S. side, and the alumnae records of Kobe College in Japan.

In its cross-cultural approach, the study draws inspiration from Kohiyama's pioneering work. My study adds another dimension to Kohiyama's work by looking at a longer time period—from 1873 to 1909—which includes the Nationalizing era in Meiji Japan and the professionalization of the women missionaries. Kohiyama's work chiefly

covered the early Meiji Westernizing era of 1868 to 1889. Furthermore, the denomination of the mission board and the location of the work is different; my study examines the Congregational women of the American Board at Kobe College in Kobe of *Kansai* or Western Japan, whereas Kohiyama studied the Presbyterian Mission and the Dutch Reformed Church in Tokyo and Yokohama of *Kanto* or Eastern Japan and Hakodate of Hokkaido, the northern island in Japan. Characteristically, Kobe College was founded and developed solely by single women missionaries and these women were granted autonomy in the management of the school within the Japan Mission from the beginning, contrasting sharply to the experiences of a mix of married and single women missionaries of the Presbyterian mission, who struggled, according to Kohiyama, with a gendered hierarchy within the Japan mission. Thereby my study will attempt to uncover another experience of American women missionaries in Japan, suggesting the diversity of their experiences.

Third on the question of cultural dialogue, this study intends to follow Peggy Pascoe's approach and to look at the "intercultural relations" of the missionary women and the recipient culture. Both the development of the school and the life choices of the Kobe College alumnae will be studied in this light. Instead of the conventional approach of scholarship in the 1970s that foreign missionary ventures were *de facto* cultural imperialists in disguise and that the recipients in non-Christian cultures of the Orient were victims of ethnocentric missionaries, this study intends to uncover the resilience of both cultures as an outcome of cross-cultural dialogue. This study will examine the relation of American women missionaries' culture with Japanese women's culture and test the validity of American women missionaries' quest for authority based on Christian values in a non-Christian culture.

By exploring American women's culture outside of U.S. geographical boundaries and the implications of their cross-cultural relations, this study suggests a way to broaden the scope of the study of American culture.

To accomplish the purposes of this study, the material is organized in a chronological sequence, with the analytic questions pursued in each succeeding chapter. In [Chapter Two](#), *American Women at Home: The Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior and the American Women Missionaries*, I examine the ideology that shaped the formation of separate woman's boards under the male-dominated American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The chapter discusses what role the woman's boards played by comparing their goals with the goals of the American Board and by analyzing their changing relations with the American Board. The chapter then turns to the available biographical

data of the American women missionaries at Kobe College, 1873 to 1909, to uncover the emergence of professionalization among these women who seemed motivated primarily by religious faith. The chapter reveals the integration of professional and spiritual ambitions for the group of U.S. women.

Chapter Three, *Missionary Work Launched: Kobe Home to Kobe Girls' School, 1873–1882* studies the first decade of women's missionary work at Kobe College. The chapter covers the work of the founding missionaries to Virginia A. Clarkson who established the school as a school for primary and secondary education. The evangelical missionaries who began the girls' school contrasted sharply to the professional missionaries who emerged later by the early 1880s in both the goals of their missionary work and their perception of the difficulties of proselytizing Japanese women for the Christian faith. The chapter sets the stage for an historical transition in U.S. women's integration of education and Christian faith, as well as revealing the limits of Christianity's attraction in early Meiji Japan.

Chapter Four, *Missionary Aspiration for Higher Education: College-educated Missionaries' Struggle in Modernizing Japan, 1883–1909*, examines the emergence of professional women missionaries and their aspirations to develop the collegiate department at Kobe College before and during the drastic change in Japan's political climate from Westernization to increasingly conservative sentiment. The chapter explores how the missionaries try to accommodate both Japanese and American interests, yet struggle to protect mission control of their Kobe College enterprise.

Chapter Five, *Japanese Women's Identity and Kobe College*, explores the impact of mission school education on Japanese women. The Japanese students are divided into two groups, those of the first decade, which includes the first graduating class of 1882 and those who graduated between 1883 and 1909. Life portraits of eight Japanese women who attended the school during the first decade will be discussed to see how these women accepted and used the missionary education offered. The marriage patterns of the Kobe College graduates of the second and third decades reveal the negotiation between American women committed to higher education and Christianity and Japanese women seeking success in a modernizing era.

Chapter Six, *Epilogue: the Dissolution of Women's Authority: Kobe College, 1910–1927*, completes the story of Kobe College's founding decades by analyzing the dissolution of women's authority in missionary work at Kobe College and the decline of Western influence. The chapter

closes with an assessment of the outcomes of the cultural contact between American and Japanese women.

CHAPTER TWO

American Women at Home

The Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior and American Women Missionaries to Japan

The Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior, one of the three woman's boards affiliated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions assumed the responsibility of the missionary work at Kobe Home/Kobe Girls' School/Kobe College (hereafter Kobe College for the general term encompassing 1873 to 1909) in 1874, a year before Kobe Home was officially founded under the Japan Mission of the American Board.¹ Their mission work at Kobe College between 1874 and 1909 coincided the golden age of the WBMI. A total of thirty-seven American women missionaries were sent to Kobe College between 1873 and 1909, supported by either the WBMI or the Woman's Board of Missions (hereafter WBM). This chapter focuses on the American side of the missionary work at Kobe College: the WBMI and the lives of the Kobe College women missionaries in America before their departure for Japan.

The emergence of separate women's boards after the Civil War contributed significantly to the flowering of women's foreign missionary movement in the late nineteenth century. As historian Patricia R.Hill pointed out, women's foreign missionary movement emerged "as the largest of the great nineteenth century women's movement and as perhaps the largest nineteenth-century religious movement in America."² Although the women's boards developed as auxiliary bodies subordinate to the male boards, they gained unprecedented power to run their own business in foreign missionary work. The responsibilities they assumed were limited to three areas: recruiting women missionaries, disseminating missionary intelligence (information) to their women constituency and financially supporting women missionaries and their "work for women." The male parent board of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereafter American Board) controlled the rest of the foreign missionary work including the major decision-making of the selection of foreign fields, the overall missionary goals and policies, the allocation of personnel and monetary resources and the content of missionary work to be done at various foreign fields. Yet the subordination of the women's boards to the American Board was

a loosely-constructed one. It was more or less a “division of labor” along the gender lines, rooted in the ideology of domesticity or the “separate spheres” pervasive among middle-class white women in the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding the reservation of being under the auspices of the American Board, the separate women’s boards enabled women to exercise authority and train their organizational and political skills unknown before. Conscious or not, the formation of separate women’s boards in effect liberated the women, yet ironically within the women’s separate sphere of domesticity

The purpose of this chapter is threefold: first, to discuss the goals and purposes of the WBMI in comparison to that of the ABCFM, second, to discuss the professionalization of the women missionaries, revealed by familial, educational backgrounds and the recruitment/motivation patterns beginning in the mid-1880s, and finally to discuss how the professionalization of the women missionaries, the specialization of mission work and the professional leadership of Emily A. White Smith from 1871 to 1906 led the WBMI to increase its autonomy and power in relation to the ABCFM. Primarily ABCFM pursued the goal of pure evangelism and long sustained a traditional skepticism against knowledge and education. It was only after James Barton assumed the position of Foreign Secretary in the mid-1890s that the ABCFM reluctantly changed their policies to a more accommodating socially-oriented approach, admitting education as an effective means for evangelism. By contrast, for the WBMI, education of women was integrally linked to evangelism especially after Emily A. White Smith (conventionally called Mrs. Moses Smith in missionary correspondence) assumed the presidency in 1871; there-after the WBMI espoused education of women as its primary goal.

Beneath the mask of harmonious cooperation between the ABCFM and the WBMI, there existed a tension between the conservative males feeling threatened by women’s success in fund-raising and missionary work and the women officers of the WBMI who recognized the empowering effect and asked for more autonomy in foreign missionary work. The foreign missionary movement was what historian Patricia R. Hill claimed as “the largest” of mass woman’s movement in the late nineteenth century America with membership of “more than three million American women” by 1915.³ It was one of the few opportunities newly emerging for women after the Civil War of managing an independent movement. Together with the women’s club movement and the WCTU, they constituted the forerunners of women’s activism in social work during the Progressive Era. The professionalization of the woman’s boards administrators and the women missionaries and the expanding opportunities for college-

educated women in the United States, in the end, led to the merger of the three woman's boards including the WBMI with the ABCFM in 1927. In retrospect, this merger put an end to the significant role women played in mission work.

Historian Patricia R. Hill identified an ideological shift in the printed rhetoric of the leading missionary spokeswomen in the missionary magazines, textbooks and speeches given at the ecumenical conferences, which she analyzed as the manifestation of the professionalization of the administrators of the woman's boards. Hill made an illuminating argument that this professionalization which "demanded equality with men in the missionary enterprise" was inherently contradictory to the original justification of "a separate role for women in mission work," and that "eventually, this contradiction would undermine the entire structure of the woman's foreign mission movement, thereby substantially diminishing woman's power base within American Protestantism."⁴ She explained that this professionalization "gradually separated the leadership from the rank and file,"⁵ and led to the demise of woman's power and the merger of the woman's boards with the male board. Hill's important work was based on the missionary rhetoric of the prescriptive literature and focused on the tensions between the women leaders and the women rank and file within the women's boards. This study will support Hill's argument from another perspective, by focusing on the evolving tensions between the WBMI officials and the ABCFM, the male board, which demonstrated women's growing autonomy and a request for further independence, chiefly documented from the missionary correspondence between the WBMI officials and the ABCFM officers.

THE GOALS AND PURPOSES OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (ABCFM)

It is a historically well-known story that the idea of the American Board was born in 1806 in what came to be called as the "Haystack Prayer Meeting" where several students at Williams College took refuge from a storm in the fields near Williamstown, Massachusetts and, after prayer which turned out to be a legendary conversion experience, resolved to become America's first foreign missionaries.⁶ At the first annual meeting in Farmington Connecticut on September 5, 1810, a church-affiliated foreign mission society, ABCFM was organized based on these young men's commitment. It was an effort to organize the energies and forces of the revival of the Second Great Awakening into a permanent organization designed for evangelization. Perhaps Congregationalists

became the first American Protestant denomination to focus their evangelical energies to foreign missionary movement because Harvard had turned Unitarian and they were losing its dominating presence in New England and also because they could not compete with the evangelical missionary movement on the Western frontier and the South by the Methodists and Baptists.

In 1810 when the frontier line had expanded to the Rocky Mountains yet the land west of the Mississippi was just opening up for white settlement, the two areas of needs that these young students identified were the Indian tribes in the west and the people in India. Their ideas of foreign missions were probably linked with the idea of westward expansion. After the Board was officially chartered on June 20, 1812 when the Commonwealth of Massachusetts passed an Act of Incorporation, four types of fields for missionary work were defined at the Hartford meeting in September 1812: (a) people of ancient civilization (b) people of primitive culture (c) people of ancient Christian churches and (d) people of Islamic faith. The first missionaries had been sent out to Calcutta, India prior to this in February of the same year.⁷ The first idea to open a mission in Japan was born when William Ropes suggested to a little company that met in his home of Brookline, Massachusetts in 1827 for a prayer "for the conversion of the world" to give money for the country where the basket in the room came from, which happened to be Japan. A ladies' sewing society grew out of this meeting, which collected the sum of six hundred dollars. This became a little more than \$4,100 when the Mission in Japan was opened in 1869, more than forty years later as a mission of the first category.⁸

Due to its origin in evangelical revival, the primary purpose of the American Board was redemption through evangelism. It was organized to preach the Word, to translate and distribute the Bible, and to promote the study of the Bible. For this purpose, as Fred Field Goodsell, a historian of the American Board has concluded, the emphasis of missionary work eventually shifted toward the objective to "plant, nurture and aid in the growth of indigenous churches" in various parts of the world rather than only to preach the Gospel to those who did not know it.⁹ The mission policy of Rufus Anderson, the Foreign Secretary of the American Board at the time, in favor of self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating indigenous churches, known as Anderson's "three-self theory," illustrated Anderson's priority on evangelization, that is, planting indigenous churches over civilization or education as the primary mission goal. They envisioned that the native churches would complete the task as the agents of cultural change. Central to their tenet to perpetuate the Gospel worldwide was what Alan

Frederick Perry has identified as the ideological basis of the ABCFM, “the theological basis in Puritanism” and “the belief in American superiority.” The male officers of the American Board believed that the root of their superiority lay in their faith in Christianity, thereby legitimating their belief of the need to spread the Gospel. Years of missionary experience abroad, however, gradually led to a slow acceptance of education as an effective means for evangelism, overcoming a persistent skepticism against knowledge and education. Essential to this shift was a gradual modification to their belief in American superiority.¹⁰

Parallel to the reinterpretation of the belief in American superiority, the process of expanding the definition of evangelism took place slowly between the late nineteenth century and the years preceding World War I. The goal or purposes of ABCFM changed from pure evangelism to expanded notion of evangelism, which accepted education as an effective means. This cultural transformation was, however, a slow and painful process, which contrasted sharply with the women of WBMI who conceived of evangelism as integrally linked with education from the outset.

During N.G.Clark’s administration as the Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM between 1866 and 1894, the push for the training of a native ministry promoted the educational work of the missions. By 1885 when James L. Barton went to the Near East as a missionary, a new force was emerging in the United States, advocating the need to develop overseas educational institutions to produce leaders of native churches and communities. The primary goal was still preaching the Gospel, but it was agreed that the higher education was an absolutely necessary auxiliary to the Church. This was because it was widely acknowledged that intellectually trained Christian indigenous leaders were necessary to strengthen the Church. Thus education was recognized as part of an enlarged concept of evangelism.

Aside from the conservative belief that knowledge was detrimental to fostering faith, the financial burden to develop educational institutions in mission fields was probably another significant cause of opposition against education within the Board. James Barton, after assuming the position of the Foreign Secretary in 1894, designed a remedy to this problem. Convinced that higher education was absolutely essential for the success of the foreign missionary enterprise, James Barton decided to seek other sources of a new and independent constituency instead of the contributions taken in the churches. When Barton made a survey of the higher educational work of the Presbyterian Foreign Board and the American Board in 1903, he learned how irreplaceable its need was in the foreign field. Despite the unfavorable position of the Board prior to 1903,

twenty-six colleges had developed in twelve countries and as a whole these colleges offered the only higher educational privileges to a population of at least one hundred million people. Among these, sixteen collegiate institutions in nine countries were closely connected to the American Board, of which four were already under separate boards of trustees, including Doshisha University at Kyoto, Japan. Of the other twelve directly under the control of the Board, four were women's colleges: two in Turkey, one in Spain and Kobe College for Girls in Kobe, Japan.

James Barton systematized and standardized business strategies in raising funds. His scheme was to develop a two-tier structure of constituency, one based in the mission field and another in America for each mission college. The one in America was to be a separate, independent and incorporated board of trustees, which would be able to raise a broad constituency, including those who were not usually givers to evangelical missions. To solidify this scheme, he wanted to secure American Board approval for a financial campaign for these sixteen colleges with the cooperation of the Prudential Committee but without burdening the regular budget of the American Board. For this purpose the goal set was as follows:

- a) added annual income of \$5000 for each of these institutions; and
- b) an endowment raised of at least \$100,000 for each institution.¹¹

On December 31, 1907 the Prudential Committee approved the plan and appointed a subcommittee to work for securing the Higher Educational Work Endowment Fund with the goal of \$2,000,000 for the permanent endowment of the Collegiate and Theological institutions affiliated with ABCFM. By the end of 1911, the American Board had received \$1,112,000 towards the \$2,000,000 endowment. But the outbreak of the First World War necessitated the Higher Educational Work Endowment Fund to be laid aside. In the end this Fund did not attain its goal of two million dollars. It served however as the stabilizing force for the Board's higher educational interests, and James Barton succeeded in making higher education the major concern of the Board.¹²

I have no information about the men's colleges, but I venture to ask if they are not proportionately better equipped for their work than the women's colleges. I wrote the enclosed facts with the thought that you might be willing to place them before the Committee on the distribution of the income of the endowment fund, in the hope that a larger sum might be appropriated to the women's colleges this year,

wrote Emily A. White Smith to James L. Barton in July 1912 to request the American Board to appropriate funds from the Higher Educational Work Endowment Fund to the four women's colleges of the WBMI in Marash, Turkey; Kobe, Japan; Peking, China and Samokov, Bulgaria. She pressed, "I have no doubt you will be quite willing to urge a very generous portion of the fund to these colleges this year."¹³ Thereby, importantly in the case of Kobe College, the preparatory steps taken in transferring the control from the mission to secular management by the Japanese and the American constituency in the 1910s and 1920s prior to the merger of the WBMI to the ABCFM followed this scheme planned by James Barton.

Thus the goal of the ABCFM gradually shifted from pure evangelism to a more education-oriented approach. This solution was, in the end, beneficial to the future of foreign missionary colleges including Kobe College. To explain why they finally, though reluctantly, accepted the importance of women's higher education in their missionary interests, the efforts of the WBMI officials in the case of Kobe College should not be underestimated.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN MISSION WORK

The significant but modest revival in foreign missions in the 1870s can be attributed to the emergence of women and their effort to extend a new approach of applying Christianity for woman's work in missions overseas.¹⁴ Historian Karen J. Blair uses the concept of "Domestic Feminism," which was "the extension of woman's domestically nurtured traits into the public sphere," to explain the rise of the women's club movement in these years. "Domestic feminism," also inspired the first generation of seminary-educated American women in the 1860s and 1870s, who found the integrated concept of spreading Christianity through women's education an appealing cause and decided to be involved in the foreign mission movement as missionary, officer of the woman's boards or as woman constituent to support the movement financially and emotionally. More women were better educated because the period from the 1830s to 1870s was marked by a number of women's seminaries and colleges that opened in the Northeast.¹⁵ Parallel to the rise of women's club movement after 1868 due to the women who "were dissatisfied with home life and yearned for some outlet for their energies other than domesticity," as Karen J. Blair put it, women organized and joined the separate women's boards for foreign missions in the 1860s and 1870s, because "they wanted to do even more, to exert some influence on the world around them." The cause of spreading Christianity as well as women's education abroad was "a logical extension of the 'ideal lady's'

qualities.”¹⁶ Missionary work was another profession permitted as womanly in the post-Civil War era, along with teaching, medicine, nursing and writing.¹⁷ All of these occupations were legitimated by the concept of Domestic Feminism and often by specializing in the needs of women and children.

A number of separate woman’s boards for foreign missions were organized across denominations during and after the Civil War. The first board was the Woman’s Union Missionary Society of 1861, an interdenominational board led by Mrs. Thomas C. Doremus of New York. After the Civil War, a number of denominational boards were organized. The first two were Congregational, the WBM of Boston in January 1868 and the WBMI of Chicago in October of the same year. In 1869 the Methodist women organized their own boards. In 1870 the Presbyterians broke away from the WBM and the WBMI and organized boards of their own denomination. The Baptist Missionary Society, East and West was organized in 1871 and in 1872 the Woman’s Auxiliary to the Episcopal Board of Missions was founded. The Reformed Church organized a similar board of women in 1875. In that same year the Woman’s Board of Missions for the Pacific of ABCFM (hereafter WBMP) separated from WBMI and became one of the three Woman’s Boards connected to the ABCFM.

The formation of the three woman’s boards and their fund raising efforts contributed to the ABCFM’s advance during the last third of the 19th century. Women, with a traditional habit of giving, raised 15% of the ABCFM income in 1879 and increased the share to over 40% in 1899, the receipts of all three woman’s boards combined.¹⁸ In the case of the Midwest states of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota, which constituted the WBMI and the ABCFM in the Interior District, women manifested a substantial power in fund raising at a much earlier date. The WBMI receipts alone sent to the ABCFM in the Interior District comprised nearly 50% of the total donations from the states in the Interior District as early as 1875.¹⁹ In 1889, the total receipts from the American Board in the Interior District amounted to \$93,164.38 of which \$45,701.44 came from the WBMI.²⁰

In addition, the separate woman’s boards opened the possibility for increasing numbers of single women to seek a career as foreign missionaries. Although about half of the missionaries sent out by the Board were women before the women’s boards were formed, the majority were missionary wives because the ABCFM was hesitant to send single women missionaries abroad. For the men of ABCFM in the early nineteenth century, bound by the cultural belief that the American

Protestant single women had to be protected, sending them to overseas mission work in “heathen” lands was a dreadful idea. With little information of these lands, they thought the women missionaries might encounter a number of unexpected dangers. The pioneer single women missionaries were often widows, because as mission historian, R. Pierce Beaver put it, “somehow, . . . if the women were widows, it was all right to send them out single.”²¹ ABCFM believed that the frontier region of the North American West was much safer than overseas missions, although it was not necessarily true. Of the thirty-six single women missionaries sent out in 1848 before the Woman’s Boards were organized, twenty-four were sent to American Indian stations. The first single woman who was not a widow, sent overseas in 1823 by the ABCFM, was Betsy Stockton, a woman of color, suggesting the ABCFM’s racially biased view that the men intended to protect “white” single women. But the need for single women missionaries in foreign missions was growing because the missionary wives could not fulfill this role due to their familial and childcare responsibilities.

The increasing call for the single women missionaries had come from both the native women and the male American missionaries in the mission field. “Are there any *female men* among you to come and teach us?” Emily A. White Smith quoted a request from “a group of Chinese women” to an American missionary.²² Similarly, “a pathetic entreaty of a native woman in India was published in 1816, urging the women of Great Britain to come to India to teach the Gospel to women in India,” wrote Mrs. Elizabeth E. Humphrey.²³ Rev. David Abeel, a male missionary in China was convinced that “the slow progress of the missionary enterprise” in China was due to “the lack of work among the women.”²⁴ He returned in 1834 with an appeal to the Christian women in England and in the U.S. of the degraded situation of the women in China and India and the need to reach the native women for a success in evangelization. In result the “Society for Promoting Female Education in the East” was organized in London but it was not so successful in the United States. Mrs. Thomas A. Doremus, greatly moved by David Abeel’s appeal, had to wait until 1861 to organize the Woman’s Union Missionary Society in New York because of the opposition by Rufus Anderson, the Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM at the time.²⁵

“The most definite reason for organizing woman’s boards to do woman’s work for women,” Emily A. White Smith wrote, “was the existence of millions of women who were so secluded in Zenans [in India] and Harems [in Turkey] that only a Christian woman could reach them with the message of salvation.” The slogan “woman’s work for

women" was coined by "Mrs. Hough, wife of the pastor of the First Congregational Church of Jackson, Michigan."²⁶

Coincidentally, the rise of American women to embark on woman's work in foreign mission met the tide of modernization in Japan where Japanese men sooner or later became convinced of the need to elevate the status of their women to accomplish modernization. Japan was in the midst of an era of profound social and cultural change after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. The WBMI, fulfilling the request of the ABCFM, assumed the responsibility of Kobe College in 1874, a year prior to its formal beginning in 1875, and, with single women missionaries, made efforts to develop women's secondary and higher education. For the WBMI, as Grace T. Davis, a historian of the WBMI put it, Kobe College became "the center of our work in Japan."²⁷ In the end, their effort for women's secondary education met the Japanese societal needs where, a little more than two decades later, the governmental leaders found women's secondary education as necessary and issued legislation in 1899 that mandated every prefecture to establish women's high schools, this despite the fact that only a small minority of Japanese intellectuals appreciated the missionary aspiration for women's higher education during the Meiji era.

THE GOALS AND PURPOSES OF THE WOMAN'S BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE INTERIOR (WBMI)

The Congregational women were the first to organize separate women's societies for foreign missions that were denominational. They had understood the growing value in organizing a women's board but were also aware of the opposition of Rufus Anderson, the Foreign Secretary of ABCFM, to sending single women missionaries abroad and to the organizing of women's boards. Therefore, they waited until his resignation in 1866. Rev. N.G. Clark who succeeded Rufus Anderson as the foreign secretary understood that the organization of separate women's boards was inevitable and wanted to incorporate them into the American Board's program. Thus he supported both women's missionary societies and single women missionaries from the beginning of his office. Mrs. Albert Bowker of Charlestown, Massachusetts came to Secretary N.G. Clark, urging that "something be done to encourage women in missionary endeavor."²⁸ Based on N.G. Clark's suggestion of April 19, 1867, the Woman's Board of Missions was formed in January 1868 as an auxiliary to the American Board.

The Women's Board of Missions of the Interior was founded in October of the same year. The consensus was that regional boards would

be more effective in involving individual women personally and stimulate local interest in the missionary cause. Women in Chicago seized upon Secretary Clark's visit to Chicago on other business. A large number of women from different states were called together at the lecture room of the Second Presbyterian Church in Chicago on October 27, 1868 to listen to his speech, in which he set forth the need and the methods of woman's work for women abroad. N.G.Clark described his understanding of the advantage of organizing a separate woman's board as follows:

One may be brought into more immediate, closer personal relations to the work, by taking upon yourselves a part, and by entering into correspondence with the missionary ladies, in the field. Ladies will write to each other as they will not write to me, do the best I can to win their confidence. They are afraid of appearing in the Herald [*Missionary Herald*, the ABCFM magazine]...vivacity, the touching incidents, the free, hearty expression of their thoughts and feelings, joys and sorrows, they reserve for their own sex.²⁹

N.G.Clark considered it essential to make use of the woman's sphere to stimulate women's missionary interest further.

After N.G.Clark left, the Convention, with Mrs.S.C.Bartlett in the chair and Mrs.J.V.Farwell as Secretary, considered the question and voted to proceed with organizing the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior. WBMI was incorporated by the state of Illinois on November 13, 1873.³⁰

The first president, Mrs.S.C.Bartlett, illustrated the goal of WBMI at the beginning of its organization in November, 1868 as follows:

The work is one in which, more cordially perhaps than in any other, all Christians can unite. We would provide a channel through which may flow, from the large hearted women of the West, a tide of blessings to their sister in foreign lands, who have given up all for Christ, and to those degraded beings—still our sisters in God's sight—who are bound in the heavy chains of ignorance and heathenism.³¹

What characterized their rhetoric was the coexistence of two concepts: that the American women were superior to the native women in mission fields and that both could unite in sisterhood despite their cultural differences because they were women, which the Americans believed was universally the weaker gender in relation to men in each of their societies. The WBMI believed their superiority lay in Christianity and felt

they could elevate the less fortunate women by extending Christian education.

The inherent paradox to conceive the relation of American women to non-Christian women from two contradicting approaches of "difference" and "commonness" shaped the unique "feminine" approach to foreign missionary work, which was different from the male approach. The concept of the belief in the superiority of American women to non-Christian women stressed the "difference" between them; whereas the notion of sisterhood emphasized the "commonness" that they were both the "weaker" sex within their own societies. In contrast the male officers of the ABCFM viewed their relation to non-Christian men only from the sense of American and Anglo-Saxon superiority.

Based on the distinct feminine viewpoint, the women of the WBMI naturally saw little contradiction between the two goals of education and evangelism from the beginning. In their minds, education would elevate women through knowledge, and evangelism would elevate women through spiritual enlightenment. Hence education and evangelism were almost synonymous because both pursued the same goal. Thus WBMI's definition of evangelism contrasted sharply to ABCFM's definition of evangelism, which included persistent prejudice against knowledge and education. For the ABCFM it would require a great deal of struggle to redefine evangelism to accept education.

N.G.CLARK'S ROLE

N.G.Clark's assuming the position of the Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM in 1866 provided an impetus for the American Board to acknowledge the need to channel women's emerging collective power in the foreign mission movement. *Nathaniel George Clark Memorial*, a hagiographic account of N.G. Clark's biography probably compiled by the ABCFM, stated that most missionary secretaries of the American Board who were senior to N.G.Clark "looked upon with distrust" the proposal among the women of the churches to organize their own boards, and to cooperate more efficiently in the missionary work; at first N.G.Clark was "the only one among them all to favor the new enterprise." It recalled that Dr.Rufus Anderson, his predecessor, said to him, "The experiment must be tried; but I am glad you have to try it, and not I."³² N.G.Clark saw the movement as full of promise and supported the Woman's Boards from the outset. Later in his paper, "A Retrospect," he wrote that the formation of Woman's Boards in 1868 was "the most marked event of these earlier years." He wrote that prior to this "there was no general recognition of woman's essential part in the great missionary enterprise" and that "the

great work of this Board was only begun, and could never look to completion till woman was reached." So, when Congregational women in Boston conferred with the Foreign Secretary in reference to the formation of a women's society, he was "only too glad to welcome this new movement and to render every aid in his power to such women."³³

N.G.Clark was not the only male supporter of separate woman's boards within the American Board. In 1870 there was a male missionary of ABCFM stating the need for single women missionaries. Mr.Bushnell, a missionary at the Gaboon mission in Ethiopia spoke "what he supposed to be the duty of a Woman's Board of Missions" at the public meeting held in the evening of WBMI's second annual meeting in 1870:

In the matter of obtaining funds,...women can engage with good results. Another work for woman is to cultivate a missionary sentiment among the people and make it popular with the people. Another work is to encourage Christian mothers to consecrate their children in infancy to missionary labor...There is also a great sphere for woman and that is among the heathen on missionary grounds. Women have done much as missionaries among the heathen, and a great deal of all that has been done is due to women. In many places she can work better than men, because she can get closer access to the heathen families than men can.

He stressed that women were often much better adapted for missionary work than the men and that single ladies, in particular, could accomplish a great deal of good work. He appealed, "most of the missions are needing young ladies to go out among the heathen."³⁴

Secretary N.G.Clark's views on women was progressive compared with what Emily A.White Smith called "the extreme conservatism of public sentiment concerning women and their activities outside the home," which, at times, was "like a granite wall across the path."³⁵ "In 1869 a woman who spoke or offered prayer in a meeting where men were present was subjected to unpleasant criticism as an 'unwomanly woman,'" the offense of which was described as "speaking in mixed audiences." It was precisely because of such prejudice and fear among the conservative husbands against women's organized work that it was not easy to find a successor to Mrs.S.C.Bartlett, the first President of WBMI, who resigned just before the 1871 annual meeting. All the older wives of ministers refused the office because of the strong opposition of their husbands, and a young minister's wife, Emily A.White Smith, who had just moved to Chicago and whose husband was always supportive, assumed the post.³⁶ This "long-held cultural norm,"³⁷ Emily A.White

Smith thought, made it "impossible to create any enthusiasm or secure a broad intelligent vision of a work which could only be promoted in private," thereby limiting the scope of the work considerably.

A breakthrough took place in the 1873 annual meeting of the WBMI. The question was whether an evening session should be held by the WBMI as a part of the annual meeting. "Out of deference" to the above cultural sentiment that "it would be highly improper for a woman to preside or speak at a meeting where men were present," no evening session of the annual meeting had hitherto been held. Rev. Bierce, the pastor of the Racine church provided an opportunity to think about the issue by experimenting an evening session at *his* church where *he* "invited President Chapin of Beloit College to deliver an address" which was on a theme harmonious to, though not a part of, the program of the WBMI annual meeting.³⁸ A number of women delegates for the WBMI annual meeting enjoyed the evening program, and the majority thought the annual meeting would be more interesting and influential if it had evening sessions. At this point, however, President Chapin strongly endorsed the WBMI policy of "not admitting men" to their meetings.

On the following day when the afternoon session of the WBMI was to begin, four men including President Chapin and the Pastor "quietly entered" the room and listened to the session, to the astonishment of the WBMI women. Nobody including Emily A. White Smith, requested these men to leave the room, which had been customary until then. After the whole session was over, President Chapin came to the platform to "express his pleasure and approval of what he designated the 'fitting dignity' and value of the afternoon program." By this experience, he changed his mind that men might be admitted to the WBMI meetings.

The WBMI attempted to include an evening session during the next annual meeting at St. Louis where Emily A. White Smith would preside and a woman missionary returning from Mexico would be the chief speaker. "The officers who planned the meeting were called 'Suffragists'," but it did not meet as much criticism as the WBMI officers had feared. After that, evening sessions were held for all the annual meetings with the President of the WBMI presiding.³⁹

Besides this incident, "'some smaller incidents' occurred which were offensive to intelligent self-respecting women who had to listen to them," wrote Emily A. White Smith, resenting men's explicit sexism.

One was the Secretary who with tears running down his cheeks would talk in public meeting of the work the "dear ladies" were doing. We did not care to be called "dear ladies" and we never could understand the cause of his weeping. Another secretary often

took occasion to inform us that women were, or ought to be, like the vine that clings to the sturdy oak.⁴⁰

More than two decades later, in 1900, Helen Barret Montgomery, a chief missionary spokeswoman in the twentieth century, also “utterly rejected” the image of woman as “the vine clinging to the sturdy oak [man]” popularly used by the male officers of the ABCFM to persuade the women that woman’s work was subordinate and complementary to men’s work.⁴¹

Even in 1876 and 1877, eight years after the WBMI was organized, there still was a controversy on the issue of “the appearance of officers and missionaries of the WBMI upon church platforms and their public speaking.” The widespread fear among the Congregational men was that the missionary effort of women masked the woman’s suffrage and Women’s Rights movement and was “the chief danger to the true idea of womanhood.” For these men, the women missionaries’ “addressing mixed audiences” and the regular meetings of the WBMI, where “a lady presiding officer occupies the pulpit, reading the hymns,...calling out the ministers to pray...just like any other minister” was “the loss of our Puritan women.”⁴²

In January 1878, Secretary Clark felt the need to clarify the relations of the woman’s boards to ABCFM because of the mounting fear on the part of men of ABCFM that women were going beyond their purview. He praised the wise economy, the prudent management, the self-sacrificing devotion of women working for no pay and the personal relations cultivated between the Christian women at home and the missionaries whom they supported.⁴³ But he added that all the work of the Woman’s Boards in the foreign field was under the direction of the Prudential Committee of the American Board. Appropriations were made, missionaries appointed, sent out and located, and their labors supervised by the committee.

Secretary N.G.Clark had reiterated the division of labor between the ABCFM and the WBMI, which had first been officially stated in the Constitution of WBMI of 1873.

The Secretaries and Prudential Committee of ABCFM shall constitute an Advisory Board, and all missionary candidates shall be referred to them for approval before appointment by this Board. Missionaries supported by this Board will be expected to make frequent reports to its Corresponding Secretaries.⁴⁴

Thus in early years, WBMI did not have the discretion to select or send the missionaries out. WBMI only “adopted” their missionaries, which

meant that WBMI only assumed their support and was not wholly responsible for them.⁴⁵

During the first decade of 1868 to 1877, "even a small degree of systematic effort" to organize the women for a prayer meeting was difficult. Emily A. White Smith remembered that the greatest blow to the WBMI in those years was when Dr. F. E. Clark organized the first Christian Endeavor Society that became popular and took away the constituency of the young ladies missionary societies that the WBMI had begun with promising prospects in 1879. It was disastrous for the WBMI because the young ladies missionary societies were almost wiped out.⁴⁶

With such a conservative view dominating the male ABCFM officers, it was strategically essential for the WBMI to emphasize that they were not stepping into the men's sphere, but that they were merely extending their womanly attributes of spreading Christianity to women in non-Christian countries.

The reason why N. G. Clark supported the organization of the Woman's Boards may relate to his fond relationships with his mother and grandmother and his interest in women's education as his trusteeship at Mount Holyoke and Wellesley demonstrated, the latter of which he served as the president of the Board of Trustees from 1888 to 1893. *The Memorial* described that he owed the rich inheritance of faith, the major part of his spiritual being to these two women, which shaped his belief in the role of "Christian mother in each of those homes."⁴⁷ Upon resignation from the position of Foreign Secretary on October 11, 1894, N. G. Clark confessed that he tried "to enter into close personal, rather than merely official, relations" in correspondence with the missionaries, which suggested that he treated the women with the same respect he accorded male missionaries.⁴⁸

Another factor that may have been beneficial for Kobe College was the fact that N. G. Clark was especially devoted to the work of the Japan Mission. In addition to the formation of the Woman's Boards in 1868, the idea of the Japan mission was founded in his house the same year. Moreover, it was during N. G. Clark's tenure as the Foreign Secretary that the idea to develop a college department at Kobe College was first conceived by the women missionaries in 1885 and finally approved in 1890.⁴⁹

The story goes that "Niijima Jo, later founder and President of Doshisha, who had been an Amherst student at the time, came to his house on a vacation tramp for a night and in the morning after leading at family prayers, took the hand of Dr. Clark in both his, saying, 'You must send missionaries to my country.'"⁵⁰ It was six years later that Niijima made a plea before the Board at Rutland for a Christian college in Japan.

The above memorial of N.G.Clark described how much Japan, which was in the midst of difficult years in the mid-1890s, claimed the attention of N.G.Clark at the very end of his life:

In the last months of his life, his anxieties centered in the matters in Japan and Turkey. In his last audible prayer, he finished his prayer, as if summoning all his energies for a final effort with increasing emphasis on each word, "God-Bless—JAPAN!" He had asked for many times about the return of "the deputation" from Japan. But when Secretary Barton returned on New Years' Day of 1896 with the gift from Japan Mission, the beautiful robe, Dr. Clark could not recognize him. He died two days later on January 3, 1896.

WOMAN'S WORK FOR WOMEN

In contrast with the goals of the ABCFM, the officers of the WBMI understood evangelism as integrally linked with education from the beginning of their organization in 1868. Women, deprived of ordination, could not preside in churches as pastors. Thus the only role they could fulfill was to assist the male missionaries create native churches. Therefore, women formulated a mission theory that integrated education in evangelism. "Evangelism" was "a renewed life in Jesus Christ," yet it was "evangelism primarily through education," wrote Grace T.Davis, a historian of the WBMI. "It [WBMI] has always felt that only in this manner could a stable and dependable Christianity be built," continued Davis.⁵¹ For women, education, a means congenial to female ideal, was the method of primary importance among the three methods of education, medical work and woman's evangelistic work that Emily A. White Smith listed later in 1916.⁵² It was, in fact, from girls' boarding schools that the missionary work of the WBMI was started and remained its central focus for the first three decades.⁵³ From the inception of the WBMI and WBM, the principles of these woman's boards that Fred Field Goodsell summarized included the following as essential points:

Our work is for our own sex.

We will send single women only as our missionaries.

We will consider the establishment and support of girls' boarding schools as of primary importance.⁵⁴

The object of the WBMI was officially stated in the Constitution of the WBMI of 1878:

Article 1. The object of this Society is to engage the earnest, systematic co-operation of Christian women in sending out and

supporting Female Missionaries, Native Teachers and Bible-readers to heathen[sic] women, through the agency of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

The basic gender divisions of missionary work was that men were ordained as ministers, performed baptisms, marriages and were appointed as the pastors to the churches, whereas women were assigned the woman's work of spreading the Gospel to native women. For this purpose, women missionaries were permitted to teach, nurse or cure through education, medical work and direct evangelical work.

The issue of whether the women missionaries were actually "preaching the Gospel" despite the fact that they had never been ordained to preach remained a sensitive question. Emily A. White Smith quoted the response of Adele M. Fiede, a missionary at Bangkok and the author of *Pagoda Shadows*, who had been asked by the male officers of the ABCFM and queried if she had ever been ordained to preach. Adele M. Fiede replied, "No, I have never been ordained to preach, but I was fore-ordained."⁵⁵ Thereafter the exclusion of women missionaries from the work of ordained ministers became moot and "in some places women" were "doing the entire work of ordained missionaries, except administering the sacraments."⁵⁶

Education was central to the WBMI work from the beginning, and Kobe College was one of the most significant works of the WBMI. Boarding schools for girls were the central works of the WBMI in its founding days. Kobe Home was the first girls' boarding school to be founded under the WBMI in 1875. Besides Kobe Home, WBMI had assumed the responsibility of three boarding schools for girls that had already existed. Three of them including Kobe Home became women's colleges by 1905 and Emily A. White Smith assessed that the fourth school in Samokov, Bulgaria "ought to be classed with these colleges"⁵⁷ as well, indicating the inclination of the WBMI for women's colleges. Together with the Central Turkey College for Girls in Marash of 1882 and the North China Union Woman's College of 1905, Kobe College, named as a college in 1894, was one of the three central works of the WBMI. In addition, Kobe College was the most significant financial investment for the WBMI. In 1909 the Japan Mission had the largest share of \$21,657.66 or 26.3% of the total WBMI appropriations of \$62,393.56, divided among the fifteen missions in Turkey, Africa, India, China, Ceylon, Japan, Mexico and Micronesia, and Kobe College was the only collegiate institution within the WBMI-supported schools in Japan Mission.⁵⁸

The woman's work of the WBMI diversified as time progressed. The education work for women was broadened between 1886 to 1916 to

include evangelistic training, secondary education, orphan education, kindergarten education, the training of kindergartners, industrial training and neighborhood work.⁵⁹ The evangelical work proceeded side by side with the school work in the mission fields and in the case of Kobe, early evangelical women missionaries became torn with the dilemma between the two works, as we shall see in [Chapter Three](#). Of the three fields of education, medical work and evangelical work, medical work never succeeded in Japan. In China, however, where the medical work of the WBMI started in 1901 in Shaowu, China, it “continued to be one of the most effective agencies employed”⁶⁰ and during the fifth decade of 1908 to 1917, “new plants for the hospitals at Shaowu, Tehchow, Fenchow and Taiku greatly strengthened the medical work” of the WBMI.⁶¹ Teaching English turned out to be the most successful work in Japan for both men and women because it met the Japanese demand to assimilate Western learning after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Thus for women missionaries in Japan, girls’ education integrated with evangelism became the chief objective of their missionary work.

THE ROLE OF EMILY A. WHITE SMITH

Emily A. White Smith, the second president of the Woman’s Board of Missions of the Interior from 1871 to 1906, was instrumental in shaping the rationale of the WBMI and determined the direction of the work of the WBMI to developing women’s Christian colleges in foreign missions. For Emily A. White Smith, a Mount Holyoke graduate, Christianity and women’s higher education were integrally linked sources for woman’s advancement. “Yes. From early girlhood I have been interested in everything that tended to the advancement of woman, her higher education, wider sphere and better pay for service,” confessed Emily A. White Smith in 1896. “My castles in the air were most built about what women might, could and would or should do.”⁶²

Born in Elmira, New York on November 10, 1835, Emily A. White Smith was the youngest child of three born to Marcus Aurelius White, who was in lumber or an allied business, and Elizabeth McConnell. Her grandfather was a physician who was remembered as “so generous that he was always poor.” For health reasons, her parents migrated to Rockford, Illinois, in 1838, which was the “far west” at the time and “a real pioneer life” began. Her pioneering spirit continued throughout her life until her death at the age of 94. Brought up in a family where the chief “recreations were with books” and “history, travel, science, religion and to some extent poetry and romance, were themes of lively conversation,” Emily A. White Smith grew up in an intellectually

stimulating atmosphere where she formulated her interest toward the advancement of woman.

I remember that when a child of eleven years I eagerly read in the New York Tribune Margaret Fuller's Literary Criticism, as well as letters, from Italy, not so much for what they contained, for much of that I could not have understood, but because they were written by a woman, and she an American woman.⁶³

When Emily had completed the local school, she and her parents learned of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary because an "itinerant minister... accidentally left a paper" with an account of the school, Emily A. White Smith later confided to Charlotte B. DeForest. It became the wish of both Emily and her mother who "wanted to protect her from the attention of young men around" to go to Mount Holyoke, to which her father consented.⁶⁴ Emily A. White Smith appreciatively wrote in 1896:

My parents were in the front ranks of the period in interest in woman's place in society and in advocacy of equal education for sons and daughters... My parents selected Mt. Holyoke, then the highest institution for young women in this country, as my place of education.⁶⁵

It was at Mt. Holyoke that Emily A. White Smith's ideas about women were strengthened. "I gloried in Mary Lyon," confessed Emily A. White Smith. "She had overcome obstacles and succeeded in founding a school for girls which ranked very nearly as high as colleges for boys, and was even then a felt force into the ends of the earth."⁶⁶ For Emily A. White Smith, Mary Lyon "was better than a saint,"⁶⁷ and Mount Holyoke Seminary "was the first embodiment of the thought of collegiate education for woman in this land."

Mary Lyon believed that the women's higher education and Christianity were the two primary sources of women's empowerment. She taught her students that every woman should lead a "useful life" and find a "sense of purpose" in her life. With a thorough analysis, mission historian Dana L. Robert showed that the mission theory of women's missionary movement of the early nineteenth century was shaped by the consensus between Rufus Anderson's three-self theory and Mary Lyon's principle that the goal of education for women was to make women "useful."⁶⁸ "The founders of this institution expect that it will be a fountain of good to the world; that the cause of Christ will be advanced by the influences that go forth from it," said Mary Lyon in her inaugural speech of 1837.⁶⁹ Yet Mary Lyon was against any overt woman's rights

movement and advised against “anything odd” in “deviating from custom.”⁷⁰ Thus, as Lisa Natale Drakeman put it, “missionary objectives... constituted an ideological pillar of the Mount Holyoke community”⁷¹ because they did not violate the prescribed norms of womanhood; yet by the very use of extending womanly ideals to the native women in mission fields, mission work could quietly ignore artificial sex limitations and expand the possibilities of woman’s power.

Thus the career of the Presidency of the WBMI was congenial with the ideal role model of Mary Lyon for Emily A. White Smith. The spirit of Mary Lyon that Emily A. White Smith espoused became the source of her energy despite mounting difficulties to push for the development of Kobe College into an established collegiate institution. In addition, Emily A. White Smith went one step further than Mary Lyon in advocating women’s suffrage, which was considered to be going beyond the expected womanhood at the time.

As I studied the position of woman in this country and other countries I became convinced that Christianity was the great power that lifted woman into her rightful place. The Woman’s Suffrage movement interested me in a way; but alone it seemed to me wholly inadequate to accomplish the end sought. I believe in Woman’s Suffrage. I believe it is inevitable in this country as the result of Christian evolution.⁷²

Emily A. White Smith had a strong faith in women’s potential power and her primary concern was woman’s advancement. For this purpose, she saw that Christianity was the most effective means, more effective than woman’s suffrage without Christianity. In her view, woman’s suffrage was a part of the inevitable Christian evolution. With a farsighted view, she saw both the women’s foreign mission movement and the suffrage movement as a part of the mass women’s movement for social reform.

Emily A. White Smith articulated the four elements that constituted the logic of the WBMI. “The tendency of a woman’s life has long been toward a narrow circle,” wrote Emily A. White Smith:

She needed to have her ideals of life, and God’s purpose for her and through her broadened... She needed to realize that there are responsibilities, her very own, which she may not delegate to father or to husband. She needed the inspiration...that to her is given the power to change the face of nations.⁷³

Acknowledging that “few women had money in their own right or husbands who graciously gave their wives an allowance” and “very few

had been trained for leadership," Emily A. White Smith wrote that women "needed to be brought into personal touch with, and made a part of, the great forces God is using for the overturning and uplifting of the nations."⁷⁴ Smith clearly articulated woman's need to step outside of the confinement of the domestic sphere. She was convinced of the significance of the woman's work for foreign missions as an ideal outlet to channel the emerging energy of American women. For Emily A. White Smith, a devout Christian determined to emulate her ideal of Mary Lyon, the most legitimate purpose for women to extend her feminine influence beyond her home was the foreign mission cause to spread the Gospel worldwide to non-Christian women.

The second element was "the widening contrasts between Christian and unchristian peoples" as demonstrated by "the degradation of the mothers and the miseries of little children living under the Ethnic Religions" which Emily E. White Smith had called "the most practical Christian Evidence."⁷⁵ This contrast served as an effective evidence to illuminate the significance of Christianity to American women who were prospective missionaries or supporters.

The third element was the logic of "the importance of mothers" which Emily A. White Smith believed to be a universal truth. Women were important because whereas "'the boy is father of the man,' the woman is mother of the boy, and as such she determines the whole status of society, not in one generation only but in many." Thus "woman's place in society throughout the world is the paramount subject," continued Emily A. White Smith. Because "the mothers and the homes" were "the great central power of society" and "the power-house" that "mold and make and move society," the mothers were the essential place for the missionaries to begin the evangelizing and reform work.⁷⁶

"A work of such primary importance as hiding the leaven of the Gospel in the hearts of so many millions of mothers and children, can be done only by women."⁷⁷ Smith completed her rationale by this fourth element that only women could do the woman's work in foreign missions. By specializing their work to *women* of non-Christian countries, Emily A. White Smith effectively armed her rationale against any possible criticisms against woman's work in foreign missions. She reassured the conservative male ABCFM officers as well that the WBMI was sticking to the woman's sphere and not stepping into the man's sphere.

Emily White Smith became ill in her sophomore year, and took four years to graduate from Mt. Holyoke in 1858. After graduation, she taught for two years in the High School of Belvidere, Illinois. She married Rev. Moses Smith in 1860, who was then at Plainville, Connecticut. During the Civil War, he became the Chaplain of the Eighth Connecticut Volunteers

for two years. Emily A. White Smith accompanied him for a year on the field and worked in “the great hospitals at Fortress Monroe and Norfolk, Va.” She took care of the wounded soldiers “living in a tent from November to April in Virginia at the mouth of the Dismal Swamps canal,” reported *Oak Leaves*, a local newspaper of Oak Park, Illinois in 1926. Calling her a “Civil War Nurse, Radical of 1868, and Idol of Mission Societies,” the article continued that “she had prayed again and again beside the dying at a time when it was considered a unique act for a woman to utter an audible prayer.”⁷⁸

In sum, Emily White Smith’s character as a professional leader of the WBMI was formulated by an amalgam of various forces. The progressive ideas of her parents who believed in equal education for boys and girls and the intellectually stimulating atmosphere full of books in vast array of interests provided her with an ideal environment to freely nurture her ideas about women’s advancement. Her experience of pioneer life on the frontier during her early childhood may have provided her with the pioneer spirit and courage to challenge new possibilities. The education at Mount Holyoke furnished her with a concrete sense of purpose, to follow the ideals of Mary Lyon. Her experience at the front during the Civil War, where “she organized the women nurses, then a new force, in lessening the horrors of war”⁷⁹ probably trained her managerial skills and suggested the possibilities of how women might organize and extend their feminine ideals in the public space outside of their homes for the benefit of less fortunate people. What convinced her that “Christianity was the great power that lifted woman into her rightful place,” however, was the contrasting conditions of women in the United States and other countries “under the Ethnic religions.” This contrast, which she interpreted as “Christian Evidence” confirmed her belief that it was the American Christian women’s duty to extend Christianity to non-Christian women who she believed were in degraded conditions of almost slavery due to lack of Christianity.

When the Civil War ended, her husband became a pastor of Leavitt St. Congregational Church in Chicago. Emily A. White Smith became socially active in various activities she felt as of a “congenial sphere.” She worked in relief work after the great fire in Chicago, which broke out a week after she accepted the presidency of the WBMI in 1871. The following year she became the chairman of the Committee that secured the passage by the Illinois legislature of a bill prohibiting the licensing of houses of prostitution that was imminent in Chicago. Then she organized the first Woman’s Christian Temperance Union of Chicago and was its president until she left the city for Michigan in 1874.⁸⁰ She was responsible for writing the constitution of the WCTU.

The Smiths moved to Michigan because her husband was appointed as pastor first at Jackson and then in Detroit, which totaled ten years' absence from Chicago. It was during their residence in Jackson, Michigan that Emily A. White Smith experienced the trauma of having her only son, Clayton, die in infancy at six months. She was forty years old at the time. Postponing children until the age of forty may perhaps reflect how professionalized she was. She was not childless, however. She had adopted her brother's three orphan children, two nieces and a nephew, before assuming the Presidency of the WBMI, and raised them as her own children.

Her move to Michigan also prompted her decision to resign from the WCTU, the Presidency to which her friend, Frances Willard, succeeded. "The prominent part she took in the beginnings of WCTU" that Susan A. Searle, (a missionary to Kobe College from 1883 to 1929 who also served as its President,) never had forgotten was that "she [Emily A. White Smith] had much to do in discovering Frances E. Willard and securing her election to the presidency of that society."⁸¹ She chose to keep the Presidency of the WBMI instead, because the WCTU was "a more popular cause" and "others could be more readily enlisted in its behalf," Mrs. Lyman Baird later wrote in 1898.⁸²

In 1888 Emily A. White Smith became a delegate from the WBMI to the World's Missionary conference in London, which consisted of 1300 delegates from the nations around the world. In 1890, she and Mrs. E. W. Fisk of Chicago were sent to Washington as a delegation of the woman's boards of various denominations to submit to President Harrison, Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of both houses of Congress "an earnest request for government action preventing the exportation of alcoholic liquors to uncivilized peoples." Their efforts were successful, Emily A. White Smith wrote, because the delegates from the United States to the Brussels Conference of 1890 were instructed to "advocate the most extreme measures...looking to the limitation of the liquor traffic...and its complete prevention" at "the interior tribes" which were not yet its victims.⁸³

Emily A. White Smith became one of the national spokeswomen of woman's foreign mission work. She presented two papers entitled "The Pilgrim Mothers," and "Woman under the Ethnic Religions" in the Congregational Congress and the Congress of Missions of the Columbian Exposition of 1893. In 1900 she again became delegate to World's Missionary Conference in New York and presented a paper entitled, "The Place of Woman's Boards of Missions Among Redemptive Forces." It was about this time that in family life, however, she suffered a hardship. Her

husband “was totally blind” for the last ten years of his life “as the result of sunstroke while in the army.”⁸⁴ He died on November 30, 1904.

Emily A. White Smith was especially attached to Mount Holyoke, her alma mater. A devoted alumna, she became one of the founders and the first President of the National Mount Holyoke Association from its organization in 1872 to 1899, and the first woman Trustee of Mt. Holyoke College from 1899 to 1905. Emily A. White Smith believed in the power of the Mount Holyoke alumnae which “created new ideals, ... awakened holy ambitions,” and became “a revolutionizing force in society.” She proudly quoted Dr. Tyler’s words in 1896 that they “would be the entering wedge to woman’s preaching, practicing, lecturing, voting, ruling, buying, selling, doing everything which men do” and added that they did “sometimes better than men.” In Emily A. White Smith’s view, the Mount Holyoke alumnae’s strength as a force lay in their religious power that “they proselytized better than they knew” and became “great forerunners who prepared the way, created the public sentiment which demanded the founding of other woman’s colleges.”⁸⁵ Such a strong conviction explains why she was so heavily devoted to develop and expand Kobe College as an institution of Christian education for women.

“My special work is Kobe College, Japan,” wrote Emily A. White Smith to *Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly* in 1926, “which has a Mount Holyoke spirit and purpose.”⁸⁶ After being widowed in November of 1904, one of the main focuses of her attention was the development of Kobe College. She became the Chairman of the Woman’s Board of Missions of the Interior Deputation to Japan and China in 1906, which came to Kobe College to discuss the removal of the college department. During this trip, Emily A. White Smith suggested the Kobe College missionaries organize a separate board of trustees where she planned for a gradual transfer of management from mission control. During her voyage to Japan and China, she wrote her resignation of the Presidency of the WBMI, which was accepted in March or April 1906.

Emily A. White Smith was influential in organizing both the Kobe College Corporation in Chicago and the Kobe College Foundation in Japan to develop Kobe College into a permanent institution with an endowment. She became the Charter member and director of Kobe College Corporation in 1920 of which she continued to be a member until her death. Smith wrote confidently on January 15, 1926, “Kobe College will become a world power for righteousness.”⁸⁷ She devoted herself to raise the first \$150,000 for the first stage of the Building Fund Campaign, which was collected from the Congregational women in the Middle West and presented in a ceremony on November 4, 1926.⁸⁸ On July 1, 1929, only three months before her death on October 10, the Kobe College

Corporation completed the goal of \$700,000 of the Building Fund Campaign.⁸⁹ For the new campus, the Americans of the Kobe College Corporation contributed the buildings and the Japanese of the Kobe College Alumnae Association provided the land. The site for the new campus in Okadayama was purchased in March 1930. The Emily White Smith Auditorium was erected on this campus in 1933 as a tribute to her fifty-five year dedication to promote Kobe College in America. The new campus was formally dedicated on April 18, 1934.⁹⁰

Emily A. White Smith was personally devoted to Kobe College and the missionaries who worked there. She donated the Clayton Fund of \$1,000.00 in 1916, which she named in memory of her late son, to Kobe College President Charlotte B. DeForest to be used for any expense necessary for the expansion of Kobe College. She forbade DeForest to report it "to the WBMI or the Mission or your Board of Managers or to anyone," saying, "I would be glad to have it used for any way it would conserve to health and strength. Use it for stenographic help in your office, for a change and rest. It is not necessary for *anyone* to know you have it...The money is yours to use for the College and for *yourself*."⁹¹ Such personal support by Emily A. White Smith to Charlotte B. DeForest exemplified the strength of women's bonds and culture because of their gender.

WBMI IN ACTION

It should be remembered that the Woman's Boards preceded and prepared the way for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Woman's Home Missionary organizations and the large philanthropic work done by Women's Clubs,

wrote Emily A. White Smith in 1916.⁹² As Emily A. White Smith herself acknowledged, the WBMI as well as the other two Woman's Boards were fore-runners to the WCTU or the women's club movement in the late nineteenth century in incorporating massive numbers of Christian women across classes into the foreign mission movement through the local auxiliaries.

Christianity, Emily A. White Smith believed, was a rationale that could convince an American Christian woman of every class to participate in the social reform of foreign cultures. Even though Emily A. White Smith herself was a professional making use of her education to change the world, her use of religion in the foreground to legitimate women's active participation in foreign mission work turned out to be an effective vehicle to reach all classes of American Christian women in the Midwest, regardless of their educational background.

The women of the WBMI primarily employed four strategies in foreign mission work, utilizing their womanly attributes: access to the community network of women, the promotion of missionary interest among children; enhancement of missionary interest among women by creating what the WBMI called the “sense of immediateness,” which was an effort to link direct interests between the laywoman supporters and the woman missionaries in the foreign field; and finally the womanly idea to allow small donations so that women with small means could donate. This strategy, in the end, enabled women across classes to take part and expanded the constituency who supported the foreign missionary movement.

The women of the WBMI had access to local community networks through churches and the women’s seminaries. Such power of women’s networks increased the number of local auxiliaries at a much greater speed than the ABCFM could. Membership in the auxiliaries was open to anyone paying the weekly dues. The object of the auxiliary was “the promotion of a missionary spirit and the collection of money to send the Gospel to heathen women.”⁹³ The auxiliaries created in churches and women’s seminaries were listed under the State Associations that were united under the WBMI.⁹⁴ The relationship of the WBMI, the State Associations and the auxiliaries was efficiently centralized yet flexible.

At first auxiliaries were created through the church network under the State Associations. A committee was appointed in February 1871 to invite resident pastors in each state to present WBMI’s claims of the work for women at the next meeting of his Association. For this purpose women’s meetings were arranged in several states. As a result, the auxiliaries increased steadily from 100 with 29 new additions in 1870 to 166 in April 1872 with 90 new additions. This is despite the fact that 24 broke away because the Presbyterians broke away from the board. Within the following six months, 42 were newly organized raising the total to 208.⁹⁵

The next target for expansion was at the women’s seminaries. In 1873 the WBMI had “special hope in the societies in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin” where “some of the leading seminaries for young ladies” were located.⁹⁶ The auxiliary of Rockford Seminary, for example, was enlisted by 1876.⁹⁷

Through these efforts, “nine Branches had been organized and 669 auxiliaries of which 150 were children’s mission bands,” by the end of the first decade in 1877.⁹⁸ At the end of thirty years there were 2,692 societies, including all the junior and children’s organizations.

The Executive Committee of the WBMI headed the centralized system of the State Associations and the auxiliaries. In 1878 the officers of the Executive Committee consisted of one President, Vice Presidents, State

Secretaries, a Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretaries, a Treasurer, and twelve Managers." The 1880 Constitution of the WBMI stated that the membership of WBMI was open to any woman who contributed one dollar a year or who was a member of an Auxiliary Society. Life membership was open to any one who contributed twenty-five dollars within two years.¹⁰⁰

To avoid loss of control due to rapid expansion in the number of auxiliaries, much effort was made to consolidate their relationship by the closest communication possible.¹⁰¹ The centralized relationship between individual societies with the central office of WBMI was achieved through reports, meetings and other means of continual communication. The reports of the local auxiliaries were presented at the annual meetings of the State Branches, which fed into the Branch reports at the annual meetings of the WBMI. The Executive Committee of WBMI sent letters frequently to the local auxiliaries. The officers of the Executive Committee of the Chicago office, including the President, traveled extensively to attend as many State Branch meetings as possible to stimulate the interest of the local constituency. The regular meetings of the WBMI were conducted democratically. The constitution amended in 1877 entitled two votes to each State Branch and one or more votes to each auxiliary depending upon the number of members and the amount of contribution.¹⁰²

Women extended their feminine expertise in motherhood to mission work by specializing in the education of children. They focused on the education of the next generation, especially their daughters, for missionary stewardship and future missionaries. By cultivating mission interests among the children, they were especially successful in organizing young ladies' auxiliaries and children's bands.

Children's Mission Circles, children's societies or mission bands were designed for children, some for boys only or girls only, and others for both boys and girls. They were sometimes projected as a means of interesting and informing parents through the children, which met with a relative success. Mission Circles offered a variety of activities. Some met to work in preparation for the annual fair. Other girls met two Saturday afternoons a month as a sewing-circle. On each alternate Sabbath afternoon, both boys and girls gathered in the church chapel with a young lady leader for a missionary meeting. Some circles were composed of Sunday School classes. To stimulate the interest of young girls, the mission-chest was present to place weekly offerings. Young Ladies' Societies and Young People's Societies were organized to absorb the youth. The departments of children's work and young people's work within the WBMI managed these societies.¹⁰³

Publication was another important work as a means of education and diffusion of information to the American women constituents. It also gave the women an unprecedented opportunity for writing, organizing and management, which built women's competence, confidence and shared power. WBMI was given a space in "Missionary Papers" of the ABCFM and twelve pages in *Life and Light*, a quarterly published by the WBM. They also published their own leaflet "Mission Studies." The "Advance Column" was issued as records of the Friday meetings of the WBMI. Besides these regularly issued periodicals, leaflets and manuscript papers on special topics were issued for sale. These special papers generally focused on topics in a specific mission field and the role of women in missionary work.¹⁰⁴ In June 1870 a special section for children entitled "Echoes from Life and Light" in *Life and Light* separated from the magazine and was circulated at Sunday Schools. In 1876 four pages for a "Young People's Department" was added to *Life and Light*.¹⁰⁵ When children's stories were still not so common, the missionary stories for children were probably successful. The story of *Morning Star*, for example, the wrecked vessel, became a popular story for children. Leaflets on special subjects for children were also issued; for instance among the new leaflets in the departments of young people's and children's work in 1896 were titles such as "Children's Lessons on Japan" and "Child Life in Japan."¹⁰⁶

The WBMI successfully promoted the missionaries to women in the United States by creating a sense of "immediateness" with the women missionaries in the foreign field that developed into a personal attachment between the two. By encouraging closer personal relations with the missionaries whom they supported, the missionary objective of the efforts of local auxiliaries became specific and definite. "We should feel immediately and directly responsible of the missionary work abroad," the Ohio Branch reported in their annual meeting in 1878. "Let us think of our foreign missionaries as standing in our places and doing our work and let it be our glad privilege to sustain them in every possible way."

Cherishing the "sense of immediateness," the WBMI sought to assign the support of every woman missionary to a specific auxiliary. The auxiliary was to raise the necessary funds for their assigned missionary and the missionary was obliged to write to the auxiliary and give talks when she returned to the U.S. on furlough. The vivid accounts of the returned missionaries were believed to stimulate further missionary interest most effectively. For example, the known data of the auxiliaries supporting Kobe College missionaries sent by the WBMI were as follows:

<u>name of the missionary</u>	<u>year of arrival</u>	<u>supporting auxiliary</u>
Martha J. Barrows	1876	St. Paul, Minneapolis; Austin, Minn
Susan A. Searle	1883	New First Church, Chicago
Gertrude Cozad	1888	Ohio
Charlotte B. DeForest	1903	First Church, Kansas City, Mo.
Grace H. Stowe	1908	Michigan
Mary E. Stowe	1908	Iowa
Rosamond C. Bates	1909	Ohio Y.L.
Estelle L. Coe	1911	Ohio ¹⁰⁷

Such direct contact with the women missionaries in the field created a sense of worth and a sense that the individual local churches were actually taking part in their work, thereby enhancing the missionary interest of the women at home.

The WBMI managed to reach a large number of women of every class expanded into one of the massive women's movement during the late nineteenth century. Christian women in the U.S. traditionally had the habit of giving regardless of the class from which they came. The first legacy received by the American Board in the 1810s, in fact, came from Sally Thomas, a domestic servant at Cornish, New Hampshire who donated her lifetime savings of \$500.¹⁰⁸ As R. Pierce Beaver, a missionary historian, wrote, "tiny...gifts from hired girls in farmhouses throughout the land" were collected by the "traveling agents of the Foreign Mission Boards."¹⁰⁹ The WBMI managed to exploit this tradition by innovating the gift-giving system so that more money could be solicited from wider classes of women besides the regular weekly offerings of a few cents per woman. A special meeting of the Thank-offering service was started at the auxiliaries by the Board in 1883 so that larger gifts than the ordinary gifts could be secured. For this purpose, the WBMI prepared a leaflet of appeal to be distributed to individuals. The envelope-system, which encouraged women to donate whatever amount was possible for them in envelopes, was started at an auxiliary in Jackson, Michigan and became an efficient method of business. The privacy of the amount of donation and the ease of giving were congenial to women with small means, and thus the habit of systematic giving among the women constituents was cultivated. It also reduced the labor of the treasurers of the auxiliaries.

Despite these advantages to the WBMI women, however, they were accorded lower status than men in monetary returns. The WBMI officials devoted themselves to the administration of the board without any monetary compensation, and the women missionaries at Kobe College were paid less than half the salary of male missionaries of the ABCFM in Japan. Similar to the fact that women teachers proliferated after the Civil War because of their low pay, the ABCFM was willing to accept separate woman's boards and the women missionaries because they were a cheap labor force.

Such economic sacrifice of the women of the WBMI and the women missionaries contributed significantly to enlarge the treasury of the ABCFM. The fact that the officials of the WBMI worked for no pay brought the Woman's Boards' administrative costs to an incredibly low level. Secretary N.G.Clark of ABCFM wrote in 1878 that the funds received from the three women's boards during nearly ten years from the beginning of the women's boards to Oct.17, 1877 was \$438,327.23 of which home expenses required less than \$9,000, less than two percent of the receipts.¹¹⁰ At Kobe College, the Japan Mission requested in 1884 the total salary of \$650 including \$550 salary, \$75 teacher's salary and \$25 travel and health expenses for each woman missionary, who were Eliza Talcott, Julia Dudley, Martha J.Barrows, Emily M. Brown, and Susan A.Searle; whereas for Rev. Davis, a married man with family, the Japan Mission requested an estimate of \$2,180, including \$1,500 for salary, \$100 as teachers' salary, \$80 for health, travel and \$500 for rents and taxes.¹¹¹ In a 1909 estimate, Rev. C.M.Warren with two children was to earn \$1,965 including \$1,350 salary, \$200 children's allowances, \$150 teachers salary, \$150 for house, \$60 for tax and \$45 for medical expenses. The estimates for the women missionaries, on the other hand, varied depending upon special grants for house, households and tax. Mary A.Holbrook's estimate for 1909 was \$650, Charlotte B.DeForest was \$730 and Susan A. Searle was \$1,440 in total with a special house and tax grant of \$610.¹¹² The discrepancy between the salary of a male missionary and a single woman missionary narrowed in twenty-five years. Still, the fact that a male missionary of the same mission earned more than twice the salary of a single woman missionary demonstrated how much women were discriminated against within the American Board. Despite such discrimination, however, the annual salary of \$650 to \$750 was substantially more than subsistence level, compared with the annual salary of a Japanese Bible woman, who was paid by the American Board as a Japanese helper to diffuse the teachings of the Bible to the Japanese public, at about \$72 to \$90 in 1909,¹¹³ less than one-seventh of that of an American woman missionary. Such salaries of the American women

missionaries enabled them to afford quasi-Western living standards in the Japanese environment.

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF WOMEN MISSIONARIES AT KOBE COLLEGE

Women missionaries of the Japan Mission of the American Board were granted an early franchise within the Japan Mission on issues pertaining to their own woman's work in 1874, a year prior to the official opening of Kobe Home as a school under the American Board in 1875: "In all questions directly affecting their work, the single ladies connected with the mission shall be allowed to vote," the Constitution of the Japan Mission was amended on May 27, 1874.¹¹⁴ This was significantly early compared with other denominations in Japan such as the Presbyterian Missions in Japan, for instance, which did not grant the women missionaries any vote prior to the 1890s.¹¹⁵ Even compared with other missions within the American Board, this was exceptionally early as the women missionaries' franchise question limited to their own work came up only in the annual meeting of the American Board in 1893.

"May I say that I listened with astonishment to the proposal that on mission rules the single women should vote on all questions pertaining to their own work," Emily M. Brown, a woman missionary at Kobe College who became the third principal wrote in 1893,

We have always done that in Japan, and last summer our Mission decided that all women, both married and single, should vote on all questions... The gentlemen of our Mission have always met us more than halfway. With one or two possible exceptions, I think all the women of our Mission have had all the authority and responsibility and no more interference than they desired. I would like to say in regard to my own work, that not a few of the men in the Mission have spent many hours of anxious thought and planning for Kobe School, nor has even an attempt ever been made to force any measure upon us contrary to our wishes.¹¹⁶

In the summer of 1893, the Japan Mission decided to fully franchise all women missionaries, including both the single and the married, on all issues, not restricted to issues on the work of women.¹¹⁷

The fact that such independence and autonomy were granted to the women missionaries a year before officially opening the boarding school of Kobe Home enabled them to develop Kobe Home as they wished from the very beginning. The early franchise probably helped the women

missionaries develop managerial skills, competence and confidence in their own work.

These were further strengthened when the nature of the women missionaries changed over time. Because the school was under complete control of the women missionaries, women could conceive and push forward the idea to develop the school into a women's college despite hesitant American Board and the growing antagonism against Christianity and Westernization among the Japanese during the 1890s.

There was a transition in the nature of the women missionaries sent to Kobe College between 1873 and 1909. By the early 1880s, professionalization of the missionaries took place, creating a demarcation point, dividing the nature of the missionaries roughly as pre-professionals in the 1870s to early 1880s and the professionals after the early 1880s.

There was a clear dichotomy in the educational background, the age of missionary assignment and the motivation/recruitment patterns between these two generations of Kobe College missionaries. Of the thirty-seven women missionaries sent to Kobe College between 1873 and 1909, the educational backgrounds are known for twenty-one of them. The highest educational attainment of the four "pre-professionals" of the 1870s was either seminaries or normal schools whereas fifteen out of the seventeen known "professionals" of the 1880s to the 1900s were college-educated. Three out of four "pre-professionals," whose ages of assignment were known, had commenced their missionary service in their thirties, when their marriage prospects had grown dim, whereas ten out of the eleven "professionals" were in their twenties, generally volunteering right after college or after several years of teaching experience. For them, missionary work was a method to make use of their education, not an alternative to low marriage prospects.

The difference in age of these two cohorts relates to the shift in their recruitment patterns. Three out of four "pre-professionals" were recruited through family ties as offspring of missionary relatives or ancestors. In addition those three had experienced parental deaths, which perhaps unleashed their desire to volunteer for missionary service because their attachment to their homeland was diminished. By contrast, of the eleven "professionals," nine were recruited through college ties, a method that was later succeeded by recruitment through the Student Volunteer Movement after the 1900s.

The social origins of the missionaries, as represented by their fathers' occupations, reveals a more subtle transition. The fathers' work of the three "pre-professionals" whose biographical data were known, were a home missionary-teacher, a farmer and a woolen manufacturer. The

fathers of the “professionals” of the 1880s through the 1900s were also farmers, small businessmen, and missionary-professors. Within the period of the 1880s to the 1900s, however, the limited data suggested that there was a transition from farmers in the 1880s to missionaries (ministers)/professors dominating the known fathers’ occupations after the 1890s, an implication that the missionaries were increasingly created from the families of missionary intellectuals over time.¹¹⁸ This transition suggests how the missionary occupation became professionalized and specialized so that they were fed by the special cohorts of missionary intellectuals.

Among the thirty-seven missionaries sent to Kobe College between 1873 and 1909, the social origins and recruitment patterns of Eliza Talcott, Julia Dudley and Martha J.Barrows will be briefly discussed as examples of the pre-professional women missionaries of the 1870s. Of the professional women missionaries after the 1880s, Emily M.Brown and Susan A.Searle will be introduced to represent the 1880s, Mary Anna Holbrook for the 1890s and Olive S.Hoyt and Charlotte B.DeForest to represent the 1900s. These women were chosen because of their relatively long tenures of more than nine years and the availability of biographical sources.

The three pre-professional missionaries, Eliza Talcott, Julia Dudley and Martha J.Barrows all came from religious families and followed their family business to volunteer for foreign missionary work. The nature of these missionaries was pre-professional compared with those after the mid-1880s on two counts: they were not college-educated and their motivation patterns were following family traditions. Eliza Talcott, who became one of the founders of Kobe College, was born on May 22, 1836, as the second of the four or five sisters at the Talcott ancestral home in Vernon, Connecticut.¹¹⁹ She came from a religious family where her great-grandfather and grandfather were deacons. Her father was a woolen manufacturer who founded the village of Rockville, Connecticut not far from Hartford. He died in 1847 when she was only eleven years old. The other Talcotts were prominent enough in the local interests that a neighboring village was called Talcottville.

Talcott’s home was a center of local religious activities where visiting clergymen and missionaries gathered for entertainment and Mothers’ meetings were regularly held. Growing up in such a religious environment, Eliza Talcott naturally went to the church and participated in its activities. She was sent to Miss Porter’s School in Farmington, a famous young ladies’ seminary, for education. Farmington was a historical town of missionary traditions, as it was at a pastor’s house in this town that the ABCFM was first formed. Miss Porter was this pastor’s

daughter and a sister of Noah Porter who was one of the Presidents of Yale. Eliza Talcott's education at Miss Porter's School was stopped by her mother's death. Later she graduated from the State Normal School at New Britain in 1857 and returned to Miss Porter's School as a teacher for two years. She taught for another four years at public schools but gave up her work in 1863 to care for her invalid aunt in Plymouth, Connecticut for the following ten years. At the American Board meeting in New Haven in 1872 when an urgent appeal for more missionary workers was made, Eliza Talcott offered herself to go to anywhere she was needed. At that time the Board was looking for two young women to begin woman's work in the new mission of Japan. It is said that the Board was hesitant to send Eliza Talcott, who was in her mid-thirties, because they thought only a younger woman could readily learn the language.

It is hard to know what prompted her decision for foreign missionary service. Having devoted ten years of possible marriage to family service, missionary service might have been the most natural alternative to marriage in her familial traditions. Perhaps she inherited her Grandmother Bull's "deep interest in missions." Perhaps she gained an interest in the Orient inspired by many curios of the Orient brought into her Plymouth home by one of her uncles, Isaac Bull, who was a prosperous merchant in the China trade. Or, missionary work in the Orient may have seemed to her as the most likely extension of her Puritan beliefs.¹²⁰

Family tradition was probably the most significant source of her motivation. Besides Eliza Talcott herself, at least three members of her family served in the Japan Mission. Lora E. Learned, a younger sister of Eliza Talcott married the father of D.W. Learned, an American Board missionary in Japan for fifty-three years from 1875.¹²¹ Talcott's niece, Cara Fisher, married Rev. Sydney Gulick, another American Board missionary in Japan, who also came from a missionary family well-known for their services over generations. Maria Talcott, the youngest sister of Eliza Talcott, also served at Kobe College for two years between 1881 and 1882 although she was not sent as a missionary.

Similarly, Julia Dudley, who came to Kobe with Eliza Talcott as the first single women missionaries of the American Board to Japan in 1873, came from a religious family and followed the family business to volunteer for foreign missionary work. Her mother was a sister of the bride of Rev. N.G. Clarke, a Congregational minister, and had accompanied this newly-wed couple to the West when they were assigned by the Home Missionary Society as home missionaries. They left their hometown in Middlebury, Vermont and migrated to Illinois as pioneer missionaries. Julia Dudley's mother, Mary Barrows started the

first school for the young in the growing town. Here Mary Barrows met John Dudley who was also from Vermont, and they married. Together they established a church in Naperville, thirty miles west of Chicago. Julia E. Dudley was born on December 5, 1840, the daughter of these pioneer home missionaries in Illinois. She lived in a farm in Naperville with her family of her parents, three brothers and a sister until her father died when she was fourteen years old. She started her schooling in the common district school in Naperville, then went to the academy when her family moved to the town after her father's death. For a short time she also went to Rockford Seminary, which emulated Mount Holyoke as its sister college.

Family service to the invalid perhaps shaped Julia Dudley's desire to volunteer for foreign missionary work, as was the case for Eliza Talcott. Julia experienced conversion at the age of sixteen and ministered to her mother for "a long last painful illness." Rev. and Mrs. N.G. Clarke, her uncle and aunt, called Julia to their home in Elgin where she spent the next two or three years working for immigrant girls. She gathered them together to "teach them the right living." Encouraged by the "large heart and love of missions" of her uncle, Julia offered herself to the WBMI for work in Japan.¹²²

Writing about her missionary desire to a former Rockford Seminary schoolmate already in Japan as the wife of Rev. J.D. Davis, an American Board missionary in Kobe, had opened her way for a position in Japan. "We wish we had two or three ladies in Kobe today," wrote J.D. Davis to N.G. Clark on November 1, 1872.

...While we are wishing a letter comes from a very unexpected source asking about the work...The lady, Miss Julia Dudley, now a little over thirty years old, my wife has known all her life,...She has been as she writes thinking about it more than a year...She is one of the very first we should recommend for this work.¹²³

With diminishing marriage prospects at the age of thirty-two, Julia Dudley decided to follow her family business of missionary work. "The only thing in the world to be afraid of is not to fulfill one's duty," was the motto that Kato Fusa, one of Julia Dudley's students at the Kobe Women's Evangelical School, recalled as one of Julia Dudley's guiding principles. Kato Fusa also remembered that Julia Dudley taught them the words of Mary Lyon.¹²⁴ Perhaps for Julia Dudley, family traditions in missionary work, combined with her belief in Mary Lyon's teachings, led her to choose the foreign missionary service, a work for others, as the most natural alternative to marriage.

Martha Jane Barrows, the third woman missionary to Kobe Home in 1876, also was motivated for foreign missionary work through family traditions. She was a cousin of Julia Dudley, being a daughter of Lucius Barrows who was Julia Dudley's uncle. She was born on July 26, 1841, on a farm at Middlebury, Vermont, the last of seven children. Her brother became the deacon in Middlebury Church. She grew up in the meadows and woods, and was educated at home helping her "always busy mother" and at Middlebury Seminary where she prepared for Mount Holyoke. She was united with the church when she was seventeen years old.

During the first months after Martha J. Barrows was converted, a relative and a friend of her mother visited the family and said that Martha was destined to be a missionary and "pieced for her a bed quilt which she called the missionary quilt."¹²⁵ She went to Mount Holyoke for a year where she could not return to graduate, despite her hope, because of family duties. Yet it was at Mount Holyoke that her missionary desire began to take shape. "Always had a secret desire for foreign missionary work, fostered by the Mt. Holyoke atmosphere and the influence of Miss Fiske," wrote Martha J. Barrows to Mount Holyoke years later.¹²⁶

With home duties and a "growing sense of...unfitness," Martha J. Barrows had long thought that missionary work was not for her, although she had "for years thought much of the missionary work and wished that I might be counted worthy to have a part in it." It was twelve years after she left Mt. Holyoke in 1862 that she finally confessed of her long-cherished desire to Secretary N.G. Clark of the ABCFM in September 1874:

For the last year or two, however, since I have been hearing often from Miss Dudley, of the work in Japan, my heart has been full of longing for a share in that work.¹²⁷

Martha differed from Eliza Talcott and Julia Dudley in that her mother was still living when she made the decision. She asked for her mother's approval after she received a letter from N.G. Clark, to which her mother replied, "I gave you to the Lord at your birth and have no desire to take back the gift."¹²⁸

The three pre-professional women missionaries, Eliza Talcott, Julia Dudley and Martha J. Barrows were thirty-six, thirty-two and thirty-five respectively at the time of their arrivals at Kobe. Their marriage prospects had diminished when the median age at first marriage in 1890 was 22,¹²⁹ and foreign missionary service offered them a heroic, socially-acceptable alternative to spinsterhood in the U.S.

The Kobe Woman's Evangelistic School established in 1880 by Martha J. Barrows and her cousin Julia Dudley, which trained native Bible women, marked the evangelical nature of these pre-professional missionaries; their conflict with the educational work and their withdrawal from Kobe Home will be discussed in [chapter 3](#). Martha J. Barrows remained in Kobe, Japan for forty-eight years until 1924, four months before her death in Claremont, California.¹³⁰ She was also cherished by her colleagues in the Japan Mission as a born "homemaker," who provided "to many another weary pilgrim [America women missionaries of the Japan Mission], a veritable haven of rest."¹³¹

As Martha J. Barrows expressed her "sense of unfitness" prior to appointment, an ambivalence of religious glory and fear constituted most of the feelings of preprofessional missionaries to Kobe College in the 1870s, who had little information about their mission work. They were admired as heroic ideals as Martha J. Barrows' brother often read to his congregation in "missionary concert" a letter from "Sister Mattie,"¹³² and in reality, it was a courageous act for these preprofessional women to commit their lives to an unknown world. It also meant an indefinite break from home and personal comfort. Most volunteers, finding virtue in "self-denial" and in making one's life "useful" for the purpose of God, concealed such feelings of anxiety. "I am stronger for my work in knowing I have the prayers of those who are looking for Christ's coming in the dark places of the earth," wrote Julia Dudley in February 1873, right before departure. Similarly Eliza Talcott wrote that she was "very thankful to be here and for the hope of being able to do something towards giving the light of the blessed Gospel to the dark land," upon her arrival at Kobe in April 1873.¹³³

After the mid-1880s there was a marked transition in the nature of the women missionaries at Kobe College. The missionaries were "professionalized," characterized by college education and recruitments through college connections. Women had more concrete views in their motivations; they wanted to make use of their collegiate training for the advancement of woman. For them, as was the case of Emily A. White Smith and the WBMI officers, linking education and Christianity was the essential method for this purpose. As Kobe College developed and the women missionaries' college education became specialized over time, the positions they filled at Kobe College became specialized and more professional as well.

Emily M. Brown, who arrived in November 1882, was the first college-graduated woman missionary at Kobe College. She became the third Principal of the school between 1882 and 1892. Susan A. Searle, the next principal, arrived in 1883 and served as the President and the President

Emeritus for thirty-seven years from 1892 to 1929. These two women missionaries represented the “first stage” of professional missionaries

Emily Maria Brown was born on a farm in Briston, three miles north of Granger in Southern Minnesota on May 16, 1858, as the oldest of one brother and five sisters. Her parents, James and Elizabeth Brown were farmers of English birth and Emily was “devotedly attached” to her mother, who was permanently crippled by an accident. Emily M. Brown “walked four miles over the hills week after week” to a private school in Florenceville, Iowa, reciting “her Latin lessons,” which was symbolic of her hard-working and diligent nature. She worked her way through her college education. For three years after her fifteenth birthday in 1873, she taught to save earnings for her tuition at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. “During the first four of her six years at Carleton College, she stayed out of school and taught one term a year” and graduated with a B.A. in 1882.¹³⁴

For Emily M. Brown, Carleton College opened for her a direct opportunity for missionary service. The college authorities, regretting that “none of their graduates had entered the missionary field” despite the strong missionary spirit at Carleton, proposed to Emily to “become a foreign missionary” upon graduation in exchange for financial assistance from the college to cover “the latter part of her college course,” which she accepted.¹³⁵ Perhaps because her “sense of duty” to Carleton College and her conviction to make use of her college education dominated her motivation, she wrote cynically of what she viewed as the “evangelistic” work awaiting her before her departure for Japan in a poem she wrote for the Carleton College student newspaper:

Some folks, you know, have missions, catch them like small-pox
or measles...

So she went on a mission, went to the land of the sunrise.

Taught her heathen sisters the art of civilization.

Taught them to bang the piano, while their mothers were in the
kitchen.

Taught them to bang their hair in the idiotic manner.

How to say prines and prisms, and dress in the latest fashion.

All these things she taught them, and they rose and called her
blessed.¹³⁶

Perhaps because Emily M. Brown was the first college-graduate, professionally motivated to the missionary career, she was the one that

first conceived of the idea to develop Kobe Girls' School into a college and pushed for the college scheme, which was realized in 1894, two years after she returned to the U.S. on her first furlough.

Susan A.Searle, who became the fourth principal and President of Kobe College, arrived in Kobe in 1883, a year after Emily M.Brown's arrival. She had taught at Carleton College for two years where she met Emily M.Brown and was recruited by Brown to Kobe.¹³⁷ Susan A.Searle was twenty-five and Emily Maria Brown was twenty-four at the time of their arrival at Kobe, assuming the missionary careers right after college or after two years of teaching experience after college, at a much younger age than the pre-professional missionaries of the 1870s.

Susan A.Searle was born on October 11, 1858, in Niles, Michigan as the second daughter of seven of a ship's carpenter. Her eldest sister, almost two years old, had died two weeks before she was born, so she grew up as the eldest among four sisters and two brothers. Similar to the pre-professional missionaries, Susan A.Searle came from a religious family where "her ancestry were all ministers, minister's wives, sons, or daughters, most of them from the good old New England stock, some of them home missionaries."¹³⁸ Her paternal grandfather, a Congregational minister, died when her father was only eight years old. This experience made Susan's father feel that he had to support his mother, and he learned the ship's carpenter trade instead of accepting a relative's offer to send him to a college. Searle's father was originally from Stoneham, Massachusetts but migrated to Michigan where he met her mother. Thus Susan A.Searle had what a Kobe College missionary Alice E.Cary called "a New England reserve,"¹³⁹ which gave the students an "austere" impression so that as Mrs.Kawai recalled "graduates would not speak to her even though they loved and respected her."¹⁴⁰ Susan A.Searle led a Puritan life, "lived simply, dressed simply and ate with self-control," as missionary Mary Stowe put it, "was severe with herself" but "generous to others."¹⁴¹ Prayers were essential to her life, and her administration at Kobe College was marked by innovations in religious education; Searle Memorial Chapel was dedicated to her on the new Kobe College campus in 1934.

Growing up in a religious family where the whole family held morning prayers, attended church and Sunday Schools, Susan A.Searle carried on the family tradition in missionary spirit. This characteristic of the pre-professional missionaries was similar to many of the professional missionaries, of whom Susan A.Searle was one. Her early education was at home by her paternal grandmother, and her formal schooling started after her grandmother's death when she was almost eight years old.

Growing up as the eldest daughter, Susan A.Searle developed a sense of “responsibility and some authority” within the family. Yet her mother’s death when she was fourteen years old and her father’s remarriage two years later brought about a dramatic change in her family life that led her to yearn to leave home. Her stepmother was “very different from” her own mother “who was gentle and quiet.” She was “a bit dictatorial” yet efficient and clashed with Susan A.Searle who wanted to keep her authority in the family. “I did not get on well with her,” confessed Searle and sometimes they were in open conflict, saying that the Bible’s teachings to obey the parents and “fathers, provoke not your children to wrath” did not apply to stepmothers. Susan A.Searle first asked her father to allow her to teach a Sunday School class when she was fifteen. After graduating from Niles High School as valedictorian of her class,¹⁴² she accepted her aunt’s offer to send her for a year to the new college, Wellesley, where the aunt was a trustee. She entered the preparatory department in 1875 as one of the first students and graduated in 1881 with her aunt paying all the expenses for the six years. Upon graduation, she was offered a position as a “teacher in the preparatory department at Carleton College,” where her aunt’s friend, Dr.Strong, was the president.¹⁴³

Thus for Susan A.Searle, college education and teaching probably solidified the deeply-held missionary aspirations shaped by her Puritan New England-bred family tradition. The clash with her stepmother probably provided an impetus to leave home, and Emily M.Brown’s desire for an assistant opened a real opportunity to become a foreign missionary. In honor of her forty-six years’ service at Kobe College, Searle was awarded the Blue Ribbon medal from the Imperial Japanese Government upon retirement in 1929.¹⁴⁴

Mary Anna Holbrook, M.D., born on July 10, 1854 at Rockland, Massachusetts, was the first woman missionary with a medical degree to come to Kobe College, in 1890. Mary Anna Holbrook symbolized the second stage in the professionalization of the women missionaries at Kobe College. She was the first missionary with specialized training as a physician and scientist to work specifically on developing the Scientific Department of the college. Mary Anna Holbrook and Olive Sawyer Hoyt, a chemist recruited by Mary Anna Holbrook to develop the Chemistry Department in 1902, demonstrated how the two transitions of the professionalization of the missionaries and the specialization of the missionary work at Kobe College proceeded hand in hand increasingly after the 1890s.

Mary Anna Holbrook also came from a religious family on a farm in Rockland, Massachusetts. Her ancestors had come to the United States on

the Mayflower.¹⁴⁵ Her father operated a small shopwork plant, did some farming, and later had a small dairy business. Mary Anna Holbrook was in the middle between two brothers. Being a family of “strong Christians,” Mary Anna and Charles, her younger brother, both became missionaries. Charles worked his way through Amherst College by teaching and served as an American Board missionary to South Africa for nine years. Upon return to the U.S., Charles studied medicine at New Haven and became a medical doctor. It was at his house that Mary Anna Holbrook finally returned only a few days before her death in December 1910. Her older brother, Albert, contributed financially toward the missionary training and missionary work of his sister and brother. Her mother supported their missionary work by factory home sewing.¹⁴⁶ Mary Anna Holbrook experienced conversion at the age of fifteen.

In addition to her religious upbringing, “she felt the call to missionary work at Mt. Holyoke College,” wrote Olive S.Hoyt, where Mary Anna Holbrook finished as a non-graduate of 1878.¹⁴⁷ Through this Divine call,¹⁴⁸ Mary Anna Holbrook decided to study medicine at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor from 1878 to 1880 so that she could make herself more useful as a medical missionary. Graduating with a M.D. in 1880, she interned at New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston for six months and was assigned to Tung-cho Station in China in 1881. She was twenty-seven, right after her college training when she first became a missionary, common with other professional missionaries. She organized one of the first medical dispensaries in Tung-cho and a two-year medical course of training for women for “medical care in their own homes and community neighborhoods.”¹⁴⁹ She taught chemistry and biology at what later became the Tungcho College. She also wrote several textbooks on chemistry and biology in Chinese. One of the biology textbooks was “in general use in many schools and colleges” in China, and she was asked “to revise” it a few years before her death because “nothing else was found so well adapted to the needs of missionary schools in China.” She returned to the U.S. in 1886 because of poor health due to cholera, and she “dare[d] not” return to China, and the Board did not permit her to return, for health reasons.¹⁵⁰

After she recuperated, she taught at Mount Holyoke for two years from 1887 to 1889, “where she gathered about her a group of students” committed to foreign missionary service with a concrete plan to found a Mt. Holyoke in Japan. Although the plan was rejected by the American Board, this college connection of Mt. Holyoke brought these women to Kobe College as we shall see in [chapter 5](#). Olive S.Hoyt described this group of Mt. Holyoke women that Mary A.Holbrook recruited as “the beginning of the Student Volunteer Movement” which became the

dominant force of recruitment patterns for Kobe College missionaries in the 1920s. It was a part of the national student movement of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, originally launched by a revival among students by Dwight Moody and formally organized on a national basis in December 1888 under the leadership of John R. Mott. "This became the largest and probably the most influential student movement in U.S." between 1886 and 1920, as assessed by historian Clifton J. Phillips. The slogan was "the Evangelization of the World in this Generation," and by 1919 over half of the total number of foreign missionaries sent abroad under North American Protestant auspices were recruited by the Student Volunteer Movement through the Volunteer Bands formed on college campuses.¹⁵¹

Mary Anna Holbrook's plan for a Mt. Holyoke in Japan was, in 1889, chronologically at the beginning of the Student Volunteer Movement. No records exist, however, which directly associate Mary Anna Holbrook with John R. Mott or Dwight Moody. Olive S. Hoyt's description probably pointed to the fact that the recruitment pattern of the three Mount Holyoke students for foreign missionary work on college campus through college ties, seemed like a precedent to the Student Volunteer Movement that was common in her college days in the 1890s.

Mary Anna Holbrook was appointed to the Japan Mission in 1889 and located to Kobe College in 1890, this time not for medical work but to develop the scientific department and teach biology and domestic science where she could use her medical training. For Mary Anna Holbrook, a foreign missionary career was an extension of the religious family tradition, strengthened by the missionary spirit at Mount Holyoke and a method to make use of her collegiate professional training.

Olive Sawyer Hoyt, another example of the second stage of the professionalization of Kobe College women missionaries, also was recruited to missionary work through collegiate ties and utilized her expertise as a chemist to fill the specialized position to organize and teach in the chemistry department at Kobe College. With a B.S. from Mount Holyoke in 1897 in chemistry, Olive S. Hoyt was recruited by Mary Anna Holbrook to Kobe College when she was teaching as an assistant at the chemical laboratory of Mount Holyoke from 1899 to 1902. Mary A. Holbrook was visiting Mt. Holyoke in 1902 to look for someone "willing to go to Kobe College to organize the chemistry department there."¹⁵²

Similar to Susan A. Searle and Mary Anna Holbrook, Olive Sawyer Hoyt came from a religious family which she described as "not [a] wealthy one but [one that] held all the essentials for comfort at that time." Her father was a college graduate who had taught at a school, but at the

time of her birth, he was "a member of a Portland firm of Hoyt, Fogg & Donahue, booksellers and publishers." A religious man, he was instrumental in establishing a church in Portland, Maine, and he "published the first series of Sunday School lesson quarterlies" and the Sunday School Times.

Olive S.Hoyt was born February 7, 1874, in Portland, Maine, the youngest of three sisters. She led a happy early family life yet experienced sorrow as well, as both her grandparents, her father and one of her sisters all passed away during her first fourteen years of life.

Olive S.Hoyt was the first missionary among Kobe College missionaries to be directly motivated into missionary service through the Student Volunteer Movement. In addition, as a college-educated professional, the purpose to extend Christian higher education to the women in Japan probably sounded like an ideal way to utilize her collegiate training. Olive S.Hoyt's missionary interest was shaped through the Mission Band started in the high school at Augusta, then by joining the Student Volunteer Band during her junior year at Mount Holyoke College, of which some decided to make missionary career their "life work" if the opportunity came.¹⁵³ When Hoyt was teaching science courses at a high school for two years after graduating from Mt. Holyoke in 1897, her mother passed away suddenly. Thus when Mary A. Holbrook tried to recruit her in 1902, she had "no family ties to keep" her in America. Hoyt agreed with the purpose of Kobe College "to establish a Christian college giving higher education to the women of Japan" and felt "an urge to give any aid that I could to the achievement of this purpose."¹⁵⁴

As one of the second stage professionals of Kobe College women missionaries, Olive Sawyer Hoyt was a college graduate with specialized training in chemistry, recruited by college ties to the special work of organizing the chemistry department at Kobe College. She was twenty-eight years old with five-years of teaching experience after college when she arrived at Kobe in 1902. She worked for twelve years at Kobe College, during which she wrote a chemistry textbook in Japanese, collaborating with one of the Japanese science teachers. Then the Mission asked her to work for Matsuyama Girls' School on Shikoku, an island south of Kobe, where she eventually took the responsibility and served as its principal. She served thirty years at this school, which she voluntarily returned to reconstruct the school after WWII.

A servant [Chusuke] in our own home, who was always very kind to me as a little girl, became long afterwards one of the influences

that convinced me that missionary work in Japan was worth while,¹⁵⁵

wrote Charlotte B.DeForest in 1931. Charlotte B.DeForest, born February 23, 1879, in Osaka, the second daughter of John Hyde and Elizabeth Starr DeForest, American Board missionaries since 1874, was exceptionally qualified to become a missionary at Kobe College. She was born and raised in Japan through the first fourteen years of her life. Charlotte B.DeForest was qualified for a missionary career in Japan in many ways: a family business to follow, experience in Japan during childhood and an excellent record in scholarship. Yet for Charlotte, she needed her own conversion experience and rationale to take up the vocation.

Charlotte B.DeForest was baptized by Nijijima Jo, the founder of Doshisha University and the pioneer Japanese Christian to be sent back to Japan as an American Board missionary, when two months old because her parents had come to Japan on the same ship with him. Charlotte's first schooling started at a "little school of missionary children taught by their mothers" using the second floor of the missionary dispensary as a classroom. When she was seven, her father was transferred to Sendai, where he served for nearly twenty-five years until his death. It was here that he became well-known especially for his famine relief work that brought to her father "an imperial decoration, the Fourth Order of the Rising Sun." In Sendai, Charlotte and her brother and her sisters were educated at home for seven years until she and her sister were sent back to the U.S. for education. Her mother, who was a former teacher, divided the four children into two classes, Charlotte and her elder sister Sarah, being one of them. She ordered books from the U.S and taught them lessons on American history and English spelling. German was taught by another missionary, and drawing at Miyagi Girls' School, a Presbyterian mission school. She also practiced piano under her mother's guidance. Religious education was central to their life, and the whole family recited the Bible every morning before reading other books. Self-discipline, a sense of responsibility and independence were inculcated by her mother in preparation for the day the children were sent back to the U.S. for education and separated from their family.

When Charlotte was fourteen, she and her sister Sarah were sent back to the U.S. via Europe. Due to the foundations laid by her mother, Charlotte did well in her studies, graduating a valedictorian at Newton High School before attending Smith College. She graduated college in 1901 with high honors and was subsequently elected to Phi Beta Kappa in 1916, when a chapter was formed some years after her graduation.¹⁵⁶ Her specializations at college were philosophy and English. She was elected

to the Alpha Society and the Philosophical Society during her college days, where her tuition was funded by a scholarship that she repaid later.

Charlotte B.DeForest had an aptitude for writing. At Newton High School in 1896, she won a ten-dollar first prize in a student essay competition on the Life of John Eliot. At Smith, she took "daily theme-writing" lessons from Mary A.Jordan of the English Department through most of her course and became the literary editor of the *Smith College Monthly* in her senior year. She was selected to address the student body on the meaning of a college education at the twenty-fifth anniversary exercises of the Smith College. She also won a song-writing competition in her junior year. The class elected her the ivy orator upon her graduation.¹⁵⁷ Such background explains how she produced four books, besides numerous essays and articles during her missionary career as a college president and administrator.

"I realized that I was not willing to be a missionary," wrote Charlotte B. DeForest in 1942.¹⁵⁸ Being a missionary's child, the question, "Shall I become a missionary?" was always in Charlotte's mind.¹⁵⁹ For her, it was not an inevitable choice as a missionary's child, but a result of "a definite sense of a personal call."¹⁶⁰ Unlike her sister who joined the Student Volunteer Band as soon as they entered college, Charlotte was reluctant until she picked up a booklet that her sister had brought home: "The Supreme Decision of the Christian Student" by Sherwood Eddy, one of the spokesmen of the Student Volunteer Movement. Intrigued by his argument that Christ's teaching to "Go, teach all nations," meant that "the call to become a missionary was a standing call to all Christians *unless* God had given them a special call to stay at home," Charlotte questioned herself whether there was a definite call for her to stay in America. Finding none, this questioning led to her conversion experience, which gradually convinced her that a missionary career was her vocation. At the funeral of Chusuke, a Japanese servant in their Sendai home for four years, who was kind to Charlotte, she learned for the first time that he had once been a "very dissipated" character known by police in Tokyo and that Christianity changed him into a faithful man. This memory finally convinced her that missionary work in Japan was worthwhile. She joined the Student Volunteer Band in her freshman year though it took her nearly two years to "become truly happy in the choice."¹⁶¹

After a year of work as assistant superintendent of the Walker Missionary Home in Auburndale, Massachusetts, she was commissioned by the American Board and sent out under the WBMI to Japan in 1903. She was twenty-four years old. Although she was destined to teach at Kobe College, which she began as a part-time teacher in 1905, she spent

the first three years studying the Japanese language.¹⁶² Completing the mission's three-year course in the Japanese language and writing a thesis entitled, "Some Aspects of Japanese Poetry," she received the M.A. degree from Smith College in 1907, which she had originally requested because she thought that "degrees counted" in the educational work at Kobe College.¹⁶³ She further received an L.H.D. Degree [honorary doctoral degree in humanities] from Smith College in 1921.¹⁶⁴ In 1950, she was decorated with the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Fourth Class, by the Japanese government in recognition of her forty-six years' service at Kobe College, as President from 1915 to 1940 and then as President Emeritus.¹⁶⁵

As time progressed from the 1890s when the "second-stage" professionals such as Mary Anna Holbrook and Olive Sawyer Hoyt served at Kobe College, Charlotte B. DeForest represented the "third-stage" of professional missionaries, for which position few women qualified. Charlotte B. DeForest assessed herself as a "bridge between the era of American control and that of Japanese management."¹⁶⁶ The professional missionary required at this stage was a bicultural woman or a hybrid woman who was in the middle ground, understanding both American and Japanese cultures, in addition to having specialized collegiate training that was required of the "second-stage" professional missionaries. Charlotte B. DeForest was an exceptionally qualified woman for this purpose, and it was precisely for this reason that those who were organizing the Woman's Christian College at Tokyo which was to open in 1918 "earnestly pleaded that the American Board's Mission and Kobe College would release Dr. DeForest to become its head."¹⁶⁷ Susan A. Searle quickly resigned the Presidency in 1915 to keep Charlotte B. DeForest at Kobe College, where Charlotte B. DeForest herself decided to remain.

To sum up, the familial, educational backgrounds and the motivation/recruitment patterns of the women missionaries at Kobe College manifested a transition in character as time progressed from the 1870s to the 1900s. Beginning with the pre-professional "evangelical" missionaries of the 1870s, largely drawn from the women in their thirties with seminary or normal schools education who followed their family business, the character of the missionaries followed three stages of professionalization: the first stage of the 1880s in which missionaries in their twenties with collegiate education were recruited through college connections, the second stage of the 1890s in which missionaries with specialized training at colleges filled specialized positions at Kobe College, and finally the third stage in which a missionary with bicultural

understanding of both America and Japan, in addition to specialized collegiate training, was required to head the college.

The professionalization of the missionaries was a product of both the growth and the development of women's collegiate education in the U.S. and also the rising demand of Kobe College as it developed into a collegiate institution for women. Beginning in the mid-1880s, Emily M. Brown, Mary Anna Holbrook, Olive S. Hoyt and Charlotte B. DeForest all pursued additional graduate training in the U.S. and Europe in specialized subjects during their furloughs from Kobe College, implying that as Kobe College became established as a collegiate institution, the missionaries became increasingly more professionally conscious. Even though they were already trained in higher education, they saw the need to obtain additional training in order to meet the high level of demand of the Kobe College students and their parents. The professionalization of the Kobe College missionaries did not only manifest a change in American culture. It was more or less a bicultural product, a confluence of the two forces of American cultural transformation in producing women missionaries with increasingly specialized collegiate education and the changing Japanese demand for higher standards of education at Kobe College.

THE WBMI STRUGGLE FOR AUTONOMY

The professionalization of the women missionaries and the specialization of missionary work in the mission fields gradually led the WBMI to struggle for more autonomy in the foreign missions. Two issues—the missionary location and the marriage of single women missionaries—manifested such struggle and appeared as the central sources of conflict between the WBMI and the American Board during the 1900s and the 1910s prior to the merger of the three Woman's Boards with the American Board.

The traditional administrative procedure to decide missionary location consisted of two steps. First, the Prudential Committee of the American Board evaluated the demand and supply of the missionaries and assigned the missionaries to specific foreign mission fields. Then the foreign mission under the American Board decided where to locate a missionary within the mission field. Such procedures worked well during the nineteenth century, but as the women missionaries became professionalized and the mission work itself became specialized, it gradually caused frictions and became obsolete by the turn-of-the-century.

To avoid overlap, each of the three woman's boards was assigned to specific women's missionary institutions in the field and broadly to specific countries as well. Such methods of allocation created discrepancies between the woman's board that supported the missionary and the woman's board that controlled the missionary institution where the missionary was assigned. Kobe College was assigned to the WBMI in 1874, but the women missionaries at Kobe College were long sent from both the WBM and the WBMI. Such discrepancy did not matter at first during the formative years, but by the 1900s, it became adverse to the woman's board's initial purpose of sending the missionaries abroad.

"I thought it was a decided advantage," wrote Emily A. White Smith to Kate G. Lamson of the WBM in February 1907, "it gave the faculty a broader outlook and in many ways it seemed to me very desirable." "As a rule," Smith continued, "the head of the school, the principal or president" should "belong to the Board that supports the school" but "in this school it seems good to have the representatives of both Boards mingled as they are there [at Kobe College]."¹⁶⁸ E. Harriet Stanwood, an officer of the WBM, however, was opposed to mixing teachers of the two Boards because the "institution [Kobe College] seems to be on a little different basis from our schools generally."¹⁶⁹

The administrators of the woman's boards, who had been ambivalent about mixing teachers of two woman's boards, became convinced of the need to unify the woman's board that supported the missionaries and the missionary institution when Mary A. Holbrook applied for reassignment to Kobe College in February 1907. Meeting objections from the WBM and the ABCFM because of her health, Holbrook, who had originally been supported by the WBM, finally managed to change her affiliations and was sent to Kobe College from the WBMI.¹⁷⁰ This incident demonstrated that only the WBMI, responsible for Kobe College, could weigh the degree of health concerns of Mary Anna Holbrook against the need of the school. For the specialized work of the Science department at Kobe College, Mary A. Holbrook with professional training in medicine who could fill the position immediately without any language training, was a crucial necessity above all other concerns. "The dropping of this department [Biology] is decidedly detrimental to the reputation and influence of the school," wrote Emily A. White Smith to Kate G. Lamson. The department had been "closed ever since Dr. Holbrook was obliged to leave" and no other alternative candidate besides Holbrook could be found.¹⁷¹

Such need to unify the woman's board that supported the missionary institution and the missionaries sent to that institution raised the need for more discretion on the part of the WBMI in deciding missionary location.

The American Board recognized the need, but it was the WBMI that pressed the American Board to put their right of missionary location in the statutory form. In the end, these changes increased the autonomy of the WBMI by transferring the discretion of missionary location from the Mission to both the Mission and the WBMI.

The American Board, recognizing that specialization and professionalization characterized the new generation of missionary applicants, circulated the following announcement in April 1908:

Student Volunteers are studying...the details of mission work and are in many cases preparing themselves for some specific line of work. If they cannot be assured of a place where they can make use of their special training, we stand a good chance of losing them altogether.¹⁷²

To place missionaries for "specific work in specific places abroad," the American Board recognized the need to relax the conventional policy in which the Mission fully controlled missionary location. They were hesitant, however, to transfer the discretion of missionary location from the Mission to the supporting Board. Hence they stressed, it was "not an attempt to assume the prerogative on the part of the Boards," but a cooperation of the Boards with the Mission "to find the missionary with the proper qualifications to fill a place that the mission has asked to be filled."

The Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior was dissatisfied with such a lukewarm attitude of the American Board.

While we agree with you in general as to the responsibility of the Mission for its work we still feel there are conditions where the Boards which support the work should have recognition and voice,

wrote M.D.Wingate to J.L.Barton in April 1908.¹⁷³ She continued forcefully, "We still believe there should never be an understanding that the Boards at home which support the work have no right to express a judgment which need have no consideration by the mission."

The WBMI was objecting the location and relocation of the WBMI-supported missionaries to work unrelated to their professional expertise or to work outside of the WBMI work by the Mission without any consent of the WBMI. M.D.Wingate cited examples in which "two professional nurses," Carrie Bell and K.E.Myers, were sent to India under the WBMI but were assigned to school work instead of hospital work by the Mission, and the case of "Mary Haskell," sent to Samokov, Bulgaria under the WBMI, who was assigned to "the Monastir Orphanage" by the

Mission, “entirely aside from the Board work.”¹⁷⁴ To prevent recurrence of such cases, M.D.Wingate requested the American Board to add the following to the statement prepared by the American Board:

When permanent change of location of a single lady is desired by the Mission final action must not be taken without the knowledge and consent of the Board responsible for her support.¹⁷⁵

M.D.Wingate further pressed to put the WBMI’s right of missionary location in the statutory form:

If the WBMI has the right to seek for and locate missionaries, etc., why not say so?... If the WBMI missionaries should be placed in WBMI schools in general, who do we not state it?¹⁷⁶

The WBMI’s autonomy in missionary location increased through such struggle of the WBMI. In July 1911, the WBMI actually rejected the vote of the Japan Mission “to recommend that Miss Coe be placed at Niigata with Miss Edith Curtis,” and voted instead that “we cannot send Miss Coe to Japan unless she is to go to Kobe College to engage in work for the WBMI” because “the WBMI is first responsible for Kobe College.”¹⁷⁷ Eleven days later, M.D.Wingate reported to the American Board that “it was voted by our Committee that she [Miss Estella Coe] should be sent to Kobe College, Japan.”¹⁷⁸

Similarly the WBMI gradually gained substantial discretion of missionary appointments and missionary furloughs. “It would be most wise to keep Miss Welpton at home through the autumn so that she may have time for more extended rest,” wrote M.D.Wingate to the American Board in March 1910 and reported: “the Committee has voted to authorize an extension of her furlough for four months.”¹⁷⁹ “The American Board, on the other hand, became an advisor to the WBMI. “I think it might be well for you to review Miss Rupert’s case a little bit with reference to health,” suggested James L.Barton to the WBMI June 1913, on a missionary candidate for Kobe College. The American Board also introduced, for example, “Miss Alice Cary, daughter of Dr. Otis Cary, of Kyoto” as a missionary candidate for a position perhaps at Kobe College, but stressed that “I do not press the case, of course, but am merely sending on this information to give you the opportunity, should you care to make use of Miss Cary’s services.”¹⁸⁰ With the WBMI holding the virtual discretion of missionary locations, appointments and furloughs, the American Board only gave advice and suggestions and the Prudential Committee of the American Board formally approved the WBMI decisions.

The WBMI, however, had the primary responsibility to make decisions on the general appropriations of the WBMI-collected funds from the beginning. The administrative procedure was that the official communications to and from the foreign mission was always done through the ABCFM. Thereby the Japan Mission would make a request for appropriations or for more missionaries to the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM, which would forward the sections under the control of WBMI, for instance Kobe College, to the Foreign Secretary of WBMI. The Executive Committee of the WBMI would discuss all the requests and make final decisions based on the estimates of their funds the following year. When any additional explanation was necessary for the requests from the Japan Mission, they inquired of the ABCFM. Special grants such as distributions of the Higher Educational Fund and the endowment fund of ABCFM, however, remained under the control of the ABCFM.¹⁸¹

Thus by 1910, WBMI had the control of both the financial affairs in the general appropriations and the personnel affairs of the woman's work in missions. Women enjoyed the power of management that was not available to them elsewhere.

There persisted a discrepancy, however, between how the WBMI viewed themselves and how those outside the WBMI, including the American Board, viewed the WBMI. For example, the WBMI was not considered or treated as a separate, independent board to the American Board. "I confess that I feel quite rebellious that as Boards we may not go directly to him [Mr. Rockefeller]," wrote Emily A. White Smith to J.L. Barton in October 1906. The WBMI had to ask the officers of ABCFM to approach Mr. Rockefeller when they needed to ask for special grants from him.¹⁸² Thus, when M.D. Wingate read that the basis of representation at the Ecumenical Missionary Conference to be held in Edinburgh in 1910 was that "no auxiliary societies merely raising funds for transmission through the headquarters of the society shall be entitled to representation," she felt it necessary to ask J.L. Barton in June 1908 to make their English counterparts understand that "the WBMI is not auxiliary to the American Board but co-operates with it, and that it is an incorporated and separate body."¹⁸³

The single women missionaries were also perceived differently by the WBMI and the American Board, as was revealed by the dispute on the issue of marriage. The American Board viewed single women missionaries as mere assistants to the male missionaries, who, with "disturbing willingness" tended "to marry eligible men, regardless of their denominational affiliation with a consequent loss to the society that had borne the expense of sending them."¹⁸⁴ "I discovered the human side of the married men and married women even more frequently than that

of the unmarried women," wrote M.D.Wingate to dispel such prejudice of the American Board against spinsters and quoted a single woman missionary's reply, "Oh, we have very much less trouble than our dear married sisters, especially where there are children in the home."¹⁸⁵ For the WBMI, the single women missionaries were the professionals supported by the female constituency of the Interior states. Free from childcare and family responsibilities that the missionary wives had to fulfill, they were viewed as important investments responsible for the woman's work in the mission fields.

The marriage of the single women missionaries in the mission fields was consequently a grave concern for the WBMI. The only remedy that the WBMI could request was a small compensation for the substantial financial loss on their investment. "It is an acknowledged rule of the Board that if a single lady marries someone outside the Board, or if for any reason she leaves the work voluntarily within five years it is expected that the sum expended for her outfit and traveling expenses will be refunded to the Board," wrote M.D.Wingate in July 1901.¹⁸⁶ "The YMCA men are taking so many of our Japan ladies we begin to feel dazed!" complained M.D.Wingate to the American Board in August 1911.¹⁸⁷ The "menace" of marriage came not only from outside the Board but also from within. "It is surly a mistake of the American Board to continue to send out unmarried men to our Missions," wrote M.D.Wingate in August 1911 because "if they decided to become married, there is no one to choose from except the single ladies who are already engaged in definite work." She appealed that it was a significant loss to the WBMI because when these women "who went to the field expecting to make it their life work" were taken away, "the work itself loses" and the loss could not be compensated by what the male missionary gained from marriage.¹⁸⁸ "It would be only fair for the American Board to return the amount of paid salary where the young woman employed by them has not been out more than two years," wrote Florence A.Fensham, substituting for M.D.Wingate to the American Board.¹⁸⁹

The marriage issue was a delicate and difficult question. It highlighted the inherent paradox of the single women missionaries espousing Domestic Feminism to justify their woman's work and at the same time, perceiving the missionary career as a lifetime profession. Marriage fulfilled the ideal of Victorian womanhood, yet was detrimental to the woman's missionary work of the WBMI. "I have never heard any objections made to the marriage of missionaries," wrote Emily A.White Smith in August 1915, perhaps in defense of domestic feminism in which marriage was essential.¹⁹⁰ The policy of refund put an end to this dispute,

but the issue of marriage of single women missionaries persisted as a delicate subject.

Granted an unprecedented autonomy in the management of women's foreign missionary work, both in the financial decisions as well as personnel management, the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior utilized their growing autonomy and power to build Kobe College, one of the first attempts for women's higher education in Meiji Japan. Under the staunch leadership of Emily A. White Smith, the second President of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior, both the women administrators and the women missionaries, who became increasingly professionalized after the mid-1880s, linked Christianity and women's higher education as integral for woman's advancement. When left on their own without male supervision in the newly opened port-city of Kobe, they embarked on realizing their dream to build a women's Christian college, despite hesitant American Board. They did not doubt that their belief in the superiority and universality of women's higher education linked with Christianity would be applicable, even in Japan with its Confucian and Buddhist base and where the national common education of girls was a novelty.

CHAPTER THREE

Missionary Work Launched

Kobe Home to Kobe Girls' School, 1873–1882

On March 31, 1873, only a month after the edict banning Christianity was lifted, Eliza Talcott and Julia Dudley, the first two single women missionaries of the American Board, landed on the shores of Kobe. They came in response to an urgent plea from J.D.Davis, a male missionary, to send single women missionaries to the field¹ because only women could approach Japanese families and there he saw a promising potential to spread the Gospel.

The American Board missionaries had decided to begin their work in Kobe, largely because they were latecomers by ten years as an American Protestant mission to Japan. When D.C.Greene and his wife, the first American Board missionary couple arrived in Yokohama in 1869, the preceding fourteen missionaries of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Missions had already been working in Yokohama and Edo (later Tokyo) for nearly a decade. At first Greene decided to live in Edo, yet a year later in 1870, he changed his mind to focus on Kobe and Western Japan instead, based on the advice of Henry Brodget, an American Board missionary who stopped by on his way back to China. This was a good decision as the ports of Hiogo and Osaka had opened only in 1868 and there were almost no presence of American Protestant missions except for one missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Osaka.

In addition, the ambiguous opening and development of Kobe in 1868² turned out to provide a favorable environment for the development of Kobe Home (renamed Kobe Girls' School in 1880, Kobe College in 1894). For one thing, the term "Hiogo port" used in the U.S.-Japan Friendship and Commerce Treaty and related agreements meant Kobe port and not Hyogo port in geographical terms. Thus neither the municipal Hiogo port nor municipal Hiogo were open to the foreigners and foreigners could not enter Hiogo Bay until 1892. Japanese may have skillfully evaded foreign intrusion in an ancient port-town of tradition and guided the foreigners to enter less-populated small fishing village. In early Meiji, about 500 households resided in Kobe when about 5000 households resided in Hiogo.³ The distinction of these two ports paradoxically

implies that Kobe, devoid of any traditional power, provided an ideal setting for the missionaries' freedom. For another thing, Hiogo government could not complete the construction of the foreign concessions in Kobe in time, so Hiogo governor Ito Shunsuke (who later became the Prime Minister Ito Hirobumi) was obliged to write letters to the foreign consuls that mixed residence between Ikuta River and Uji River was permitted. This enabled the missionaries to "buy" land (actually renewable 25-year lease) even though they arrived after all the concession lots were sold. It also allowed the missionaries to enjoy extraterritorial rights as well as ownership of the school buildings on Japanese lands. This legal ambiguity of the land for mixed residence in Kobe seemed to have protected the missionaries' freedom and autonomy at Kobe Home from Japanese governmental control. Therefore they did not have to submit documents with the name of a Japanese nominal principal, which the other American Board schools had to do.

Furthermore, Kobe was situated only twenty miles from Sanda, a small former feudal domain which had been a center of intellectual milieu of the liberal Western thinking during the late Edo period. The presence of Sanda intellectuals in vicinity at this time of profound political, social and cultural transition meant significant for the missionaries. Kawamoto Komin, one of the leading scholars of Dutch learning and chemistry of the day and professor at *Bansho shirabedokoro*, the forerunner of Tokyo Imperial University, had returned to Sanda and opened *Sanda eiran juku*, a private academy for Western learning. Kawamoto was well-known as the first Japanese to succeed in photography, brewing beer and making matches. Here the former Daimio Kuki Takayoshi and his samurai followers studied, gained acquaintance with Fukuzawa Yukichi, one of the leading liberal Meiji critique and founder of Keio Gijuku (today's Keio University), and were greatly influenced by the enlightened Western thinking. Kuki Takayoshi in his boyhood had seen Commodore Perry's ship in distance from the shore and witnessed Japanese people running around in confusion, when he accompanied his father on his trip to the Kanto plain. Connecting his childhood awe with liberal Western thought, he was convinced that Western knowledge, technology and thoughts were essential for rapid modernization. To further promote education, he sought to transform *Zoshikan*, the *han* school into a new school of Western Learning modeled after Keio. He also purchased 350 Snider rifles of the latest model. This purchase, however, turned out to be an expensive disaster for Sanda and Kuki. The peasants suffering from flood damage rebelled against this financial burden in 1869. This forced Kuki to give up his dream to open an ideal school for Western learning and leave Sanda, where his ancestors had lived for centuries. Kuki, however, equipped

with business instinct, moved into the newly opening port city of Kobe in 1872, and began a trade firm with two of his competent men, Shirasu Taizo and Kodera Taijiro. He successfully made a fortune by buying out lands in Kobe when the prices were still low. Eager to adopt Western lifestyle, the Kuki family dressed in Western clothing and was among the first Japanese to have beef for meals. Open to new ideas and quick in actions, Kuki was interested in the American missionaries who had recently arrived in Kobe. Such keen motivation on the Japanese side probably led the Kuki family to visit Davis family at the summer retreat in Arima during Davis' first summer in Japan in 1872.⁴

This encounter turned out to be an important signifier of the nature of subsequent mission work of the American Board in Kobe. First, J.D. Davis realized how important women and children were in lifting fear and suspicions against foreigners and thereby enabling the missionaries to contact Japanese. In fact, the encounter with Kuki Takayoshi was made possible when Davis first visited Sanda with his wife and baby in a palanquin (*kago*), because the presence of his wife attracted the Japanese "gaze" and the wife of the former Daimio came to see them with "her three little children dressed in foreign clothes." This event opened the opportunity for the former Daimio and his family to visit the Davis family everyday in Arima. Their close friendship continued after the Kuki family moved to Kobe later that year and Kuki advised the Davis family to take into their family "a girl who had lived with them for five years."⁵ This girl was Koga Fuji, one of the first students at Kobe Home and the first Japanese baptized when Kobe Church was opened on April 19, 1874. Hence the women of the two families, his wife and Mrs. Kuki played the pivotal role to make this relationship deep and long lasting. Second, when Kuki Takayoshi's five-year old daughter died of illness in May 1872, the Davis family shared the moments of sorrow and upon request of Kuki Takayoshi, Davis led the first Christian funeral service in Japan. Her epitaph is written in English on the tombstone laid in Shingetsuin temple. Sharing such profound personal moments of deaths and marriages became important evangelical work for the first women missionaries in Kobe. Third, this encounter opened the way for a significant Japanese support both in material and human resources.

Eliza Talcott and Julia Dudley began teaching girls privately sometime in November 1873. For almost two years of private teaching, two Sanda samurais, Maeda Heizo and Shirasu Taizo provided the classrooms. Finally, when Kobe Home was officially founded as a girls' boarding school under the control of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions on October 12, 1875, the land and school building were funded from three sources. In addition to \$3200 from the Woman's Board

of Mission of the Interior and \$500 from the Woman's Board of Missions of the Pacific, Kuki Takayoshi gave \$800. One of the two founders, Eliza Talcott, served as the principal during these years, assisted by three single women missionaries, Julia E. Dudley the other founder, Martha J. Barrows, and Julia A. Gulick.

Kobe College's beginnings were during a period in which many Japanese were in pursuit of Western culture. The Japanese in general responded favorably to Christianity and Western culture. Yet the story was complex. Free from government intervention in the beginning, the missionaries still found it difficult to proselytize Japanese amid the deeply held traditional norms of girls' education among the Japanese.

MEIJI POLICIES FOR WOMEN'S EDUCATION

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the Meiji government laid out a universal education system as one of the measures of social reform. The Fundamental Code of Education was issued in 1872 which proclaimed that all children, regardless of class or sex, were obliged to attend primary schools. The whole nation was divided into eight university districts, thirty-two secondary schools per one university district and two hundred ten primary school districts per one secondary school district. This totaled eight universities, 256 secondary schools and 53,760 primary schools nationwide. It was the first government-sponsored comprehensive education system in Japan, which followed the French centralized system⁶. The Mombusho or the Ministry of Education, which had been organized a year before in 1871, implemented these policies quickly. The Code of Education was liberal and innovative because the government decree, "*toukon chakushu no junjo*" [The Procedure for Enforcement] issued to enforce the policies of the Code of Education, proclaimed that "the girls in general should be equally educated as the boys" and that "the human way is not to discriminate between male and female."⁷ This was the first legal acknowledgement of girls' education in the history of Japanese education. This ideal, however, was far from reality.

Girls' enrollment rate at the primary schools remained low, about one-third of that of the boys. The enrollment rate of girls at the primary schools was about 13% in 1873 and about 23% in 1879, whereas the rate for boys was about 40% in 1873 and about 60% in 1879.⁸ The subsequent development of the education system by the government concentrated on males' education. Girls had only primary education, except for normal schools to train teachers. The *Koto jogakko rei*, or the Act of Women's High School, passed as late as 1899, mandated every prefecture to establish at

least one women's high school in the prefecture, marking the first government commitment to women's secondary education.

The American missionaries astutely filled this vacuum and made a significant contribution in developing women's secondary and higher education during these years. The mission boards of various denominations of the U.S., Canada and Great Britain opened a number of girls' schools. Among various

nationalities engaged in these mission boards, American Protestant missions had the largest share. Of thirty-four girls' schools opened by missions between 1870 and 1889, twenty-nine were American Protestant missions, three Canadian and two British.⁹ The Protestant missions dominated the work of girls' education in Japan during the two decades of the 1870s and 1880s. By contrast, the Catholic missions were latecomers after 1881, opening girls' schools primarily in the 1900s.¹⁰ The table on page 73 is the list of the earliest missionary schools for girls that were founded in 1870s.¹¹

In Kobe, the public schools available between 1873 through 1882 were the four primary schools founded in Meiji 6 (1873). The total of 375 boys and 268 girls attended these four schools in Meiji 7 (1874). In Meiji 8 (1875), all the school buildings were newly built on government-owned property and the number of students increased to 447 boys and 296 girls. The average enrollment rate of the children eligible for primary school education was, boys and girls combined, for Meiji 13 (1880), 47.9 percent.¹⁴

Despite government efforts to request all the girls between six to fourteen years of age to attend the public primary schools, the enrollment rate of the girls across class remained very low. This fact demonstrates that the Japanese people in general were not interested in girls' education. Most of them considered it unnecessary to educate girls at schools. Girls were regarded as an important labor force for babysitting and other domestic chores. For girls to fill the social expected role of wives, it was necessary to educate them to be docile and obedient. For this purpose, training at home or with private tutors in sewing and other household etiquette was considered essential and sufficient. The number of older girls enrolled decreased sharply as they approached the age of marriage of about fourteen and above. The statistics of Kobe for the year of 1885 (the earliest available government statistics across class) reveal that 66 or 15% of the girls were married between the ages of fifteen to nineteen, and 202 or 45% of the girls were married between fifteen and twenty-four.¹⁵

Yoshioka Yayoi, one of the first woman physicians in Japan and founder of Tokyo Women's Medical College in 1900, described in her

Missionary schools for girls	year place	Mission boards
Miss Kidder s [Mary E. Kidder] School (present Ferris Seminary)	1870 Yokohama	Dutch Reformed Church
A-6 ban Jogakko (present Joshi Gakuin)	1870? ^{1 2} Yokohama	Presbyterian Mission
Mission Home (present Yokohama Kyoritsu Gakuen)	1871 Yokohama	Women s Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands
Joshi Shogakko (later Aoyama Jogakuin)	1874 Tokyo	Methodist Episcopal Mission
Kobe Home (later Kobe College)	1875 Kobe	ABCFM
Shoan Jogakko (present Heian Jogakuin)	1875 Osaka	Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.
Rikkyo Jogakko (present Rikkyo Jogakuin)	1877 Tokyo	Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.
Kassui Jogakko (present Kassui Gakuin)	1879 Nagasaki	Methodist Episcopal Mission
Eisei Jogakko (present Pool Jogakuin)	1879 Osaka	CMS (British)

autobiography the general Japanese sentiment toward girls' education in the years between Meiji 9 (1876) and Meiji 12 (1879). Growing up in a small village in Shizuoka prefecture, Yayoi went to the newly opened

primary school. Her father, a physician of Chinese medicine and one of the enlightened leaders of the village, was instrumental in opening the school when the Fundamental Code of Education was issued in 1872. The villagers, however, were reluctant to send their children off to schools because they did not understand the need and thought that the children were an indispensable domestic labor force. Thus, Yayoi wrote, only about twenty children came when the school was opened in October 1873. When Yayoi entered the school in 1876, the number of students had increased to about fifty, but the girls who entered were only Yayoi herself and another girl, who soon left the school. Yayoi further described that “even though schools were opened for girls, very few girls entered and even if they entered, most of them left the school. The rate improved little by little, but did not reach that of the boys even in the end of Meiji Era.” She reasoned, “Such low enrollment rate of the girls could be evaluated as a barometer that indicated not the consciousness of the women themselves but the degree of how much the society and families understood of women.”¹⁶

Another important reason for the low enrollment rate was the expense. The government proclaimed that all the children regardless of class and sex, were obliged to attend school for eight years and the beneficiaries of the education, that is, the parents of the pupils, were to pay the expenses. In fact ninety per cent of the necessary costs were to be covered by the parents of the pupils. The tuition was expensive for individual families, because it included the construction costs of most of the primary schools newly built. Thus the newly started primary schools deprived families of a necessary labor force, taught subjects parents saw as impractical for daily life, and relied on families to assume the economic burden of school-buildings. Such unreasonable requests caused friction and resistance. Not only did parents not send children, but some attacked the newly built school buildings, burned, and destroyed them. A number of farmers’ revolts broke out as extensions of this resistance.¹⁷

Presumably the people in Kobe perceived the need of girls’ education not so differently from the national sentiment; yet, their enrollment was slightly higher than the national average. The enrollment rate of the primary schools in Hiogo prefecture, where the city of Kobe was located, was 7.14% compared with the national average of 5.76% for the academic year of 1875 (Meiji 8).¹⁸

In general, such novel attempts for girls’ education led by either the Japanese government or the missionaries attracted the attention of the *samurai* [warrior] class. The *samurai* class had been the highest class among farmers, artisans and merchants in the pre-Meiji era. *Samurai* lost status and income in the Meiji era; so while *samurai* remained admired as

intellectuals, their households might have little income. The missionaries on their part made efforts not to confine their evangelizing work among the *samurai* class only. Admitting that *shizoku*, or the former *samurai* class, were central and the majority in their work, they reported that, for instance, in their trip to Kochi in the island of Shikoku, in the province of Tosa, “the large audiences” who heard the gospel during the 18 days’ stay, were “composed of shizoku, merchants, officials & many women.”¹⁹

THE FOUNDING OF KOBE HOME

In this climate of government requirements for girls’ education and parental opposition to new sorts of education for girls, missionaries found a need and interest they might exploit. American missionary women volunteered for missionary work in Japan, one of the few career opportunities for respectable women. Their desire was to train Christian leaders who would spread the Gospel throughout Japan by becoming teachers, Bible leaders and/or wives and mothers. Kobe Home was to become the female counterpart of the Doshisha Training School in Kyoto. “The ladies are intending, as far as possible, to give it the character of a Christian Female Training School,” Luther Gulick described in his letter of July 15, 1876.²⁰

I gave the girls Miss Gilman’s text which you gave me from her. “I have chosen you and planted you that ye should go and bring forth fruit.”²¹

As this passage indicated, Eliza Talcott wanted to reproduce missionaries out of her Japanese students. Her role was to train Christian leaders out of the girls she educated in the quasi-Christian family of the boarding school. In her mind, she was planting the seeds of Christianity in the hearts of these individual Japanese girls. On February 11, 1879 Talcott wrote “The people we meet here in Kobe especially come from all over the island, and we are scattering seed [unclear] as we are working [unclear] to this one place.”²² When these Christian seeds bore fruit, the girls would return to their various home communities in inland Japan. They would be the native missionaries widely scattered throughout Japan. American missionaries’ freedom of mobility in Japan was restricted at this time due to the extraterritoriality clause of the U.S.-Japan Friendship and Commerce Treaty of 1858 which confined missionaries to specific locations called *concessions* and by which they came under the jurisdiction of their home countries. The Treaty Limits allowed foreigners to travel only within 10 *ri* (1 *ri*= about four kilometers) from the treaty ports. The

American missionaries were convinced that the training of native missionaries was the most effective way to spread Christianity throughout Japan because the Japanese could go to even the remotest regions where the American missionaries were not permitted to enter.

Kobe Home, similar to the beginnings of other missionary girls' schools, started from the support of a small circle of open-minded *samurai* intellectuals who believed that modern Western knowledge and culture were important for modernization. These intellectuals further reasoned that to modernize their families to a standard comparable to Western families, it was essential that their wives and daughters should be well-educated in Western knowledge and culture.

Sanda and its liberal, enlightened tradition had contributed significantly to missionary work. Kobe Home was a product of both missionary intentions and of Sanda's support and interests. Mrs. Kuki, Sanda samurai's wives, daughters and sons provided most of their first students. In addition, Kuki Takayoshi, the former daimio who became the governor at the Meiji Restoration contributed 800 yen or 20% of the land and construction cost of the first school building. Kuki, the enlightened, charismatic leader, created this open-minded and innovative climate. He was in the forefront of profound social and cultural reform. Quickly abiding by Meiji Restoration policies, he abolished the feudal class system and with liberal democratic ideas, contributed to upward social mobility of former samurais of lower rank. He actively recruited a number of promising youths into higher ranks who had formerly belonged to the lowest rank within the samurai class. At the same time, Kuki was one of the earliest leaders to seize on English language and any Western knowledge as the most promising source of power.

The first students consisted of a variety of people including five married women, both the wife and the daughter of former *Daimio* Kuki and even several boys. This was because most of them were family members of the *samurais* who were interested in Christianity and who later became members of Kobe Church.

This diversity in the age and sex of the first students paralleled a similar pattern in other missionary girls' schools in their opening years. At *Kaigan Jogakko* in Tokyo, which later became *Aoyama Jogakuin*, Tsuda Sen, the father of Tsuda Umeko who would found Tsuda College in 1900, enrolled his wife, his wife's friend, his daughters and his sons as students to start the school.²³ Similarly, the first students at Kobe Home consisted of family members of Kuki, the former *daimio* and other *samurais* who were the early supporters of the missionary work and the Kobe Church.

Eliza Talcott and Julia Dudley were financially supported by the Japanese from the outset. Maeda Heizo, a samurai from Sanda, kindly

rented the second floor of his house to them. Talcott was pleased by this first schoolroom. She wrote, "Our schoolroom is a pleasant one, just on the [unclear] of the native [unclear] facing south, with the whole front of sliding glass mirror looking out over the [unclear] to the bay beyond. It was offered us at a very low rent, and answers our present purpose quite well."²⁴ Maeda Heizo's son Taichi was one of the first students of Rev. D.C. Greene's oldest Bible group, which started in February 1872, a year before the edict banning Christianity was lifted. He was instrumental in the establishment of Kobe Church, the first American Board church in Japan in 1874. He opened a bookstore in Kobe that served as a disguise for a Christian meeting place.²⁵

Eliza Talcott reported the beginning of the school in her December 16, 1873 letter to the Woman's Board.

Our School, established three weeks ago, number now 19 [unclear] [students]. Most come for the English teaching... We have only an afternoon's session of two hours, feeling that we can as yet spare no more time or strength from our main work of acquiring the language.

Talcott wrote they were "glad to make this beginning" and were "greatly encouraged by the punctual attendance and manifest interest of the pupils of all ages from eight to over thirty."²⁶

In these early days, the two-hour class consisted of some singing, praying and reading in English. "We open with singing and praying in Japanese," Talcott wrote, "then give an hour or more to English reading and conversation closing with Old Testament stories in Japanese and another hymn."²⁷ Initially a private work of Talcott and Dudley, the classes continued as a private operation for nearly two years until the girls' boarding school was officially opened as Kobe Home under the control of the American Board on October 12, 1875.

Spreading Christianity among Japanese women was Talcott's primary objective, and she taught English to attract auditors. For the Japanese, however, English study was the chief attraction. This discrepancy in the expectations of the school between the Japanese and the American missionaries forecast the long enduring dilemma of the missionary work at Kobe Home/Kobe Girls' School.

The missionary objective in opening a girls' school at this time was to provide them with access to Japanese women. Thus the women missionaries were equally connected to the opening of the Sabbath school at Kobe in September of 1873 because the goal to evangelize Japanese women was the same. It was "organized by Dr. [John C.] Berry, assisted by the ladies of the mission, with an attendance of forty-one," which

“increased to fifty-eight, including both old and young.”²⁸ In the missionaries’ minds, the two works of girls’ school and Sabbath school were inseparable. The girls’ school functioned as a feeder of teachers to the Sabbath school from the very beginning, and became a tradition thereafter. In the above December 16, 1873 letter to Miss Bliss [first name not mentioned] of the Woman’s Board, Talcott wrote,

Another new feature of our work is our S.School inaugurated on the 7th, the day appointed for special prayer for Missions Mr. Berry takes charge of the S.S., four of our ladies, and four Japanese young men acting as teachers.²⁹

Talcott heard a Japanese Sabbath School teacher complain that “there were no women fitted to be the companions of intelligent men, betraying the purer ideal he had gained of marriage as a union of hearts,” when an American Board missionary Daniel Crosby Greene recommended him to marry.³⁰ Hearing this, Talcott pronounced that her objective for her girls’ school was to train such respectable Christian women who would be suitable wives of these promising Japanese Christian men. She wrote,

I hope this may not long be said of women. Our girls’ school ought to do something towards elevating the standard of womanhood, and it is pleasant to see the conscious dignity which even a slight knowledge of Christianity gives to woman.³¹

Talcott intended to advance the quality of womanhood of the Japanese girls by teaching Christianity. She expected them to fill the social role of educated partners and companions of the Christian husbands. Thus she sought to create Christian wives modeled after the American Christian women in New England families. By advocating that girls be married and become mothers, she expected them to fill the prescribed woman’s sphere in Japan as well.

Talcott’s Christian values led her to seek out women of all social classes, also. Women in the interior who came to Talcott’s Bible meetings were from a mix of classes. Talcott wrote in 1876 that “Five united with the church yesterday, three from the lower classes and two Samurai women who have been reading the Bible for over three years, but have only recently had their eyes opened to see the precious truth.”³²

Boarding schools were considered by the missionaries, the Woman’s Board and the American Board in the United States, the most effective means to bring the Japanese girls in non-Christian environments under direct Christian influence. As Mary Lyon, the founder of Mount Holyoke

Female Seminary had emphasized, boarding schools functioned as extended Christian families.³³ Talcott wrote by May 1874:

We hope soon to be able to open a boarding school, for which we feel that we shall need more help. We ought to have talented, well trained teachers, that our girls may receive not only religious but secular training that shall fit them to be teachers and teachers of others.³⁴

As it met the missionary goal, Talcott's desire of developing her school into a boarding school was immediately supported by the Japan Mission. The Japan Mission officially made the resolution at the Annual Meeting of May 27, 1874, that the Girls' Schools must be established as early as possible for the purpose of training native women who would spread Christianity among other Japanese women. The following was adopted:

Whereas the fact that for a long time the Christian work among the Women of Japan must be done mainly by women renders the training of women & girls for such work of the highest importance.

Res[olved] that as early as possible Girls' Schools should be established in all the important centers of Missionary work & that more women fitted for the charge of such schools should be sent by the Board as early as possible....

Res[olved] that it seems desirable that the Girls' Schools growing naturally from small beginnings should develop into boarding schools where the girls should come under [unclear] constant & immediate Christian influence.³⁵

Despite the proselytizing purpose, Talcott had a clear vision that her school was not to produce Westernized women but to create Japanese women of Christian character who would harmoniously fit into their native culture. As the missionaries were practical-minded in pursuing their goal, they aimed just at the middle ground between Christianizing these Japanese girls and creating "Japanese" women who would be able to return harmoniously into their native community. If these Japanese graduates were ostracized from their community because they were too Western, the missionary goal to evangelize Japan through these Japanese Christian leaders would never be possible. To make this eclectic blend of Christian and Japanese, the missionaries combined both elements in the following way. A "Christian family" was created by the boarding school. Yet noteworthy was the fact that Talcott from the earliest days made the curriculum to include Japanese studies in addition to the instruction on English and Christianity. Her first step was to add Geography to the

curriculum in the fall of 1874.³⁶ The subject of Geography was enlarged to the study of Japanese and Chinese classics by the fall of 1876. The advertisement of Kobe Home printed in 1876 in *Shichi Ichi Zappo*, a Christian newspaper published in Japanese, listed that every morning would be devoted to *nihon shinanohon*, the study of Japanese and Chinese classics, and that in the afternoons, English and various Western subjects were taught in different levels of classes. In 1877, the following year, the morning session was further expanded to include arithmetic, geography, history, reading and writing in the Japanese language, which were taught in the Government common schools. In the afternoon, the students used English in English language, singing, Universal history [world history probably]; Old Testament history was taught in Japanese.³⁷

Such efforts by Talcott and Dudley bore fruit and the girls' boarding school was officially opened as an educational institution of the American Board in Kobe on October 12, 1875. The school was named "Kobe Home." The actual expense exceeded their estimate and WBMI made painstaking efforts to collect \$4700 of which \$1000 became unnecessary because of Japanese support.

The founding of Kobe Home became an ideal model for the American Board as it started with a substantial financial donation from the Japanese ex-daimio, Kuki and his samurai retainers, Maeda Taichi and Suzuki Kiyoshi. The sum of \$800 given by Kuki and others provided for the erection of buildings. Gaining financial support from the Japanese themselves from the outset was a noteworthy accomplishment as it was rarely possible in other mission fields. Dr. N.G.Clark, the Foreign Secretary of the American Board, noted of this episode in his paper, "Ten Years in Japan" of 1879, that it met the policy of the American Board to promote self-support of the native churches as soon as possible in their foreign mission work.

The first school building completed in October of 1875 was a wooden two-story building in Western style. The pillars and the veranda running across the second floor added exotic charm to the building, which became a symbol of attraction especially during the fad of Westernization. The first floor included two classrooms, one student dining room, one guest room, a parlor for teachers, a teachers' dining room, and a kitchen. In the center of the second floor were situated the bedrooms for American missionaries, and the rest of the floor was divided into thirteen small rooms which served as the dormitory for the students. Talcott adopted Japanese style in the students' private rooms by fitting *tatami* mats on the floor. The lifestyle of the girls, including the clothing, meals and the interior of the dormitory was kept Japanese by adopting Japanese *tatami* mats, kimonos, and Japanese meals of rice and *miso* soup. Talcott's

adherence to Japanese lifestyle for the students reveals that Talcott connected education with religion. She did not connect education and civilization. The building was called *Nansha* or the Southern Building as more buildings were added subsequently. As the campus was expanded, *Nansha* came to serve as the residence of the American missionaries.

The style followed that of a typical seminary building in New England. The concept adopted was to emulate a large family dwelling house in which both the living quarters and school quarters coexisted in one building, as was initially the case in Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke seminary. The pillars and the wooden veranda that run across the facade of *Nansha* resembled the "two-story white wooden piazza across much of its facade" of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary that historian Helen L. Horowitz described as "the distinctive decorative feature that marked it clearly as a dwelling house." *Nansha* also followed a New England-style dwelling house in which the one building included both the public and the private space; in this instance, the classrooms, the kitchen, and the living quarters of both the teachers and boarding students. The style of the school building indicates that Kobe Home was designed to create a "Christian home" to effectually evangelize students so that they would become Christian leaders as teachers and wives. "Our school is progressing," Dudley wrote by January 1877: "Next term opens with I think twenty-six boarders. The school seems like a family more than a school. We learn to love the girls very soon and hope and expect every one of them will become Christians." The School's success could distract from other mission work, however.

In 1876, Julia A. Gulick came in response to a plea to assist in the school-work, thereby enabling Talcott and Dudley to leave from time to time for evangelical tours. Gulick wrote to Mrs. Phillips [first name not mentioned] of the Woman's Board on January 12, 1876 that she joined the faculty of Kobe Home.

Miss Dudley is now planning to make a somewhat prolonged stay there [Sanda] without any missionary associate. It is a great undertaking to go alone but she is a brave true woman, and I doubt not will be blessed in her self-denying efforts for this people. When she leaves here I am to help Miss Talcott in the school an hour daily, teaching English to the least advanced scholars.

The school was so successful and flourishing that the first appeal for an enlargement of the facilities was suggested by Dudley in her correspondence of January 1, 1877:

Miss T. and I both feel the time is near when a school room joining the present building will be a necessity. It will make room to accommodate more pupils or eschew the present inconvenience of too small school rooms. This has not yet been talked up by the mission. Our view would be to put up a plain Japanese building as at little expense as possible.

Later, the Mission acknowledged the need and the appeal was proposed in the Annual Report of the American Board in 1877. It reported, "There is felt to be need for enlargement of the girls' seminary building at Kobe, the teachers having been forced already, by want of room, to turn away girls from a distance, seeking admission. There are now twenty-eight pupils in that school, which holds a high position in the estimation of the people."

The first additional building was built in February of 1878. Again the construction expense was funded by Japanese and American sources. The Japanese donated 621 yen whereas the Americans donated 592.59 yen including the donations of 208 yen from the foreign residents in Kobe. It was a two-story building of wood with a veranda on the second floor. Similar to the first building of *Nansha*, it again housed an auditorium and two classrooms on the first floor and classrooms and students' dormitory on the second floor. When a separate auditorium was built in 1888, this building became a dormitory and was called *Seisha* or "the western building." These two buildings constructed in the style of New England "dwelling family house" enhanced the spirit of "Christian family" by situating the living quarters of both the missionaries and the students together with their school quarters.

These buildings fostered "Christian family" between the missionaries and the students. "Saturday afternoon, some of the school girls came to my room to read together the chapter from which the text is to be taken for the morrow's sermon," wrote Talcott in June 1879. Because Talcott understood that Japanese society was sexually segregated, she tried to keep the groups sexually separated to evangelize them most effectively.

Some of the young men heard of the reading and begged leave to come, but I think they are a hindrance to the free thought and expression of ideas among the girls, so I have asked them not to come. Besides I want to have a prayer-meeting in connection with the meeting and the women will never pray for the first time before the young men.

Talcott did not see Kobe Home as a regular school with grades and graduation. It was only an extension of a Bible study group in the school setting. Thus no commencement took place during her administration.

"We should use the Peep of Day' for a Reader," wrote Talcott in December 1873. "The Peep of the Day" was "their standard textbook", by January 1876 when Julia A. Gulick wrote, "the children are learning the Old Testament stories while studying the corrected English language." Soon Gulick taught English reading and translating for one and a half hours in the afternoon every day. From the beginning of the school in 1873 until Clarkson attempted a substantial curriculum reform in 1878, "The Peep o' Day" was the standard textbook at Kobe Home. "The Peep o' Day" was an introductory text for earliest religious instruction to the infant published by the American Tract Society in New York. The book was intended for oral instruction for four-to-six-year-olds until the children themselves could read the Testaments. The author intended this book to aid the "inexperienced teacher of the infant poor" or "the young mother in her conversations with her child of four or five years" or as a book for Sunday reading. "The Peep o' Day" consisted of fifty-three lessons. Each lesson discussed a theme of Christian teachings or biblical anecdotes connected to everyday life, in easy children's language, and included questions and verses to memorize. The book seemed to have been a well-known, best-selling textbook of Christianity, translated in several languages and circulated in various foreign missions including the African Mission.

To sum up, during the founding years of 1873 through 1878, Kobe Home witnessed a successful beginning. The number of students increased from 19 in 1873 to 54 during the year of 1878, "though not more than 44 at any one time." The early supporters of Kobe Home on the Japanese side were the former *daimio* Kuki and other enlightened intellectuals of the former samurai class whose elitist and stable social status was overthrown by the abolishment of the feudal class system after the Meiji Restoration. Deprived of their social status, the samurai were firmly motivated to acquire any skill, knowledge or piece of thought they deemed necessary for the future development of modern Japan. As they were enlightened intellectuals, they were fully aware that the future lay in the acquisition of Western culture. Thus they tapped the opportunity to gain access to Western culture by sending the women in their family, in most cases their wives and daughters, off to the new girls' school.

JAPANESE CONTEXT FOR JAPANESE STUDENTS AS VIEWED FROM MISSIONARIES

The support or hostility Japanese students at Kobe Home faced in going to a Christian school depended upon the Japanese sentiment toward Christianity at the time of their attendance. Because the success of evangelization was subject to how their students were received by the Japanese community, the missionaries were sensitive to Japanese sentiment.

Although the decade between 1873 and 1882 was devoid of any overt hostility or persecution against Christianity in Japan, the missionaries gradually perceived the subtle uncomfortable sentiment that the Japanese held toward Christianity. Talcott reassured the sending boards at home in a letter of December 16, 1873:

With regard to rumors of insurrection or persecution, I presume they are magnified at home. There was a rising, quickly quelled however between here and Nagasaki. It has no direct connection with Christianity and gave us no uneasiness at all. We do not fear any interference from the government for ourselves though the people are yet some of them a little timid, we think Christianity will henceforth be allowed and soon openly tolerated.

Talcott was apparently unaware that Orita Toshihide, a Shintoist priest from Minatogawa Shrine had inspected Talcott's evangelizing work among Japanese in Arima during the summer of 1874 and submitted a report to a government official. Such surveys were done by the method of espionage, by sending somebody to the Bible meetings of the missionaries or by going to such meetings himself.

Talcott had overlooked such underground inspections, yet she noticed the timidity and prudence among Japanese in approaching Christianity. In her letter of November 28, 1874, Talcott showed her understanding that becoming a member of the church was a courageous act for the Japanese under the prevailing skepticism against Christianity.

We shall have at least one addition to the Church next month and there are a large number of men and some women who are earnestly studying the Bible and will [unclear] ask for admission to the church. It is a great step for some of them to take, even those who stand in no fear of the government. This voluntarily associating themselves with persons of inferior rank and reputation, and until thoroughly Christian, they will not do it, and we are content to wait God's leading.

The Bible study group tended to be of a mix of classes. Thus for the Japanese, approaching Christianity implied not only the risk of government persecution but also a fear to be in contact with people of the lower classes.

Talcott noticed that the Japanese felt uneasy and awkward to approach Christianity because they were ridiculed. The non-Christian Japanese reacted to the Japanese who were eager to study the Bible with a cultural ambivalence toward Christianity.

You can hardly understand how strong is the power of ridicule over those who want to examine Christianity or having become convinced of the truth are deferred from committing themselves to it. "Such an one has gone over to Christianity," is a hard thing to hear at first, and almost everyone at first goes slyly, denying any real interest.

Talcott wrote how, "in a way hard to bear," a boy of 13 or 14 years of age was ridiculed by "various employees" for going to a church. "Do you go there?" "What good does it do?" "You get cakes and candies, don't you?" When the boy explained that the cakes and candies were distributed at the Romish church, "they took a different tack." Your aunt and all the other Christians let their eyebrows grow, and don't use paint or powder. The girl's faces look strange enough.

To this last ridicule, the boy responded, "We don't breathe only through the lungs, but through the skin, and though the paint and powder don't kill, they must injure the body, even when applied only to the face." He quoted "a story he had read of a king who gilded his baby that he might be worshipped by the people as a god and the child died." At which, Talcott wrote in triumph, "they were struck with amazement and silenced." This episode demonstrated that the Japanese were ambivalent toward Christian people, curious about elements that could be positive for the society but fearful of the changes that Christianity might bring. It also illustrated how uneasy the Japanese felt attending a Christian church. Moreover, it revealed that the Christian church taught the Japanese women not to wear makeup and to stop abiding by the Japanese custom of shaving the eyebrows because it was unhealthy.

In sum the period of 1873 to 1882 did not witness any overt antagonism or persecution against Christianity on the Japanese part. Yet the climate toward Christianity was not fully favorable. The Japanese were skeptical and cautious of Christianity. Keenly sensitive of how others viewed them, the Japanese people generally felt uneasy or awkward to approach Christianity.

In general, the women missionaries were impressed that Japanese women enjoyed a relatively higher social status than other Asian women. When Dudley and Talcott arrived in Kobe on March 31, 1873, it was only a month before their arrival on February 24, 1873 that the edict banning Christianity had been lifted. Both Talcott and Dudley thought that the Japanese girls looked adorable and lovely. They were attracted to them at first sight. Talcott described her first impressions of the girls as follows:

Many of the girls, as we meet them in the streets, look very attractive and I long to be able to talk with them—am very thankful to be here and for the hope of being able to do something towards giving the light among them all —.

Dudley similarly wrote of her pleasant impressions.

The country is so beautiful and the people, I love them... Some one says in writing of them, they are the most polite kind and gentle people I ever saw and I think this praise is just. They only need the religion we have come to teach them, to [unclear] them spiritual [unclear] their characters to make them much that is lovely.

The politeness of Japanese girls was something that impressed women missionaries. It was a virtue the missionaries appreciated but at times it became a source of their perplexity. The politeness sometimes exceeded American expectations and annoyed them. Talcott wrote in 1873 that “the Japanese are naturally formal and undemonstrative.” The missionaries sometimes found it difficult to deal with Japanese women who did not show their emotions in their facial expressions, which was similar to the difficulty Hunter described of the American missionaries with Chinese women.

Dudley was impressed that Japanese men treated women with respect. She wrote on June 20, 1874 to Dr. Clark, the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board as follows:

But there seems so little opposition to this, so much native gallantry in the Japanese gentlemen in paying deference to their women. When [unclear] shall become more general and the women use the influence they have for good she will be a power here and we hope the day is not distant.

At the same time, however, she noted that Japanese women tended to be confined in women’s sphere at home, congruent with the missionary

imagery of Asian women confined in “zenanas.” In the same letter, she wrote,

The women here must be sought out—they never come out till we have been to them and urged them for it is not the way of the country for them to meet in public with men.

Receiving such favorable impressions of Japanese women from the missionaries, the Woman’s Board of the Interior (WBMI) in Chicago also saw Japanese women to be in a relatively high social status as compared with that of other Asian countries. They related this observation to the reason why Christianity was received favorably by the Japanese in mid-1870s. The WBMI rejoiced in its Annual Report of 1878 that Japan was “the ideal field of the missionary” because of its “immediate reception of Christianity.”

Our potent cause of the immediate reception of Christianity by this people is doubtless to be found in the position of woman in Japan. She is not here, as is so generally the case in heathen lands, held in ignorant and joyless seclusion, but—companion & equal of man.⁵⁹

Because such an immediate receptivity of Christianity in a foreign mission field was unusual, the officers of WBMI linked it simply to what they observed as a relatively high social status of Japanese women. Even in April 1880, *Life and Light*, the periodical of the Woman’s Boards, reported that the Japanese women were “all the fairer and happier” than “the girls in other Asiatic nations.” Three reasons were given as to why Japanese women were perceived as better off. First Japanese women had traditionally been educated to read and write, in the rudiments of arithmetic and “something of the history of her own country,” and in some needlework, music, and for those of the higher classes, in morals and manners. Second “although there is a decided preference for boys, and their position everywhere surpasses that of the girls,” “daughters are not unwelcome intruders, and they are treated with a certain amount of an affectionate tenderness by fathers as well as mothers.” Third, Japanese liked amusements and in these amusements, “the women and girls mingle freely with their husbands and brothers.” *Life and Light* went on to note that among the five grand festivities, there was “the Festival of Dolls” which was devoted to girls. Thus in missionary observations, Japanese girls seemed to enjoy a higher social status and more freedom than other Asian women.

The reality, however, was not so simple. Most likely the missionaries and the sending board observed that Japanese women were better off

than other Asian women because they were dealing mainly with samurai class women who dressed well, were fed well, and who were relatively well-educated. The Japanese receptivity of Christianity in the mid-1870s was not a product of the relatively high social status of Japanese women, but of the ambitions of an upper class seeking to retain influence in the Meiji era.

Because of the political culture that embraced Western culture in these early years of the mid-1870s, Christianity was well received among the men as well. The successful developments of Japan Mission as a whole made both the missionaries and the sending boards feel optimistic that Japan would be Christianized in about a decade. The Board reasoned that it was because Christianity was first received by the Samurai class, the upper-middle class intellectuals. The Committee on the Japan Mission reported at the Annual Meeting of the Board in October, 1881:

Hardly less wonderful than their progress in civilization is the progress of the Christian religion among the Japanese. This is owing undoubtedly in no small degree to the fact that the first work of our missionaries was among the Samurai, the retainers of the old Daimios, who constituted what might be called the middle class of Japan.

Dr. Clark, the Foreign Secretary of the American Board had also written in his paper, "Ten Years in Japan" in 1879, that such receptivity of Christianity by the upper class was a unique characteristic of mission work in Japan. "Thus far, unlike missionary experience in other countries, the gospel has reached mainly the higher and more intelligent classes."

TALCOTT'S VIEW OF CHRISTIAN/JAPANESE CLASH

The girls at Kobe Home came primarily from the enlightened intellectual class. As discussed earlier, the girls who came to Kobe Home in the early years of 1873 to 1877, came mostly from the samurai class, especially from the Sanda clan. The initial support by Kuki, the former daimio of Sanda, paved the way for such a favor. As feudalism prevailed in Japanese society, the leader's interest in Christianity determined the favorable support of Christianity among the samurai class of the whole clan.

Such receptivity by the higher, intellectual class in Japan is a significant characteristic to note. It contrasts sharply to the case of China where Hunter showed that "missionaries gained their early converts from a disadvantaged class" and sometimes had to "purchase" "unwanted children" to secure students for their schools because anti-Christianity

persisted among the upper class. Moreover, it was not only at Kobe Home that the missionary work in girls' education succeeded. The relatively higher social status of Japanese women to other Asian women was also perceived by Annie Howe of the American Board, who was instrumental in engineering the kindergarten movement in Meiji, Japan. Further, it was not only the American Board missionaries in the Western Japan of Osaka and Kobe who perceived Japanese women to have relatively higher status than other Asian women. Kohiyama also identified these two characteristics in the Presbyterian women missionaries' work in Tokyo in the 1870s. Thus it may be argued that the need for women's education, especially in Western culture, and the relatively high social status observed of Japanese women, were not regional but national traits. The irony of the immediate receptivity of Christianity by the enlightened intellectuals was, however, that because the missionary contact with the Japanese thus tended to concentrate in the enlightened middle-class, it produced misleading perceptions of the status of Japanese women. The freedom of the Japanese girls who were allowed to attend Kobe Home concealed the systematic degradation of Japanese women that even these Kobe Home girls had to face upon their return to their home communities.

Talcott, believed that women's subordination to men was deeply embedded in Japanese social norms. Talcott stressed that "heathenism," or degradation of women, existed in Japan deep beneath the surface. Perhaps in reaction to the optimistic reports by those who had returned to U.S., she warned against being deceived by the lack of apparent signs of degradation especially among the upper class. Talcott pointed out that one could glimpse women's true status only by acquiring the language and going into the interior of Japan.

One needs to take such a trip to realize the depth of heathen degradation of Japan. I hear of some returned visitors to Japan describing in their lectures the high moral condition of Japan. —Their [sic] is much to attract often especially among the higher classes and if one hasn't the native language with which to get beneath the surface. Buddhism has doubtless been a great blessing to the people, but the universal prevalence of untruthfulness and of unblushing immoralities and of petty household persecutions are heart-sickening.⁶⁶

Although Talcott did not have full knowledge of the legal system, she perceived the effects of women's inferior status. Legally, women were discriminated against in a number of ways. First, women were deprived

of franchise; Japanese women were not enfranchised until after WWII. Second, the *Shinritsu Koryo* of December 1870, the principles of the Meiji government on civil law, established complete subordination of women to men on the issue of adultery. When a wife committed infidelity, and was found guilty, the husband was allowed to murder her and her lover in revenge. But when the husband committed infidelity, he was considered innocent. When the wife or the concubine struck her husband, she was to be whipped a hundred times, whereas when the husband struck his wife or his concubine, he was deemed innocent. The wife and the concubine were provided with legally equal status. Both were designated as “the second degree relation,” whereas father, mother, adopted parents [and parents-in-laws], husband, child, and adopted child were designated as “the first degree relation.” Both wives and concubines were equally subordinate to the parents, husbands and sons. Such legal treatment justified the concubine system which had been practiced widely, especially among the wealthy, as a status symbol for the man.

The cultural system of the Confucian teaching of “the three obediences” cemented the legal system’s of subordination of woman. The *Onna Daigaku* [The Greater Learning of Women], which had been the most prevalent moral textbook for women, had prescribed the ideal Confucian womanhood since the Edo era of the Tokugawa regime. The teaching of “the three obediences” formed the core of this Confucian ideal, in which women were taught to be obedient to their fathers during childhood, to their husbands during marriage, and to their sons when aged. Talcott wrote of an exceptional case in April 1878:

Two of our girls and two other women are candidates for baptism in May, one of the women is the wife of a doctor who has been a Christian for some time and about a year ago proposed to get a divorce from his wife, because she would not be a Christian! She is a very demonstrative woman, and used to try the patience of her quieter husband. I think I have told you how the daughter sometimes receives a husband who takes her family name and they thus perpetuate her house. In such cases the wife is almost always more independent or rather a little less servile. This was such a case. Last autumn she became interested and the change in her has been marked. I asked her the other day if she was conscious of a change in herself and in what respect. She said “in *every* respect, I used to delight in theatre-going and listening to professional story-tellers. Now reading the Bible and meeting with Christians are my meat and drink.”⁶⁸

Concubinage was the most demeaning system for women, which contradicted Christianity in a straightforward way. Under the feudal system of the Edo Era, primary interest lay in the continuation of a family through the sons. If a wife did not bear a son, it was a legitimate reason to find as many concubines as necessary until a son was born. The wife and the concubines often lived in the same household and the wife was often forced to acknowledge the son born from a concubine as her own son and to assume the responsibility to rear the heir.

Mori Arinori, a Meiji Minister of Education, described the concubine system as "the cruelest thing for women" in his paper "Saishoron" [A Discourse on Wives and Concubines] in May 1873, the year he founded "Meirokusha," an association of enlightened intellectuals. This group published "Meiroku zasshi" which became the chief journal of liberal commentary. He wrote that unlike marriages, which were determined by the parents of the grooms and the brides, living with concubines was decided by the husband alone. If the concubine's family approved of it, the husband sent some money in reward. Mori criticized the arrangement: "husbands in Japan were almost like slave owners, and the wives were no different from slaves whose bodies were bought by money." He condemned Japan as "the most lecherous nation in the world."

Concubines conferred prestige, and the concubine system prevailed most among the elite intellectuals who were considered the leaders of the new Meiji state. Kuroda Kiyotaka, who had proposed to send five Japanese girls [including Tsuda Umeko, the founder of Tsuda College] to the United States in 1873 for the purpose of developing women's education in Japan, had in his private life, murdered his wife on the grounds of her infidelity and placed his concubine as the first wife. Such cases demonstrated the double standard the liberal political leaders had on the advancement of women's status. They were deemed as promoters of women's education in their policies, but in their own private lives kept concubines.

Such a concubine system offended Christian beliefs. Years after leaving Kobe Home, Talcott wrote in indignation on Oct. 11, 1887 to Mrs. Neill of the Woman's Board from Onomichi. She requested the letter "not to be published" because it discussed a woman's infidelity.

It will furnish a picture of the state of morals in Japan, if I tell you that the Father of the sick husband, a man standing among the first in society, with a living wife and several children, lives himself without divorce in a separate house with a concubine and while advising immediate divorce from the son's unfaithful wife, he

brought his own concubine, nearly as young as the daughter-in-law, to nurse and care for the invalid son!⁷⁰

Talcott understood the existence of a double standard and did not blame the erring wife.

Talcott understood that the greatest difficulty of spreading Christianity in Japan lay in the social structure of Japan itself. She identified two structural constraints against educating women and spreading Christianity in Japanese society. First was the one-sided, male-oriented permissiveness of sexuality in Japan which accepted the concubine system. Second was the patriarchal family system that determined a girl's marriage and imposed complete subordination of the wife to the continuation and development of her husband's family. Thus Talcott's approach focused on the structural constraints imposed on the Japanese women by the Japanese society.

Talcott had believed that individually it was not too difficult to attract Japanese girls to Christianity. Especially in the system of boarding school which provided "the daily discipline and family influence" of a Christian home, Talcott found it quite easy to enhance Christian spirit. The greatest difficulty lay, however, when the girls returned to their home community from Kobe. Most of them married and it was at this occasion that they encountered their first obstacle. Marriages became the major first occasion of trial for the Kobe Home girls because the education at Kobe Home raised their expectations for marriage. Talcott wrote in August 1879:

I wonder if you can realize the new trials which come to our girls with the Christian training. Ordinarily a girl marries the man her parents choose for her; and if her step-mother isn't too unreasonable, and she had food and clothes in comfortable supply and isn't beaten too often, she is tolerably happy. But our girls with their Christian training get a far higher susceptibility for joy or sorrow, and they cannot marry thus; so our School gets the name sometimes of making the girls averse to marrying, than which, the not marrying, nothing hardly is more disgraceful for a girl. But five of our girls have married into Christian homes, and those homes are each centres of light in dark places.⁷²

Talcott described how much tension and hardship these conflicting values created upon the Kobe School graduates on November 28, 1874.

One of our dear girls has been ill with typhoid fever for two weeks. Soon after she was taken ill, I learned that her father had not only

refused her in marriage to one of our Christian young men, but was insisting on her consenting to become the wife of a man who was not a Christian. I also learned from her parents that she was very sad, and tho' I never saw her alone to inquire, I guessed anxiety of mind might be the cause of her illness. So going to see her after school one day, I allowed the father to escort me home, it being dusk, that I might have an opportunity to talk with him about his daughter. I told him what I had heard and then how much better Christian men treated their wives than the Japanese were accustomed to do, etc. and before I reached home, he promised me to give her to the Christian young man. He told his daughter immediately, and sent the young man around the next day, and the dear girl has been happy and gaining in health ever since, tho' the fever had quite a hold upon her.... I hope now her life may be spared and she grow to Christian womanhood. She is but fourteen years old, and will not be married for a year or two if I can prevent it. Indeed I think the young man will prefer she should remain in school a while longer.⁷³

This episode illustrated the tension for the Kobe Home girls to return to their native community where the patriarchs determined their marriages.

Talcott's faith in evangelism encouraged her to collect and to publicize stories where former students converted husbands.

One of the girls became engaged to be married to a man not a Christian; her parents finally persuading her to consent on the ground that he went to Church and would probably become a Christian. This is during the Christmas vacation, and when she came back to school, she felt that she must withdraw her consent which she ought not to have given, or rather must ask to be released from her engagement. It made some trouble and was, I think, the cause of the girl's being taken from school in the spring; but she held firm, and recently, this summer, he has been received into the church (Tamon) by baptism. Those who heard it said his examination was especially satisfactory.⁷⁵

In sum, Talcott and other women missionaries at Kobe Home from 1873 to 1877 agreed with other missionaries and the mission boards of WBM, WBMI and ABCFM that Japanese women enjoyed relatively higher social status than other Asian women. At the same time, however, Talcott understood that a rigid patriarchy and the family system constituted the core of Japanese society which in general subordinated women to men systematically. She saw the deepest root of Japanese women's

discrimination in the social permissiveness of the concubine system. She believed that individually Japanese women could be converted, but the tension between individual freedom and subordination in marriage would probably be resolved in favor of marriage.

Though the missionaries expected the Japanese girls of Kobe Home to become Christian leaders, they did not expect them to remain single. The missionaries were highly pragmatic in their approach. As Talcott articulated in the beginning years, they were careful as not to create too Westernized girls who would be ostracized from their native community. They expected their students to fill their expected social roles in Japanese society as wives and mothers. Only by filling this basic societal need, the missionaries perceived, would it ever be possible to evangelize Japan by these Christian leaders through their families. Thus the missionaries' expectations of the Japanese Christian women to fulfill the dual role as Christian leaders and wives/mothers duplicated the life styles of their anonymous Christian sisters at home who supported the women's boards. These religious American women who were mostly married, were empowered in effect by engaging themselves in the network of sisterhood as supporters of the foreign missionary work. Similarly, the womanhood reproduced among Japanese women in Kobe by the foreign missionary movement developed within the male-prescribed sphere of womanhood and domesticity as wives and mothers.

EVANGELICAL WITHDRAWAL FROM KOBE

The earlier missionaries preferred woman's work to schoolwork because they found it more rewarding for the following reasons. First, woman's work provided power and freedom that were not available to them at home in the United States. It was empowering because the work was close to preaching, a role which was denied them in the United States. Woman's work among women meant reading the Bible and studying the teachings of Christ with the Japanese women by touring into various regions and visiting families and women's groups. In the guise of "woman's work," what they were doing in reality was preaching, even though the talks were done in relatively small groups. They began their work by visiting Japanese homes. Talcott first wrote that such opportunities were available in her May 16, 1874 letter to Dr. Clark of the American Board. "Homes all about us are open to us, where the talks about the Bible are either tolerated or invited." Dudley reported how she began to go on evangelical tours by accompanying a male missionary. Early in 1878 she joined American Board missionary John L. Atkinson's tour to a village two and a half miles west of Hiogo. She wrote,

Mr. Atkinson asked me to go with him, and I did, ... We found or rather drew, an audience of seventy. They seemed to be pleasant people, with more intelligence than most of the farming class. ... [In Akashi,] when we went to the appointed place of meeting, we found seventy or more assembled, mostly of the Samurai class, which heretofore has been but little interest.

Mr. Atkinson talked with them and arranged successfully to use four private houses alternately as preaching places. It was arranged so that Dudley would go there once a month.

The very possibility of gathering such groups of people who became interested in Christianity yet were never exposed to it before provided an exuberant opportunity hitherto unknown to the women missionaries. When a large number of women assembled and a separate group of women was formed, the Bible talking was solely the women missionaries' work, which essentially became no different from preaching to a group of women. Back at home in the United States, "the pulpits and platforms were long closed to women." As R. Pierce Beaver wrote, except for the Free Baptists who "were even given status as preachers," American women missionaries were denied the privilege of preaching and giving baptisms or marriages. Being in Japan, however, and the fact that only women had access to Japanese women provided the women missionaries with empowering opportunities unavailable in United States.

In many cases, the women missionaries in Japan even introduced the teachings of the Bible to Japanese men, a freedom that could not be experienced at home where the cultural norms sanctioned against women addressing a mixed audience. Barrows' encounter with such an opportunity came indirectly through a woman who was the wife of an old intellectual man. This couple had belonged to "the Monto sect of Buddhists and were very religious. The old man was exceedingly intelligent and plied me with questions." After learning all this, Barrows visited their house frequently with a Christian woman. Barrows was pleased that "the old man was always very glad to see us. He listened attentively to the words of Jesus, was especially delighted with the hymns and in prayer bowed his head earnestly on his clasped hands and followed the words with his lips." He became weak day by day and Barrows tried "to make the heavenly land seem more real to him and said... 'You will see my father there.'" To this "his face broke out all one in a beautiful smile, and so I left him. The next day but one I heard he had gone."

Talcott wrote on Nov. 28, 1874 of an example of praying with a man and leading him into Christianity. The man was a teacher in a public school and he and his family were newcomers at Kobe who had moved from northern Japan. The father had been at the church services in Kobe and heard of Christ for the first time. Talcott personally prayed with him:

His surprise at what he had heard, and his eagerness to [unclear] more were such as I had never witnessed before. When I proposed that we should pray before we separated, he readily assented, saying that up to this time he had been living as he thought an upright life, and because committing no sin, not needing to pray, but he began to see that there were hidden sins he had not known, and he needed to pray to be forgiven, as well as to be taught and guided.

Talcott was hopeful that he would “wield a great influence” if he became a Christian. Such experiences of the women missionaries to be able to guide “men” to Christianity were an experience unthinkable in the United States. The extreme circumstance of being in a non-Christian country of Japan where the labor force of the male missionaries was scarce in relation to the size of non-Christians provided them with such opportunities. Hence the women missionaries felt a sense of accomplishment and further found it empowering to realize that they could in fact guide men to Christianity. Simi larly Dudley wrote in her first surviving letter to the American Board on June 20, 1874 as follows.

This year has been a busy one. First, the study which I enjoy, then a little school opened last October which has numbered I think in all about thirty though the older pupils (mostly married women) have been irregular in attendance. We have visited frequently in the homes of our pupils, and have come to be counted friends. I have for several months been able to read the Bible a little with the women and even in several homes families are reading it together. This is the pleasantest work I do.⁸²

Mission work could recruit students to the Kobe Home. Dudley was active in the evangelizing work in Sanda from the earliest days. It was due to Dudley’s efforts and Rev. Davis’ early encounter with former Daimio Kuki in Arima that many girls from Sanda became the first students of the Kobe Home. Talcott wrote on May 16, 1874 about Dudley beginning her work in Sanda:

While still another, the daimio’s Mother has gone with Miss Dudley and her teacher to Sanda for a week or two to try to reach the

women there. Mr. Davis' efforts there have affected the men only and we are hoping much from this effort to teach the women.

The annual report of Kobe Station in 1876 praised Dudley's efforts in the evangelizing work. It reported that "Miss Dudley bestowed much labor in Sanda, spending weeks together instructing men, women and children in the truths of the Gospel." In result a church was organized with sixteen members on July 27, 1875; the report stated that due to Dudley's contribution, "the greatest harmony prevails in the church."

Finding the evangelizing work among women in the interior as the most promising field, Talcott confessed her dilemma between the two works of school work and women's work as early as December 1, 1874:

I do not intend to neglect the interests of the school, but could find full employment, and much more than that for all my time, without going into school at all. Sometimes, indeed, the [unclear] of the work among the women in their homes makes me feel almost dissatisfied with school work until I take a wider view and realize how much the future of our work depends on the girls.⁸⁴

The mission work seemed so successful and empowering that Talcott and her evangelical peers were attracted away from Kobe. When a strong educational leader with a new vision for Kobe Home appeared, they were prepared to withdraw and to leave her in charge.

EDUCATION AS A PROFESSION: CLARKSON AND KOBÉ GIRLS' SCHOOL, 1877-1882

In November 1877, Virginia A. Clarkson, a long awaited addition, arrived in Kobe. Trained at Mount Holyoke Seminary, Clarkson was a new type of missionary. Recognizing that the higher education she had received was exceptional for contemporary women of her age, she was intent to seek ways to utilize her education. In this sense, she was a forerunner of the college-graduated missionaries that came to Kobe College in the mid-1880s. She was interested more in furnishing and advancing Kobe Home as an educational institution for women than as a means to spread the Gospel. The different emphasis in mission theory combined with Clarkson's impatient and nervous nature came in conflict with the founding missionaries of Kobe Home. The friction finally resolved in Clarkson's assuming the charge of Kobe Home by November 1878 and the earlier missionaries leaving Kobe Home in September 1880 to concentrate on evangelizing work among Japanese women in Western Japan including the island of Shikoku and the cities of Sanda, Hyogo, Akashi

and Okayama. Julia Dudley and Martha J. Barrows left Kobe Home and founded Kobe Women's Bible Training School, specializing in training Bible women among Japanese women in October 1880. Virginia A. Clarkson was left alone as the only American missionary at Kobe Home.

Though not a college-graduate, Virginia A. Clarkson had received the highest level of academic training offered in the United States at the time, comparable to what was offered at men's colleges. As Watanabe Tsune of the first graduating class of 1882 wrote, the Japanese students were aware that "the first college graduate who came to us as our teacher" was Emily M. Brown who arrived at Kobe Girls' School in 1882. Clarkson was a non-graduate of the Mt. Holyoke class of 1874, when Mt. Holyoke was still a seminary and not yet raised to the collegiate rank. She had also been a student at Wellesley College before attending Mt. Holyoke. After Mt. Holyoke, she had gained further teaching experience in Brookline, Newburyport and Boston, Massachusetts.

Clarkson was fully aware of how much power the high standard of academic training could exert in elevating the girls' minds and consciousness. She also understood that the superiority of the social status of American women to that of Japanese women was due to education and the effects of Christianity. Clarkson believed that her ultimate goal was to evangelize the Japanese girls, but to do so, it was essential to raise the quality of education offered at Kobe Home so that it would attract the Japanese and be respected by them. At the same time, Clarkson was fully aware of the strong Japanese demand for English education and of the Japanese dissatisfaction with the quality of English education offered at Kobe Home. Clarkson thought it essential to meet the Japanese demands by raising the quality of English education because this was an American advantage over Japanese education. Clarkson was ambitious to make the school first-class by implementing the best courses, equipment and methodology of the progressive women's seminaries and colleges in the United States, emulating especially Mount Holyoke. Clarkson believed that it met both her faith in women's higher education and the Japanese demand for advanced education. In the end, Clarkson's reform prepared a step for the development of Kobe Girls' School into a women's college.

Clarkson's innovation established Kobe Home as an institution for women's secondary education with a quality of education comparable to higher education, especially in mathematics and science courses. The most significant innovation she made was that she set up a schedule of years required to complete the school work so that the girls could "graduate" the school and receive a certificate of study. The demand for a structured school system had come from the Japanese students. Wakuyama Kiso, class of 1885, wrote,

The twelve girls [of the first class of 1882] gathered and asked the missionary to organize a school system. This missionary had formerly taught at a normal school, so she was interested and also had experience in organizing a school system. Thus the graduation certificate began to be awarded to the students who completed the required years of study.⁸⁷

In contrast, the earlier missionaries of Eliza Talcott, Julia Dudley, Martha J. Barrows and Julia A. Gulick did not have the idea of commencement. They perceived Kobe Home as merely an extension of Bible study group in a school setting. Thus no commencement took place during Eliza Talcott's administration. The first commencement due to Clarkson's innovation took place in December of 1882. Though Virginia A. Clarkson was obliged to return to the U.S. in January of 1882 because of failing health, eleven months prior to the first commencement, her contribution in raising the quality of academic training at Kobe Home was appreciated by Japanese students and had long lasting effects.

When compared with Mt. Holyoke's curriculum in the mid to late-nineteenth century, Clarkson's 1880 curriculum reflected several shared features both in the subjects taught and in the daily routine and discipline. Clarkson initiated the study of higher mathematics, such as algebra and geometry, emphasized sciences such as botany, physiology, chemistry and natural philosophy, and adopted calisthenics and physical education classes, to strengthen the health of the students. In the area of discipline, daily routine and religious education, Clarkson's innovations included some Mount Holyoke traditions: silent study, the recess meeting and a system of domestic work.

Before making a substantial curriculum revision in 1880, Clarkson used the two years after 1878 as a transitional period in which she gradually changed the curriculum stage by stage. She divided the students into three classes each for English and Japanese. As the first transitional stage, she designated the first class to be:

reading in English, Parley's History, and the spelling book. The second class was reading Second Reader and using the Spelling book. The third class the First Reader, the Arithmetic was in various classes from Fractions down changing the studies a little.⁸⁸

In the next transitional stage, Clarkson introduced English Grammar instead of a spelling book. She also put in Physiology as a new subject.

The first class has Physiology, Grammar in English. The second Geography & Grammar and the third by degree became merged in the second.

Before the year ended, there were two classes in English. These transitional steps enabled Clarkson to embark on the new curriculum smoothly. Clarkson's substantially innovated curriculum was put in effect in September of 1880. With this curriculum revision, Kobe Home was raised from a small school into an established academic institution. At the same time, Kobe Home was renamed Kobe Girls' School. Clarkson described the complete new curriculum as follows:

The first class having finished Arithmetic took up Algebra, Grammar, Botany, Composition, a little Geography and History in English. The Second, Grammar, Geography, History and Composition. The third, First Reader, Grammar and Geography.

...The first take Natural Philosophy, Geometry in English, Harmony of Gospels in Japanese, these are among my classes. We have two departments, Japanese, English. Each five years, that is, it takes five years to graduate from the school pursuing both branches at the same time. The first class graduates in two years more. We have a preparatory course of only Japanese for young children which occupies three years, so if a child enters at five, she graduates at thirteen.⁸⁹

The required years of the program, five years for the academic course and three years for the preparatory course, was designated for the first time.

The Japanese valued the graduation certificate highly, and parents wanted their daughters to receive such proof of their education. Clarkson had a keen insight that the Japanese valued the "certificate" highly and that the Japanese were practical people, most earnest in obtaining a high level of training in English. Thus it was due not only to her own interest in advanced education but also to her realistic response to the Japanese demand that she tried to raise Kobe Girls' school to a standard competitive to Japanese government schools.

We have just settled upon our "course of study," which occupies *five* years. Some of the Mission thought three or four years sufficient, but it seemed to me from the little experience I had, five years was none too long to keep girls, before we could graduate them from a Xtian [Christian] school. If practical I would say *eight*, for the habits of their early life are *strong*.... Girls here marry so young it is a little hard to keep them, but if they enter at eleven or

twelve we are pretty sure, generally they will be with us until fifteen or sixteen, and as some *can* enter in advance of the Course, I felt it wise to *try* at least the five years. We may have to make the last year, somewhat a Post-graduate Course, but where girls are so easily led to think that a Certificate is everything, I was afraid to set it at four years, feeling our last year the most important as regards the studies taught. In the Course...we have an English and a Japanese Department. Of course the Bible is prominent, & the girls are ambitious to know all they can of it. The demand is of course very great for the English, and by that we are able to get many pupils which we otherwise would not.⁹⁰

Clarkson continued in this letter that "second class schools, second class teachers are hardly profitable here. If this school is to be the High School, as I suppose is now the idea, there must be a change."

To raise the quality of the teachers, Virginia A. Clarkson hired Mr. Yoshida Sakuya in 1879, a member of the Kumamoto Band and one of the first class graduating from Kyoto Training School, who later pursued a diplomatic career and became the Japanese minister to Siam. He taught until 1882. Yoshida Sakuya and Virginia A. Clarkson were the only teachers besides the student assistant teachers for two years until Mr. Yamauchi came to teach Japanese, Chinese Classics and Japanese Calligraphy in 1881. Yoshida taught Physics, Chemistry and English and enhanced both the intellectual and religious spirit of the school from 1880 to 1882 when the first class graduated.

Clarkson wrote on June 1, 1880 that she was planning to add a Preparatory Course as a feeder of the academic course of the Kobe Girls' School so that they could secure their students.

We are proposing to enlarge a little from Sept., by having in addition a more Preparatory Course hoping thus to get more day scholars, but do not feel certain of the experiment, the schools of Kobe & Hiogo being good, and there being a Normal School whose practice course draw away the younger children. Our school is about the same grade as the boys' at Kioto, thus, higher than the girls; & so our pupils mostly come to us after completing the Grammar School Course of Gov't Schools.⁹²

As an educator, Clarkson responded to some of the difficulties posed by Japanese as a language. Clarkson asked for more English books in 1880, because in her view, the Japanese girls "have but little reading, if any, in their own tongue." Clarkson continued, "they cannot sit down & read a newspaper or a book as we can, not even the most learned." Clarkson saw

that the girls did not read even in their own language because “there will always be characters which are not understood.” She thought that training girls to read easy English books was important because it was the only way they would ever read. For this purpose she decided to subscribe to *St. Nicholas* and the *Youth’s Companion*.

It is mostly reading for Sundays, that I feel the most need of, such as is adapted to young girls from ten to sixteen. I take the Nursery & St. Nicolas [sic] for the Secular reading and am thinking of adding the Youth’s Companion.

St. Nicholas was a periodical intended for children. It was a nonreligious, sectarian magazine full of children’s stories of adventures and fantasies. *St. Nicholas* was one of the earliest magazines in American literary history that introduced enjoyable children’s stories. Louisa May Alcott, Howard Pyle and Frances Hodgson Burnett wrote for this magazine, and a number of best-selling children’s stories of the time such as *Jack and Jill* (1880) and *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886) were first introduced in this magazine.⁹⁴

The different choice of the text revealed much about the different emphasis on English education held by the missionaries. It showed that the earlier missionaries considered English education as only secondary to their primary purpose of evangelization. *Peep o’ Day* was selected because they thought it would be effective in explaining Christian teachings by relating them to daily anecdotes and episodes. Clarkson, however, placed more emphasis on selecting a text more effective as a reader for English instruction. *St. Nicholas* was easier to read for the students because the stories were more enjoyable and less didactic.

Clarkson raised the standard of Mathematics from Arithmetic to the higher Mathematics of Algebra and Geometry, which was one of the key features of Mount Holyoke’s curriculum implemented at other Holyoke-style schools. This is a significant characteristic because as historian of women’s education Mabel Newcomer described, in most of the private girls’ schools in the United States incorporated between 1820 and 1860, girls were taught science, modern languages and English literature, but “they did not, of course, go on with higher mathematics.” Thus higher mathematics such as algebra and geometry were regarded as “manly” subjects in late nineteenth century U.S., and only the most progressive girls’ seminaries offered them.

Virginia A. Clarkson introduced science courses such as Botany, already taught at Mount Holyoke, for the first time. As historian of science Margaret Rossiter made the point, “botany” and “hygiene,”

which would be adopted at Kobe College in 1890s, were labeled as “feminine” or “womanly” subjects that were often taught at girls’ seminaries and colleges in the U.S. in the 1880s and 1890s. Newcomer also explained that because the private girls’ school did not have to prepare the girls for colleges, they were free to experiment with new subjects and different methods of teaching. Botany and geography were such subjects that were “still in their infancy” and which developed in the curriculum offered at girls’ schools.

Ambitious to develop science courses of as high quality as were offered at Mt. Holyoke, Clarkson persuaded the American Board that scientific equipment was necessary. Clarkson wrote:

About the apparatus fund, if it could be double that we should be very glad. Thus far only nine dollars of that has been expended, that for a Mercator’s Map of the World, leaving ninety-one dollars, what to expend that is a grave question. We need some apparatus for Physiology, some Philosophical Apparatus, Home Chemical apparatus. One class has just finished Physiology, but it would have been much more satisfactory if we could have had a skeleton and apparatus representing other parts of the body such as the eye. I tried to supply the deficiency at best I could, by enlisting our outdoor man, in warfare on the birds, toads, snakes etc., but fear, by example I may have annulled all lessons given as to being humane & kind to Animals. The Soc. for Prevention of Cruelty to animals would have had reason to complain of me. Now we are commencing Botany, & are much in need of a Microscope. Dr. Taylor recommends this one whose picture is enclosed as a valuable investment, but it is thirty five dollars. Next fall our class commences Nat. Phil. & we need some apparatus for experimenting in Pneumatics, Electricity etc., as well as some for Chemistry.⁹⁹

A few months later, she pressed again for scientific apparatus.

I would like to know about the apparatus that comes with Steele’s Text Books, as we use those books. We commence Nat. Phil. & Chemistry next year & have another class in Physiology and I trust we shall have something to [unclear] in that line. Especially in Physiology I feel that is a very important study for the Japanese, if we have no apparatus at all in the school, while our sister schools [such as Doshisha] has great advantages.¹⁰⁰

Clarkson also introduced physical education. She wrote in August 1880,

We have calisthenics and marching twice a day, one of the girls playing the organ.¹⁰¹

Clarkson's letter is one of the earliest references to calisthenics adopted at missionary schools and girls' schools in Japan at large. Past scholarship revealed that in the course of study of Ferris Seminary the word "calisthenics" appeared for the first time in 1905, more than two decades later.¹⁰² Music accompaniment was essential to teach calisthenics. In the above letter, Clarkson wrote, "we use [an organ] in the schoolroom for calisthenics." Mt. Holyoke had adopted calisthenics from Ipswich Seminary where Mary Lyon had taught before opening Mt. Holyoke. In addition, the Mount Holyoke students were required to walk one to two miles every day,¹⁰³ a pattern Clarkson adopted. Such physical exercise was essential, Clarkson felt because Japanese girls were generally weak and frail compared with the American girls.

They have not the stamina of home girls, and cannot endure hard work, or steady work. Either of body or brain, neither are they as persevering.¹⁰⁴

Calisthenics, marching and physical education was a field that originated in women's colleges in the U.S. It was developed as a reaction against the charges that women were too frail to bear "the physical strain of higher learning." The women's colleges such as Vassar made physical education courses a requirement to demonstrate that higher learning did no harm to women's health.

Clarkson started artistic and musical education as well. She hoped she could sell the students' fancy handwork in the U.S.

The girls are taught Japanese sewing, we having a regular teacher for that as is customary. Also we are trying to start a circle for doing fancy work, which the girls enjoy hoping to sell purposes. Do you suppose there would be any sale at home for fancy Japanese little things made of crepe etc. also for our kind of fancy work?— Drawing is taught, the girls drawing their maps and reciting at the same time. Both vocal & instrumental music is taught, and we do need another organ so much.

Clarkson, in conclusion, created a new curriculum modeled after the best women's seminaries and colleges in the contemporary United States, particularly those at Mt. Holyoke, preparing the advance of Kobe Girls' School into a collegiate institution. Clarkson proudly reported the high quality of education given at Kobe Home:

I wish you could come in and hear my first class in English Grammar, they commenced this fall, and though could not speak English before I am quite proud of their progress. Then, yesterday in Physics, our lesson was on the arteries and veins, particularly the former (that is in Japanese with use of English textbook)...¹⁰⁶

She happily wrote what her student Kiyō was studying. “O Kio San knows English very well; she is now studying Wood’s Object Lessons in Botany, Algebra and Grammar in English.”

In the field of school life and religious education, Clarkson adopted three Mount Holyoke traditions—the “recess meeting,” the concept of “silent study,” and “domestic work.” The “recess meeting” was a little prayer meeting organized as a daily routine at Mount Holyoke. Clarkson adopted it in the students’ daily routine at Kobe Girls’ School. She reported to Miss Carruth of the Woman’s Board:

The girls have just had their little prayer meetings, which they hold by themselves every evening from eight o’clock for fifteen minutes. They are divided into five classes, and from the various rooms to hear the voice of praise and prayer one is carried almost back to her own school days, and those precious recess meetings at Mt.Holyoke. I tremble when thinking of all these girls, and how much it means to have charge of them, and do most earnestly ask that you all will especially remember me in your prayers.¹⁰⁸

Clarkson felt a deep sense of spiritual responsibility in teaching Christianity to the Japanese girls who did not have any Christian background. “As to our religious life, though there is no decided awakening that the Spirit is working we have many proofs,” Clarkson wrote in March 1880.

Clarkson taught the girls to study “silently” instead of reciting out loud, which was a customary way of learning in Japanese *terakoyas*. Clarkson happily reported,

The girls now study quietly. They thought me very unkind altogether, but now they like it very much and are greatly annoyed if a new scholar attempts loud study.¹¹⁰

The concept of “silent study hour” also existed in Mt. Holyoke. C.B.DeForest later interpreted this introduction of “silent study” as a “triumph” of American values. The Japanese had traditionally studied out loud at the *terakoyas*, which was the chief institution of general education during the Edo Period. This was done through calligraphy and/or

tenarai. Reading and writing were taught individually. Recitation, which was the customary way to learn the text, was done orally. Thus the Japanese were used to studying out loud, yet seldom was it done in unison prior to Meiji Era. Clarkson's innovation of studying "silently" enhanced independent thinking, which instilled "the sense of independence" in the girls.

The daily routine organized by Clarkson at Kobe Girls' School resembled that of Mt.Holyoke in its broad structure such as the hours to rise and retire, the hours for meals, recitations, silent study hours and prayer meetings. (See [appendix](#) for the daily routine at Mt. Holyoke in the mid-nineteenth century.) Clarkson extended it from the school hours of eight till four to a full-day routine.

Virginia A.Clarkson asked for a separate kitchen to be built so that the tradition of domestic work as performed at Mount Holyoke could be developed at Kobe Girls' School. Mary Lyon preached that domestic work fostered a "generous, obliging and self-denying spirit." As the catalogue of 1888–89 promised, it insured the habits of cooperation, promptness, diligence, self-control and thoughtfulness for others. For this purpose, the key issue raised in Clarkson's letters from June 1880 to August 1881, which was near the end of her assignment at Kobe Girls' School, dealt with the building of "the kitchen." In Clarkson's mind, a separate kitchen would eliminate a source of friction among the missionaries, their servants and the students in using the same kitchen. It would also complete Clarkson's plan to make all the housework of the students their own responsibility. By preparing their own meals, Clarkson envisioned that the girls would develop a sense of responsibility and independence.

My desire has been from the first that our girls should do their own cooking, but until we have a proper place for them to do it in, do not feel equal to undertake such a supervision especially, as such kind of work is not very popular among Japanese girls, but with a true Japanese kitchen & a reliable servant, am willing to do what I can in the matter, the girls already do all their work but the cooking.¹¹⁴

On January 18,1881, Clarkson happily reported that the new kitchen was completed.

Our new kitchen is completed, and the girls have added to their work of the general housework, that of getting their dinner and supper. Without a suitable Japanese woman for matron, by my ignorance of the method of preparing Japanese food, it is a little

difficult to superintend; but there are four of the older girls pretty well experienced & by their cheerful assistance the labor is greatly lightened.¹¹⁵

By preparing the environment, Clarkson wanted to instill domestic work among the girls as an important part of education. On August 1, 1881, she wrote to rejoice that the students began using the newly added kitchen to cook their meals:

The girls from July first took all charge of their cooking, the cost being divided among them, they receiving & paying out the money. I hope the plan will work well, they have always done their own work to a great extent, but it has been what I've been working from and to that should do it all & thus lain responsibility in housekeeping.¹¹⁶

Thus Clarkson's efforts to establish domestic work as one of the educational pillars of the daily routine and lifestyle of the students were completed as her last accomplishment at Kobe Girls' School.

Clarkson's repeated requests for purchase of scientific equipment and books and her scholarship for students brought a strong opposition against her both within the Japan Mission and from the Board in Boston. Dr.N.G. Clark warned her that she was too academics-bent in her curriculum reform. The missionary purpose was to evangelize Japan. Dr.N.G.Clark wrote:

Our first great object is the development of Christian character and just so much of intellectual discipline and study in different branches as will best secure that. I would not branch out into all the fancy studies which are attractive to the popular mind whether in the United States or in Japan. We have a better work to do. I am, as you know, connected with several educational institutions of high grade for women in this country, as Wellesley College, Mount Holyoke Seminary, etc., and I feel the pressure all the while to broaden our range of study and to include everything that be longs to mere knowledge instead of the best culture. I believe in a little thoroughly mastered in some few important lines of thought, is far better than a smattering in many. You would have little sympathy with smattering, I know, but your ambition to make your school first class in all things may tempt you to undertake too much. Keep in mind always the one supreme purpose of our work—Christian training of the girls. Put your strength in that and expect success in that way.¹¹⁷

Clark did not see educating women as the mission board's purpose.

The American Board was critical not only of Virginia A. Clarkson's ambitions for women's higher education but also of her excessiveness in supporting too many students with the mission funds, both entailing the Board a large expense. In defense of herself, "*most of those [fully-] supported are from Sanda,*" wrote Clarkson, who "have been in the school almost since its commencement" and "whose influence in the school is invaluable and are always found on the side of the missionary," who will undoubtedly be "great helps" for the missionaries afterwards. Some of the entirely supported girls came "from distance & from places but little enlightened." Those partially supported came "from families farther off, who have with some doubt & fear committed their girls to us, yet having enough confidence in Xtianity [Christianity] to make the trial & to pay for their books, partial board, etc." Financial aid wasn't just because students were poor, but a device to win them from government schools.

In the country where foreigners are not in the best repute nor girls' education thought to be as important as the boys, and where there are excellent Gov't schools, with good secular teachers...we have much to contend with, to get them into our schools where we can bring *Xtian* [Christian] influences to bear, & root them *thoroughly* in the *Bible*.

The earlier four missionaries, Eliza Talcott, Julia E. Dudley, Julia A. Gulick and Martha J. Barrows had left Kobe Home by September 1880 when the newly revised curriculum was put into effect. Virginia A. Clarkson was left alone as the only American missionary to be working at Kobe Home. Clarkson was ambitious, demanding and difficult to work with. She won the school away from Eliza Talcott, created an entirely different school, and then was criticized for her ambition and expensive projects. Without friends and with a family crisis, her health collapsed. Diagnosed as suffering from severe nervous breakdown, Clarkson left Japan with, however, the school transformed.

CLARKSON'S VIEW OF THE JAPANESE CONTEXT

Clarkson's letters reveal that, unlike Talcott and Dudley who perceived Japanese girls as victims of a society without Christianity, she more or less perceived them as positively as the young girls in the United States. In her first letter of November 26, 1877 from Yokohama to the Woman's Board, Clarkson wrote of her impressions of the Japanese girls she observed in a Yokohama church. "The behavior of the people in the

[Japanese church], should put to shame some of our American audiences.... I certainly shall *love* these Japanese girls. To me there is something very attractive about them."

Despite their lack of Christian upbringing, Japanese girls struck Clarkson as similar to American girls of the same age. The way the girls giggled over a little incident and applied their lessons to it reminded Clarkson of the American girls at home. She wrote,

Then, yesterday in the Physics, our lesson was on the arteries and veins, particularly the former (that is in Japanese with use of English textbook), I heard one girls a little later, from a lower class, who had evidently been sharing my instruction, remark laughingly to another, who had accidentally cut her finger while sharpening her pencil, perhaps you have cut your "do-mi-ya-ku (artery) and may die, but here is a spider web, which may be of use." Very much like home girls after all.¹²⁰

Clarkson was attracted to the Japanese girls because "they are very affectionate, and extremely careful and thoughtful about little acts of kindness and politeness." Clarkson gave a concrete description of to what extent this "politeness" may apply:

A girl would never pass in front of one if it were possible to go behind, and then it is always with a low bow of "excuse me," neither enter another's room without saying "Excuse me" [sic] and waiting for the "Ohairi," "Come in." They are too polite to laugh at any mistakes however ridiculous and when I commenced with my teacher to study, it was hard work to make him correct me when I made mistakes and it was only till I told him he would not answer the purpose if he did not, and that it was a Christian duty that he could be persuaded....When I have been out in the evening and not returned perhaps till some after nine, their bedtime, they wait and if I remonstrate, because of the lateness of their retiring, they (' ') passing their rooms, find their sense of politeness has not allowed them to sleep, always hearing, Do-zo-go-men-Osa-ki which means do excuse me, I have retired first. Then comes the "Sayo-nara," "O-ya-su-mi," "Rest well."

Perhaps because Clarkson introduced candid descriptions of the girls' daily incidents, and perhaps because her portrayals of the Japanese girls were more positive than what the Woman's Board and their constituency at home had expected, Clarkson was criticized by the Woman's Board that her letters were too "personal." She was criticized both from Miss

Carruth, an officer of the Woman's Board and Mrs. Tyler of the Brookline Auxiliary, which was the auxiliary that supported Clarkson, that she should "write some which *could* be used for *more publicity*"

Letter writing was one of the chief duties of the women missionaries. Because direct talks by returned missionaries on their work in mission fields were less frequent, missionary letters functioned as the primary source to enhance missionary interest among the constituency and raise funds from the middle-class American women. Thus Clarkson's views on Japanese women, which were positive yet free from American cultural constraints, contradicted what the Woman's Boards and the constituency of American middle-class women had expected.

Clarkson's views of Japanese girls were positive; yet she was skeptical of the way Japanese girls received Christianity. Although most of the students listened to the lessons on the Bible and Christianity earnestly, Clarkson felt it was different from the way American girls received Christianity and how some of them experienced conversions.

"I do not believe there are many schools at home where the pupils have more love or reverence for Holy things," Clarkson wrote on March 5, 1880.

What seems to me to be the need just now is the realization to a greater extent, of the necessity of a personal Saviour. In talking with the girls they all acknowledge with the mouth & believe it intellectually, but there is a little lack, it seems to me of the heart beliefs.¹²¹

Clarkson acutely detected that most of these Japanese girls received Christianity by their "intellect" as a piece of "knowledge" instead of by their "hearts" as "faith." Further, Clarkson correctly observed that a Japanese criterion of decision-making was to do the same as others and not to use independent thinking. Thus Clarkson knew that the girls at Kobe Girls' School earnestly listened to the teachings of Christianity because everybody else did so. Clarkson's anxiety that the docility of the Japanese girls in listening to the Gospel was not of a real spiritual awakening was a penetrating insight, as this became the recurring dilemma of spreading Christianity in Japan.

Thus the difficulty Clarkson found in spreading Christianity among Japanese women contrasted sharply to how Talcott perceived of it. Clarkson saw difficulty in the way the Japanese girls received Christianity internally. She perceived that the greatest difficulty lay in the fact that the Japanese girls tended to receive Christianity by "intellect" instead of by "heart" or "emotions." She also understood that the high

value placed within Japanese culture on “thinking and acting as the others” affected the Japanese girls’ decisions to participate in religious meetings or to be baptized. Because the behavior of the Japanese girls was not determined by their independent thinking, Clarkson remained skeptical if the girls’ receptivity of Christianity was superficial. This view of Clarkson to identify the difficulty in the internal elements of the Japanese girls contrasted with Talcott’s views, which identified the difficulties in the external elements of structural constraints against women’s independent decision-making.

Clarkson’s earnest plea to return to Japan materialized in the summer of 1885, when she was assigned this time to Kyoto Girls’ School [Doshisha Girls’ School]. She married Rev. C.M.Cady, an American Board missionary in Kyoto, the following year and had five children of which only four lived. Committed to Japanese education, the Cadys returned to Japan several years after resigning from the Mission in 1892 and taught at Japanese government schools.

CHAPTER FOUR

Missionary Aspiration for Higher Education

College-educated Missionaries' Struggle in Modernizing Japan, 1883–1909

Kobe Girls' School, which enjoyed fame as the only school for girls in Hyogo prefecture offering advanced secondary education, plunged into an era of turmoil between 1883 and 1909. Japan was in a post-Restoration chaos and historian Carol Gluck saw that "the late 1880s marked an upsurge in ideological activity." Japanese were seeking what "the sense of nation" and a "complicated society" meant and in process of fabricating the ideology, they were in contention.¹ Amidst such difficult years, the women missionaries sought ways of survival and the development of the school. For them the greatest concerns were to keep the school under mission control to sustain a Christianizing effort and to develop the college department to train Japanese women educators.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how the women missionaries maneuvered through the various forces involved, including the Japan Mission, the American Board and the WBMI to fulfill their dream to develop Kobe Girls' School into a college amidst the growing antagonism among the Japanese against Christianity and Western culture. The inception of the college idea came before such ideological contention went underway, but collegiate status protected the missionaries because the 1899 prohibition against religious education applied only to secondary schools. It turned out to be an ingenious method for survival. This chapter will trace how and why the idea for a college was conceived and developed, and what prompted the women missionaries to cling to the college idea despite the hesitant American Board.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE WESTERNIZATION PERIOD

During the years of 1883 to 1909, Japan was struggling to formulate ideological settlement to fix the national sentiment in search for modernization that fit Japan. This was probably in reaction to sweeping changes and reforms of the first two post-Restoration decades. The early 1880s was symbolized by the years that *Rokumeikan* (Deer Cry Pavilion), a

dance hall in Tokyo, was opened for balls every evening and Japanese ladies and gentlemen, dressed in Western attire, assembled. During the so-called *Rokumeikan* Era, the government encouraged the people to adopt any element of what they deemed as Western culture: from adopting Western clothes, hairstyles and etiquette to learning English and Western music. This concerted effort to adopt Western culture was a manifestation of Japan's desperate desire to be recognized by the Western nations as an equal power in the treaty revision talks of the U.S.-Japan Friendship and Commerce Treaty of 1858.

What underlay the fashion to Westernize was Japan's process of sorting out a modern national identity. In order to become a civilized modern nation, Japanese leaders felt they had to transform Japan from what it had been in the past, yet at the same time to retain continuity to formulate a stable identity. In this quest, the Japanese were seeking how much would be Western and how much traditional, and how these elements would combine. There were a number of disagreements among the Japanese over what constituted the ideal identity for Japan.

The Meiji government remained largely indifferent to women's education beyond the primary level at this period except for Tokyo Women's Normal School, the only government school for women's higher education in the capital. The evolution of the curriculum of the Women's High School (founded in 1882) attached to Tokyo Women's Normal School implied the potential government intentions toward women's secondary education. Domestic subjects were added to its curriculum, reflecting the government's desire to create respectable wives and mothers. The memo of the Ministry of Education in 1886 further refined the governmental expectations to train the girls as the "mothers of the military state" (*gunkoku no haha*) in addition to the twin ideals of "good-wife-wise-mother."² The curriculum and purpose of the Women's High School, in particular, became the model of the subsequent Higher Schools for Women mandated to every prefecture by the Code of 1899.

Although there were hints that the government might seek control of all women's education, no government intervention occurred with regard to missionary work between 1883 and 1889. Thus Kobe Girls' School enjoyed the independence and freedom to develop as the missionaries wished. In addition, there were no women's colleges in Japan except for the Tokyo Women's Normal School, which was a professional training school of teachers for the government primary schools. Thus when Kobe Girls' School started its higher department in September of 1885, it was the first attempt for a women's college in the *Kansai* area.³

Westernization made the missionary schools teaching English, Western culture and etiquette more and more attractive for the Japanese. Alarmed

by the Japanese fascination of missionary schools as vehicles for civilization, the Japan Mission itself claimed that “the chief danger in our work lies in its popularity.”⁴ Student enrollment multiplied dramatically from 97 in 1884, 125 in 1885, 151 in 1886, 157 in 1887, to the peak of 193 in 1888, which was the largest number since the founding of the school. Kobe missionaries seized upon this opportunity to raise the level of the school into higher education, as we shall see. The total student enrollments decreased to 185 in 1889, which was the breaking point when the tide turned and the zeal for Westernization started to wane. During the era in contention, the number dropped yearly after 1889 to a low of 72 in 1894.⁵

The rapid increase of student enrollments obliged the missionaries to make incessant requests for the expansion of the campus. An addition of one building did not suffice as the student enrollment soared. The campus was expanded from two small original buildings in 1883 to include one new auditorium plus three dormitories by 1888. The surrounding strips of land in the east, west, and in the front of the school were purchased step by step. The western strip was designed into a beautiful garden with a hedge in 1889. By 1889, at the peak of Westernization, the campus of Kobe Girls’ School attracted people’s attention for its exoticism and beauty.

Although most of the expansions were funded from American sources, in some cases Japanese Christians also gave donations. For example, of the 2,500 yen required for building the new auditorium in 1887, WBMI funded 975.00 yen whereas Japanese supporters, including the former Daimio Kuki Takayoshi, Harada Tasuku, the pastor of Kobe Church who later became the President of Doshisha, and Ichida, the father of Ichida Hisako of the first Class, gave 1,545.92 yen which was about 75 percent of the total cost.⁶

The Board was reluctant to fund one particular girls’ school repeatedly when they oversaw several other girls’ schools as well in Japan. Anticipating such criticisms, the women missionaries tried to convince the Board how promising their school was and that because of its promising future, their school would not incur too much burden on the Board. For this purpose, the women missionaries tactfully used the fact that the tuition was beginning to cover the expenses at a greater share every year as strong supporting evidence. The distribution of U.S. income (WBMI appropriations) and Japanese income (tuition) covering the ordinary school expenses changed over time as follows⁷:

Seizing the circumstances, the women missionaries launched their college scheme as well as responded to the Japanese need to attract more students. In fact, Emily M. Brown and Susan A. Searle had their first

Year/ sources of fund (yen)	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
WBMI	763.05	931.17	817.91	806.59	970.09	753.79	502.89
tuition (share of total fund)	240.99 (24.0%))	253.93 (21.4%)	295.92 (26.6%)	427.42 (34.6%)	614.95 (38.8%))	977.30 (56.5%)	1,040.33 (67.4%)

opportunity, when the student enrollment jumped from 97 in 1884 to 125 in 1885, to initiate their college scheme by closing the preparatory department and opening their one-year program of the higher or college department in September 1885.

The Kobe missionaries seized on the increasing Japanese desire for Western popular culture and made several revisions to emphasize their expertise in educating for Western refinement. To meet the growing demand for Western dresses, a course of Western sewing was opened in the Higher Department in September of 1886. In the following year when the programs were revised and the college or higher department was extended into a two-year program, the missionaries decided to prohibit the use of Japanese in English classes to promote English proficiency among the girls, which was what the Japanese most earnestly desired. When the new auditorium was opened in January of 1888, the dining room on the first floor adopted Western-style chairs and tables for the first time, instead of the *tatami* mats or the traditional Japanese style of straw-matted floors that had been hitherto used in the old dining room. By use of chairs and tables, the girls could be trained in Western table manners. What was significant in these developments was the fact that the missionaries adroitly made these accommodations to the growing Japanese demand for refinement in Western culture hand in hand with launching their dream for a women's college. This skillful balancing of both the women missionaries' interests and the Japanese interests became characteristic of the subsequent missionary pursuit for the development of Kobe College.

Extracurricular societies were organized to provide the students with opportunities to practice their English. The missionaries further supplemented the rising level of the school by founding the English Literary Society and the Library Department in 1888 and the Japanese Literary Society the following year. The English Literary Society provided an opportunity for the students to recite English, make speeches and converse in English in front of an audience.

The music course, which developed into a department, was a field that fulfilled the interests of both the missionaries and the Japanese. The demand for a good music teacher had originally come from the missionaries, who learned by experience the power of music to communicate with Japanese people who did not know English.⁸ The beautiful hymns sung at the churches attracted non-Christian natives. Even during the evangelizing tours in the countryside, the beautiful songs sung by the women missionaries attracted crowds of villagers and stimulated their curiosity to attend the Bible meeting. The unique power of songs and music lay in the fact that the tune could be easily memorized and transmitted from person to person, from generation to generation. Recognizing how effectively Japanese people could be attracted by music, Emily M. Brown saw the need to secure a good music teacher who would train the girls in singing and organs. These girls were to become organists to assist the church work.

Such missionary aspiration coincided with Westernization of the Rokumeikan era. Enlightened Meiji intellectuals saw Western music as an important part of Western etiquette and culture. Thus they were eager to send their daughters to Kobe Girls' School where such instruction was given. Hence it is not strange to see parallels in other missionary girls' schools. It was not a mere coincidence that other American Protestant missionary girls' schools of different denominations developed their fame in both English and music education. Ferris Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church in Yokohama was such an example, where the Music Department still exists in their Junior College. Aoyama Jogakuin of the Methodist Episcopal Mission in Tokyo also held regular music concerts where the students gave vocal and instrumental performances.

The missionaries also seized on Westernization for missionary schools to pursue their primary objective to promote religious education among the girls. Religious education both within and outside the curriculum went hand in hand with the revisions emphasizing their expertise in Western culture. The enhancement of religious education was not merely the result of one-way enforcement on the part of the women missionaries. It was also a product of the spontaneous growth of religious interest among the students themselves, which rejoiced the missionaries.

When Mrs.M.C.Leavitt of WCTU visited Kobe in October of 1886 to spread the cause of temperance among Japanese, a new Christian movement was born in Kobe. A branch for this cause, which pledged abstinence from *sake*, rice wine, was formed in Kobe and a number of Kobe school girls were moved to join. Refraining from *sake* meant a greater sacrifice for the Japanese than what temperance had meant for Americans because it was the basic condiment for Japanese cuisine.⁹

Daily chapel meetings were incorporated into the school routine about 1888, and a verse or phrase was selected from the Bible as the New Year's motto, printed on cards and the alumnae newsletters, and sent to all the alumnae. It was hoped that this effort to keep in touch with the alumnae fostered a sense of sisterhood.

Religious fervor among the students culminated in the Revival of 1889, which was precipitated by the speeches of L.D.Wishard, the college secretary of the Central International Committee of the YMCA, who was making a visit to Japan. Susan A.Searle, the President of Kobe Girls' School wrote "of the blessed revival" to the Woman's Board in February of 1889:

You will be rejoiced to know that God is abundantly blessing our school in spiritual things. A week and a half ago we had a short visit from Mr. and Mrs.Wishard; each of them spoke twice to our girls and the girls also heard them speak at public meetings. Mr. Wishard's last talk seemed to make an especially deep impression on the girls, and when at the close he asked the Christians, and then, a moment later, those who were willing to accept Christ's invitation, to stand, scarcely a dozen girls remained sitting.... About fifty of the girls have expressed their determination to live for Christ, and of the fifteen or twenty still undecided, several are deeply interested.¹⁰

Sixty girls were baptized, marking the only large-scale revival in the history of Kobe College.

Another manifestation of religious zeal among the students was the establishment of the Foreign Missionary Society within Kobe Girls' School in May of 1889. This was a voluntary action of interested students, who were delighted to receive a ten-dollar gift from an American girl who had saved her allowance for the cause of evangelizing efforts in Japan. Even before this, evangelical zeal had been growing among the students, and the girls had raised about thirty yen for donation one Sunday in 1887.¹¹ The society was the first organized society for religious causes within the school, and it decided to raise funds for the Japan Mission. The monthly

dues were two *sen* (1% of a *yen*). In the first academic year of 1889, the students raised twenty *yen* and the following year they gave forty *yen* to the Japan Mission. The WBMI praised this as a Christian act of “self-denial,” in which the Kobe girls reduced their breakfasts to only rice and pickles for several weeks to save money for the hungry and the poor.¹²

At the end of the Western period, the Japanese saw English proficiency as proof of Western adaptation, while the missionaries saw it as a basis for Christian women’s education. The immediate success of Kobe Girls’ School fascinated the WBMI in Chicago. “Though the young men have better disciplined minds than the young women, I was surprised to find the latter use English with much greater ease,” reported Miss Meyer at the 1890 Annual Meeting of the WBMI.¹³ Her observation that girls could acquire higher proficiency in English than the boys reassured the women of the WBMI of the significance of their work for women. Miss Meyer was delighted to hear the girls recite in English in the courses of Universal History, Evidence of Christianity and English Literature. She was impressed to find that the examination papers of the girls in Zoology, Political Economy and English Literature, which sometimes comprised ten to twelve pages, “in clearness of expression, in Orthography and neatness of writing, compare most favorably with papers presented on these subjects at home.”¹⁴ The high English standard was achieved through the English Literary Societies’ discussions.

The rising enrollments that rewarded Kobe’s appeal to the interest in Western culture may have misled the missionaries to believe they could develop a generation of Christian women in Japan. They could bypass the decades of work for higher education through which women had struggled in the United States and create a Japanese women’s college comparable to those founded in the United States only after the Civil War. Moreover, the missionaries equated women’s higher education with Christian faith.

THE COLLEGE IDEA

“It is our hope that this school will in time become a college, Miss Searle and I have been working steadily toward that end ever since we came to Japan,” confessed Brown to Clark in January 1889.¹⁵ With such firm vision in mind, she automatically translated the desire of several girls who wished to stay at school for further study after graduation as a request for higher education by the Japanese girls. She wrote earlier on January 10, 1885 to Clark, “The girls of Japan are longing and praying for a Christian college which shall be open to them. Shall they have it?”¹⁶ For

the first time the idea for a college was articulated in the missionary correspondence.

Not only the missionaries but the WBMI also believed that the college idea came from the Japanese demand because the missionaries had written them so. "There is a demand for more advanced study," reported the annual report of the WBMI of 1885,

Two young graduates of the last class have begged the privilege of studying two or three years longer, a request which their father has warmly seconded. The number of such fathers and daughters is increasing in Japan, and a year of post-graduate study has been added to the course.¹⁷

Western women, however, misinterpreted Japanese desires. As J.H.DeForest, an American Board missionary reported, some Japanese intellectuals came to recognize by 1886 that "something, either Christianity or civilization, has given the women of the West a position that excites their admiration and earnest longing to have the women of Japan gain a similar place of influence." Toyama Masakazu, a professor and later the President of the Imperial University of Tokyo, wrote an appeal in the newspapers to the missionaries "to even abandon altogether their evangelistic work and to unite in forming five or six flourishing Christian girls' schools in the capital." The missionaries in Japan decided to seize on this ripe opportunity in which "not only Christian churches, but non-Christian philanthropists, are looking to Christianity as to the only force they know of that will lift woman out of her ignorance and degradation, and enable her to exert such an influence in the home as the women of Christian lands do."¹⁸

Toyama Masakazu (1848–1900) was an educator and philosopher who had studied Philosophy and Science in England in 1866 and in the United States in 1870. He returned to Japan in 1876, became a professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo and lectured Sociology and Philosophy. In 1897 he became the President of the Imperial University of Tokyo and also served as the Minister of Education for two months. Blessed in diverse talents, he was instrumental in founding the Philosophical Society and suggested abolition of *kanji* or Chinese characters from Japanese writing in 1884. He was a social critic as well as commentator in music and theater. Toyama Masakazu published in June 1886 an appeal entitled, "Joshi no kyouiku wo ronji awasete yasokyo kakucho no ho wo toku" (A Treatise for Women's Education and a Method to Expand Christianity) in Japanese. Here Toyama articulated an appeal to the women missionaries to establish institutions for women's higher

education. Because Japan only had one or two such institutions, he urged the missionaries to establish five or six such schools in Tokyo. His rationale was that for Japan to be a nation of civilization, Japan needed her women to be educated as “civilized” women who could freely converse and socialize with Westerners and become “civilized” wives to “civilized” high class of men who had studied abroad. Thus what he meant by “higher education” was not academic studies comparable to those given at American women’s colleges but to educate Japanese women of “higher” social ranking in Western lifestyle and refinement. He clearly indicated that “specialized studies” was not necessary. He only wanted reading, writing, conversation (perhaps English although not stated), sewing and music to be taught. If the missionaries considered it necessary to teach specialized subjects such as science, chemistry and natural history, he said it would suffice if a specialist came to lecture once or twice a month. He rather preferred that the missionaries invite these girls to their homes to teach Western manners and childrearing methods. As Japanese women could not be sent abroad as easily as men, he thought it an excellent solution if the missionaries provided such schools and taught civilized manners, domestic economics and hygiene.¹⁹

The college-educated women missionaries at the school had equated the mission goal of spreading Christianity to the “heathen” women with advancing the status of Japanese women. For them, the advanced status accorded to American women was due to Christianity and superior education. Thus they translated Japanese demand for advanced education of women to be of the highest possible education available in the United States, their home country, the higher education. With such interpretations by the women missionaries, the Japan Mission voted unanimously at the 1885 Annual Meeting that they desired to develop an institution for women’s higher education and that they would develop this at Kobe Girls’ School. Japanese male intellectuals, on the other hand, had equated “women’s higher education” with “education of women in higher ranking” and further connected this to “civilization.” Thus the claim that the college idea came from the Japanese themselves was, at best, a misinterpretation on the missionaries’ part. Despite such push from the Japanese intellectual elite, the student enrollment in the college department remained small, with the number of graduates ranging from zero to six, with the average of 2.1.²⁰

The WBMI was nevertheless thrilled by the idea of developing Kobe Girls’ School into a women’s Christian college. Years before the school was officially renamed “Kobe College” in 1894, their annual reports called the school “the Japanese Wellesley,” “the Mt.Holyoke of Japan” and quoted the title of “Kobe University” from one of the graduates’

commencement speeches, implying their earnest desire for a college. The annual report finally introduced the new name “Kobe College” in 1891, when the three-year program was established, even though this was three years before it was officially renamed as Kobe College.

The belief that the college for Japanese women was an indigenous Japanese demand turned out to be an effective strategy to convince the American Board who were attentive to native demand. Abiding by Anderson’s three-self theory, the Board would provide approval, “whenever the natives are ready to meet the substantial expenditure, or a considerable part of it.”

Emily M. Brown, collaborating with Susan A. Searle, maneuvered skillfully with N.G. Clark of the American Board and within the Japan Mission to push through the cause of developing Kobe Girls’ School into a college. The rapidly increasing student enrollment and the steady increase of the Japanese share of operating funds provided an excellent opportunity for Brown and Searle to push forward their dream for college. Searle proudly reported that “the boarding department entirely supports itself.”²¹

Kobe, as well as successfully using its Western appeal, fortuitously avoided anti-Western conflicts that were already appearing at the other two girls’ schools affiliated with the American Board. Of the three girls’ schools under the American Board in the *Kansai* region, Kobe Girls’ School was the only one under complete mission control. Doshisha Girls’ School in Kyoto, attached to Doshisha Theological Training School, was under both mission and Japanese control whereas Baika Girls’ School in Osaka although affiliated with the American Board was under Japanese control. The misunderstanding of both the Japanese and the mission as to how much control each of the party was entitled to at Doshisha Girls’ School caused friction and turmoil between the two parties. Finally in 1885, when Brown and Searle began the campaign to raise Kobe Girls’ School to collegiate level, the dispute at Doshisha Girls’ School led to the decision of the American Board to withdraw all their missionaries from Doshisha and thus the school was forced to close down temporarily.²²

Fully aware of the difficulties Doshisha Girls’ School was facing when N.G. Clark suggested that Doshisha would be a better candidate for a woman’s college in Japan, Emily M. Brown responded,

I will only say that I think not a single member of the Mission will vote for the most advanced school for girls to be located in Kiyoto. I can easily see the advantages to which you refer, but there are objections which conterbalance them many times over. These

objections, the Kiyoto Missionaires are more competent to explain than I am.²³

The question was discussed at the Mission Meeting of the Japan Mission in June 1885. "It was the unanimous (I think) opinion of the Mission that a school for girls, of a higher grade than any we have at present would be a valuable adjunct to Missionary work in Japan," reported Brown to Clark. The Mission resolved to "close the Kiyoto school and enlarge" Kobe Girls' School. Brown continued,

The training of teachers, as well as of wives and mothers, is to be a prominent feature of the school, but the training is to become in accordance with the methods pursued at Wellesley [sic] and Smith, rather than with those in operation in normal schools.

Brown's vision to create a college was clearly aimed at developing the highest standard of women's colleges available at that time in the United States and not at the lower level of the normal schools, which required less rigorous training. Yet noteworthy was the fact that both N.G.Clark, the male American Board and the male missionaries of the Japan Mission had equated the "higher-grade school for girls" with "normal schools" where Christian women teachers who would spread the Gospel would be trained. N.G.Clark referred to this school as "Central school for girls" (Clark to Atkinson 1885-2-17) and avoided the terminology of "Christian college for women" until February 1889. (Clark to Brown 1889-2-8)

Emily M.Brown was a proponent of the ideal Christian womanhood for Kobe girls. She believed in its supremacy, its universality and its empowering potential as a notion of womanhood. In agony over the anti-Western sentiment later, Brown defended herself, saying that her purpose was to train the girls into Japanese ladies and that she did not have the least desire to make them American.²⁴ However, she was alarmed when she learned that teahouses were going to be built in the neighborhood as part of a resort development in connection with the discovery of hot spring. She was similarly frightened when she learned that the tenement houses for the lower class of people were planned for the neighborhood. The former reminded her of the "saloons" in America. In both cases she feared that bad neighbors would have detrimental effects on Christian womanhood. Yet in the end, Brown changed her mind, acknowledging that she had looked at things "too much from an American standpoint and rather overestimated the evil effects, morally considered of the tea houses, where as Miss Talcott had not attached so much importance to the nearness of the tea houses."²⁵

Susan A.Searle found this college department to be promising. She also stressed that it was a product of Japanese demand. She wrote in 1887, "We have had for two or three years, one year of postgraduate work whenever a class of three or more desires it. This work has seemed to us for those who have taken it more valuable than any other one year of the course."²⁶

Successfully achieving consensus among the Japan Mission and the American Board to put the college scheme in effect at Kobe Girls' School, Emily M. Brown took meticulous care in making the plan. "This is certainly a very important time in the history of the school," wrote Brown, "We are making plans, not for a few years but for a generation, and infinite care and wisdom was needed to avoid making mistakes."²⁷ Brown, ambitious to make the woman's college at Kobe Girls' School a lasting establishment, planned carefully to make her ideals come true. She again pressed on the significance of women's college to N.G.Clark in January 1889,

But, Dr.Clark, it is our hope that this school will in time, become a college,...and we believe that we have the hearty approval and cooperation of the other members of the Mission in our efforts.²⁸

She sought to develop the college step by step. In order to specialize the school toward secondary and higher education, the Primary Department ceased to admit any new class in 1885. Keenly aware of competition from prospective government high schools, Brown advocated compliance with the Japanese government system in terms of the years of study. When the *Kyoiku rei* (Education Ordinance) was revised in 1886, which divided the primary schools into two levels with four years of study for each, Brown revised the program at Kobe Girls' School so that its years of study equaled those at the government schools.

One of the favorite methods of Emily M.Brown and Susan A.Searle to convince the American Board that their request was reasonable was to compare their conditions to those at Doshisha, their male counterpart. Doshisha University was the American Board's endeavor for a men's college in Kyoto, and was jointly founded with Nijima, the first Japanese to be ordained and appointed as an American Board missionary to Japan in the United States: "When I consider the girls of Japan, and the appropriations which are constantly being made for the Doshisha, my hesitation vanishes completely," wrote Brown to Clark in January of 1889, right before the assassination of Mori Arinori on February 11, 1889 which marked the turn to nationalism. Susan A.Searle had used the same tactics on December 17, 1887 in telling Clark: "This work for girls seems

increasingly important, and I cannot help wondering sometimes why we cannot have for our girls more nearly an equal share with the boys' school in buildings, library, and other appliances." When Clark argued that the college scheme could not be granted unless more funds could be solicited from the Japanese, Brown rebutted,

But why ought the girls' schools to be self-supporting any more than the Doshisha? Granted as you say, that more money has been spent directly on this school than anywhere else in Japan for women, it is not a seventh part of what is being spent for the Doshisha, and are we not to consider that the girls of Japan are even one seventh as valuable as the boys?²⁹

Brown reminded that it was against Christian beliefs to consider less of Japanese girls than of Japanese boys. "If it is right and wise for the Board to establish a Christian Coll.[ege] for boys, surely a Christian Coll.[ege] for girls would be no more than a just exponent of the Christian American estimate of womanhood," wrote Brown in January 1889. "Of course it is understood that the boys must be provided for first. That is a matter of course in Christian as well as in unChristian countries," wrote Brown, in a pointed sarcasm. But,

To be sure there is a large and well equipped Gov't University for boys in Tokyo, while in the whole Empire, there is not a single college, either Christian or unChristian, for girls.³⁰

When Mary A.Holbrook arrived at Kobe, she added her weight to Brown's and Searle's advocacy. Holbrook, a non-graduate of Mount Holyoke, who was one of the pioneer women to receive the medical degree from the University of Michigan in 1881 had a previous missionary experience as a physician in China. She had stopped by Japan on her way home from China and was attracted by the country and by John H.DeForest's invitation for missionary work. After two years of teaching at Mount Holyoke, she applied for missionary work in Japan with a concrete plan to found a Mount Holyoke in Japan with three other Mount Holyoke graduates, Cora A.Stone, Caroline Telford and Elizabeth Wilkinson whom she had recruited. The proposition was made to the Prudential Committee of the American Board in 1889:

It is the desire of these three and myself to establish a Mt.Holyoke College in Japan which shall depend for its support upon native money; and when fully developed shall give full collegiate advantage to its students, to the end that young women in Japan

may be trained to any sphere of usefulness to which they may be called and may do for their own and neighboring countries what the Mt. Holyoke of America has been able to do for the world.³¹

The plan, however, was rejected by the Japan Mission. Disappointed, Holbrook gave up the plan and decided to apply for Japan for whatever work the Japan Mission appointed. Reaching Japan, Holbrook was appointed a member of the enlargement committee of Kobe Girls' School. The idea to develop this school into a college delighted her. She wrote in December of 1890 from Tottori:

You know the hope with which I thought to come—the founding of a Mt. Holyoke in Japan. That idea was given up and a broader and better one takes its place—a Christian college for women, not distinctively Holyoke, or Wellesley or Carleton, but having representatives from all three colleges and we hope some of the strong, good points of each of these schools,—not a new college, but the natural maturing of the “girls' school” now reaching out into womanhood.

She identified with this idea “as though it were the one I planned for” so thoroughly that she exclaimed, “who shall say it was not the same?”³²

Even amidst Westernization and the missionaries' growing ambitions, warnings against its excessiveness and its superficial nature were being voiced by some Meiji intellectuals. Fukuzawa Yukichi, a liberal who founded Keio University, wrote in *Jiji Shinto*, a periodical in 1887,

They write excellent English compositions but cannot write Japanese letters. They know Western knitting but do not know how to sew Japanese kimonos. They can recite English poems but Japanese rarely understand this. They sing beautifully, yet rarely do Japanese families possess pianos or organs at home.... The moral education that the missionaries preach centers in the worship of Christ and is devoid of what day to day moral acts girls should follow in their families, in their relationship to parents and to husbands. Is it practical to follow Western manners in Japanese households?³³

The very skills that Westernization had seen as valuable now came under attack as did the Christian culture with which the missionaries had identified Western ideas.

THE CONTENDING ERA—1889–1909

When it became apparent in 1888 that the Foreign Ministry desired to overturn Western legal protections of extraterritoriality, but backed down and instead appointed foreigners as judges in the Supreme Court and lower courts in Japan, people were infuriated. It violated the nation's independent judiciary, and it infringed upon the proposed Constitution of the Japanese Empire that was to be promulgated on February 11, 1889. Growing anti-Westernization erupted in the assassination of Mori Arinori, the Minister of Education, on the day the new Constitution was issued, and an attack on Okuma Shigenobu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who lost a leg in October of 1889. These two incidents marked the beginning of a contending era, and years of strain for the women missionaries.³⁴

On October 30, 1890, the Imperial Rescript on Education was promulgated. The Rescript provided an answer to the Japanese quest for national identity in the 1870s and 1880s. Historian Carol Gluck states that it was a moral pronouncement by the Emperor “which linked *kokutai* [national polity] with loyalty and filiality,” which had “a Confucian center,” and which “made the emperor the source of a morality that was said to be both indigenous and universal at the same time.”³⁵ This document became a significant icon, in retrospect, as it was used as the source of Japanese national identity grounded in the family-state system with the Emperor as the divine head of the whole patriarchy and with Confucianism as its abiding ideology.

The Rescript equipped the *minkan* [non-governmental] conservative ideologues with an effective weapon to question the loyalty of Christians on the basis that loyalty and patriotism should now center in Confucianism. The symbolic incident that demonstrated the attack on Christians by the rising Confucian conservatives was the so-called “disrespect incident” [*fukei jiken*] in January of 1891. Uchimura Kanzo, professor at the First Higher School in Tokyo, was accused of *lese majeste* when, a Christian, he refused to bow before the Imperial Rescript on Education at its ceremonial presentation to the students and faculty. As a result, Uchimura was forced to resign his position. This incident marked the rise of anti-Christianity as part of a newly-assertive Japanese national identity.

“Did I tell you that my ideas in regard to study have grown?” wrote Emily M. Brown to Susan A. Searle on August 4, 1892. “I have written to Dr. Clark and Mrs. Smith that I cannot return to the Kobe School unless I can have a year free from interruption or study at Yale or some college.” Emily Brown was firmly determined to seek further academic training in U.S. In the 1890s when women pursuing post-graduate degrees was

extremely rare in the United States,³⁶ this woman missionary in her mid-thirties was resolved to go to Yale which was opening its postgraduate course to women. Her ambition was to “return to Japan with the degree Ph.D.”³⁷

Brown’s ambition was a response for survival amidst the growing skepticism against Western culture and missionary schools among the Japanese. The rising tension proved to be a tremendous pressure and stress not only for Brown but also for all the other women missionaries at Kobe Girls’ School. Because the change of the Japanese sentiment toward Western culture was so drastic within only a few years, many American missionaries could not quite comprehend what was happening. “We hardly know how to interpret many things even to ourselves and we certainly can’t foretell what may or may not happen. History is making fast these days,” wrote Holbrook in 1895.³⁸

The deepening sense of insecurity and anxiety may be revealed by a number of health breakdowns. Among the seven women missionaries who served at Kobe Girls’ School for a term longer than five years from 1883 through the mid 1890s, six of them became so sick that they had to return to the United States for treatment.³⁹ Of these six, it was only Susan A.Searle who would fully recover and return to Kobe College to serve out her career of another 37 years. The rest either ended in early death, mental disorder or unsuccessfully tried to return to Kobe College. Cora A.Stone, in spite of immense popularity as one of the “most promising” teachers among the students, became ill with tuberculosis after five years of work and was obliged to return to the United States in 1894 under the dedicated care of Mary A.Holbrook.⁴⁰ Although she was warned by the physicians that she could not live “but a few years longer,” she held on for another ten years and dedicated herself to help the poor in the mountains of Montreat, North Carolina where the Cora A. Stone Public Library was started. She died, however, at the early age of thirty-six in 1904.⁴¹ Caroline M.Telford, one of the Mount Holyoke graduates recruited by Holbrook to Japan developed cancer in 1894 and was diagnosed with only a few months to live.⁴² Amidst Mary Anna Holbrook’s effective efforts, she developed diabetes, which she concealed at first. Suffering from “the reaction in Japan against the education of women,” Holbrook returned to the United States temporarily in 1897, yet returned again to Kobe College in 1902. When she finally decided to return to the United States in April of 1910 because of failing health, she had almost reached the end of her life. Only eight months after returning to the United States and only a few days after reaching Boston, she died at the age of 56 at her brother’s house.⁴³ Elizabeth Wilkinson, who was another Mount Holyoke woman recruited by Holbrook with their dream

to found a Mount Holyoke in Japan, collapsed in a much shorter time. Within only a week after arrival in Japan, the mounting stress was so overwhelming for her that she became “insane” and was diagnosed to have an “acute mania.” Alarmed, Cora A. Stone and Martha J. Barrows accompanied her back to the United States in February 1892.⁴⁴

Emily M. Brown was more fortunate than Cora A. Stone, Elizabeth Wilkinson, Caroline M. Telford and Mary Anna Holbrook in the sense that she could actually return to Kobe College after some treatment in the United States. Yet her subsequent failure to resume work demonstrated how severely she suffered from the strain at Kobe College caused by the conservative backlash. After working for ten years at Kobe Girls’ School, she returned to the United States on May 29, 1893 eager to begin her new student life at Yale. After six months of study at Yale in philosophy, psychology, history of philosophy, philosophy of religion, experimental psychology and pedagogy,⁴⁵ however, she decided to give up her dream of a Ph.D. because she felt it was not feasible for her physically to “make up French and German and do all the extra work necessary for the degree.”⁴⁶ Suffering from a sleep difficulty and from rheumatism, she decided to seek treatment at the missionary sanatorium in the United States.⁴⁷ The medical diagnosis was worse than she had anticipated. Her health breakdown finally obliged her to give up her work at Yale. Strongly attached to Kobe College, however, she managed to return to Kobe in 1897. Her return to Japan made her ill again, and in 1899, she resigned from Kobe College and returned to the United States in despair.

As a person on the scene, Emily M. Brown could not clearly understand how profound a cultural transformation Japan was going through, though she constantly felt threatened by the growing tension. Her initial interpretation was that the cause of the tension was the Japanese discontent with her qualifications to teach subjects in higher, advanced studies:

I do feel this day is rapidly approaching when in Japan at least, missionaries will not be considered qualified to be teachers, simply because they are Americans and have a good general education. Most certainly I was not qualified to teach psychology in an Am.[erican] College. Then neither was I to teach in a Jap[anese] College.⁴⁸

Further, Brown felt she had to modernize her methods of pedagogy, which had become obsolete to retain respect from the Japanese. Realizing how much development had occurred in the teaching methods during her ten-year absence from the United States, she wrote, “I do not wonder that some Japanese called my methods old-fashioned.” She concluded

that she could not have “much influence over our students unless they respect us as teachers.”⁴⁹ With the Japanese who valued certificates, Brown reasoned that further study would be essential. She believed that “if they know that I have studied and have a degree they will rest easy with the school under foreign control longer than they otherwise would.”⁵⁰

Women missionaries at Kobe Girls’ School between 1883 and 1909 experienced mounting tension against Christianity and sought for survival in various ways. Yet what was common in their reactions was that they clung more firmly than ever to the dual objectives of developing the school into the “first women’s college in Western Japan” and at the same time sustaining its Christian education. Susan A.Searle resorted to a pragmatic yet shrewd compromise in Japanizing the school as a necessary trade-off to sustain its Christian education. She built up the network of sisterhood among the alumnae to sustain its Christian influence. The Japanization scheme was completed in 1909 when Kobe College was authorized from the Japanese government as a *semmon bu*, a specialized or college department based on the Act of *Semmon Gakko* [Specialized Schools] of 1903.

Mary Anna Holbrook on her arrival in early 1890s had pushed the college case on the grounds of preparing women graduates sufficiently to be qualified as principals at primary schools. She pressed the need to enlarge Kobe Girls’ School’s higher department so that women principals could be trained. She believed that if there were highly trained women, the Japanese would prefer women principals. She quoted the example that two Kobe graduates had applied for admission to the Imperial University in Tokyo but were rejected because they were women. She went on to suggest that if there were great demand for “high grade Christian teachers,” they should be sent to Mount Holyoke for further study.⁵¹ Finally, N.G.Clark, the Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM, who was reluctant to accept the college idea and its expense, changed his mind because he reasoned that it would be cheaper to educate native Christian teachers at a woman’s college in Japan than to send a select few to American woman’s colleges.

In 1890, the three American Board girls’ schools in the *Kansai* region officially resolved to establish a college at Kobe Girls’ School with the signature of Miyagawa, the pastor of the Osaka Congregational Church at that time. The eligibility for admission to the Academy was raised to those who graduated from the advanced primary schools, thereby raising the standard in terms of the number of years of study higher than those under the Japanese governmental system. With the curriculum revision of January 1891, when the new college department was expanded to

three years of study above the three-year Academy and two-year Preparatory Department, the total number of years of study of eight years actually exceeded by a year that of the graduates of the Tokyo Women's Normal School, which offered the highest academic pursuit available for women in Japan at the time. The women missionaries were ambitious to raise the quality of the college comparable to that of the women's colleges in the U.S. By this revision, the course of instruction of the college department "has been made very nearly equal to Mt. Holyoke or Smith College," reported the WBMI Annual Report of 1892. The WBMI rejoiced that the Japanese girls were enthusiastic to study. In the class of Psychology, they not only study "Baldwin and Sully thoroughly, but they are so enthusiastic that they read up Carpenter, Hopkins and other authors, and pit one authority against another in a way that would delight the authors themselves."⁵² Brown expressed her firm belief in June of 1895 amidst the surge of nationalism, "For one thing only do I feel absolutely sure and that is that Kobe College is to be a power in Japan."⁵³

In November of 1890, N.G. Clark discussed with Mrs. Moses Smith how to support this college expansion. Clark, finally acknowledging the expansion of Kobe Girls' School into a college, had warned in January 1889 that "whatever we may do in the way of higher education is and always must be subordinate to its Christian purpose and Christian use." (Clark to Searle 1889–1–31) The American Board compromised to approve Kobe expansion on the condition that WBMI assume the financial burden. Hence the American Board rejected financial support of the plan through their appropriations. Both ABCFM and WBMI agreed that WBMI would raise the special gift of \$12,000.00 for Kobe College alone, a large portion of the \$68,605.94 raised in 1892 for all the WBMI missionary work worldwide aside from the Kobe College fund.⁵⁴ This very decision by the American Board, however, opened a way for autonomy and control of women's work by the WBMI. Women missionaries felt encouraged to write directly to the WBMI to ask for funds whenever additional expansion was planned. Moreover the \$12,000 fund raising campaign for Kobe expansion strengthened the WBMI's commitment and ties to Kobe College. American women on both sides of the Pacific Ocean could utilize their special skills in fund-raising, planning, teaching, public relations and management to run this enterprise on their own. In effect, this trained women in business management.

What Brown and Searle wanted to avoid along with their push for the college scheme was seeking more financial support from the Japanese, which the Japanese would not give without taking control of the school.

Moreover the issue of control was becoming a vexing question. The clash between the missionaries and the Japanese at Doshisha and Kumamoto over control and property questions in 1885 and 1893 respectively made the missionaries skeptical of the underlying Japanese intentions.

At Kumamoto, Mr. Kurahara, a Japanese who had been educated at Yale and who was the nominal holder of the title, tried to sell the houses of the missionaries during the absence of the chief missionary. The only way to save the houses was to give them to the school. The missionaries said they would do that on the condition that they be used as residences for the foreign teachers. Mr. Kurahara would not agree saying that the gift had to be unconditional because “anything else was *evading the law and against his conscience*.”⁵⁵ The Japanese in Kumamoto requested the Japan Mission to “withdraw all the foreign teachers from the schools as they wished to be entirely independent of foreigners.”⁵⁶ The dispute was finally resolved by giving the property to Doshisha. Mr. Kurahara also threatened the girls who were financially helped by the foreigners that if they continued to receive the aid they had to leave the school. The ultimate consequence of this dispute was the fact that the missionaries could not stay without residences, because “a residence passport cannot be procured except by teaching” and it was illegal to teach with traveling passports.⁵⁷ Similarly Holbrook wrote that “some time ago, one of the trustees of the Osaka Girls’ School sold the property of the board without the consent of the other trustees.”⁵⁸

The 1885 incident at Doshisha Girls’ School convinced the missionaries, Susan A. Searle in particular, that to ask for Japanese financial support meant to yield to Japanese intentions to obtain control of the school. Feeling it was too early to transfer the control of Kobe Girls’ School to the Japanese, Susan A. Searle and Emily M. Brown objected to the American Board’s request for the Japanese to take up more financial burden. This rejection signified a victory of the women missionaries over the American Board’s policy, which pursued the principle of self-support and sought to transfer the control to the natives’ hands as soon as possible. The fear of Japanese intentions to take over Kobe Girls’ School became even more paramount when the tide turned and the Japanese political climate plunged into the nationalizing era in the 1890s.

During the Sino-Japan War, which began in summer, 1894, two Japanese women teachers challenged the American women missionaries to give up control of Kobe College. Two young Japanese women teachers who were the leaders of a movement to bring Kobe College under Japanese control submitted a petition to the missionaries asking that the missionaries “appoint a nominal President, Treasurer and *Founder* for the school from among the Japanese,” reported Mary Anna Holbrook on

November 13, 1894. The Japanese teachers believed that the school could be then recognized by the government and with a number of advantages for the school, teachers, and graduates, including an increase in student enrollment and lower costs since “the Japanese could purchase apparatus etc. much more cheaply than foreigners.”⁵⁹

The American women responded forcefully to the challenge: “It seems to me we had better lose every student than concede one inch on this question,” wrote Holbrook. She feared the school would be registered and recognized by the government and “would constantly be under their scrutiny.” The missionaries would not be able to revise their course of study as they wished and would lose control, as Americans had at Doshisha. Holbrook was taken aback that the woman teacher who presented the petition was one of the first students at Kobe Home, supported by a missionary of the American Board as well as sent to Mount Holyoke for further education. Though not named, the leader was probably Hirata Toshi (English name, Martha Gulick) of the first class. Holbrook wrote that she could not understand such ingratitude and was especially concerned when Hirata threatened that unless the missionaries granted the petition Kobe College would have “only foreign children or Eurasians or girls supported by missionaries.”⁶⁰ Holbrook worried that it would be a significant loss for the school if Hirata resigned as a consequence of the rejection of the petition, because her English was exceptionally good and only an American would be able to fill her place.⁶¹

Almost all of the missionaries in the Japan Mission, except for John H. DeForest and perhaps Mr. Albrecht, agreed with Holbrook and Searle’s rejection of the petition. Two weeks later on November 26, 1894, Holbrook described the denouement:

After consultation with as many members of the mission as possible Miss Searle called the two teachers who were the leaders, and gave them a very plain, earnest talk. The amount of the whole was that if they did not like to teach in a school like this they could seek positions elsewhere; and that if students did not wish to receive the instruction we were ready to give, we could close the school, but we could not in the least concede to their request. This talk did them good, and everything appears quiet and even cordial.

Holbrook wrote that they would have to dismiss one of the teachers at the end of the year and Hirata (Martha Gulick) resigned in June of 1895.⁶² In retrospect, the women missionaries’ firm determination not to make any concessions to the Japanese appeal protected Kobe College to

develop both its academic and religious education even further until the legal entity of "Specialized School" or *semmon gakko*, which did not restrict any religious education, was defined in 1903.

Control of school property was a particular focus of struggle. Foreigners were not allowed to own property outside of the *concessions*, and when they did, they asked some Japanese nominally to hold the title. The land and buildings of Kobe Girls' School and the missionary dwellings were located in the vicinity of, but outside of the concessions, and the property was long nominally held by Niijima. Upon Niijima's death in January of 1890, the Japan Mission decided to transfer the nominal ownership to Doshisha instead of to any individual. Emily M. Brown and Susan A. Searle, fearful that Kobe Girls' School would eventually be merged into Doshisha, resisted the idea. The nominal title inherited by the widow of Niijima was transferred to the committee of three Japanese Christian men including two pastors. In 1893, "the property question" became "the most trying and immediate," Holbrook wrote to the Woman's Board, because "lately the government has been inquiring into the real ownership of all such property and has announced that it is illegal for any Japanese to so hold it."

In regard to our school property tho we are not on the concession we are on a strip of land where foreigners can legally hold the buildings they have erected and also lease the land. We bought ours outright tho we have it under the form of a lease from three Japanese gentlemen. It is not as secure as it might be for it could be taken for debt of these men or in case of death could be handed down to heirs who might give us trouble.... We are comparatively safe but at the expiration of the leases the property legally belongs to these gentlemen unless they are willing to lease again. We can only trust their honor.⁶³

To solve the problem, Holbrook suggested that the property ownership be transferred to the Alumnae Association of Kobe Girls' School, which was organized in June of 1892, but this did not materialize because it was not a corporate body and it was all women. The problem did not resolve until the treaty revision of 1899 which abolished both the extraterritoriality clause and the concessions, and permitted groups of foreigners to own property in the interior if they formed a judicial body to hold real estate, incorporating as "shadan" under Japanese law. Hence in 1902 the American Board organized "the Association of Congregational Missionaries in Japan," which took the ownership of Kobe College property.⁶⁴

During the period of nationalization, Susan A. Searle made efforts to sustain religious education in the extracurricular work by merging the Domestic Branch with the Foreign Missionary Society and renaming it Kobe College Missionary Society in 1895. Searle re-enforced this sense of sisterhood by making trips by *jinrikisha*, a man-powered vehicle, to visit the alumnae from about 1902 on. Full of gratitude, the alumnae were encouraged to keep up their faith and to spread the gospel in their surroundings. *Megumi*, the alumnae bulletin, which included Searle's letter to the alumnae, served to strengthen the bond of sisterhood among the alumnae who lived too far away to receive Searle's personal visits. Hence such efforts by Searle promoted the alumnae to grow into a valuable force for the evangelization of Japan.

INCREASING GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Between 1890 and 1899, the Ministry of Education made successive legislative actions to increase control of women's education. In 1891 the Act of Secondary Schools was revised in which the girls' secondary schools were legally licensed to be counterparts to previously-established boy's secondary schools. In 1894, right before the outbreak of the Sino-Japan War, girls' education at the primary schools was revised to include more practical subjects such as sewing, which finally increased the attendance rate of girls at the primary schools. In 1895 the Provisions of Girls' High Schools were issued, which specified the years of study, the subjects of the curriculum and the purpose of the education, which was to train good-wives-wise-mothers based on the Confucian family system.⁶⁵ The girls' high schools by contrast with the boys' schools emphasized domestic training. Thirty hours, nearly a quarter of weekly study hours, were to be devoted to sewing. In 1897 the Ministry of Education instructed all the prefectural governments to segregate the schools sexually to assure education appropriate for girls. The Ministry also advised local governments to establish girls' high schools even if they were attached to the women's normal schools. Legislation culminated in the Act of Women's High Schools and Vocational Schools in 1899. The law mandated every prefecture and Hokkaido to establish women's high schools with four years of study, where those who completed two years of advanced primary schools were eligible to apply. The curriculum consisted of Morals, Japanese, Foreign Language, History, Mathematics, Science, Art, Domestic, Sewing, Music and Physical Education. By contrast with boys' secondary schools, the domestic subjects of Sewing, Morals and Music were emphasized and less than half of weekly hours of

boys' schools were required of Mathematics, Science and Foreign Language. Moreover the Chinese Classics required for boys' schools was not offered at women's high schools.⁶⁶

After the Treaty Revision was enforced on July 17, the government issued on August 3 the Act of Private Schools, under which missionary schools could be licensed. Two days prior to this, on August 1, the Ministry of Education's Order Number 12 of 1899 that forbade religious education at any school authorized by the government was issued. Of all the governmental legislation, this act affected the Christian schools most substantially.

Anticipating that Kobe College would have to go under Japanese governmental jurisdiction in order to survive after the Treaty Revision was put into effect, Susan A.Searle applied for governmental recognition of Kobe College from the Ministry of Education in September. In November, Kobe College obtained the first governmental permission to found the school based on the Act of Private Schools. Searle decided to have the school under the legal category of "miscellaneous schools" (*kakushu gakko*) so that they would not be subject to the governmental restrictions against religious education based on the Order Number Twelve of 1899. This was the sacrifice she made to protect Christian education. Because being designated as "miscellaneous schools" deprived the graduates of the qualifications to apply to Tokyo Women's Normal School, Searle was more determined than ever to develop Kobe's college department and its own unique education to attract students. As a result of entering Japanese governmental jurisdiction, a copy of the Imperial Rescript of 1890 was delivered from the Japanese government in June of 1900. This symbolized the nominal compromise of Christianity and Confucianism at Kobe College, which continued until the end of WWII in 1945.

In 1903 the Act of Specialized Schools (*semmon gakko*) was issued, which by definition included the specialized schools offering higher education in academics and skills. Those who graduated from middle schools or women's high schools were eligible to enter and the content of the education offered some diversity. The Order Number 12 of 1899, which forbade religious education, applied only to government-recognized secondary schools and not to the specialized schools. Because all the other newly-founded private women's colleges in Tokyo including Tsuda College of 1900 and Japan Women's University of 1901 were licensed under this Act, Susan A.Searle decided to apply for it in March of 1909. On October 8, 1909, Kobe College was legally licensed as a "specialized school."

Due to the negligence of the government on women's secondary education, the first government high school for women in Hyogo prefecture, where the city of Kobe was located, was not founded until 1901.⁶⁷ Of all the private enterprises for women's education in Kobe between 1888 and 1909, Kobe College was the only one that developed the college department. Thus Kobe College offered the highest educational standard attainable for women in Kobe. All the seven private girls' schools that were founded between 1902 and 1909 in Kobe offered sewing courses. All but one of these were vocational sewing schools, which included both a school for Japanese sewing and Kobe Singer Sewing Girls' School that specialized in Western sewing, featuring the American-manufactured machines.

Kobe College had tried offering a three-year sewing course in 1896 but was obliged to close the course in 1898 because of the lack of student enrollment. This incident represented a case in which the expectations of the missionaries and the Japanese for the courses to be offered at Kobe College did not meet; it was a case in which the Japanese actually chose what kind of school they wanted Kobe College to be. It may be speculated that the missionaries had tried to accommodate Kobe College to the Japanese demand for a practical women's education in sewing to train good wives and wise mothers, yet the Japanese chose instead to seek education in English proficiency and other knowledge of Western culture at Kobe College.

The oral history records of two alumnae, Koizumi Chiyo and Ii Tazu, described that for the years until about 1904, Kobe College had the reputation as the best girls' school with the most advanced standard in the *Kansai* [Western] region, yet by 1913, the reputation declined and the government high school for girls of the Hyogo Prefecture (which was opened in 1901), was considered better than Kobe College.⁶⁸

MISSIONARY DREAM FOR KOBE COLLEGE

Kobe Girls' School was not kept intact from anti-Christian and anti-foreign sentiment, however. With increasing negative feelings toward the Christian schools of the Westerners, the number of student enrollment began to drop from 185 in 1889 to 145 in 1890, 135 in 1891, 106 in 1892, and finally to the low of 72 in 1894. Brown, suffering from this anti-Western sentiment, lamented in 1892 that her intention to come to this country was not to Americanize the Japanese girls but to develop them into respectable Japanese ladies.⁶⁹

An immediate consequence of changed attitudes was the reaction against women's education. "Little by little the higher educational

advantages have been taken away from girls, so that now, with one or two exceptions, none of the government schools above the lower grammar grade are open to them," Mary A. Holbrook reported in February 1893.⁷⁰ She identified that "a decided reaction against woman's education" had been occurring for "the past two or three years." Holbrook surveyed how many of the government schools higher than the grammar grade admitted girls and found that only six admitted girls, whereas "there were thirty-four normal and high schools admitting girls" in 1892. She continued, "in the city of Kobe with its 150,000 inhabitants, there is not a single public school for girls higher than the intermediate grade."⁷¹ Such decrease in educational opportunities for Japanese girls by "the closing of the normal schools" convinced Holbrook that the higher courses at Kobe Girls' school was "all the more necessary and the enlargement... certainly timely."⁷²

In 1892, Holbrook wrote, "Plans for the science building and attending to details employ all my time, but it is work I heartily enjoy, and so far it proves satisfactory to us all." She was satisfied because the WBMI had funded them generously so that she could build "properly equipped laboratories." Moreover, she found her greatest satisfaction in her student themselves. It was because "our dozen college girls" seemed to her like "such material as Mary Lyon had for her first classes," who were to become large-hearted Christian leaders who would set the examples and influence the surrounding Japanese significantly.⁷³

Amidst the heightening anti-foreignism, the Science Building and the Music Building, designed by Holbrook, were completed and dedicated in March of 1894. It was at this occasion that Kobe Girls' school was renamed Kobe College in English and *Kobe Jogakuin* in Japanese. Holbrook managed to keep the construction expenses of these buildings at a remarkably low cost, which was widely admired. Both of the buildings were made of wood, and the \$12,000.00 necessary for the purchase of an additional strip of land and for the construction expenses was raised and appropriated by the WBMI. For the dedication ceremony, Emily White Smith, the President of the WBMI sent a message, which included the following:

American women, grateful for all that Christian education has done for them and their daughters have a strong desire that the daughters of Japan may share the same high privileges. And they recognize the distinguished courtesy of the Japanese Government and people in affording them this opportunity.... The founding of Kobe College, as well as the building of sleepless nights of prayer and planning. None of the donors have ever seen your beautiful

Island Empire; yet constrained by the love of Christ they have joyfully given their treasures.⁷⁴

Conflation between *higher* education and *Christian* education illustrates American women's sense of the intertwining of the two: How could *Christian* education be reconciled with turning out respectable Japanese ladies?

The missionaries made several accommodations to Japanese customs to protect the survival of the school. Susan A.Searle adroitly pursued the missionary interest to develop the school into a Christian women's college hand in hand with Japanizing the school. When the eligibility for application to the school was raised to those who graduated from the Advanced Primary Schools of the government in 1890, the effect would impress the Japanese that Kobe Girls' School was a school of high standards. In 1891, a curriculum revision established the three-year program of the college department. A year later, in January 1892, Searle added courses of domestic science, hygiene, and childrearing with the hope of reforming Japanese homes. At the same time, she added courses of Japanese flower arrangement and tea ceremony as electives. Searle also pushed forward extracurricular religious education by observing the Great Prayer Day on the last Thursday of January. She made it an annual custom and expanded it into a one-day event on every fourth Thursday of January after 1894. Students were encouraged to spread Christianity individually to small groups of people and to children at the Sunday school for Kobe Church. Several volunteers from the college department and third-year Academy department taught about ten children's classes. In 1893, Searle founded the Christian Endeavor Society within Kobe Girls' School, of which she was the President. More than fifty students of the seventy Christian students in the school became members and held weekly meetings on Sunday afternoons to plan evangelical and charity work. This became the Youth Department of the Kobe Branch of the Japan WCTU when it was established in 1897.

During the Sino-Japan War, Susan A.Searle cooperated in war efforts, and the students made two donations of knitted caps of over one hundred each for the soldiers at the Red Cross Hospital in Hiroshima. Yet patriotic volunteering did not stop the growing antagonism against Kobe College as a Westernized school. Tokikawa Sachi, an alumna, recalled after the Sino-Japan war ended in 1895 that Kobe College students had volunteered to serve as waitresses for a soldiers' meeting. The soldiers gave a humiliating order that because Kobe College was the notorious Christian school founded by the Americans, the students should not serve but should clean the toilets instead. Searle rejoiced,

saying that they had to thank God that they were given a job that people disliked. Tokikawa recalled that through this experience they learned to persevere through anything and to do any work willingly.⁷⁵

“These are very trying times,” complained Holbrook in 1895. Our college courses that opened with so much hope are not at all prosperous. In place of twenty college girls last year we have but seven that we now know of and only one for the entering class. In place of 135 when I first came to the school there cannot be over 55 scholars counting preparatory students and all next year.⁷⁶

The effect of Japan’s being a victorious nation was, Holbrook believed, that “Japanese Christians think it a national disgrace that while they are able to direct an army and navy ‘Superior to any in the world’...yet it should seem necessary for foreign missionaries to remain among them to teach them religion.” Holbrook felt that the Japanese Christians thought it was time for the missionaries to leave.⁷⁷

The major Japanization of the school took place in 1899, the year of the treaty revision, after which the missionaries anticipated that Kobe College would have to go under Japanese governmental jurisdiction in order to survive. In April, Kobe College decided to abide by the Japanese academic calendar, which started in April instead of September. This accommodation was successful as the girls graduating from government primary schools could immediately apply for admission to Kobe College after they graduated from the primary schools in March. They had forty-five for the entering class, which was the largest since its foundation. During the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 to 1905, Searle again cooperated in war efforts, and the students made over 270 comfort bags to be donated to the soldiers.

Even during the years of nationalizing which were the years of depression for missionary schools, the music department continued to attract students. In 1895 at the peak of anti-foreign sentiment when the total enrollment of Kobe College including the Academy dropped to a low of fifty-five as of July 23,⁷⁸ Holbrook wrote that “the musical department is in a very good condition” and that there were “62 pupils in instrumental music beside the vocal classes.” Despite the popularity, Holbrook described the standard of music appreciation of the Japanese as extremely low, which Miss Kent, the music teacher estimated as “300 years behind” Western standards. The Japanese girls would not tolerate “thorough drill” and would only practice one hour a day whereas Miss Torrey, another music teacher required two hours per day. Thus the object of the music department was to give the girls a musical training

“as shall help sustain church services” and be able to “sing ordinary prayer meeting hymns accurately and to play simple music.”⁷⁹

The one pitfall of the music education that the missionaries might not have expected in the 1880s was that it contributed to raise the social class of the prospective applicants. Western music increasingly became linked to high culture, which was not for ordinary people but for the minority of elite intellectuals and the wealthy. Partially, this was because of the rare availability of the essential instrument, the piano. A piano was an extravagance that had to be imported from the West because none was manufactured in Japan. The adoption of Western music by the Imperial Court for ceremonial occasions in 1873 signaled the beginning of Western music as high culture.⁸⁰ Musical instruction thus attracted a more elite class in the 1890s than the students of the 1870s. Similarly the Methodist-run *Aoyama Jogakuin* [Aoyama Girls' School] attracted daughters of wealthy elites in Tokyo who often married into elite families. In January 1897 when the emperor's mother died, the school closed for five days in mourning. In November of the same year, *Shokeikan*, a Japanese-style building was built for the purpose to hold classes in tea ceremony, flower arrangement, sewing and domesticity. This was in response to a strong Japanese demand. The construction cost was funded by Japanese sources with the legacy of Mr. Ichida, the father of Ichida Hisa of the first class, and funds raised by the Alumnae Association. The missionaries provided the building materials by pulling down the eastern building, which was no longer in use.

JAPANESE SYMBOLS AND DUAL IDENTITY

The use of two names, Kobe College and *Kobe Jogakuin* at the 1894 expansion reflected the missionaries' shrewd use of the dual identity. The word “college” was included only in the English version, whereas the Japanese name was devoid of any word directly connotating the concept of “college.” *Kobe Jogakuin* literally meant “Kobe Woman's Institution of Learning”⁸¹ and was a broad, encompassing term for girls' schools without any distinction between secondary and higher education. The inclusion of the word *daigaku* with the connotation of college or university in the name would have been too radical and student enrollment would have shrank even further because in 1894 the imperial universities existed only for men and the idea of college or higher education for women was non-existent. No institution for women's education higher than the secondary level existed except for the Tokyo Woman's Normal School. The dispute over the pros and cons of women's higher education did not appear until 1901 when the first four women's

colleges were founded by the private sector. In 1900, Tsuda College, Tokyo Women's Medical College and Tokyo Women's College of Fine Arts were established and in the following year, the Japan Women's University was founded. Thus it would have been detrimental to include the concept of "college" in the Japanese name. To the contrary, the inclusion of the word "college" in its English name would have been beneficial to solicit more donations from American Christian women in the Midwest, because they would find it easier to identify with the development of a women's Christian college in Japan than with that of a secondary girls' school. The adoption of two names in the 1894 expansion, therefore, was a shrewd use of the dual identity by the missionaries for the survival and further development of Kobe College.

The missionaries enjoyed almost complete freedom and autonomy to adopt the new English name of Kobe College. As it existed outside of registration or recognition by the Japanese government, it was legally exempt from government restrictions and scrutiny. Yet when nationalism and anti-foreignism surged in 1894, the government asked "what right we [the missionaries] have to change our name, and to cut the characters for 'Kobe College' in our stone posts" despite the fact that the school existed outside of Japanese governmental jurisdiction.⁸² The government did not, however, have any power to use force to alter missionaries' policy at Kobe College; thus the missionaries managed to develop the school as they wished.

The very act of naming this school "Kobe College" implies that it was a manifestation of the missionary intention. It may have been a statement by the women missionaries and their women supporters of the WBMI in the United States to materialize their unfinished dream or ideals for women's collegiate education in a newly modernizing country in the Orient. For those who were struggling for women's colleges at home, Japan might have been viewed as a promising frontier where their dreams could be transplanted.

Another example of a shrewd use of the dual identity by the missionaries was how the purpose of Kobe College was defined in the English catalogue and Japanese catalogue when Kobe College obtained recognition by the Japanese government in 1909. The English version stated:

Its purpose is, by means of a Christian education, to train girls and young women into a harmonious development of body, mind and spirit, and thus to equip them for lives of useful service to God and to their fellowmen.

The Japanese version was:

The purpose of this institution is to impart an education essential to women and based on Christian morality, and thus to develop womanly character in accordance with the principles of the Imperial Rescript on Education. [translated by C.B.DeForest]

The missionaries tactfully used the two identities for the survival of the school as a Christian institution in a nationalistic Confucian state in Asia. The school was illustrated as a pure Christian school towards the American audience to solicit more funds. Towards the Japanese, they defined the school as an amalgam of Christianity and Confucianism in which Christianity was an element of Confucianism so that they could obtain official recognition from the Japanese government and ensure the school's stable development.

Third, records of school ceremonies for the Japanese national holidays manifested the missionaries' awareness of the two divergent interests as well as their clear priority on Christianity.⁸³ On February 11, 1900, when the National Foundation Day happened to fall on the Sabbath Day, Kobe College withheld a celebration ceremony. Instead a small meeting was held. This meeting as well as the celebration ceremony for the Emperor's Birthday on November 3, 1900 commenced and closed with the Christian hymns and prayers. Elements of Japanese culture, including poems, songs and in the latter case, the singing of *Kimigayo*, the Japanese national anthem and the recitation of the Imperial Rescript were put in the middle of the program after the Bible reading and prayers. What underlay this nominal compromise was a quiet yet persistent conviction of the missionary women that Christianity was the one and only religion, universal and superior to all other forms of religions. Furthermore, the use of the two identities showed how much the missionaries understood both Japan and the American Christians. They created a bi-cultural position of the school, incorporating the values and the norms of both cultures. Kobe College was not Japanese, nor an entirely American institution.

AMERICAN ASPIRATIONS IN A JAPANESE NATION

Of all the developments in the college, the development of the science department illustrated a striking case in which the women missionaries tried to transplant their dreams, but in the end failed. For the American teachers, science and math underlay the rigor of a true college education. A few Japanese women were inspired, but as Kobe College struggled for

survival in the 1890s, its attractions were primarily in the Western arts of English and music for both the Academy and the collegiate department.

The science department was first organized when the curriculum was revised in January of 1891 and the three-year program of the college department was established. At this revision, the college department included the two departments of literature and science. Science was a novelty because until then the one-year or two-year program of the higher department included only the two departments of English and the Chinese classics. The first year of the scientific course did not begin, however, until September of 1892 after Holbrook was assigned to Kobe Girls' School.⁸⁴ The construction of the Science Building in the 1894 expansion furnished the department with well-equipped laboratories. The Science Club organized by Dr. Holbrook the following year in 1895 facilitated scientific research and experiments in the laboratory as extracurricular work for the students. The first meeting of the Science Club was held on October 31, 1896 and the last recorded meeting in *Megumi*, the Kobe College Alumnae Bulletin, was on February 18, 1899.⁸⁵ Despite the fact that a small minority, such as Mase Yae, class of 1902, presented papers entitled "A Remarkable Phenomenon of Liquid Air," "On the Fluctuations of the Form and Position of the Heart," and "Liquid Air" at the regular meetings of the Science Club in 1898 and 1899, the department never had more than a handful of students, and at last in 1919, the department was closed and the science course declined into a mere elective within the Department of English Literature of the college department.

Nevertheless, three pioneer graduates of the college department pursued further training in American colleges in science and returned to Japan to teach. Amaya Hisa, class of 1892 earned a B.S at Carleton College; Tsukamoto Fuji, class of 1892 pursued further training at Wilson College in Pennsylvania and then majored in biology at the University of Pennsylvania, and Mase Yae, class of 1902, went to Mills College in 1906. All three of them taught at various high schools and normal schools including Kobe College upon their return to Japan.⁸⁶ Although small in number, the department helped to inspire pioneer women science teachers in Japan.

Characteristically, all the missionaries who were devoted to developing the scientific course at Kobe College were Mount Holyoke graduates. As we saw in [chapter 3](#), Virginia A. Clarkson, student of Mount Holyoke, first introduced scientific courses such as botany, physiology, chemistry and natural philosophy to the curriculum. Dr. Mary A. Holbrook, herself a physician, was the chief protagonist who initiated the science department, constructed the Science Building and organized the Science

Club. After she established the department, she recruited Olive S. Hoyt, a B.S in chemistry from Mount Holyoke.

Despite missionary enthusiasm for the scientific department, Japanese student demand remained low. “Two of the three scientific classes will not be represented” for the 1896–97 year, wrote Searle because student enrollment remained small.⁸⁷ Mary Anna Holbrook wrote in 1902 from the United States, where she had returned in 1896, that there had been no work in the science department for four or five years and that she wanted to return to Kobe College to reopen the department perhaps in Fall 1902. Holbrook, conscious that Japan Women’s University was established in Tokyo in 1901, was enthusiastic to offer “real college training” at Kobe College because “we have the name college,” and for this purpose, in Holbrook’s mind, the science department would provide a great impetus.⁸⁸ Despite such efforts, however, Holbrook wrote in December of 1904 that “we do not graduate a class in the science department until a year from April when we will have two who will be available.”⁸⁹ Holbrook again wrote of the danger of the survival of the Science Department unless she returned to Kobe in 1906.

Despite such low popularity among the Japanese, the women missionaries remained enthusiastic about the science department. Holbrook made incessant requests for more science teachers at Kobe College. She angrily responded when the WBM wrote that she and Hoyt should suffice: “Were this a high school and sciences taught thro textbooks and recitations only, this might be done; but it is not.” Holbrook described the scope of the science courses as follows:

We have now two years, the first and second, which give two sciences throughout the year requiring in class and laboratory work three hours each morning and three each afternoon four days per week...[which] means also hours and hours of preparation work for our apparatus [sic] is scanty and has to be supplemented by the work of the local carpenter.⁹⁰

Holbrook was teaching Botany, Zoology, Physiology and Hygiene as of April of 1904.⁹¹ Because she developed diabetes and was growing weak, she requested a replacement in 1903 and 1904 who would become the head of the biological department, but her hope was in vain.⁹² Ibuka Hana, a student of Holbrook, later recalled that “Holbrook was different from ordinary American missionary in her educational ideals in that she believed that Kobe College’s mission lay in scientific education.”⁹³ Ibuka wrote that Holbrook was very disappointed that she was too much ahead

of her time in Japan, and that science education did not turn out as she had envisioned.

The course work was very demanding and students feared it. Yoshida, who graduated from the Academy in 1903, went on to the college department and graduated from the college department in 1908. She recalled an episode that illustrated Susan A. Searle's intentions for the college department. Yoshida was not planning to go on to the college department, but Searle persuaded her to do so, saying that at that time the Academy education might be sufficient for girls' education but twenty years ahead, there would definitely come the day when higher education would be necessary for the girls. Yoshida declined the offer because of economic reasons. Then Searle offered her scholarship jobs.

Yoshida also recalled that the course work was very hard in the college department. "Student enrollment in the college department was extremely small with only one or three or five students and there were classes in which nobody graduated."⁹⁴ The courses were taught in American style in which various professors gave a number of topics to study. The students read books on the topic in English without any translations. In the scientific courses, Fuji Tsukamoto taught botany. She was in the class of 1886, studied at Wilson College in Pennsylvania and majored in biology at the University of Pennsylvania, finishing one year of graduate work. Her method was to teach science by observing the real plants and the real constellation from her window. For botany class, Tsukamoto actually took the girls to the nearby hills to collect flowers, which the girls pressed and looked up in the reference guide books.⁹⁵

For Mary Anna Holbrook, teaching science did not contradict teaching religion. Instead she found science useful because "it shall always reveal God to my pupils." As both physician and missionary formed the core of her identity, she considered it her special mission to "show the companionship of religion and science" which she deemed as "God's whole truth (though not the whole of God's truth, by any means.)"⁹⁶

Like others of the first generation of women scientists, Holbrook applied scientific knowledge to domestic life, and like her peers, she designed courses appropriate to the new field of Home Economics. Holbrook, eager to utilize her expertise in medicine and science, felt convinced that "a course in hygiene with special reference to home life," which the Kobe College faculty had promised the students, was just the course for her to come and teach because "such a course only a physician could give."⁹⁷ Holbrook's objective of this course was to "impress the necessity of an intelligent, healthful, happy Christian home upon this school" which would, through these students, spread the influence throughout the country. She taught other basic practical issues pertaining

to home life, such as “the fundamental principles of the care of the sick and house sanitation, what to do in accidents and emergencies, and something of motherhood and the care of children.”⁹⁸ The course in Home Hygiene remained a part of the Academy curriculum, as a required course to take in “the senior year of the academic course” before the girls entered college.⁹⁹

The American concepts of “hygiene” and “cleanliness” were increasingly becoming connected to “health” in the late nineteenth century U.S., when Mary Anna Holbrook received training in hygiene and health at Mount Holyoke and the University of Michigan.

During the 1880s, concern over the health hazards of filth spurred public awareness to develop urban sanitation systems. Such concern was based on “the ‘miasmatic,’ or filth theory of disease,” that historian Martin V. Melosi pointed out as a concept that “dominated American thinking on sanitation” from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1890s.¹⁰⁰ According to the filth theory, “gases emanating from putrefying matter or sewers were the cause of contagious diseases” and environmental sanitation, which included proper drainage and sewerage, adequate ventilation of buildings and proper removal of solid wastes, was believed to be the most essential, effective solution to city health problems. The concept that connected refuse and health hazards became widely diffused when British sanitarian Edwin Chadwick’s efforts for new sanitation laws in England in the mid 19th century inspired American health officials. The miasmatic theory prevailed until bacteria were recognized in the 1880s, and “germ theory,” which identified that specific pathogenic organisms caused diseases, revolutionized American concepts of public health by the early twentieth century. Cholera attacked the United States in the mid to late nineteenth century, and annual mortality from hog cholera increased alarmingly in the mid-1890s.¹⁰¹ Epidemics linked to filth, Melosi explained, heightened the public awareness of sanitary problems. Consequently urban sanitation systems, including municipal refuse management, began to develop, beginning in 1895 in New York city. American sanitary engineers first embarked on developing public water supplies and constructing citywide sewerage systems. By 1880 there were 598 municipal waterworks in the country, and after 1880 most major cities adopted sewerage systems to accompany their storm-water systems. By 1880 about one-third of all urban households had water closets, and by 1910 more than 70 percent of cities with populations over thirty thousand were maintaining their own water-works.¹⁰² Women played a vital role in sanitary reform as civic reformers by the mid-1890s. By the early 1900s, sanitation reform became an important part of women’s “municipal housekeeping.”¹⁰³

Such growing awareness of sanitary problems and the development of urban sanitation systems affected the concept of household hygiene as well. Ruth Schwartz Cowan, historian of household technology, wrote that by the end of nineteenth century, “‘running water’ [tap water in particular] was a standard convenience in urban households, even those of the very poor,” and water closets became popular.¹⁰⁴ For rural people in nineteenth-century America, the introduction of water systems was delayed until the 1930s, and water closets were virtually unknown. Mary A. Holbrook, born and educated in New England, was probably aware of the amenities of the modern water system and of the rising standards of personal and household cleanliness.

For Holbrook, who came from a country where most major cities had established municipal water systems including the sewerage system, and where the dominating filth theory raised the standards of both municipal and household cleanliness, the sanitary condition of Japanese households in Kobe Japan in 1891 must have seemed astonishing. Japan’s sanitation system was far from American modern water systems and had operated on a totally different principle that traditionally regarded human beings and their refuse as part of a larger ecological cycle of nature.¹⁰⁵ When most of the farmland was used for rice pads, traditionally, human excretions provided good manures; thus refuse and wastes were recycled ecologically. Once the port cities were opened to foreigners after the Meiji Restoration, the cities, including Kobe, were increasingly urbanized, and the amount of refuse exceeded such an ecological balance. Hence municipal governments began to plan for modern water supply systems, with the open port city of Yokohama completing the first modern water system in 1877.

Characteristically British sanitary engineers were hired as *oyatoi* [government-hired employees] to plan and direct the project, and in the case of Kobe, the municipal government asked two British *oyatoi* to draw the blueprints. Talcott had written in June 1879 that “cholera is so prevalent,” and cholera attacked the city of Kobe consecutively in 1877, 1879, 1881, 1882, 1884 and 1885, after foreign vessels began to enter the port.¹⁰⁶ Such spread of cholera alarmed the Kobe municipal government and convinced officials of the need for a modern water system. Plans were made in 1873, 1886 and 1889 but did not materialize until 1899, after cholera had swept the city for three consecutive years after 1890s. The primary reasons for the opposition to modern water systems were the expense and a persistent notion that human excretion represented cash income and not outlay. Kobe completed a modern water system in 1905, which was quite early in Japan, being the eighth city to complete such a system.

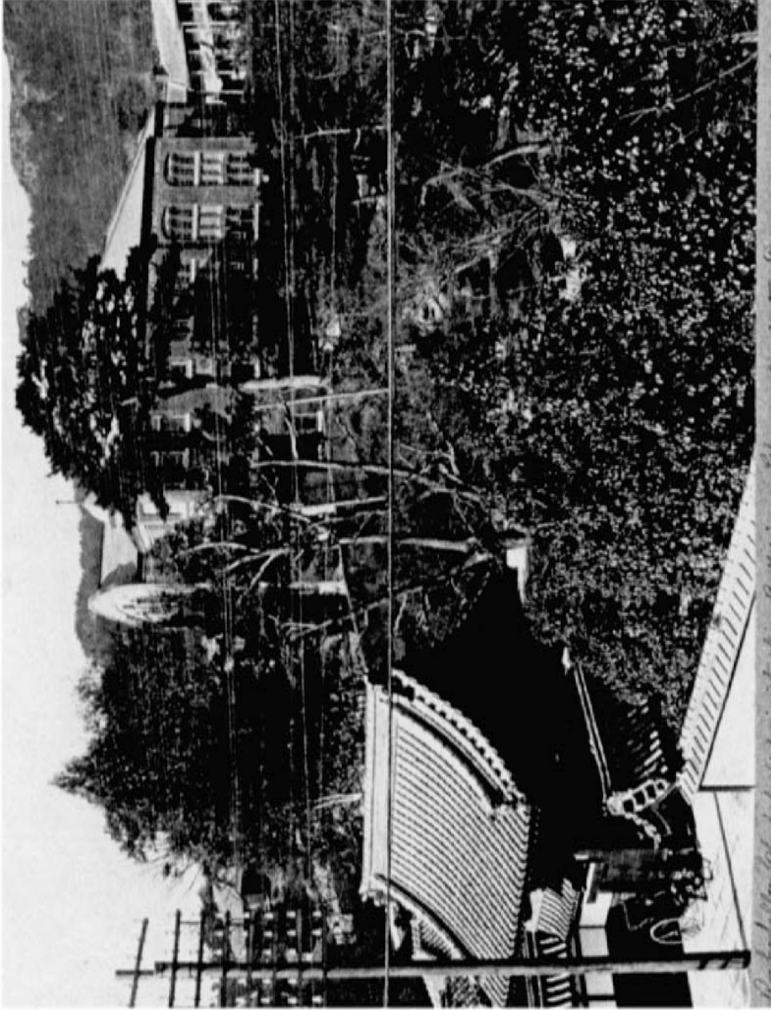
“There is another nuisance connected with the Kobe Home,” wrote Dr. Wallace Taylor, a medical missionary of the American Board in 1878, “that is likely at any time, (especially during an epidemic of typhoid fever or cholera) to become a source of disease, and is always poisoning to some extent the atmosphere of the buildings, viz. the water closets.” Taylor felt the need to improve the sanitary condition but was concerned that the Japanese were not sensitive to it. “It is not always, even with those [Japanese] who are well bred and liberally educated, that you can secure such arrangements in regard to the water closets, as will make everything safe and healthful,” complained Taylor.¹⁰⁷ Eliza Talcott, one of the founders of Kobe College, who had grown up in the United States between the 1830s through the 1860s when cholera was traditionally linked with immorality, as historian Charles E. Rosenberg pointed out, wrote in 1879, “there is everything to invite the Scourge,” blaming the cause of cholera in Kobe on Japan’s immorality.¹⁰⁸

Holbrook however held different views. Just as Ellen Swallow Richards became increasingly interested in the domestic application of sciences and engineering from about 1890s and a leader of what came to be known as the home economics movement, Holbrook believed that Japanese girls must learn American principles of hygiene and cleanliness. Ellen Swallow Richards’ interests had stemmed from her study in sanitary chemistry at M.I.T.’s chemical laboratory for the study of sanitation, set up in 1884, the first of its kind. She also taught the analysis of water, sewage and air at M.I.T.’s program in sanitary engineering, which was established in 1890s.¹⁰⁹ In the course in “Home Hygiene” that Holbrook started at Kobe College in 1892, Holbrook wanted to put into practice what she had “often wished that our girls at home [U.S.] might have such a practical understanding of what is so necessary for every grown up daughter to know.”¹¹⁰

Despite the belief in strong Christian womanhood, Mary Anna Holbrook nevertheless did not wish to create Americanized Japanese women. Her goal was to find a way to “adapt approved methods to Japanese home life.” Thus she struggled to find answers to the questions of “how to start yeast from the fermented rice from the brewery” and “how to make a more comfortable bed for sick people than the Japanese custom of sleeping upon comfortables on the floor.”¹¹¹ Ibuka Hana recalled that Holbrook’s ideal was “not to create an eclectic blend of Japanese and American woman but a woman who internally was a broad-minded Christian with cosmopolitan outlook and who externally was a perfect Japanese woman; She hated Japanese woman who imitated Western culture.”¹¹² “Dr. Holbrook loved Japan so much,” recalled Yoshida Sonoe, Class of 1903, “that after she visited the Peeress School in

Tokyo where she saw the students wear *hakama*, plaited skirts as a national school girl uniform, she loved it so much that she said Kobe College girls also had to adopt it." Holbrook accepted Japanese customs, even as she held to a vision of a scientifically-educated, Christian woman like those graduating from Mount Holyoke.

The missionary experience at Kobe had transformed Mary Anna Holbrook. She was no longer a visitor in Japan, trying to create a new middle ground of what she perceived as the best elements of both cultures. Taking out what she found as the best aspects of Japanese lifestyle, she tried to incorporate them with what she deemed as the best moral system, Christianity. Holbrook had a deep understanding and a respect for Japanese culture that the Kobe College alumnae appreciated. Holbrook, thereby, pioneering in the newly emerging "hybrid" missionaries, created a somewhat bi-cultural setting in which Kobe College became a new institution, neither Japanese nor American.



New Rockefeller Chapel, Administration Building and Library at Kobe College, circa 1907. from the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archive*. Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University and Wider Church Ministries of the United Church of Christ.

CHAPTER FIVE

Japanese Women's Identity and Kobe College

After a decade of missionary work in Japan, American Board missionaries in the early 1880s were enchanted with the vision that God had selected Japan to become God's Kingdom within a decade. This fascination, however, ended in a fantasy; American Protestant missionary movement to christianize Japan ultimately failed. Japan never became a Christian country, with less than one percent of its total population being Christians.

Despite church failure in expanding its membership nationwide, however, the surviving sources of Kobe College alumnae reveal that the mission school education dramatically changed the Japanese women's lives. The Christian conversion rate gradually declined from 90 to 100 percent of the formative years, yet the overall average Christian rate of those who graduated between 1873 and 1909 was as high as 70.6 percent. This figure suggests that Kobe College under mission control created a special space where Japanese women gained new sense of spirituality.

Between 1873 and 1909, a total of 326 women graduated from one of the departments at Kobe College. Of this group of women, the students of the first decade embodied the missionary objectives most distinctively. Yet this character gradually declined as enrollment soared by attracting more students with secular motivations and thereby the personal relationship between the missionaries and the students was weakened. Drawing on *Megumi*, the Kobe College Alumnae Periodical issued since 1890 and the existing graduation theses kept at Kobe College Library, this chapter traces the life patterns and thoughts of the Japanese women and attempts to analyze the impact of missionary education on two groups of Japanese students; the students of the first decade who either graduated (the first graduating class of 1882) or left the school without graduation between 1873 and 1882 and those who graduated between 1883 and 1909. These sources show that the Japanese women invented new identities, combining Christian ideas with traditional Japanese gender roles. The women raised their expectations for marriage and became determined to make their own life choices. Distinctively, Japanese women found new

ways of positioning themselves in the society. They were no longer innocently passive to male decision-making both at home and in the public sphere. Inspired by the role models of their missionary teachers, they sought for ways to make them “useful” for wider social purposes. Such tenets may explain why a significant number of institutions for women’s education, social welfare and hospitals with American Protestant missionary origins hold important positions in Japanese society today.

THE FIRST CLASS OF 1882 AND THE NON-GRADUATES OF THE FIRST DECADE

Nurtured in a “Christian home” setting of the missionary boarding school, the Japanese students of the first decade manifested distinctive Christian character. The first graduating class of 1882 fulfilled the missionary expectations by becoming Christians and creating “Christian homes.” Eleven out of twelve or 91.6 percent became Christians, and out of ten who married, eight or 80 percent married Christian husbands. Seven of the eight Christian husbands were pastors, of which two were also educators. There were three educators including these two and one physician and one photographer. Thus 80 percent were either pastors and/or educators. During the following five years from 1882 to 1887, the rate of husbands who were pastors or Christians in general declined to about 59 percent, whereas those who were educators increased from about 30 percent to 75 percent.

Although the missionaries themselves remained single, the majority or 83 percent of the Class of 1882 married, thereby fulfilling the prescribed cultural ideals of becoming wives and mothers. As no national marriage rates of this period exist, the effect of Kobe Home education on the women’s marriage choices cannot be assessed.¹ In fact marriages and the creation of Christian homes by these women met the missionaries’ expectations, because the core of their mission theory lay in spreading the Gospel through the “Christian homes.” Furthermore, the class of 1882 put the missionary ideals into practice by becoming educators themselves. Ten or 83 percent of the women became teachers, of which three pursued further training in U.S. colleges.²

To become Christians, to marry pastors or educators and to become teachers by their own decision-making were courageous acts for these girls to take in a society where the prevailing Confucian ideals expected the daughters to obey their fathers unconditionally and where Christianity was still an alien religion. Significantly, many of these women ventured into various regions in Japan with the purpose of social reform through

evangelical and educational works. Except for the high marriage rates, these alumnae duplicated the role model of their missionary teachers in devoting their lives to the evangelization of Japanese and the betterment of the social status of the Japanese women. Although the number of these Christian woman workers was incomparably smaller than in the United States, the network among these women through the Kobe College Alumnae Association and through the close relationship with the missionaries also resembled the sisterhood of the American Christian women who supported the women's foreign missionary work. What is often overlooked, however, is the fact that behind these success stories, there existed a larger number of girls obliged to leave Kobe Home/Kobe Girls' School before graduating from it. When only twelve graduated in the years between 1873 and 1882, there were 52 non-graduates, of whom only 10, or 16.1 percent, were baptized.

The largest factor that enabled a smooth and successful development of Kobe Home during the first decade was the strong support by the former Daimio and samurais of Sanda *han*, a former feudal domain 20 miles inland from Kobe. As discussed in [chapter 3](#), Sanda *han* with a long intellectual tradition in liberal thought provided the first students as well as material support of the first classrooms and a partial funding of the construction of the first school building.

Most of the first students came from Sanda as the first private teaching started when Julia E. Dudley accompanied J.D. Davis to Sanda. Dudley had a special aptitude for attracting crowds of women and for quickly moving their hearts. The former Daimio Kuki asked her to educate his wife and his daughter and a number of mothers, deeply impressed, flocked around her and asked her to take their daughters and educate them in a way better than keeping them in their families. Most of Kuki's followers were former samurais, the highest class of four classes of the warriors, farmers, artisans, and tradesmen of the feudal system in Edo period. Yet many were impoverished because the feudal system was abolished in Meiji Restoration. The majority of the students of the first decade came from the samurai class including those impoverished. Furthermore, the anecdotal evidence seems to suggest that they were of mixed class including samurai intellectuals, merchants and artisans.³ Ichida Hisa of the first class of 1882, who became an influential figure in the Kobe College Alumnae Association, was a daughter of a photographer who ran the first photograph studio in Kobe. Photography was a new modern technology just imported from Western countries. As discussed in [chapter 3](#), Kawamoto Komin, the enlightened scholar of Dutch learning in Sanda had first succeeded in taking photographs with a Dutch camera in 1857 when he was working for Daimio Shimazu

Nariakira of Satsuma *han*. Thus Ichida Hisa's father was a modern enlightened man, covetous of the newest culture. It was this father who decided to send his daughter to Talcott's newly opening school because he was immediately attracted to Talcott's character when she visited his studio.

There were also girls whose tuition and board was supported by the mission, such as Sugiura Nobu and Fuwa Kiyo described below. Both of them were from Sanda, yet the class origins of poor girls are not necessarily clear. Their case demonstrates, however, that the impoverished girls without means to attain education were also given the opportunity to be educated at Kobe Home. "We have one girl from Fukuoka," wrote Clarkson in January 1881, "but she is entirely supported, that is her board & tuition is paid for her." She and her brother were orphans and her brother worked as a colporteur to pay for her clothes and books. Others from "poor, hard working families" in Imabari were also "partially helped in board & tuition.", If they were "straining every nerve to help along the church there,"⁴ they were important for the Mission and their financial support was justified. The students' familial backgrounds indicate that the missionaries pursued their Christian democratic ideal to offer the opportunity to all classes of girls, or perhaps felt they could exercise greater influence over poor girls. This was another manifestation that Kobe Home/Kobe Girls' School was emulating the Mt. Holyoke model.

The difference in baptism rate between the graduates and non-graduates indicate that even during the first decade at Kobe Home, it was difficult to spread Christianity among the enrolled girls. The high dropout rates testified how hard it was to attract Japanese girls, keep them until graduation, and convert them to Christianity, even during the most successful years. Whatever the causes, the fact that the dropout rate was high itself demonstrates that those who graduated Kobe Girls' School were the exceptional, determined girls who could and wanted to graduate Kobe Girls' School. (See tables 1 and 2) The data did not include the reasons why these girls left the school prior to graduation. The causes can only be speculated: whether they were personal ones such as marriage; health or financial reasons; or cultural constraints against Christianity or against women's education itself. The high dropout rates may reflect the degree of Japanese skepticism and resistance against Christianity, or against women's education. The public primary schools, which the Meiji government organized on a national scale as a compulsory education for both boys and girls for the first time, also had high dropout rates, especially for girls. Thus the high dropout rates may imply that the education of girls itself was neglected. The earliest

dropout figures available of the public primary schools in Kobe, for the year 1891, were as follows.

Number of Graduates				Number of Drop-outs			
Primary		Higher Primary		Primary		Higher Primary	
boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
453	281	96	20	347	208	174	104

The graduation rate of these Kobe girls who went to the public primary schools calculates as 57.5 percent for primary schools and 16.1 percent for higher primary schools, and higher primary school boys graduated at twice the rate of higher primary school girls: 35.6 percent to 16.1 percent. Further, in total, girls who attended the public primary schools were many fewer than boys, including both the graduates and the drop-outs: 489 girls to 800 boys at the primary schools and 124 girls to 270 boys at the higher primary schools, in the ratio of approximately one girl to two boys.

The first class was conspicuous in duplicating the lives of their missionary teachers. In addition, both the graduates and the non-graduates of the first class of 1882 had personal relationships with the missionaries. Of the twelve graduates of the first class of 1882 and thirty-nine non-graduates enrolled between 1873 and December 1881, the following girls were quoted in the missionaries' letters: Fuwa Kiyō, Sugiura Nobu, Koga Fuji, Ichida Hisa, Kameyama Tami, Sawayama Taka, Maekawa Teru and Koizumi Zen. Of these, the first four graduated from Kobe Girls' School as the first graduating class of 1882. The rest were non-graduates who left the school without graduation. Most of these eight girls, except for Maekawa, had entered Kobe Home in the early formative years between 1873 and 1875. Maekawa entered in January 1880, a much later date. The years of entrance of the seven girls were as follows:

Of these girls, the lives of Fuwa Kiyō, Sugiura Nobu, Koga Fuji, Ichida Hisa, Sawayama Taka and Koizumi Zen, whose lives the missionaries portrayed in length or frequently, will be discussed. In addition to these women, the lives of Watanabe Tsune and Hirata Toshi, who became the first Kobe Home students to study abroad and who excelled in academics, will also be discussed although neither of them is mentioned in the missionary correspondence of this period. Material exists to write brief biographical data for twenty-eight more girls, graduates and non-

graduates combined.⁶ Because of space limitations, I have chosen to write portraits of only eight women whose sources are rich within missionary correspondence and/or within *Megumi*, the alumnae bulletin.

Fuwa Kiyō	October 12, 1875
Sugiura Nobu	October 12, 1875
Koga Fuji	1873
Ichida Hisa	1873
Kameyama Tami	unknown, but most likely 1873 ⁵
Sawayama Taka	1875
Koizumi Zen	1875

Fuwa Kiyō, Sugiura Nobu and Koga Fuji were from Sanda. They served important role of mediator between the missionaries and the younger students as assistants, interpreters and role models. Supported by the Board, Nobu and Kiyō fostered close relationships with the missionaries because they worked for their board by living in the same “Home” and doing various household chores for the missionaries. Julia Gulick wrote on September 14, 1876: that “O Nobu San (fourteen years old) and O Kio San (thirteen years old)” from her brother’s parish in Sanda are “earning their board by spending their forenoons here helping about the housework, waiting on the table, running on errands, learning to sew and to play on the organ.” The missionaries considered this an effective method because by lodging at the “Home” and attending school in the afternoon, they were “under constant Christian home influences” and effectively could instill Christianity. Hence they were successfully “united with the Kobe Church” and including their cook, his wife and two other school girls who also lived with them in the “Home,” Julia Gulick happily reported that “since the 1st of January thirty-five or more have united...doubling the membership.” Furthermore, they developed their talent to become valuable “assistant in the infant class” of Kobe Sabbath School.⁷

The missionaries, not yet fluent in Japanese, also needed an assistant in teaching the class. Talcott in her early days, taught the Japanese women in the following three steps. The Bible at this time was not yet translated in Japanese. First Talcott’s language teacher who had read the Bible in Chinese would explain the content to Talcott in Japanese. Talcott would then explain it to her class using his words. Finally, some of the students who understood her would explain it to the rest of the class in a more

understandable expression. Julia A. Gulick, on the other hand, used a proxy. Gulick would "go over the lessons carefully once or twice" during the week to the assistant who was "familiar with the whole account of the life of Christ." "Most of the teaching was done by the proxy" and Gulick would "lend the attraction" of her presence, "call the roll, keep order and ask questions or make remarks when I choose and hear seven of those who can read, recite the verse they have committed during the week."⁸

Hence the existence of these girls as assistants and mediators between the missionaries and the younger students was significant. Julia Gulick wrote on January 7, 1877 that "O Nobu San and O Kio San are still with me, doing well in school and both of them teaching in Sunday School the Bible story and lesson which I teach the Saturday."⁹

Furthermore, Nobu and Kiyō assisted Julia A. Gulick in her evangelizing tours in Sanda. Gulick wrote on November 13, 1877 that during her "ten days in Sanda," she organized infant class in the Sabbath School for which "another girl from the 'Home'" helped her "gather and instruct a class." In addition, her special work was to get "the women of the church to read the Bible with their relatives or friends." To get this started, she "went daily" with "O Nobu San and O Kio San" to their homes so that they would "read with a mother and sister."¹⁰ Thereby the women missionaries made use of Japanese "families" and planted these girls they supported as seeds to spread the Gospel to their mothers and sisters.

Kiyō and Nobu were good at playing the organ and assisted the missionaries in this capacity as well. Hongma, who became one of the first male pastors, wrote to Julia Gulick on August 1, 1876 that "I *urayamasee* [envy] for O Kio and Nobu san's organ playing."¹¹

Clarkson wrote about Kiyō on June 14, 1880 as one of two sisters supported, because their father was dead and their mother was "worse than that, living an immoral life."¹² She described Kiyō as "a nice, little girl whose eyes are very weak, and she comes to me four times a day to have them washed with salt water, and medicine dropped in." Kiyō worked for her tuition and board as was discussed earlier, and Clarkson had a hope that "she is a Christian" because she seemed very interested in her Bible lesson and concluded that "Jesus will...make her very useful here in Japan."¹³

Actively going on evangelical tours in the interior of Japan with her students as assistants, Talcott firmly believed in the possibility of the power of Japanese women to spread Christianity throughout Japan. Talcott wrote on July 5, 1880 to correct the Board's perception that Japanese women did not have that potential.

I presume others have written [unclear] this to correct your impression that Japanese women cannot [unclear] evangelistic work. I should say it was particularly untrue as compared with the women of other heathen [unclear]. They can go not only to their women but to men [unclear]... acceptable.¹⁴

Fuwa Kiyō was one of the brightest students of the class of 1882, with a mild character. Kiyō entered Kobe Home when it was officially opened in 1875 at the age of twelve, a year younger than Nobu. The following year in April 1876 she was baptized with Nobu and Horie Take as the second group of students to be baptized. Immediately after graduating from Kobe Girls' School in December 1882, Kiyō married Fuwa Yuijiro who was the pastor of Fukuoka Church. The wedding took place in the auditorium of Kobe Girls' School only a few days after she graduated. As Nakanaga commented, Kiyō dressed as a bride must have impressed the younger students as an ideal life pattern.¹⁵ She had a son, a daughter and a granddaughter. Fukuoka Church history bulletin recorded that the church flourished because of her ardent support and other male American Board missionaries found Fukuoka Church as a congenial and strong foothold for their evangelical tours because of Kiyō's presence. When her husband was transferred to Maebashi, Kiyō and her husband founded Maebashi Kyoai Jogakko [Women's High School in Maebashi] and she was engaged in girls' education. Unfortunately she died of a sickness at the age of twenty-seven on January 9, 1890.¹⁶

Sugiura Nobu was also born and brought up at Sanda. She went to a *terakoya* in Sanda at the age of thirteen. The following year at the age of fourteen she entered Kobe Home. When she came to Kobe Home for the first time, no trains were in service yet, so she walked and sometimes took rides. She became very close to Dudley. She was baptized the following year in 1876 when she was fifteen years old. After graduating as one of the first class of 1882 at the age of twenty-one, she entered the post-graduation class. She was one of the best musicians in the class. A year after graduating from Kobe Girls' School, she married. Sugiura Yoshikazu, trained at Doshisha Theological Training School, who was at the time the pastor of Tamon Church in Kobe. She had five sons and two daughters and one grandchild in 1914 when the Alumnae Association made its follow-up research.

Nobu entered Annie Howe's Kindergarten Training School (Glory Kindergarten) in Kobe in 1889 at the age of twenty-eight when her two daughters were five and three years old. She studied and worked as an interpreter for Annie Howe. Nobu accompanied her husband all over Japan for evangelical and educational work, from Hokkaido, the northern

tip, to Miyazaki Prefecture, the southern tip of Japan, and to Kochi Prefecture in the island of Shikoku as well, when the family circumstances permitted. When her husband founded Hanasaki Kindergarten in Nemuro in 1894, Nobu became its lead kindergarten teacher at the age of thirty-three. Her husband opened another kindergarten, Soai Kindergarten in Asahikawa, his next assignment, in 1909, where he had organized Asahikawa Church. Five years after they moved to Asahi-cho, she wrote to the Alumnae Association how busy she was with private tutoring and various voluntary activities. She taught English to junior high school students three afternoons every week, and organ to the girls once a week. In addition, she volunteered to take care of a Boys' Temperance Group of about fifty members twice a month. She held choir practices twice a week. She also attended a women's Bible study group once a week and the WCTU once a month. Nobu led a movement within the WCTU to dispel brothels from being built in the neighboring towns. They succeeded in having the town council adopt the WCTU proposal. When Nobu was fifty-one and her husband sixty-one, they moved to the town of Kobayashi in Miyazaki Prefecture for evangelical work. Her husband organized Kobayashi Church and founded Kobayashi Kindergarten when Nobu was fifty-three. This was Nobu's last kindergarten, because five years later her husband resigned of illness. Among Nobu's children, her eldest daughter, Sonoe, also graduated from Kobe College, class of 1903 of the Academy Department and class of 1908 of the Higher Department. Sonoe taught music at Kobe Women's Bible Training School for three months. She married the son of a former professor at the Navy University. Sonoe was one of the longest living alumnae of Kobe College and tutored English from the ages of seventy to one hundred and one. Nobu's youngest son, Yoshihito, graduated from Tokyo Theological Seminary and succeeded to his father's work by becoming a pastor at the churches of Hongo, Reinanzaka, Bancho in Tokyo and in Niigata.

Most of the Class of 1882 followed similar life patterns. As these examples exemplify, a typical graduate of the class of 1882, was married to a Japanese pastor and sought to pursue evangelical/educational work in addition to rearing her family. Kanamori Kohisa married Kanamori Tsurin, first pastor of Okayama Church who later served as acting President of Doshisha University. A prominent member of Kumamoto band and a student of Captain L.L.Janes, he graduated from Doshisha and was well-known for baptizing Ishii Juji and leading Ishii to his pioneering work of his orphanage in Okayama, which was the first such attempt in Japan. Kohisa founded Okayama Sanyo Eiwa Jogakko, a women's mission school modeled after Kobe College. Her son became the

governor of Yamagata and Tokushima prefectures. Tanaka Ei, daughter of a member of the Hiogo prefectural council, also married a pastor and together they joined *Sekishinsha*, a Puritan company devoted to evangelical work and modern farming in the frontier of Hokkaido. Her husband became the first pastor of Motourakawa Church in Hokkaido.¹⁷ Many of the non-graduates also followed similar life-patterns. Sawayama Taka was obliged to leave Kobe Home without graduation because of her marriage to Rev. Paul Sawayama, a charismatic Japanese pastor and founder of Baika Jogakko, whom the American Board missionaries valued as one of the most promising Japanese Christian leaders. Baika Jogakko was a unique girls' school in Osaka founded and funded by Japanese Christians, which pursued the "self-support" theory. Thus they were free from denominational obligations although American Board provided the missionary teachers.

Koga Fuji and Watanabe Tsune were the only two women of the first class of 1882 who remained single. Koga Fuji, also from Sanda, had entered Kobe Home at its first beginning in 1873 before it was officially opened as an American Board institution. She was the oldest and one of the brightest of the first graduating class of 1882. Her father was a *samurai* warrior serving for former Daimio Kuki. Koga, however, was obliged to work as a live-in servant of the Kuki household when her father passed away. Following Kuki's recommendation, she lived in with the American Board missionary Davis and his family as a babysitter when she was sixteen years old. When Talcott and Dudley came to Japan and started a small school in the fall of 1873, she attended the classes and assisted the missionaries in their evangelical work. She was among the first Japanese to be baptized at Kobe Church in 1874 at the age of nineteen. She also served as an invaluable assistant when the missionaries taught the girls at school. She became the first student at Kobe Home to visit the United States in 1877. Julia A. Gulick wrote on August 20, 1877, "One of our oldest and best girls from the Home¹⁸ went to San Francisco as nurse for Dr. Gordon's baby and is spending several months there with Miss Talcott's sister. We hope this glimpse of America and its institutions may do her good and that she will bring back such a report as shall stimulate all who hear it to more earnest efforts for the spread of Christianity in this land."¹⁹ Talcott appreciated the effects of this visit on Fuji. She wrote on February 11, 1879 to the Woman's Board as follows:

O Fuji said once as we were walking this morning, "Oh, isn't that lovely?" at which I remarked it was evident she had not forgotten her associations with American schoolgirls. She is a dear girl, and is

much the richer for her little experience in foreign life, and the acquaintances she made there.²⁰

Koga's talent as a mediator helped to harmonize the encounter of two divergent cultures. For example, when a westerner remarked on Kuki's visit to Davis in humble attire without any servants, "It is a pity that a former daimio is obliged to travel alone because his social status was deprived," she responded forcefully, "No, to the contrary, the lord is quite pleased that he has gained freedom." In addition, Koga's talent in caring for children enhanced her role as a mediator. She assisted in Sabbath School teaching, helped in evangelical tours and served as the matron at Kobe Home for seven years from 1879 to 1886, including four years after her graduation. Koga contributed to reducing Japanese fear of missionaries and Christianity and literally increased the number of those who attended prayer meetings. Her work was highly praised by both men and women missionaries in Kobe. In November 1875, Atkinson, a male missionary wrote, "Each Sab. the number has increased, a week ago Fuji san asked the children to bring their schoolmates...but they replied 'the foreigners will beat us on the head if we go.' Fuji san said, 'but these Bible teaching foreigners don't do that sort of thing. Tell them all to come & not be afraid.' Whether as a result of that or not I do not know, but last Sabbath, the class was much larger."²¹

Koga as a matron also served as an important mediator between the American missionary teachers and Japanese boarding students. Japanese students later recalled that Koga possessed both the formidable, masculine character of Talcott and the loving feminine nature of Dudley. She was instrumental in helping missionaries and students foster a harmonious, close relationship. Every Sunday, she also led the student procession to the service at Kobe Church.

Koga Fuji became a pioneer educator in Japan in the field of early childhood education. She received further training at two kindergarten training schools in U.S. from 1887 to 1890. She first went to a kindergarten training school founded by Miss C.C.Vories in Cambridge for two years and pursued special studies with Miss Laura Fisher in Boston for another six months,²² where she graduated in June 1890. After returning to Japan, she taught in several kindergartens, including Shoei Kindergarten, Miss Gaines' Kindergarten and Kindergarten Training School in Hiroshima. From 1897 to 1903, she again left Japan and worked for Honolulu Kindergarten.

Blessed with great self-discipline, Koga constantly studied to keep up with the most advanced knowledge of kindergarten education. In addition to the first training she gained, she went to the United States for

further study from 1904 to 1906 and from 1920 to 1921. During the second stay, Koga met Aso Shozo, the President of Japan Women's University at Harvard. When Japan Women's University developed its 18-year school plan encompassing kindergarten through university education, Aso remembered Koga and asked her to be the first head of their kindergarten. She led the Homei Kindergarten attached to the Japan Women's University for twenty-two years, from its foundation in 1906. Writing widely on the issue of early childhood education in families, she became the pioneer kindergarten educator in Japan. She also served as the head of Takanawa Kindergarten from 1910 to 1923. Throughout her life she remained single and devoted herself to the development of early childhood education as well as to the enlightenment of Japanese mothers about how to implement ideal education in families. Eight years after her retirement at the age of 73, she passed away in her hometown in Hyogo prefecture in 1938.

Watanabe Tsune was the other woman of the class of 1882 who remained single. She was professional-minded and devoted her whole life to the two objectives of educating Japanese women and evangelizing Japan. She was a conspicuous figure in devoting her life to the profession and served as the leader of the Class of 1882 and became the first President of the Kobe College Alumnae Association. Tsune was born in Okayama in 1864. Being a bright girl, she graduated from the primary school attached to the Okayama Normal School. Unfortunately Okayama Women's Normal School was abolished in 1878 when Tsune was fifteen years old. Thus she came to Kobe for further education. She entered Kobe Home in March, 1879, was baptized in September 1881 and graduated in 1882 at the age of nineteen. She decided to go abroad at this time, but continued to assist teaching mathematics and science as well as to go on further study in the Higher Department. She graduated from the Higher Department in 1886 and, by Emily M. Brown's recommendation, went to Carleton College. She graduated from Carleton College in 1891 with the degree of B.S. After returning to Japan, she taught algebra, geometry, and astronomy at Kobe College. She then taught at Seiryu Jogakuin in Nagoya, and then as Vice Principal at Kofu Yamanashi Jogakko. She served as the first President of the Alumnae Association from 1892 to 1895, then as the ninth President from 1905 and finally as the fourteenth President from 1912 to 1916. After devoting herself for the education of women for many years, she decided in 1906 at the age of 43 to devote the rest of her life to the evangelization of Japan when she assumed the position of the Presidency of Japan Women's Missionary Society. Committing herself to the temperance work of the WCTU and the activities of the Women's Missionary Society, she traveled extensively

both in Korea and Japan. In her last days, she was devoted to teaching groups of girls at home. She died in 1941 at the age of 78.

Hirata Toshi had also studied abroad at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. Yet her case was different from the above two because she was married and raised five children. Hirata Toshi was a Chinese orphan born in 1865 and was adopted by J.T.Gulick, an American Board missionary in China at the time, at the age of about three when she was renamed Martha Gulick in English. She came to Japan with the Gulicks in 1875, went to Ferris Seminary for a year to study and entered Kobe Home. In Japan she was adopted by Miyagawa, the pastor of Osaka church. Toshi was good at English and Music. She taught at Kobe College from 1886 to 1891. She went to Mount Holyoke College from 1890 to 1893 and earned the degree of B.L. in English literature. After returning to Japan, she again taught at Kobe College. Toshi became the first woman to pass the Examination for the license of English teacher at the secondary schools given by the Ministry of Education in 1896. Yet it was she who challenged the missionaries over control in 1894 as discussed in [chapter 4](#). After spending several years, working as a typist and tutoring the children of Mrs.Cady, the former Miss Clarkson., she married late with Hirata Yoshimichi, a pastor of Osaka church in 1899, who was a year younger than she and who had been widowed the previous year. In 1900 her husband was assigned to the Congregational church in Yokohama, where she taught at the government women's high school for seven years. She then devoted herself to assisting her husband's church work and managing her household. She married late at the age of 35, yet had three sons and two daughters. Of these children she lost a son and a daughter both at the age of two.²³

Ichida Hisa, the youngest of the twelve graduates of the first class of 1882, was a good musician. Her father was a photographer in Motomachi, Kobe when Hisa was born in 1867. As discussed earlier, Hisa's father decided to send Hisa to Talcott's school, strongly impressed by Talcott's character. He was not friendly to Christianity, yet cooperated with the school for the purpose of raising a "strong woman based on *bushido* or the samurai spirit." Of this father, Clarkson wrote critically on June 14, 1880.

Another one of my girls had been in trouble today. Her father is a photographer, and is in very good circumstances. He knows a great deal about "*this way*" Xtianity, but he loves Saki (wine) too much and his wife has at last been obliged to leave him and poor O Hisa San is almost heartbroken, probably the wife will return to him, neither the wife nor husband are Christians, but I hope this trouble may lead them all to the Source of all comfort. Won't you remember

them particularly, especially that O Hisa San may be so filled with love for Jesus, that her example will constrain them to love Him too.²⁴

Her father had been against her receiving baptism, yet Hisa continued persuading her family and finally succeeded in Christianizing her whole family. Hisa herself was baptized in January of 1882.

The following year she married Ichida Kijiro, who was a photographer. He adopted her family name and succeeded her father in his photography studio. She did not have any children, so she adopted a daughter from one of her classmates and a son. While all her classmates scattered nationwide, Hisa remained in Kobe and played the central role as both the treasurer and president of the Kobe College Alumnae Association and the Kobe Women's Association of Kobe Church. Her father, who had been against Christianity, became an ardent supporter of Kobe Girl's School. When he died in 1897, he left a legacy for building an additional Japanese-style building on campus. Hisa was so deeply devoted to Kobe College after graduating from it that she was willing to invest all her fortune for the expansion of the campus. She became an important figure as the core of the network of sisterhood among the Kobe College alumnae, especially during the Building Campaign.

On the other hand, the non-graduates, Taka and Zen did not graduate from Kobe Home/Kobe Girls' School, however, they fulfilled the missionary expectations. Taka entered Kobe Home in 1875 and left the school in 1878 without graduating to marry Sawayama. He was a student of Rev. D.C. Greene, the first American Board missionary in Japan and, after studying in the United States, had started his work as a minister from 1876. After being engaged to Taka in 1876, he opened two churches and founded Baika Jogakko, a Christian girls' school in Osaka. Talcott wrote in October 1877:

O Taka San's mother was here on a visit and O Taka San has gone home with her. If they open the Osaka school according to programme [sic] she will probably go there. She has grown in grace much, though there is still room for improvement. She united with the church the first of this month.²⁵

When Sawayama and Taka were engaged, Taka's family raised the issue to ask Sawayama to take Taka's name which almost made Sawayama change his mind.

I have written you of the arrangement made by the family of O Taka San and Sawayama San that he should marry into her family and take her name as she had become the heir of her grandmother's

house.... Sawayama,...very conscientious, made up his mind to give up O Taka San rather than do so unmanly a thing. I suggested while the matter was pending, that it was a good opportunity for him to show that a man need not lose his manhood by taking his wife's name, but it was arranged that their first child should become the heir of O Taka San's grandmother, the family giving a reluctant consent. Recently they have concluded that they must take back their consent, and Sawayama, now deeply in love and with a somewhat more enlightened conscience has yielded, at least such is the report since O Taka san went home.²⁶

Talcott portrayed that the education at Kobe Home produced new types of marriages for the Christian girls who married Christian Japanese pastors. Instead of traditional Japanese marriages where wives were subordinate to their husbands because husbands were the patriarchs of the family and wives were necessary only to reproduce heirs who would perpetuate the family, these Christian couples deemed themselves as valuable companions who loved and respected each other.

Zen on the other hand also married a native pastor, Koizumi. But unfortunately she died in 1880 of cancer. Talcott wrote in October 1877:

Koidzumi and his wife [Zen] are going to start a girls school in Osaka.... Koidzumi is engaged in the government school until next summer vacation but will have a general oversight until then, taking pupils into their own house and from next Fall giving his energies to it. It is a labor of love with them and I rejoice in it though I had hoped that Koidzumi might come here and help us. I had asked him before hearing of their plans for opening their school next January, but had not yet any definite answer.

Talcott wrote on August 19, 1879 that Zen's husband was also deeply in love with his wife.

You will remember Ozen San. Her husband was up here a few days, a little while ago on business connected with travelling and the first evening as we sat enjoying the twilight, he said naively, "It isn't half a rest to come from home alone." Few Japanese men would have said this if they felt it, but he is both fond and proud of his wife.²⁷

Zen was ill with cancer and she died in October 1880. Talcott wrote of her funeral and her last days.

We laid the dear body between the grave of Dr. Adams and Father Gulicks. She had suffered longer than we knew, not knowing the cause herself, from a cancerous tumor (internal). She was glad to go Home [to Heaven], glad to go from Japan that her husband might not be taken from his work..

Just before death, she sent this message, "I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities nor powers,...shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." During the funeral service at home, Koidzumi's "frame shook with emotion." Koizumi told Talcott of her last moments. Talcott, not knowing that "she was so near the end," sent a letter to her which reached Zen only three hours before she died. Zen "took it and read it partly herself expressing thanks for one more message from me, and her last words as she opened her eyes after closing them for a little while, were 'Miss Talcott's Mother!'" Talcott went on to stress that Zen was a source of Christianity spreading the gospel to those close to her even in her death bed. Only a few days before her death, Zen tried to reassure her mother in grief "that she could not have her with her many years":

It couldn't be long at the longest, but if you will love and trust my Savior, we'll be forever together with Him.

Talcott couldn't help hoping that "this affliction may bring both the parents to Jesus."²⁸

Kameyama Tami was another non-graduate who was a successful case for evangelization because she decided to be baptized independently despite her husband's opposition. She had been living separately from her husband for nearly four years to be educated at Kobe Home. She thought she should return to her husband and decided to be baptized before leaving Kobe without obtaining her husband's consent. Talcott wrote in January, 1876,

She knew that only speaking it was a dangerous thing to do, when he had refused to give her permission several times. But from the day she decided to be baptized and trust the result with God and she did it without urging, almost without advice, her face was perfectly radiant.²⁹

Talcott saw that her decision had spill-over effects on her mother and aunt who were drawn to Christianity.

Talcott tended to emphasize the successful conversion cases which demonstrated the power of Christianity, even among the drop-outs. Yet

many more girls dropped out or were never baptized than those who graduated. Even if the husband approved of Christianity, the extended family might not. When Talcott asked the husband of a young woman if he approved of his wife's becoming a Christian as "We hope all the girls will be Christians, will become convinced of the truth," he said he did not mind as he himself was interested in "the merits of Christianity." This man was an official in Kochi prefecture and it was his desire to have his wife educated at Kobe Girls' School. Yet a few weeks later, the girl was forced to drop out from the school because of objections from other members of her husband's family. They had for generations been a family of Shintoist priests.³⁰ My data analysis uncovered that even in the period of favorable receptivity of Christianity, it was still difficult for Kobe Home girls to overcome family prejudices against Christianity.

In sum, the above case studies demonstrated that the overarching characteristic of these patterns of life choices were as follows. Kobe Home between 1873 and 1882 produced women close to their missionary ideal. Most of the students married and fulfilled the missionaries' expectations that they would satisfy the fundamental societal expectations of the Japanese. As the missionaries desired, they became well-educated Christian wives of Japanese Christian pastors. They were devoted to evangelical and/or educational work in addition to family obligations. Others pursued further training at American colleges. Only two remained single, and both of them sought to evangelize Japan and to advance women's education. Thus the girls' life patterns resembled the missionaries' lives, except for the fact that most of them were married and also had family obligations.

Yet these successes were not easy outcomes. The large share of dropouts who were never baptized demonstrated that there still existed a substantial resistance against baptisms within Japanese society. Hence those who did graduate from Kobe Home were exceptional cases of courageous women with firm convictions and choices of their own. For some it was a choice supported by their families. For others, it was a choice of the individual despite family opposition or reluctance. Hence for a small minority of girls, Christian education at Kobe Home/Kobe Girls' School permeated through the lives of the women missionaries themselves, instilled "independent thinking," which was alien to Japanese ideas of womanhood based on Confucianism.

DIVERGING INTERESTS- KOBE COLLEGE GRADUATES BETWEEN 1883 AND 1909

Two patterns emerged among the Kobe College graduates during the period of 1883 to 1909:³¹ Those who finished their schooling when they graduated from the Academy gradually demonstrated a different character from those who continued their studies and graduated from the college department. In total, fifty graduated from the college department and 264 from the Academy between 1883 and 1909. I classified the data known of their spouses' occupations into the following two groups: (a) educators and pastors, (b) businessmen, government and military officials, statesmen and physicians. The former, like the graduates of 1873–82 (the first class of 1882), represented those who led lives close to the missionary ideals of Christian women leaders who devoted themselves to educating and evangelizing the Japanese. They tried to create "Christian homes" as wives and mothers and some made efforts to spread Christianity as well. In contrast, those who married business-men, government and military officials, statesmen and physicians represented another type. These women came to Kobe College to seek advanced secular education, especially in English. Some of these students sought refined education in English and Western culture to shine as the wives of Japanese elites in business, politics, military and the government. Some of them also became Christians whose husbands were in many cases Christian as well. There existed, however, some Christian graduates who married non-Christian husbands in secular occupations. Based on the 1916 follow-up survey of the Kobe College Alumnae Association, fourteen or 5.3% of the 264 Academy graduates between 1883 and 1909 were such cases; whereas, two or 4.0% out of the 50 college graduates in total were such cases. (See [table 3](#)) From the limited data, how these women reconciled the dilemma of two different religions cohabiting in one household is unknown, yet such cases can be found in Japan even today.

Those who pursued college education married quite differently than did those who finished with the academy. Thirty-four per cent of *college graduates* married educators and pastors, and only 22.0 per cent married business-men or government officials. On the other hand, 37.9 per cent of the *Academy graduates* married businessmen and government officials, while 15.5 per cent married educators or pastors. The college graduates seemed to identify more closely with the missionary ideals in the lives they chose after graduation.

The college graduates were more professional-minded than the academy students as well. Twenty per cent of the college graduates remained single whereas 11.7% of the Academy graduates remained single. (See [table 4](#)) The high rate of single women among college

graduates compared well with that of the graduates of Tokyo Women's Normal School, which was 21.9% in average for those who graduated between 1886 and 1908. At Tokyo Women's Normal School, the rate of single women increased after 1886 when scholarship students took on the obligation to work as teachers for a certain number of years after graduation.³²

The change of political sentiment in Japan from the Westernization period to increasingly conservative period affected the marriage patterns of the Academy graduates significantly but not so much those of the college graduates. During the Westernization period, the Academy graduates who married educators or pastors equaled those who married men in secular professions. During the nationalizing era, however, almost three times as many graduates married businessmen, physicians or government officials than married teachers or pastors. (See [table 5](#)) For the college graduates, there was not much difference between the two periods in their marriage patterns; the impact seemed to be minimal. During the years between 1890 and 1909, the Academy of Kobe College was beginning to attract the daughters of the wealthy and the intellectual elites as a school known for advanced English instruction.

Those who graduated from the college department between 1883 and 1909, however, generally fulfilled the missionary expectations for educated women. Of the fifty that graduated from the college department between these years, thirty (60%) became teachers. Among them, nineteen (38%) taught at Kobe College, sixteen (32%) at other Christian girls' schools and seven (14%) at government girls' schools. Twenty-seven (54%) in total taught at Kobe College and/or other Christian girls' schools.³³ Hence the college department attracted those who sought for more advanced education when there were not yet alternatives except for the dangerously distant Tokyo Women's Normal School where Japanese parents were reluctant to send their daughters because of the distance. Because they were an exceptional minority to have received such advanced training in the *Kansai* region, the demand for them from surrounding schools was so high that Kawai Ken, class of 1901, even taught the boys at Koryou Junior High School, a governmental school in Okayama prefecture. With a large share of 54% of college graduates teaching at Kobe College and/or other Christian girls' schools, it may be assessed that the missionary objective of the college department's training Japanese teachers for their Christian schools was accomplished.

Of the fifty college graduates, ten graduates and two non-graduates with substantial records will be briefly described. Compared with the Academy graduates, college graduates generally fulfilled the missionary

ideals to train Christian professionals who would engage in education and evangelical work. The majority of college graduates became Christians and educators themselves and married Christian pastors and/or educators. Thereby they were committed to education and evangelism both directly and indirectly as wives of educators/pastors. Among them, the known records indicate that seven college graduates between 1883 and 1909 pursued further training in the universities in the United States to establish their professional careers, six of whom are in my biographical descriptions. Importantly, three of these six alumnae majored in science in the United States, perhaps reflecting Mary Anna Holbrook's aspiration for the scientific department. Amaya Hisa class of 1892, earned a B.S. at Carleton College in 1895. Tsukamoto Fuji, class of 1886 of the academy department and a non-graduate of the collegiate department, studied at Wilson College in Pennsylvania and finished the first year of graduate work in biology at the University of Pennsylvania. Mase Yae, class of 1902, who actively pursued scientific studies under Holbrook, studied at Mills College with a fellowship for four years and also obtained a B.S.

Amaya Hisa and Mase Yae were the only ones who remained single in these twelve examples. Amaya Hisa's early death at the age of 32 because of a heart attack prevented her from marriage, yet it may suffice it to speculate that these two women remained single to pursue their careers. Amaya Hisa, one of the two graduates of the first graduating class from the college department, was born as a third child to a physician in Akashi. Ardent in intellectual pursuit, she took the lead to enroll herself in the government primary school when it was first opened. Entering Kobe Girls' School in September 1880, she finished the academy in 1884 with good records in mathematics and history. After teaching for three years at Doshisha Girls' School she returned to the collegiate department of Kobe College in 1888, completed the college course and taught there until 1892. Then she went to Carleton College where she earned a B.S. in June 1895. Acquiring professional training, Amaya Hisa returned to Tokyo and resumed a teaching career at Koran Girls' School. Only four months later, however, she developed fibre tumor and had an operation. She died of a heart attack in January 1897, the following year. The Kobe College alumnae greatly lamented her death because she was expected to have a promising future. She had presided over the Great Prayer Meeting of Women in the Kansai region in 1892, graduated as a valedictorian and interpreted the speech of Mrs. Johnson of the WBMI.³⁴

Mase Yae, class of 1902 remained single, and was one of the few attracted by the science department and the Science Club that Mary A. Holbrook had developed. She also served as the president and treasurer of the Foreign Missionary Society and taught Sabbath Schools,

although for reasons unknown, there are no records of baptism or Mase's being a Christian in the two follow-up studies conducted by the Kobe College Alumnae Association in 1906 and 1916. Yet in her graduation thesis written in English entitled "Harmony, "she connects science, Christianity and civilization in "harmony" or "perfection" or "unity." In this thesis, she professes ardent Christian faith combined with balanced rational reasoning. What is noteworthy is that she values diversity in society. She writes,

"How lonely, monotonous, and disagreeable this world would be, if there were only one kind of plant, and no mountains, no rivers, and all men were just the same in character, personality and ability; but the more variety in nature, man, and art the more we find beauty and sublimity in the universe, and all it contains, because the innumerable things in it, small as an atom or large as the universe itself are in unity and harmony in their system in order to realize God's thoughts in them. Then harmony of variety is the beauty of perfection." She goes on to explain the reason why "material perfection" exists or for what purpose human beings endeavor "perfection as an individual and toward the highest civilization of society." She writes that "it is the means for the realization of God's ideal beauty of perfection or harmony in man." She continues, "This kind of harmony will be called the spiritual harmony. The purpose of education of man is only to reach this goal. The perfection of man is the full and harmonious development of intellect, feeling, will, and soul."³⁵

In her speech as valedictorian, she said how grateful she was that she could study Japanese, Chinese, and Western studies and that she wanted to become a good wife at home and a good teacher in education. She announced that she would respect God in the holy heart of a saint no matter where she went. She was a member of the Japan WCTU and was elected as a member of the committee of the church.

She taught for four years after graduation at the governmental high school for girls in Okayama, then pursued B.S. degree at Mills College with a fellowship. Earning a B.S., she continued another year of postgraduate studies in zoology at Mount Holyoke College. After her return, Mase chaired the Home Economics Department at Doshisha Girls' School (later Doshisha Women's University), and applied science to laundry. In retrospect, Mase succeeded Holbrook's philosophy and vision. Mase equated "science" and "Christianity" like Holbrook, yet she added "civilization" to this equation. Mase knew about Ellen Swallow Richards' application of science to domestic household chores and her contribution in inventing the new discipline of home economics. Mase felt acute need to do so in Japanese homes and designed "scientific laundry" that fit Japanese lifestyle. Being a forerunner in domestic

application of advanced scientific knowledge, in December 1924 the Empress visited and observed her department.³⁶

The other four women who studied in the United States, combined their careers with marriages. Tsukamoto Fuji, herself a Christian, married a Christian businessman who also became principal of a Sunday school. She had taught at Shoei Girls' School in Tokyo and at Kobe College, studied in the United States prior to her marriage, and continued teaching English for twenty-five years after marriage at the governmental schools of Mikage Normal School and the First High School of the Hyogo prefecture. In addition to her work as a teacher, she also became an influential power for Kobe College by becoming the President of the Alumnae Association four times and thirteen years in total. She also became another Japanese trustee in the Board of Managers, and worked as an interpreter for important foreign visitors to Kobe.³⁷

Hasebe [or Haseba] Masako, a non-graduate of the college department, decided to marry a widower after sixteen years of teaching English and Music at Kobe College and a two-year study at Mills College. She married the father of one of her students at Kobe College, who was unknown to her, but the daughter had written her a letter that she wanted a "decent and respectable stepmother." In Japan where professional women pursuing higher education abroad was not common, this marriage created a sensation. The newspaper gossiped that she would probably be bad in housekeeping and would be reading all the time instead. Instead, her stepdaughter wrote in defense that Hasebe Masako became an excellent household manager and mother, who sewed her own kimonos and raised four stepchildren. When her husband became a General Manager of Pusan Branch of the O.S.K. Line in Korea, she accompanied him. Later she resumed teaching at Kobe College and served as the President of the Kobe Y.W.C.A. from 1919 to 1922.³⁸

Nishikawa Etsu, class of 1899, also combined her career and further study with marriage. Herself a Christian, her husband was also a Christian professor at Kansai Gakuin, a Methodist missionary school. She differed from the preceding examples in that her study at Howard Paine College in Missouri began in 1902, after marriage, and she resided in the United States. for many years. After her return to Japan, she taught English, Geography, History, Japanese and Algebra at Kobe College for three years. She also worked as a matron in one of the dormitories. An active alumna, she served as the President of the Alumnae Association from 1928 to 1938 and as a trustee on the Board from 1926 to 1949. Nishikawa Etsu also fulfilled the missionaries' intentions to train Japanese leaders in evangelical work. She worked as the President of the

Western Region of the Methodist Women's Evangelical Society in support of her husband's denomination.³⁹

Ichiyanagi Makiko, class of 1908 in music, also combined marriage with career. In her case, she married an American architect, William Merrill Vories, and succeeded as an entrepreneur to develop Omi Brothers Academy into a comprehensive educational institution. The third daughter of a lord of Ono castle in Hyogo prefecture, she had studied at Bryn Mawr College and lived in the United States for nine years. Omi Brothers Academy began in kindergarten education before WWII and developed into kindergarten, primary, junior high and high schools after the War. Mrs. Vories was also dedicated to the education of the deaf. Thereby, her projects extended educational and Christian work. At Omi Brothers Academy, she greeted every student in the entrance every morning and is fondly remembered by her students for her loving and insightful guidance in Puritan spirit. Her husband William Merrill Vories was well known for designing the 1927 Okadayama Campus of Kobe College, Toyo Eiwa Girls' School in Tokyo as well as a number of Western residences in Ashiya, a wealthy residential district in Hyogo prefecture.⁴⁰

Even if they did not pursue further training in the United States, most of the college graduates fulfilled the missionary aspirations by becoming Christian educators themselves and marrying Christian educators and/or pastors. The following six cases exemplified typical life patterns of college graduates. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the unsettling political sentiment in Japan from the late 1880s did not affect the life patterns of the college graduates significantly.

Sakata Setsu, class of 1894, herself a Christian, had taught at Kobe College for a year before she married a teacher at Doshisha Girls' School. A proponent of women's higher education, she had written a paper in the alumnae bulletin while a student in the college department. After marriage, she combined creating a Christian home open for her friends as well as her family, teaching at Doshisha Girls' School, and fostering sisterhood of the alumnae by creating the Kyoto branch of the Kobe College Alumnae Association.⁴¹

Okamoto Kumayo, class of 1897, who also had a teaching experience at Maebashi Kyoai Girls' School and an experience in evangelical tours with a missionary, Miss Bradshaw, in Sendai and in northeastern Japan, married and led a family life with a child and her mother-in-law. Perhaps following the role model of her American missionary teachers, she was highly praised for filial piety when she resigned her teaching career to devote herself to the care of her sick father and to the education of her younger siblings. In her case, her sense of self-denial might have been

shaped by an earlier contact with American missionaries than a common Kobe College graduate. Born in Sendai and winning a number of prizes at the two government primary schools where she attended as well as taught, she had learned English and Western sewing personally from Mrs. John H. DeForest, the mother of Charlotte B. DeForest. It was in fact this experience that led her to go to Kobe Girls' School in 1887. When her younger sister died of sickness, however, she also became ill and died in 1897 at the age of 27.⁴²

Kugimiya Suga, of the same class of 1897, also was a Christian teacher who became the head of Osaka branch of the WCTU and married a Methodist pastor and educator of the theology department of Kansai Gakuin. Yoshida Sonoe class of 1908, well-known to be one of the longest living alumnae to continue teaching English privately at home from the age of 70 to 101, also was a Christian with teaching experience at Kobe Women's Bible Training School and a husband who was a pastor.⁴³

Similarly Watanabe Etsu, class of 1909, devoted herself to educational and evangelical work as a teacher and a wife of a pastor. She taught English at both missionary and governmental schools of Awaji High School for Women, Kobe College, Mukden High School for women, Odawara Gakuen and Heiwa Gakuen. Her husband was a pastor who preached at Hyogo church, Heiji Church, Mukden Church and Chigasaki Keisen Church.⁴⁴

Some women chose not to combine marriage and career, but to devote themselves to marriage and to support evangelical and educational work indirectly as wives. Yuasa Toki, class of 1892, was such example. Coming from one of the first Japanese families to be baptized in Kobe in 1876, she married a pastor who had been one of the first students at Doshisha. A student of the Old Testament and the ancient classics, her husband studied at Oberlin and Yale. With a Ph.D., he taught at Doshisha and Kyoto University, was a pastor at Heian church, and finally became the Chief Librarian of the Kyoto Governmental Library in 1904. A devoted wife, Toki in the meantime became a dedicated alumna, serving as the president of the Kobe College Alumnae Association from 1895 to 1897 and as one of the first Japanese trustees of the Board of Managers of Kobe College in 1907.⁴⁵

On the other hand, the Academy graduates came to Kobe College with increasingly secular motivations, to seek advanced education especially in English. For some of these girls, Christianity was a secondary and unexpected benefit of the education at Kobe College.

“At first, I didn't want to go to a Christian school. I would rather have preferred a public or a prefectural school run by the

government than go to Kobe College, but there weren't any such schools yet,"

recalled Koizumi Chiyo, class of 1904. She was from Kobe and her home was near Kobe College. There was a government women's school in Kyoto, which was too far away for her parents to send off a young girl. Chiyo and her parents selected Kobe College primarily because of its vicinity and because of its "reputation that the quality of education was advanced." She entered the school with an earnest desire to receive the highest standard of education available. She became a Christian, however, and later believed that God had led her to Kobe College.⁴⁶

The chief attraction of Kobe College for the girls who chose to come at this time was the high quality of English education. Yoshida Tsuru, a third-year Academy student in 1899 wrote on the transformation of women's education in the Meiji era:

Twelve to thirteen years ago, many girls sought education at Kobe College from curiosity. Yet its subsequent bad reputation reduced its popularity. But the first seed is beginning to bud and when the treaty is revised and the mixed residence of the foreigners with the Japanese is allowed, those who are proficient in foreign language will attract people's attention. Girls, let us pursue our natural happiness.⁴⁷

Like Tsuru, other students sought education at Kobe College as a means to elevate their status in a more worldly society. Although only twelve or 4.5 percent of the total Academy graduates, those who married into a prominent elite and/or into wealthy Japanese family increased from 1890 to 1909.⁴⁸

Although still a small minority in the total Academy graduates, these women who became wives of prominent, and often wealthy, Japanese leaders, became strong supporters of Kobe College through the Alumnae Association and the Board of Trustees. They made significant financial contributions in the further expansion of the school, especially in the construction of the Okadayama Campus, which is today's Kobe College campus.

The first such example of an Academy graduate who married a wealthy businessman was Momozaki Shizu, class of 1890. She herself was trained as a professional nurse both in Japan and abroad after graduating from Kobe College. She became the first Japanese woman to be a professional nurse. She served as the head nurse at a hospital in New York [only records in Japanese exists; most likely the New York Women's Infirmary] and at Kyoto University Hospital. After marriage, she served

as the Assistant President of the Alumnae Association for many years, than became the President in 1927 to 1928. She also became a trustee of the Board. Her husband was the entrepreneur and founder of Biofermin Pharmaceutical Company, a major company in Japan. The couple donated a house to Kobe College.⁴⁹

Besides Momozaki, the husband of Oosawa Sachie, class of 1894, was a Trustee of Doshisha and a Member of the House of Lords. Oosawa donated a fund upon her death, which exists today as the Scholarship of Oosawa Sachie. Hara Hisako, class of 1895, married an engineer of the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Company. Her daughter, Hara Chieko became a prominent pianist and married Gaspal Cassado, a well-known cellist. Hisako taught at Maebashi Kyoai Girls' School and her daughter taught at the Music Department of Kobe College.

Taki Yuki, class of 1901, married the president of a chemical company who was also the Speaker of Hyogo Prefectural Assembly and who later became a Member of the Lower House. She had seven sons and five daughters and most of her daughters went to Kobe College. As became customary for these wealthy alumnae, Yuki's husband was one of the first to donate 10,000 yen for the new Okadayama campus of Kobe College in 1926. They also donated several kinds of trees, including cherry blossom trees, to be planted around the campus. Matsukata Yoshi, a non-graduate of 1902, was herself the second daughter of Kuki Takayoshi, the former daimio of Sanda, who was the leading supporter of Kobe Home in its beginning days. Her husband was a leading businessman, affiliated with Kawasaki Line, Asahi Oil Company and Kobe Gas Company. He was prominent as a collector of fine arts and his collection is today known as the Matsukata Collection. Hattori Shikano, class of 1904, volunteered to work at Howe's Kindergarten Training School and Ishii Juji's orphanage in Okayama after graduating from the academy of Kobe College. Her husband was General Manager of the Hyogo Branch of Sumitomo Bank and the Treasurer of Kobe City Government.⁵⁰

Nakamatsu Yasu, class of 1907, became the President of Kobe Y.W.C.A. from 1929 to 1930. She also served as the President of the Women's Society in Kobe Church. She was the President of the Kobe College Alumnae Association during WWII and a Trustee of the Board from 1944 to 1949. Her husband was the Mayor of Nishinomiya City during WWII.⁵¹ Hasegawa Masa, class of 1908, was the younger sister of Koiso Hide, a non-graduate of the first class. She was also the sister of the Mayor of Kobe. Her husband was the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police and later the Governor of Tokyo. She was active in the Tokyo Branch of the Kobe College Alumnae Association. She worked

hard for the fund-raising campaign for the Oka dayama Campus. Yokoyama Shige, also of the class of 1908, married a banker of the Yokohama Specie Bank in England and resided in England for many years. In her later years, she tutored eighty junior high school students in English at home.⁵² These women contributed to the Kobe College Alumnae Association, to the expansion of the school and the strengthening of sisterhood among the alumnae. With these small number of wealthy women leaders, Kobe College established its reputation as one of the "best schools," attracting further applicants with secular motivations to obtain high quality academic education.

The majority of the Academy graduates were not so wealthy, yet many married husbands in secular occupations, such as businessmen, government officials, statesmen and physicians. Mitsui Tama, academy class of 1902, who married a customs official and lived in Taiwan for forty-four years, contributed to the founding of the Congregational church in Taipei. She was the president of the women's society of the church and she initiated three churches of different denominations to collaborate in evangelical work. She was a devoted Christian, even though her father was a Shintoist priest and opposed Christianity. He admired Julia Dudley's Christian character, however, and for this reason allowed his daughter to enter Kobe Girls' School.⁵³

Among Academy graduates were those who emigrated to other countries. Kitajima Sugi, class of 1895, emigrated to Brazil and had three daughters and two sons. She was baptized at the age of seventeen by Ebina Danjo, a leading pastor in Japan, then married a Christian and went to Brazil. One of her grandsons became a pastor.⁵⁴ Tokunaga Tomie, class of 1902, emigrated to the United States and was retained for three years in a relocation camp during WWII with her family. She was devoted to the women's society of the San Jose Church. She was good at sewing, knitting and doll-making and taught her surrounding people. While in the relocation camp, she was active as the knitting teacher.⁵⁵ Hashimoto Hide, class of 1907, also emigrated to the United States. She lived a long widowhood in Utah with her son who was a medical doctor and a lecturer at the University of Utah. She also was an active member of the local church.⁵⁶ Tafusa Ai, class of 1908, taught at a school for Americans and Canadians when in Tokyo. After WWII, she worked as the interpreter for the U.S. Force stationed in Matsuyama. In her later years, she taught English to high school and junior high school students at home. She also was a devoted Christian.⁵⁷ Isobe Chiyo, class of 1908, lived in Tairen for almost thirty years. After returning to Japan, she founded a church and a kindergarten in Hiroshima. After moving to Tokyo in 1954, she founded another church.⁵⁸

As these examples demonstrate, although more and more academy graduates came to Kobe College with the motivation to seek secular education and thus married husbands of secular occupations, many of them were converted upon graduation and sustained their faith in their family life. Most achieved their purpose to become proficient in English, which enabled them to marry men with overseas assignments and, in their latter years, enabled them to tutor English to young students at home.

Not all alumnae were happy with the Kobe balance. The missionary schools are too foreignized that their education does not adapt well to Japanese homes. They emphasize English training too much that they lack in the training of sewing and cooking,

wrote Tanaka Kiyoko class of 1910, in a questionnaire distributed to alumnae for the fortieth anniversary review in 1916. “It is important to offer unique education characteristic to each school and the college department may be treated as an exception. The Academy, however, should offer education that meets the needs of Japanese homes.”⁵⁹

Though never formally declared, the division between Western education for a professional class of women and domestic arts and English finishing for well-to-do housewives, met Tanaka Kiyoko’s vision. The pattern enabled both U.S. and Japanese women to support Kobe College’s growth. The women missionaries’ vision of a college department at Kobe Girls’ School was originally a manifestation of their dream to create a professional class of native Japanese women, allied to the United States through English language and Christian faith. Though this pattern proved attractive only to a handful, the women missionaries and the officers of the WBMI nurtured and sustained the vision through the crisis of mounting xenophobia and anti-Christianity. And ironically the collegiate status enabled the school to maintain its Christian emphasis after the 1899 ordinance because the restriction did not apply to “Specialized Schools.”

Although the women missionaries made a number of Japanizing efforts for the survival of Kobe College as a Christian institution, there was a significant limitation to those efforts. The declining Christian rates of the students after 1899, to the average of 52.9% between 1899 and 1906 and 43.6% for the three years of 1904 to 1906, never increased thereafter.⁶⁰ The establishment of a women’s education system by the government and the incorporation of Kobe College, famous for English education, increased applicants with secular motivations from middle to upper class families. Charlotte B. DeForest defended the low Christian rate later in 1912 to the WBMI, explaining that Japanese women would lose good

marriage possibilities if Christian and that the figure did not necessarily represent low interest in Christianity.⁶¹ The Christian rate, never again reached the rate of 83.04 percent of the years between 1882 and 1888, however, which demonstrated the Japanese choice to reject Christianity as its chief value system.⁶²

EPILOGUE

The Dissolution of Women's Authority Kobe College, 1910–1927

The fifty-odd years between 1873 and 1927 in Kobe, Japan provided a space in history where the needs of the two cultures of American college-educated women and of Japan modernizers intersected coincidentally. The surging energy of American Protestant women was unleashed in the “woman’s work” of the foreign missions, whereas Japan was unprecedentedly receptive to experiments in women’s education as part of modernization and creation of new state systems of women’s education and gender control.

With the incorporation of two secular organizations, the Kobe College Corporation based in Chicago in 1920 and the Kobe College Foundation based in Kobe in 1925, and the merger of the Woman’s Board of Missions of the Interior with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in January 1927, the transfer of the management of Kobe College from mission control to secular and male control was completed. This put an end to an unprecedented opportunity for authority for some American women through their work as missionaries or as administrators of the Woman’s Board. This chapter tells in brief the story of the school’s development from 1909 until the loss of women’s authority in 1927. It concludes with a brief survey of the American women’s successes to the time the current campus was built in 1934.

Three factors paved the way for the formation of the secular organizations of Kobe College Corporation and Kobe College Foundation, which in retrospect eased the merger of the WBMI to the American Board. First after 1909, with recognition from the Japanese government, Kobe College began a substantial expansion that required more funds than WBMI could raise. Second, at the time of increasing financial demand, the missionary boards of the WBMI and the American Board faced an unprecedented financial crisis. The outbreak of WWI shifted the American constituency’s interests away from foreign missions to war efforts, and Japanese military expansion into Korea and China seriously damaged the American image of Japan. Third, mission boards were

merging, and a profound change in American women's consciousness left the women of WBMI powerless to protest their loss of autonomy.

The increasing number of applicants at Kobe College, especially in the Academy department, and the desire of the woman missionaries and the WBMI administrators to develop the College department further, called for a large-scale expansion of Kobe College after it gained the Japanese governmental recognition in 1909. A number of possibilities were discussed by the woman missionaries, the WBMI officers and the men officers of the American Board, ranging from a plan of separating the Academy and the College into two separate campuses and keeping the present site in Kobe city for one of the two departments, to a plan to find a new site where all the departments could be relocated and expanded.¹ To discuss the pros and cons of removing Kobe College from Kobe city, a Deputation of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior, headed by Emily A. White Smith, was sent to Kobe in 1906. This event marked the end of Emily A. White Smith's Presidency of the WBMI and the beginning of her singular devotion for the rest of her life to the expansion and establishment of Kobe College outside of the missionary connection. Finally, the American Board Deputation in 1918 recommended that Kobe College expand on a new campus, which required large resources. On February 17 the following year, the Japanese government conferred the name *Daigaku* [College] to Kobe College and in April 1919, "issued an edict saying that hereafter no school that had not the standard endowment would be admitted to this rank."² Eager to keep the governmental recognition necessary to attract better students for the further development of Kobe College, the woman missionaries and the WBMI administrators found it essential to meet the endowment requirement which they estimated as "not less than \$400,000."³ Apparently, such an endowment was beyond the means of the missionary board of the WBMI, which made the organization of separate secular corporations imperative.

Prior to this when Emily A. White Smith came to Kobe College on a Deputation of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior in 1906, she had organized the Board of Managers for Kobe College, which became the nucleus of the Board of Trustees for Kobe College Foundation when it was legally incorporated in January 1927. Opening the management of Kobe College to a few Japanese for the first time, this became an important step in preparation for the transfer of control from the mission to the Japanese. Japanese members were included in the twelve members of the Board of Managers, yet the number of the distribution of nationality was not specified. Including two alumnae and two Japanese men from the beginning, the Kobe College Alumnae Association

subsequently became the core of the Kobe College Foundation. The role of the Board was as follows: to keep the school a Christian educational institution, to supervise the appointment of faculty (a WBMI consent was required for the appointment of the President), to authorize decisions on the courses of study and regulations, and to supervise finances.⁴

"Does not the history of missions...indicate that the school that has reached real college rank must have a larger supporting constituency than that of any mission board?" wrote Eula Bates Lee, secretary of the WBMI to Kobe College missionaries in 1923. Eula Bates Lee continued that there were two methods to secure the larger constituency, one to make the college "a union institution," which was a Christian college funded and managed by several denominations, and the other to separate from the mission board and to organize "a board of trustees who will undertake to secure money for endowment as well as for current expenses."⁵ Having rejected a proposal in 1914 that Kobe College be absorbed with the higher departments of six other missions in Tokyo into the new Tokyo Woman's Christian College that was to open in 1918, Kobe missionaries first sought for ways to make Kobe College alone a union college.

Eula Bates Lee approached the "Co-operating Committee for Women's Union Christian Colleges in Foreign Fields" based in New York, which was successfully promoting a financial campaign for "three million dollars for the seven union colleges for women in non-Christian lands" to admit Kobe College to the circle of union colleges. This was a special Building Fund Committee appointed by the Joint Committee on the Woman's Christian Colleges in the Orient in the fall of 1920 to secure funds of approximately \$3,000,000 for the seven Union Colleges of the Orient, which included Woman's Christian College in Tokyo.⁶ The Japan Mission approached the six missions in western Japan that did not cooperate in the union college of Tokyo Woman's Christian College, to take part in supporting Kobe College. This possibility failed however, because only one mission showed interest, yet its board in the United States rejected the idea.⁷ Thereby for the survival and further expansion of the institution, the second method of incorporation became the only alternative.

The Kobe directors organized a succession of incorporated bodies to apply for non-mission funding. These progressively made the institution more Japanese and more non-denominational. What directly motivated the incorporation of Kobe College into the Kobe College Corporation in Chicago in 1920 was the practical desire to gain eligibility to receive large gifts from benevolent foundations. Both Susan A.Searle, the President of Kobe College and Dr. James L.Barton, the Foreign Secretary of the

American Board, had agreed that Kobe College should "have an endowment of its own amounting at least to \$100,000" in 1913;⁸ thereafter James L. Barton recommended to the Kobe College woman missionaries in 1917 that Kobe College might be qualified for an endowment grant from the "Hall Estate."

Charlotte B. DeForest approached Mr. Homer H. Johnson, a lawyer and one of the trustees of the Hall Estate, during her furlough in 1920 to present the plea for Kobe College. The Hall Estate was a legacy of Charles M. Hall who made a fortune as a chemist by discovering "a process for extracting aluminum from bauxite clay." In his will, he divided his legacy into three blocs for specific purposes. One-third of his legacy was specified for colleges of Christian missions under essentially American control in Japan, Asia and the Balkans. To Charlotte B. DeForest's plea, Homer H. Johnson replied, "Kobe College is just the kind of institution we want to help, but we cannot give to any that has not a legal status, nor can we give to the American Board for you."⁹ To become qualified, Kobe College Corporation was organized in Chicago in 1920. Learning that Kobe College Corporation did not legally own the College, Homer H. Johnson said it would not qualify for the Hall Estate. To be entitled to Johnson's bequest, "the receiving body must be one that owned and administered the College," with the majority of the membership being Japanese if incorporated in Japan. To meet these conditions, the Kobe College Foundation was organized in 1925 and legally authorized by the Japanese government in January 1927.¹⁰ The former Board of Managers was transformed into the Board of Trustees of the Kobe College Foundation. A close relationship between the two incorporations was formulated; the Kobe College Corporation appointed eight of the trustees of the Kobe College Foundation to assume active participation in the control of the College.¹¹ When Mr. Edward S. Harkness, a well-known New York philanthropist, refused a grant to Kobe College in 1926 on the ground that it was a denominational mission institution, both the Kobe College Corporation and Kobe College Foundation sought members from different Protestant denominations.

Despite the fact that the two corporations were organized to ensure the expansion of Kobe College by obtaining large grants that could not have been possible under mission control, in retrospect, the two corporations served as an effective means of survival for Kobe College from adverse undercurrents that crept behind the scene.

Despite the mounting need for large-scale financial support to enable an enlargement of Kobe College, the American Board faced an unprecedented financial crisis during the two years of 1917 to 1919 because of the waning missionary interest in World War I. "The only

absorbing interest of everyone is the war," complained Emily A. White Smith in July 1918, "it is hard to get anyone's attention to the missions."¹² To make matters worse, there was "a strong feeling of condemnation for the Japanese, because of their dealings with China and not a few refuse to give for mission work in Japan," Smith lamented.¹³ The rising anti-Japanese sentiment brought about an unprecedented crisis for Emily A. White Smith's plans to raise funds for Kobe College. It was a crisis "never known" in the forty-year history of the Japan Mission. Skeptical if "the American Board and our Women's Boards" were "any longer adequate for their jobs,"¹⁴ the Japan Mission thought it imperative either to close down the less successful missions or to separate the biggest projects, which required large sums for expansion from mission control. The post-war effect of skyrocketing inflation of 250% in September 1919 damaged the financial condition of the Japan Mission even further.¹⁵ "Don't turn down the Japan Mission!" the Japan Mission cried against the American Board's neglect in July 1919 when of the 42 appointees to the Mission Fields, none were sent to Japan. Fifteen were sent to China, 12 to Turkey, 5 to India, 4 to Ceylon, 5 to Africa and 1 to the Balkans.¹⁶ The Japan Mission made an emergency appeal because a number of missionaries and native workers were obliged to resign due to salaries below "a living, working basis."¹⁷ They were in a desperate need of "missionary reinforcements, additional native workers, financial relief and spiritual revival."¹⁸

A major crisis in the U.S.-Japan relationship took place in 1924 when the American Congress took unilateral action to annul the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908, whereby the Japanese government had voluntarily restricted emigration to the United States; the Congress passed a Japanese Exclusion Act. The Americans and the Japanese at Kobe College deplored this political change and published two protest resolutions, one in English and one in Japanese. The two groups opposed the anti-Japanese measure as antithetical to the spirit of Christianity and humanity. Dean Hatanaka, a Japanese man on the faculty, spoke to the students on the day the Act was published in Japan and pressed the need to "oppose racial prejudice and all unfairness... with the broad viewpoint of world citizens."¹⁹ On the Fourth of July observance of that same year, the American faculty, "smarting with a sense of humiliation," decided not to wear the red, white, and blue in public. Charlotte B. DeForest happily recalled that the harmonious spirit between the Japanese and the Americans at Kobe College was restored at this time by the students' sketches of Old Glory with the inscription, "From the Dormitory. Three cheers for America!" posted in the faculty's house and the wearing of a

tiny American flag on the lapel by Mr. Yokogawa, a Japanese faculty member.²⁰

Beginning in the Ecumenical Conference held in Edinburgh in 1900, the question of uniting women's and men's missionary boards emerged also as an international movement in Great Britain and Canada as well as the United States. The move to merge woman's boards with the general denominational boards was an international phenomenon, and the woman's boards of the major Protestant denominations, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists and the Baptists, merged with the male boards of denominations, primarily in the 1920s. R. Pierce Beaver, a missionary historian, succinctly explained that what underlay the male thrust for integration was the fear on the part of the male officers of the general boards that "the women were competing as rivals with the official church organizations" and that "the church lost what the women gained."²¹ Men, irritated by "the relatively low cost of administration and maintenance of the women's work," argued that women's groups did not understand "mission problems as a whole."²² The question of merger was debated at the Commission Six of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, and the pressure for integration intensified.

When the "Merger" proposition and the "Apportionment Plan," which was probably a plan by the American Board to apportion certain amounts of funds to each of "the seven Congregational societies," was proposed by the American Board to the three Woman's Boards in 1910, the WBMI resolved:

That we, the members of the Executive Committee of the WBMI, desire to express ourselves as wholly in sympathy with the principle of co-operation among the Congregational societies. We are ready to co-operate with the policy of the ABCFM in the matter of Apportionment and with them and the other societies in the proposed plan for Young People's work, details to be arranged by conference.²³

While the WBMI agreed with the American Board at this point on cooperation among the Congregational societies, it did not accept unity with the American Board. M.D. Wingate continued, "that question [union with the American Board] has not come to us and would mean a great overturning, and I hardly think anyone can be considering that." For M.D. Wingate, the most disturbing issue was "the fact that the men representing the various Boards do not seem to hold the Woman's Boards to be as distinct organizations as any of the Seven." As a strategy to cope

with such prejudice, the WBMI proposed to WBM “the wisdom of the federation of our three Woman’s Boards, or some form of union which would make us a National Society, and thus become entitled to recognition by the other National Societies.”²⁴

Emily A. White Smith was against the merger or apportionment plan of the American Board as well.

Any plan of amalgamation, absorption, or union, or whatever the word is, with the American Board, would be detrimental to the best interests of the foreign missionary cause. It would certainly lessen receipts,

wrote Emily A. White Smith to the Woman’s Board in September 1910. “Any plan that takes away the individuality of the Board, that takes away responsibility for their revenue and the apportionment of that revenue, will, in my judgment, be disastrous,” Emily A. White Smith was certain that such action would diminish the receipts of the American Board from the Interior by \$50,000 within two years.²⁵ Fully convinced that the strength of the WBMI in fund-raising lay in their method to develop the “sense of immediateness” in which they solicited donations from the mass constituency of women, she knew that women would lose desire to donate if donors could not *feel* that they themselves were taking part in the missionary work.

To oppose the merger proposition, Emily A. White Smith became an exponent of the idea of “the Woman’s Boards federating and making a national society for Woman’s Work for Women in Foreign Lands,” feeling that this would be “a more workable plan than any other way.”²⁶ The three Woman’s Boards tried between 1914 and 1919 to formulate principles that had already been recognized in their relations with each other; they sought federation because of “the apparent desirability of the three Woman’s Boards standing as a recognized unit among the denominational agencies for carrying on the work of the denomination for missions.”²⁷ On October 22, 1919, the first meeting of “the Cooperating Committee of the three Woman’s Boards” met to seek ways for closer cooperation.²⁸ They were interested not to integrate separate woman’s boards with general boards on the same denominational line, but to integrate various woman’s boards of different denominations to pursue a common objective. For the woman administrators, unification emerged as an extension of the professionalization and specialization of their missionary work, in which it became more efficient to unite different woman’s boards on the common goals.

The irony, however, was that professionalization, the very weapon that empowered the women, led the way for the demise of woman's autonomy and independence because it diluted the women's bonds which had been sustained by the notion of "woman's sphere."

Expanding opportunities for American women in education and work had transformed the role of the foreign missionary work for American women from an evangelical vocation to a profession. By the turn-of-the-century, more women were college-educated and trained with special expertise. Identifying themselves more as professionals than as women, they became more conscious of the "individual" and the competence of individuals than of their "difference" from men as women and of the bonds of the "woman's sphere." The upheaval of the woman's suffrage movement in the 1910s encouraged this tendency by seeing "the commonness" of women with the men as human beings in addition to "the difference" from men.

Furthermore, women after the turn of the century found entry to more diverse job opportunities culturally understood as male, on "the street, factory, office, even the barbershop." Some women practiced law, held civic and political offices, voted after the suffrage was obtained, managed business and held the highest academic degrees.²⁹ They were "what we would call tokens," wrote Nancy F.Cott, and "not representative of all women," but their existence signaled how much women's job opportunities had broadened. Hence foreign missionary work was no longer one of the few career opportunities for college-educated American women, which had been legitimated as congruent with the ideals of Victorian womanhood. Missionary work was merely one of many career paths in which women could make use of their college-trained expertise. To reduce women's particular influence even more, as historian Patricia R.Hill has pointed out, "the basic problem" was "a loss of interest among middle-class American women in the whole foreign mission enterprise" beginning in the 1910s.³⁰ Due to the rising tide of secularism, talented women with college educations, who had previously become women administrators of the WBMI or women missionaries, increasingly were "drawn into club work and the professional world."³¹

Nancy F.Cott provided a new theoretical framework to understand the changes in women's consciousness in the early twentieth century. She distinguished between the "woman's movement" of the nineteenth century and "feminism," which was born in the 1910s; in feminism, the notion of "woman's sphere" was dropped. Cott further pointed out that in the 1920s, women joined the newly formed women's organizations with "more specialized self-definitions or aims than the previous generation." The more specialized these organizations were, and the

more “allied with professional expertise,” the “more likely [to work] in concert with male-dominated organizations pursuing similar purposes.”³² Cott suggested that the women’s organizations working on issues “not peculiar to women,” such as the peace movement, had the “omnipresent potential...to self-destruct,” because the women were allured toward the male-dominated organizations which had more funds and thus seemed more successful.³³

As we saw in the preceding chapters, beginning in the mid-1880s the American woman missionaries at Kobe College became increasingly professionalized. The professionalization of the woman administrators of the Woman’s Board of Missions of the Interior preceded this by a decade when Emily A.White Smith assumed the Presidency in 1871. Women professionals, as defined by historian Nancy F.Cott, were “experts who gave the benefits of their education, authority, and service to society in return for pay, recognition, and influence.”³⁴ Their presence shifted the rationale for woman missionaries from “woman’s domestically nurtured traits,” as historian Karen Blair named them, to specific expertise or skills acquired by specialized training. As more attention was paid to specific expertise, the need for a woman, instead of a man, to fill the position mattered less. Thus the professionalization of the woman missionaries undermined the notion that only women could do “woman’s work.” Moreover, as historian Patricia R.Hill put it, “professionalization” of the woman administrators of the WBMI “gradually separated the leadership” of the administrators from “the rank and file” of the woman constituency, creating a dichotomy within “woman’s sphere” which diluted female bonds.³⁵

When the notion of “woman’s sphere” became obsolete and more emphasis was placed on the professional expertise required, Emily A.White Smith maneuvered to organize the Board of Managers in January 1907 and then Kobe College Corporation in 1920, which opened access to larger sources of funds controlled by men. When the American Board pressed for merger in 1926, the Woman’s Board of Missions of the Interior had lost the rationale to resist the pressure.

In retrospect, the Kobe College Corporation marked an end to women’s autonomy, where women raised funds, publicized and managed overseas missionary work only by women. From the beginning, the WBMI officers filled four of the eight slots on the Corporation’s board. Although women seemed to sustain leadership in Kobe College Corporation during the formative years, with the former WBMI administrators including Emily A.White Smith constituting most of the active members, the male participation did not remain nominal.³⁶ All four chairmen of the Kobe College Corporation between 1920 and

1950 were men, including two reverends.³⁷ The men of the Kobe College Corporation gradually increased their influence. "The most important development of the past two years has been the increased recognition of personal responsibility by the men connected with Kobe College Corporation," wrote Frank A. Lombard, one of the chief solicitors of donations, to Miss Harriet A. Lee in February 1929.³⁸ Finding the women of the Promotion Committee of the Corporation over-burdened, Lombard wrote to all the men in the Kobe College Corporation Board of Directors of the male "obligation of taking as much as possible of this present burden...from the shoulders of the women." He continued that the logic that "because Kobe is a college for women, the task is a women's task," was no longer true because Kobe College had grown too large.³⁹ Such male presence pushed for a return to the conventional power relations of gender and women's subordination to men.

Women were deprived of their collective power to resist the merger with the American Board. The Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior was merged with the American Board in January 1927. The merger of 1927, in effect, diluted the power of women.⁴⁰ Women were the minority in the merged board and rarely held top executive positions. Thus the merger signalled an end to women's independence and power in managing their own enterprise for women in foreign lands.

CONCLUSION

The two cultures of the United States and Japan intersected at the common physical space of Kobe College between 1873 and 1927. What happened at Kobe College, in retrospect, was that the Japanese and the American woman missionaries used the same school for different purposes. The process of the adaptation of missionary work in Japanese society was a complex one, in which cultural contact involved a skillful balancing of Japanese interests and missionary interests. The woman missionaries at Kobe College sought Japanization as a necessary trade-off to maintain Christian education. As time progressed, the proportion of students seeking the Japanized aspects of Kobe College grew larger than the numbers of those who pursued Christian missionary ideals. Yet, with the use of the metaphor that this small group of girls was "the leaven in the loaf," the missionaries sustained faith that these girls would help evangelize Japan. Although the number of converts was small, the woman missionaries instilled "independent thinking" in the minds of some of these Christian girls and altered their marriage patterns. As we saw in [chapter 5](#), these accomplishments were against great odds, and the

obstacles that the Kobe girls had to overcome to make these choices were enormous.

The majority of Kobe College students did not attend Kobe College to learn Christian belief and behaviors. What the amalgam of these two cultures created was a new Japanese woman, but not the sort the American women missionaries had envisioned. The Japanese adopted the academic skills, English language education in particular, that met their needs. They failed to absorb Christian education or to become the “leaven” of Christianity in Japanese families and schools. When the college department was added, the two interests diverged as we saw in [chapter 5](#), in the two tracks of the college graduates and the Academy graduates; the college embodied missionary objectives, whereas the academy embodied Japanese interests. As time progressed, the Academy (called the High School after 1916) and the Junior College flourished. The majority of the graduates of the High School and Junior College fulfilled Japanese interests and became upper-middle class wives of businessmen and government leaders, conversant in English and Western etiquette. The College Department (renamed the Senior College in 1922) did not gain large numbers of students. Setting up departments to meet Japanese demand allowed the school to thrive, but it did not succeed in attracting many students to the academic work favored by American women.

The Japanese government authorization to use the word *Daigaku* [college] in 1919, led the school to create a Junior College in 1922, a shorter and preparatory course of the Senior College. Thus collegiate education above the Academy diversified into the three departments of Senior College, Junior College and Music, an independent department organized in 1906. In 1923, the Japanese government allowed graduates of the English teacher training course in the Senior College to receive secondary school English teaching licenses without examination. This established the prestige of Kobe College as the only women’s college outside of Tokyo with such a privilege. The license worked as “a sort of insurance...to overcome parental reluctance toward so long a postponement of marriage,” wrote Charlotte B.DeForest.⁴¹ Yet after a few years this course also began to lose popularity. In response to the Japanese demand for educational certificates requiring only a few years of study, a shorter three-year training course for English teachers was started in the Junior College in 1928.⁴²

Within the division of departments, the Junior College embodied the Japanese interest and the Senior College embodied missionary goals. These departmental adaptations proved a skillful survival technique to balance Japanese and missionary interests. Yet the missionaries were never able to draw Japanese women in large numbers over to their

American-based ideals. Between 1909 and 1927, the enrollments of the Senior College and of the Music department remained below 9.2 percent and 6.0 percent respectively of the total enrollments. (See [table 7](#)) Similarly the graduates of the collegiate department between 1873 and 1909 had totaled 50 or 15.3% of the total graduates whereas those who attained highest education in the academy department had totaled 276 or 84.7% of the total graduates. (See [table 6](#))

The American women intended to transmit the three elements of 1) Christian faith, 2) women's higher education and professionalization, 3) household hygiene and domesticity based in science, as integrally-linked concepts, but the Japanese women distinguished the latter two concepts from the Christian faith and adapted them to Japanese needs. Thus, to the disappointment of the woman missionaries at Kobe College and the woman administrators of the WBMI, the Christian conversion rate among the Kobe College graduates continued to decline over time even as Kobe College developed as a collegiate institution. The Christian adoption rate was at a high of 91.7% percent for the first graduating class of 1882, those who enrolled during the first decade of 1873 through 1882 when the small, family-like setting enabled personal and close relationships between the woman missionaries and the students. The rate declined decade by decade after the 1890s when the tide turned toward nationalism and reached a low of 23.4% in 1929. (See [table 6](#))

The Christian conversion rates varied among the departments within Kobe College. As the departments multiplied, the department with the largest student enrollments—High School and Junior College—had the lowest rates; those with the smallest student enrollments—Senior College and the Music department—had the highest rates. Yet the fact that the absolute number of Christians increased over time reassured the woman missionaries that they were creating “leavens” of Christianity among the Kobe College students. Yet the overall declining Christianity rate suggested that the effectiveness of Kobe College to create Christian women was declining. (See [table 6](#))

The concepts of higher education and professionalization of women were adopted by the Japanese in a different manner from what the American women had envisioned. For both the American woman missionaries and the woman administrators of the WBMI, these two integrally linked with Christianity. The missionary ideal of higher education at Kobe College was to offer a highly specialized training almost comparable to that offered at American women's colleges so that they could train Christian teachers for Kobe College without sending them to the United States. They intended to create Christian professionals who would spread Christianity in Japanese society through teaching and

other evangelical work at voluntary organizations including churches, the WCTU, and the YMCA. The Senior College, which best embodied the missionary ideal, increased to a high of 9.2% of total enrollments in 1929, and plummeted thereafter to the low of 0.4% in 1944, probably due to World War II.

What the Japanese adopted from the missionary aspiration for higher education and professionalism was an English-language training program with less tuition and less hindrance to marriage, due to its brevity. They saw higher education and professionalism as synonymous with a teaching certificate, with no particular connection to Christianity.

The missionary intention to implant the concepts of household hygiene in Japan was integrally linked with the knowledge of science and Christianity. The idea originally stemmed from Mary Anna Holbrook's attempt to establish a Scientific Department in the college department in 1891. The Scientific Department, however, failed to develop and ultimately closed down, as we saw in [chapter 4](#). The effort resumed in 1911, with the beginning of the first class of "domestic science,"⁴³ and in 1912, a "three-year course in Household Science."⁴⁴ A Household Science Building was dedicated in 1914.⁴⁵ The woman missionaries perceived household science as "one of the most important studies in the college," next to Bible teaching, because they believed it formed the basis of Christian homes. Susan A. Searle judged that "Christian homes multiplied and maintained according to wise economic and hygienic principles," brought a beneficial social influence.⁴⁶ Olive S. Hoyt, in 1916, articulated the need to perpetuate the American concept of "cleanliness" in her appeal to develop a Household Science Course in the College department.⁴⁷ Hoyt claimed that Japanese women had "absolutely no scientific knowledge" of hygiene and health. In Japanese homes, there was "dirt and filth collected in abundant quantity under the loose boarded floors on which the straw mats are laid" where the Japanese sit, sleep and eat; and there was "a lack of proper drainage." She also criticized the bedding of the thick comforters used on the floor and attributed the "alarming spread of consumption among the people" to these practices. She also found the Japanese kitchen, which was "a dark damp room with only the most primitive appliances," unhealthy. The childrearing methods of the Japanese in carrying the babies "on the back with head and eyes bare to the burning sun" and no care of "the nose, throat and teeth of the children" convinced her that the scientific education of sanitation and health was in urgent need.⁴⁸

The plan did not materialize at this time, however. When Kobe College moved to the new campus in Okadayama in 1934, a two-year Homemakers Course was finally started in the Junior College Department.

Yet its nature was far from the original missionary intentions. The course became a bridal preparation course in which Japanese cooking, Japanese sewing, and some Western cooking housed in the chemistry laboratory were offered to create ideal Japanese housewives. Meeting the Japanese demand, the course flourished, with 704 student enrollments between 1934 and 1945.⁴⁹ The Japanese disconnected the notion of domesticity from Western science and from Christianity. The course produced proper wives for Japanese businessmen and government officials who fulfilled the ideology of “good-wife-wise-mother.”

The persistent difficulties of expanding Christianity at Kobe College and in Japan at large altered the views of the American woman missionaries and created “hybrid” woman missionaries in the 1910s and the 1920s, who had a broader understanding of both the American and Japanese cultures. Mary Anna Holbrook, who worked at Kobe College from 1891 through 1906 pioneered in this realm by conceiving the ingenious idea to develop the Kobe College students into “women of Japanese exterior who possessed cosmopolitan outlooks in the interior.” Being fond of Japanese customs, she was resentful of the Japanese faddism for Western culture and became the first proponent for adopting *hakama*, a Japanese pleated skirt, as student attire at Kobe College. Two women exemplified the new “bicultural” women: Olive S.Hoyt and Charlotte B.DeForest. Olive S.Hoyt led the Chemistry department at Kobe College for sixteen years from 1904 on and subsequently became the Principal of Matsuyama Girls’ School (later Shinonome Girls’ School) in Shikoku, an island south to Kobe, from 1920 to post WWII. Olive S. Hoyt confessed of her life in Japan between 1920 and 1928 that her inner life was “broadened and deepened by my participation in Shinto and Buddhist rites.” Though admitting she could not understand much of them, she had “a sense of worship back of the symbolism” which she interpreted as a manifestation of the spirit of Christian God.

God’s spirit comes into the hearts of all of us when our own hearts long to have Him do so. The outward expression for this need and longing is universal and takes many forms.⁵⁰

Olive S.Hoyt’s view of Japanese religion was broader than that of Charlotte B.DeForest, because she admitted the divinity of Shintoism and Buddhism and interpreted them as other variant “forms” of the same Christian God.

Charlotte B.DeForest was the last American president of Kobe College, from 1915 to 1940. For Charlotte B.DeForest, Christianity was the only religion, universal and superior to all other forms of religion, especially in

the betterment of woman's social status. She acknowledged the existence of Shintoism and Buddhism in Japan; Shintoism, she believed, gave "women a high place" whereas Buddhism kept "woman in a position of subjection and even degradation."⁵¹ She could not broaden her views of religion to incorporate all the deities of Shintoism and Buddhism as other versions of the Christian God, as Olive S.Hoyt had. Shintoism for Japanese Christians could only be accepted as "a part of the nation's art and folklore," similar to how "the pagan myths and practices in our Greco-Roman or Anglo-Saxon backgrounds" were perceived by American Christians, wrote Charlotte B.DeForest.⁵² Although Kobe College was exempt from any request to take their students for shrine worship prior to the war years, Charlotte B.DeForest became obliged to consider the question when it was discussed at the National Christian Education Association as an impending problem at the schools in the interior. Agreeing with the view of President Takagi of the Methodist college in Tokyo, she concluded that "the attitude of the intelligent Christian was to discriminate between the superstitious relics of animism in Shinto, and the noble element of hero-worship or reverence."⁵³ In this view, the latter was compatible with Christian faith whereas the former was not.

The significant limitations of these "hybrid" woman missionaries to understand Japanese culture, however, were their belief in the centrality and universality of Christianity. Charlotte B.DeForest stressed that their work was significant because they were planting "the leaven" of Christian faith in the bosoms of the Kobe College girls, who would spread the way of thinking in their families, even if they were not professed Christians. In her mind, such "leaven" grew and bore fruit in a number of ways. "When a public-spirited woman got out hand-bills and tried to arouse public opinion to protest against the proposed establishment of a *geisha* house in the neighborhood," she wrote, the "immediately responsive" were the Kobe College graduates. She also welcomed and repeated a physician's remark "that if a mother intelligently carried out his instructions for her sick child, it was likely she would prove to be a Kobe College graduate."⁵⁴

Charlotte B.DeForest interpreted acts of "independent thinking" as foreign to Japanese girls with traditional Japanese education in Confucianism; rational, independent thought developed as an aspect of Christian thought. By planting such "leaven" in the minds of Kobe College graduates, she believed that the day would come when Christianity would prevail in Japan. The "independent thinking" and the strong bonds among Kobe College graduates, commonly known among the graduates as "*Jogakuin supiritto* [Kobe College spirit]," developed into

a long-lasting tradition, probably shaped by the personal relationship between the American woman missionaries and the Japanese girls. The tradition persists today as a legacy of over a half-century of cooperation of the American and Japanese women. Yet Japan never became a Christian country with less than one percent of its total population being Christians.⁵⁵

In the end, the cooperation of the Kobe College Corporation and the Kobe College Foundation in the fund-raising campaign of \$1,000,000 in total, culminated in a successful relocation and expansion of Kobe College at the new Okadayama campus in 1934, the beautiful campus in Southern Mediterranean style, where Kobe College still stands today.

Appendix

Daily Routine at Mt. Holyoke in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

[Source: Maria Roxana Slocomb's daily schedule of 1845, Lisa Natale Drakemann, "Seminary Sisters: Mount Holyoke's First Students, 1837-1849," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1988, 80.]

5:00	Rise
5:00-6:30	Straighten room, domestic work, walking
6:30-7:00	Secret devotion
7:00-8:00	Breakfast, walking, domestic work
8:00-9:00	Studying
9:00-9:15	Calisthenics
9:15-9:45	Public Devotions
9:45-10:00	General business
10:00-10:30	Grammar
10:30-11:00	Studying
11:00-12:00	Recitation in Latin
12:00-1:00	Dinner, walking
1:00-1:15	Studying
1:15-2:15	Drawing
2:15-2:45	Studying
2:45-3:15	Recitation in Grammar
3:15-3:30	Studying
3:30-3:45	Sections meeting
3:45-4:15	Assemble in Seminary Hall
4:15-4:30	Division Meetings
4:30-5:00	Calls and misc.
5:00-6:00	Tea and misc.
6:00-6:30	Visiting roommate
6:30-7:00	Reading
7:00-7:30	Studying
7:30-8:00	Secret devotion
8:00-8:15	Recess prayer meeting
8:15-9:45	Studying
9:45	Retire

Table 1 Baptism Rates Among the Non-Graduates of Kobe College, 1873–1904

Year of Entrance	# of Non-Graduates	# of Baptisms	Baptism Rate
1873	1	1	100%
1877	2	1	50%
1879	1	0	0%
1880	27	0	0%
1881	8	1	12.5%
1882	23	7	30.4%
1883	14	3	21.4%
1884	24	6	25.0%
1885	27	6	22.2%
1886	35	4	11.4%
1887	41	5	12.2%
1888	48	6	12.5%
1889	30	2	6.7%
1890	36	6	16.7%
1891	19	5	26.3%
1892	17	4	23.5%
1893	19	6	31.6%
1894	21	2	9.5%
1895	26	1	3.8%
1896	44	5	11.4%
1897	36	5	13.9%
1898	44	4	9.1%
1899	57	4	7.0%
1900	61	1	1.6%
1901	37	0	0%
1902	45	4	8.9%
1903	30	1	3.3%
1904	20	0	0%
Total	793	90	11.3%

Table 2 A Comparison of the Above Data between the Three Eras

Period	# of Non-Graduates	# of Baptisms	Baptism Rate
1873-1882	62	10	16.1%
1883-1889	219	32	14.6%
1890-1904	512	48	9.4%

Source: "A List of Dates of Entrance and Withdrawals at Kobe College," a search by the Kobe College Alumnae Association of 1906 compiled in *Megumi*, 1906, Kobe College Library.

*No data of baptisms was available for those who entered Kobe College after 1904 because the search was compiled in 1906 by the Kobe College Alumni Association.

Table 3 A List of Kobe College Graduates who were themselves Christians though Married to Non-Christian (Buddhist) Husbands with Secular Occupations [compiled from *Megumi* 1916 follow-up survey]

Year of Graduation	Academy Graduates	College Graduates
1884	Take Horie (government official)	
1892	Shige Hagiwara (Banker)	
1892	Kichiyo Abe (merchant)	
1893		Michi Tsuruta (engineer)
1894	So Miyake (physician)	
1895	Haru Koguchi (unknown)	
1901	Haruno Fuwa (merchant)	
1902	Fumiyo Noma (physician)	
1904	Hajime Kobayashi (farming)	
1905	Kiyo Asano (physician)	
1905	Itsu Tamaki (government official)	
1906	Haru Oohara (farming)	
1906		Tatsuno Takahashi (Shinto, businessman)
1907	Kameno Oguchi (business)	
1908	Toku Kawashima (trade company)	
1908	Yoshino Koide (unknown)	

Table 4 Husband's Occupations of Kobe College/Academy graduate, 1883-1909

Graduation Year	College teachers/pastors	College business/government/physicians	College Total (single)	College Christians Christian rate	Academy teachers/pastors	Academy business/government/physicians	Academy total (single)	Academy Christians Christian rate
1883	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1884	1 [1]	0	1	1 100%	1 [1->0]	1 [1]	6	5 83.3%
1885	-	-	-	-	1	4	7 (3[2])	5 71.4%
1886	0	2[2]	3(1)	3 100%	2[2]	0	3	3 100%
1887	2[2]	0	2	2 100%	1[1]	1[1]	3	3 100%
1888	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1889	-	-	-	-	4[3]	3[3]	9(1)	8 88.9%
1890	1[1]	0	1	1 100%	1[1]	4[4]	7(1)	7 100%
1891	1[1]	0	2	2 100%	3[3]	3[3]	9(1)	8 88.9%
1892	1[1]	0	2(1)	2 100%	3[3]	7[6]	18(1)	11 61.1%
1893	0	1[1]	2	2 100%	2[2]	3[3]	11(2)	10 90.9%
1894	1[1]	1[1]	3	3 100%	5[5]	6[5]	17(2)	13 76.5%
1895	1[1]	1[1]	4(1)	4 100%	2[2]	5[4]	9(1)	7 77.8%
1896	0	1[1]	2(1)	2 100%	2[2]	0	5(1)	5 100%
1897	3[3]	0	3	3 100%	1[1]	4[4]	7(1)	5 71.4%
1898	0	0	1	1 100%	1[1]	2[2]	4	4 100%
1899	1[1]	0	1	1 100%	0	1[1]	5(1)	3 60.0%
1900	0	0	1(1)	0 0%	0	2[2]	5(1)	4 80.0%
1901	0	1[1]	2(1)	2 100%	0	5[4]	7(1)	4 57.1%
1902	0	0	1(1)	0 0%	1[0]	7[6]	9	7 77.8%
1903	-	-	2	2 100%	0	1[1]	14(2)	11 78.6%
1904	0	0	0	0	3[3]	3[2]	17(2)	11 64.7%
1905	0	0	0	0	1[0]	11[7]	21(3)	9 42.9%
1906	1[1]	3[3]	5	4 80.0%	0	7[3]	16(1)	8 50.0%
1907	-	-	3(2[1])	2 66.7%	3[3]	5[2]	15(2)	7 46.7%
1908	2[2]	1[1]	6(1)	6 100%	3[2]	11[6]	29(2)	10 34.5%
1909	2[1]	-	3(1[1])	2 66.7%	1[1]	4[4]	11(1)	6 54.5%
Total	17	11	50 (10)	45	41	100	264 (31)	174
Total percentage	34.0%	22.0%	single 20.0%	90.0%	15.5%	37.9%	single 11.7%	65.9%

Table 5 A Comparison of the Above Data between the Westernization Era (1883–89) and the Conservative Backlash Era (1890–1909)

Period	College teacher/pastors	College business/government/physicians	College Total (single)	College Christians	Academy teachers/pastors	Academy business/government/physicians	Academy Total (single)	Academy Christians
1883-89	3	2	6	6	9	9	28(5)	24
(%)	50.0%	33.3%	0%	100%	32.1%	32.1%	17.9%	85.7%
1890-1909	14	9	44 (10)	39	32	91	236 (26)	150
(%)	31.8%	20.5%	22.7%	88.6%	13.6%	38.6%	11.0%	63.6%

Table 6 Christian Rates at Kobe College, 1873–1939

Years	College Christians/total	College Christian rate	Music Christians/total	Music Christian rate	Academy Christians/total	Academy Christian rate	Christian /total (Christian rate)
1882	-	-	-	-	11/12	91.7%	11/12 91.7%
1883-89	6/6	100%	-	-	24/28	85.7%	30/34 88.2%
1890-99	21/21	100%	-	-	73/92	79.3%	94/113 83.2%
1900-09	18/23	78.3%	-	-	77/144	53.5%	95/167 56.9%
1915							94/295 31.9%
1916							112/315 35.6%
1918	37/48	77.1%	11/17	64.7%	87/383	22.7%	135/398 33.9%
1925-26	90/229	39.3% [36.6%] ¹	19/41	46.3% [43.9%]	87/395	22.0% [21.0%]	196/665 29.5%
1926-27	104/225	46.2%	27/41	65.9%	102/399	25.6%	233/665 33.5%
1928-29	Sr 32/55 Jr 31/141	Sr 58% Jr 22%	24/34	66.66%	57/381	15%	144/611 25.4%
1929							23.4%
1939	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.3%

Sources:

For the years 1882–1909, Two Follow-up Studies of Graduates by the Kobe College Alumnae Association conducted in 1906 and 1916, compiled in *Megumi*, Kobe College Alumnae Bulletin; Kobe College Alumnae Association, comp. *Kobe College Alumnae Directory* (Kobe, 1990), 1–9, 191–194, Kobe College Library. These sources are based on data of every graduating class. The school started in 1873, but the first class graduated in 1882.

For the years 1915–1929, fragmentary data were collected from “Annual Report of Kobe College,” 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, Reel 374, “Kobe College Annual Report of the President,” 1925–26, 1926–27, 1928–29, Reel 385, ABCFM Papers, microfilm copy at the Institute for Research of Comparative Culture, Tokyo Women’s Christian University. These sources are based on the data of enrolled students of each academic year. Therefore, these two sets of data can only be referred to, but strictly speaking, they cannot be compared.

For the years 1929 and 1939, Charlotte B. DeForest. *History of Kobe College* (Kobe, 1950), 158.

*The Christian rate listed in the “Kobe College Annual Report of the President” for 1925–26 differed from the rates calculated from the figures of Christians / Total students under each category, which were listed in the same report. The rates in parenthesis are the rates listed in the “Kobe College Annual Report” and the rates without parenthesis indicate the calculated result.

Table 7 Departmental Student Enrollments and Enrollment Rates, 1894–1945

(compiled from Charlotte B. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*. 1950, table 1.1 Student Enrollments at 5-year Periods, vii)

Year	Total Enrollment	Academy	College (percentage of the total)
1894-95	72	56 (77.8%)	16 (22.2%)
1899-1900	167	162 (97.0%)	5 (3.0%)
1904-05	222	204 (91.9%)	18 (8.1%)

Year	Total	Academy/ High School*	Jr. College	Sr. College	Music Dpt.
1909-10	214	178 (83.2%)	10 (4.7%)	18 (8.4%)	8 (3.7%)
1914-15	278	224 (80.6%)	29 (10.4%)	19 (6.8%)	6 (2.2%)
1919-20	462	326 (70.6%)	93 (20.1%)	25 (5.4%)	18 (3.9%)
1924-25	647	423 (65.4%)	146 (22.6%)	39 (6.0%)	39 (6.0%)
1929-30	628	375 (59.7%)	158 (25.2%)	58 (9.2%)	37 (5.9%)
1934-35	773	463 (59.9%)	241 (31.2%)	19 (2.5%)	50 (6.5%)
1939-40	1016	594 (58.5%)	346 (34.1%)	8 (0.8%)	68 (6.7%)
1944-45	1208	639 (52.9%)	486 (40.2%)	5 (0.4%)	78 (6.5%)

*To accommodate Kobe College to the Japanese system, the name of the lower school, the "Academy" was changed to the "High School Department" in 1916.
Source: Charlotte B. DeForest. *History of Kobe College* (Kobe, 1950).

Notes

CHAPTER ONE

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28. D.C.Greene to N.G.Clark, 1[*date unclear*] April 1870, Kobe, #176. Reel 330, from the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archive* by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (hereafter cited as ABCFM Papers) (microfilm, courtesy of The Institute for Comparative Studies of Culture, Tokyo Woman's Christian University; hereafter cited as microfilm.)
29. Scholars differ on the ending year of the Westernization era depending on what they signify as the symbolic event that marked the end of the era. Akie identified the period to be from 1883 to 1889, adopting the promulgation of the Constitution of the Japanese Empire in February 1889 as the symbol of the beginning of the conservative reaction. See Shoko Akie, "Rokumeikan jidai no joshi kyoiku nitsuite," [Women's Education during the Era of Deer Cry Pavilion,] *Bungei to Shiso* [Literary Arts and

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 31. Carol Gluck. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 17.
 32. For a discussion on the definition of the term "transition," see Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman, ed. "Overview," in Marius B.Jansen and Gilbert Rozman, ed. *Japan in Transition from Tokugawa to Meiji* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 6–13.
 33. When a dollar was equivalent to one yen, David Murray and Verbeck earned 600 yen per month and the highest salary of *yatoi* was 2000 yen per month, whereas Toshimichi Okubo, one of the central political leaders in the Meiji government, earned 500 yen per month. See Robert S.Schwantes, "Nihon no hatten niokeru oyatoi gaikokujin," [The role of Foreign Employees in Japanese Modernization,] in Noboru Umetani, ed. *Kindaika no Suishinshatachi: Ryuugakusei, Oyatoigaikokujin to Meiji*, (Kyoto, 1990), a Japanese translation of Ardath W.Burks, ed. *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, & Meiji Japan* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), 208.
 34. Hazel J.Jones. *Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), xiii. Hazel J.Jones called the *yatoi* "live machines."
 35. For a succinct summary of how different expertise were acquired from different Western nations, see Robert S. Schwantes, "Nihon no hatten niokeru oyatoi gaikokujin," [The role of Foreign Employees in Japanese Modernization,] in Noboru Umetani, ed., *Kindaika no Suishinshatachi: Ryuugakusei, Oyatoigaikokujin to Meiji*, (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1990), 200–10. On the British dominance in the construction of the railroad, see Naomasa Yamada. *Oyatoi Gaikokujin, vol.4: Kotsu* [Foreign Employees, vol.4: Transportation,] (Tokyo: Kashima kenkyujo shuppan, 1968), 152–201. On German influence in medicine, see Choei Ishibashi, Teizo Ogawa. *Oyatoi Gaikokujin vol.1: Igaku* [Foreign Employees, vol.9: Medicine,] (Tokyo: Kashima kenkyujo shuppan , 1969), 78–149. For a discussion on the role of the American *yatoi* in Hokkaido, see Kazufumi Harada. *Oyatoi Gaikokujin, vol.3: Kaitaku* [Foreign Employees, vol.3: Settlement], (Tokyo: Kashima shuppankai, 1975), 45–58; Fumiko Fujita, "Encounters with an Alien Culture: Americans Employed by the *Kaitakushi*," in Edward R. Beauchamp and Akira Iriye, ed. *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990).
 36. For a thoughtful discussion of the early Meiji intellectuals' views on women, see Sharon L.Sievers. *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), chapters 1 & 2, 1–25. Mori Arinori's "Saishoron" [Discourse on wives and concubines] appeared in five installments between May 1847 and February 1875 in *Meiroku zasshi* [The Meiji Six Journal,] a critical journal published by a group of intellectuals of the "enlightenment" movement, Meirokusha [Meiji Six Society]. Nao Aoyama identified 33 pieces of writings by

Fukuzawa Yukichi on womanhood and women's education written between 1867 and 1901, among which *Gakumon no Susume* [An Encouragement for Learning,] *Joshi Kyoiku* [women's education] and *Shin Onna Daigaku* [New onna daigaku; *Onna Daigaku* written by Kaibara Ekken served as the most popular textbook on ideal womanhood during Tokugawa Era which preceded Meiji] are considered as the most representative ones. Nao Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakko no Kenkyu* [A Study of Meiji Girls' School] (Tokyo: Keio tsushin, 1970), 52–3.

37. Aoyama's criticism of the limitation of Fukuzawa Yukichi's views on Japanese women focused on the fact that his commentary derived from a male-centered view instead of an egalitarian view to regard women as individual human beings. Aoyama criticized Fukuzawa's views that it was a warning against Japanese society that Japan would not be able to revise the U.S.-Japan Friendship and Commerce Treaty of 1858 unless it achieved parity with U.S. in the degree of "civilization." For this purpose, it was essential to abolish polygamy and the cultural norm of *danson johi* [respect for men and denigration for women]. Mori's views seemed different, however. His views remain controversial, because from retrospect, he seemed to have made a contradictory move from being a straightforward libertarian (his ideas resemble David Murray's ideas) to a downright conservative nationalist. Kimura Rikio, a historian of Mori argued that this conflicting imagery of Mori was construed by the various ways people *desired* to interpret him.. It seems reasonable to assert, as Aoyama and Akie maintained, that for Mori himself there was no contradiction. He was trying to integrate Western liberal ideas on womanhood and women's education with his nationalist desire to achieve rapid modernization.
38. Gluck. *Japan's Modern Myth*, 120–1.
39. Hill. *The World Their Household*, 2, 23.
40. The missionaries' effort concentrated on the education of girls instead of boys because the Meiji government established a number of public secondary schools for boys. Between 1870 and 1890, the missionaries opened only ten schools for boys but 48 schools for girls.
41. Wallace Taylor to N.G.Clark, 28 August 1876, Kyoto, #278, Reel 333, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
42. Murata Shizuko identified Aoyama Jogakuin and Kobe College as the missionary schools offering higher education for women between 1868 and 1900. Aoyama selected Kobe College and Doshisha Women's College as such schools between 1868 and 1912, whereas Hiratsuka Masunori identified Ferris Seminary, Kobe College, Kwassui Jogakuin (Nagasaki) and Meiji Jogakko (which was not missionary) as Christian schools offering higher education for women between 1868 and 1900. Shizuko Murata. *Wagakuni Joshi Koto Kyoiku seiritsu katei no Kenkyu* [A Study of the Formation Process of Women's Higher Education in Japan] (Tokyo, 1980), Aoyama. *Meiji Jogakko no Kenkyu*, Masunori Hiratsuka. *Nihon Kirisutokyoshugi Kyoiku Bunka shi* [A Cultural History of Christian Education in Japan] (Tokyo: Nichidoku shoin, 1937).
43. Ferris Jogakuin, ed. *Ferris Jogakuin Hyakunen shi* [The Centennial History of Ferris Seminary,] (Yokohama: Ferris Jogakuin, 1970), 55.

44. On the establishment of higher department, see Tetsuya Ohama, *Joshigakuin no rekishi* [The History of Joshi Gakuin] (Tokyo: Doseisha, 1985), 217–230; Naonori Tamura & Mikako Asada, ed. *Joshigakuin 50-nen shi* [Fifty-year History of Joshi Gakuin], (Tokyo: Joshi Gakuin Dosokai [Joshi Gakuin Alumnae Association], 1928), 66. Kohiyama pointed out that the founding year of 1870 remains questionable. Kohiyama, *Amerika Fujin Senkyoshi* 308, e.n. 5.
45. Aoyama Gakuin University, ed. *Aoyama Jogakuin shi* [The History of Aoyama Girls' School], 159; —, ed. *Aoyama Gakuin 90nen shi* [The Ninety-year History of Aoyama Gakuin] (Tokyo: Aoyama gakuin, 1965), 224.
46. Kwassui Gakuin Hyakunen shi hensan iinkai [The Committee to compile the centennial history of Kwassui Gakuin], comp., ed., *Kwassui Gakuin Hyakunen shi* [The Centennial History of Kwassui Gakuin] (Fukuoka: Kwassui Gakuin, 1980), 35. The four-year college course was established in 1891. See Karen Sue Engelman, "A Japanese Missionary School for Girls: Women's Spirituality in the Process of Modernization." (Ed.D. diss., Columbia University Teachers College, 1990), 77, 79, 108. The similarity with the Mount Holyoke curriculum was first pointed out by Shoko Akie, "Kirisutokyokei joshikyoiku kenkyu no shiori: Meiji jidai purotesutantokei jogakko nitsuite," [A Research Note on Christian Women's Education: Protestant Missionary Schools in the Meiji Era,] *Bungei to Shiso* [Literary Arts and Thought] Vol.25 (1963), 51–65.

CHAPTER TWO

1. *The Sixth Annual Report of WBMI* (1874), 10, recorded how WBMI voted to assume the responsibility of Japan Home, which was what Kobe College was first called by the WBMI. During the sixth annual meeting of WBMI at St. Louis, MO on November 4–5, 1874, Dr. Clark said "that the American Board desired our Board to assume the support of the Japan Home, about to be established at the cost of \$3,000.00 for the training of native teachers." Then the matter was put to a vote, "Shall we adopt it?" It was then voted that "the Home was adopted." In *The Seventh Annual Report* (Nov.3–4, 1875 at Elyria, Ohio), it was stated that the work of "Japan Home" was the largest work assumed by WBMI. Andover-Harvard Theological Seminary (microfilm).
2. Hill. *The World Their Household*, 23.
3. *Ibid.*, 2–3, 8, 195n.1. Hill compares the number of membership rolls of the women's foreign missionary movement (the 3,000,000 figure is quoted from the Philadelphia and New York: Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church) to that of the WCTU of nearly 150,000 members in 1892, and the figure of 1,600,000 women associated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1914 and the membership of 2,000,000 of NAWSA in 1917.
4. *Ibid.*, 117.
5. *Ibid.*, 108.

6. For detailed accounts of the beginnings of the ABCFM, the most comprehensive were the following classics written by former officers of the ABCFM: William Ellsworth Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 7–9. Fred Field Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witness: An Interpretation of the History of the American Board 1810–1960* (Boston: ABCFM, 1959), 5–10. ABCFM, *The Haystack Centennial—97th Annual Meeting of the American Board in North Adams* (Boston: ABCFM, 1907).
7. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witness*, 10–12.
8. ABCFM, comp., *Fragments of Fifty Years; some lights and shadows of the Japan Mission of the American Board*, n.p. n.d., 1, Kobe College Library.
9. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witness*, 13.
10. For a thorough discussion on the shifts of ideas on American superiority of ABCFM, see Alan Frederick Perry. “The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the London Missionary Society in the Nineteenth-Century: A Study of Ideas”, Ph.D. Dissertation, Washington University (1974).
11. Goodsell. *You Shall Be My Witness*, 55–63.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Emily A. White Smith to James L. Barton, July 5, 1912, Chicago, ABC.9.10.v. 31 ABCFM Papers.
14. Both Hill and Perry have stated that “much of the credit for generating the missionary revival of the late nineteenth century belongs to the woman’s foreign mission movement.” Hill, *The World Their Household*, 2; Perry, “The American Board,” 499–504. Perry concluded that ABCFM displayed a spectacular growth for the years before 1840, then stagnation took place between 1840 and the 1870s, and growth was renewed in the 1870s through 1910. He attributes this second revival to two factors, the student’s movements of laymen’s bodies due to Moody revivalism and the emergence of women’s missionary societies, of which he places particular emphasis on the latter.
15. To name a few, Mount Holyoke opened in 1837, Oberlin pioneered in coeducation in 1833, Vassar opened in 1865, and Wellesley and Smith opened in 1875.
16. Blair. *The Clubwoman as Feminist*, 99, 117–8.
17. For a discussion on the professionalization of women writers in nineteenth century America, see Wendy Ripley, “Women Working at Writing: Achieving Professional Status in Nineteenth-Century America, 1850–1875,” Ph.D. Dissertation, the George Washington University, 1995.
18. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witness*, 165. In 1879 the contributions of WBM to the Treasury of the American Board amounted to \$73,957.04, which was approximately 15% of the total income of the American Board in 1879. In 1899, the total receipts of the Treasury of the American Board was reported as \$490,407.65 of which WBMP contributed \$4,467.58, WBMI \$66,541.00 and WBM \$128,992.80, a total of \$200,110.08, which was slightly more than 40 % of the total American Board income.
19. WBMI, ed. *The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Annual Report of WBMI*, 1875, 1876, 1877, Andover-Harvard Theological Library; ABCFM, ed. *The Annual Report of the American Board*, 1880, 5, Kobe College Library.

The donations were as follows:

<i>year</i>	<i>total donations to ABCFM in the Interior District</i>	<i>WBMI receipts sent to ABCFM</i>
1875	\$38,024.96	\$19,758.17 (51.96%)
1876	\$41,282.97	\$21,066.09 (51.03%)
1877	\$45,461.84	\$18,046.62 (39.70%)
1889	\$93,164.38	\$45,701.44 (49.05%)

*The District of the Interior of ABCFM consists of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota. These are the same states comprising the constituency of WBMI. Therefore, this is the most relevant comparison to evaluate the contribution of WBMI in fund-raising.

20. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witness*,
21. R.Pierce Beaver. *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission* (Grand Rapids: Wm.B.Eerdmans, 1968), 63–66.
22. Mrs. Moses Smith, "All the World Our Neighborhood," 5, Kobe College Library.
23. Mrs. Elizabeth E.Humphrey, "Ten Year's Review of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior," *Annual Report of the WBMI*, 1878, 4–5, AndoverHarvard Theological Library.
24. Grace T.Davis. *Neighbors in Christ: Fifty-Eight Years of World Service by the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior*, (Chicago: Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior, 1926), 4–5.
25. *Ibid.*, 4–6, Humphrey, "Ten Year's Review of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior," 4–5, Beaver, *All Loves Excelling*, 88.
26. Emily A.White Smith to Mrs. Peabody, "Reminiscences of 50 years of WBMI," 15 April 1918, Chicago,.6, ABC 9.10 Box2.2 ABCFM Papers. A similar rationale was described in Emily A.White Smith, "All the World Our Neighborhood," a pamphlet for Woman's Work for Woman, 1916, 4–5, Kobe College Library.
27. Davis, *Neighbors in Christ*, 131.
28. Goodsell. *You Shall Be My Witness*, 157.
29. Davis, *Neighbors in Christ*, 8–9.
30. According to the "Certificate of Incorporation of the WBMI" appended to the *Annual Reports of WBMI*, the application of incorporation of WBMI was approved April 18, 1872, enforced July 1, 1872 and the certificate was signed, acknowledged, filed in the office of the Secretary of State on November 13, 1873. Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
31. "Missionary Papers, No.9," Nov. 1868 in *Annual Report of WBMI, 1868–1923*, Andover-Harvard Theological Library. The first Annual Report of WBMI of 1868 was lost in the collection held at Andover-Harvard Theological Library. Thus this leaflet is the oldest and the only existing record of the beginnings of WBMI.
32. n.a. *Nathaniel George Clark Memorial: Twenty-nine Years Corresponding Secretary of ABCFM* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1897), 18–19, Kobe College Library.

33. N.G.Clark, "A Retrospect," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the ABCFM at Madison, Wisconsin, 11 October 1894, in n.a. *Nathaniel George Clark Memorial*, 116–117.
34. WBMI, ed. *Second Annual Report of WBMI*, 1870, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
35. Emily A.White Smith to Mrs. Peabody, "Reminiscences of 50 years of WBMI," Chicago, April 15, 1918, 3, ABC 9.10 Box2.2 ABCFM Papers.
36. Beaver, *All Loves Excelling*, 105.
37. "Reminiscences of 50 years of WBMI," Mrs. Moses Smith to Mrs. Peabody, April 15, 1918, Chicago, ABC 9.10 Box2.2 ABCFM Papers.
38. Rev. Bierce, the Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Racine was cited from *The Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the WBMI, 1873*, 7, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
39. *Ibid.*, 3–5.
40. *Ibid.*, 7.
41. Hill. *The World Their Household*, 117–20.
42. Davis, *Neighbors in Christ*, 15–16.
43. Secretary Clark pointed out that the organization of Woman's Boards had been beneficial both financially and in the enlargement of women's work. The single women missionaries had increased from ten to sixty and the number of girls and women brought under the missionary influence had enlarged proportionately. Funds received from the beginning to Oct.17, 1877 for nearly ten years was \$438,327,23 of which home expenses amounted to less than \$9,000. *Life and Light*, Vol.VIII No.1 (January 1878), 10–13, Kobe College Library.
44. "Constitution of WBMI" appended to WBMI, ed. *The Annual Report of WBMI* (1878), 70–71, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
45. Davis, *Neighbors in Christ*, 28.
46. For a brief discussion of how the WBMI coped with the threat of the Christian Endeavor Society, see endnote 103.
47. n.a., *Memorial of the Rev. Nathaniel George Clark*, 5–6, 13–14, Kobe College Library.
48. Clark, "A Retrospect," in ABCFM, ed. *Annual Report of the ABCFM, 1894*, Kobe College Library.
49. See [chapter 4](#) for further discussions on the development of the college department at Kobe College.
50. Clark "A Retrospect," (1894), in *Nathaniel George Clark Memorial*, Kobe College Library. For a detailed discussion of how Niiijima's visit to Clark's house in the summer of 1868 developed into ABCFM's decision to commence mission work in Japan in 1869, see James H.Petee, ed. *A Chapter of Mission History in Modern Japan, 1869–1895* (Tokyo, n.d.), 6, Kobe College Library.
51. Davis, *Neighbors in Christ*, 28.
52. Smith, "All the World Our Neighborhood," 6–7, Kobe College Library.
53. Miss Oldner, "A Panorama of Progress: The Story of the Fifty Eight Years of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior in Pantomime and Picture," "Scene III—The Gifts of Life," 1926, ABC 9.10 Box2.1 ABCFM Papers.
54. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witness*, 162.

55. Smith, "All the World Our Neighborhood," 3, Kobe College Library.
56. *Ibid.*, 7.
57. Emily A.White Smith to James L.Barton, July 5, 1912, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
58. Flora Starr, Assistant Treasurer of the WBMI to Frank H.Wiggin, Treasurer of the ABCFM, 25 January 1909, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
59. The broadened educational institutions for women were as follows: an evangelistic school in Kobe (1886), Bridgman Academy, a secondary school in China (1891), orphan education due to wide-spread massacres in Turkey (1895,1896), kindergarten children and training of kindergartners in Kobe (1889), industrial training at Ruk and Ponape in the Islands of the Pacific (the 1900s), and industrial and neighborhood work in Madura, India (1916). Oldner, "A Panorama of Progress," ABCFM Papers.
60. Davis, *Neighbors in Christ*, 93–96.
61. Oldner, "A Panorama of Progress," ABCFM Papers.
62. Emily A.White Smith, "Sketch of Emily White Smith—1896," a paper written for *Haper's Weekly Magazine*, 1896, in "Mrs. Moses Smith," ABC Individual" Biographies 56:9, ABCFM Papers.
63. *Ibid.*
64. Charlotte B.DeForest, comp., "Mrs. Moses Smith (Emily White Smith)," a scrapbook, 5, Kobe College Library.
65. Smith, "Sketch of Emily White Smith—1896," ABCFM Papers.
66. *Ibid.*
67. "Honored by Alma Mater," *Springfield Evening Union*, June 9, 1925, Springfield, Massachusetts, in Charlotte B.DeForest comp., "Mrs. Moses Smith (Emily White Smith)," unpublished scrapbook, (Kobe, 1930–34), 34, Kobe College Library.
68. Dana L.Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998), 92–114.
69. Fidelia Fisk. *Recollections of Mary Lyon, with selections from her instructions to the pupils in Mt. Holyoke female seminary* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1866), 101, courtesy of Mount Holyoke Library Archives and Special Collections.
70. Marion Lansing, ed. *Mary Lyon Through Her Letters* (Boston: Books, Inc., 1937), 155.
71. Lisa Natale Drakeman, "Seminary Sisters: Mount Holyoke's First Students, 1837–1849," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University), 1988, 224.
72. Smith, "Sketch of Emily White Smith—1896," ABCFM Papers.
73. Smith, "All the World Our Neighborhood," 9, Kobe College Library, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections.
74. Smith, "Reminiscences of 50 years of WBMI," 2, ABCFM Papers.
75. Smith, "All the World Our Neighborhood," 8, Kobe College Library.
76. *Ibid.*, 11.
77. *Ibid.*, 10.
78. . Glenn Bruce, "When a Woman is 92: Mrs. Moses Smith, Civil War Nurse, Radical of 1868, and Idol of Mission Societies," *Oak Leaves*, 6 November 1926, Oak Park, Illinois, in ABC Individual" Biographies 56:9, ABCFM Papers.

79. A letter from Susan A.Searle to *Megumi*, December 1929 in Charlotte B.DeForest, comp. "Mrs.Moses Smith," unpublished scrapbook, 53, Kobe College Library.
80. Smith, "Sketch of Emily White Smith—1896," ABCFM Papers.
81. Searle to *Megumi*, in Charlotte B.DeForest, comp. "Mrs.Moses Smith," 53, Kobe College Library.
82. Mrs.Lyman Baird, "Retrospection," on Mrs.Moses Smith, read at the Annual Meeting of WBMI, October 1898, 5, in ABC Individual" Biographies 56:9, ABCFM Papers.
83. Smith, "Sketch of Emily White Smith—1896," ABCFM Papers.
84. Emily A.White Smith to the Mount Holyoke Alumnae Association, April 1926, *Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly*, in "Emily White Smith, Class of 1858," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections..
85. Mrs.Moses Smith, "Mt. Holyoke's Endowment of History," 1896 in DeForest, comp., "Mrs.Moses Smith," 106–107, Kobe College Library.
86. Emily A.White Smith to the Mount Holyoke Alumnae Association, April 1926, *Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly*, in "Emily White Smith, Class of 1858," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections..
87. Emily A.White Smith to Charlotte B.DeForest, January 15, 1926, in DeForest, comp., "Mrs.Moses Smith," 30, Kobe College Library.
88. n.a., "Emily White Smith," from Handbook of Memorials, Kobe College, 1934, a copy given from Mrs. Kasperson, Chicago, "Emily White Smith, Class of 1858," Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections..
89. Charlotte B.DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, (Kobe: Kobe College, 1950), 93, ii.
90. DeForest, comp., "Mrs.Moses Smith," 38, Kobe College Library.
91. Emily A.White Smith to Charlotte B.DeForest, August 26, 1916, 26 March 1919, 26 January 1922, "About Clayton Fund," in DeForest, comp., "Mrs. Moses Smith," 29–30, Kobe College Library.
92. Mrs.Moses Smith, "All the World Our Neighborhood," 9, Kobe College Library
93. "Constitution for Missionary Societies" appended in WBMI, ed. *The Tenth Annual Report of WBMI*, 1878, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
94. In 1877, the following nine State Branches were under the WBMI: Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, North Illinois, Kansas and Minnesota. The last three were added as they were admitted into the Union during that year.
95. WBMI, ed. *The Second, Third, and Fourth Annual Report of the WBMI*, 1870–1872, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
96. WBMI, ed. *The Fifth Annual Report of WBMI*, 1873, 15, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
97. *The Annual Report of WBMI*, 1873, 1876, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
98. Oldner, "A Panorama of Progress," ABCFM Papers.

99. "Constitution of the WBMI" included in the WBMI, ed. *Tenth Annual Report of WBMI* (1878), Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
100. "Constitution of WBMI" appended to WBMI, ed. *Twelfth Annual Report of WBMI* (1880), Article 4, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
101. In the case of the WBM, the Bureau of Exchange was organized in 1878 as a means to consolidate the relationship between the auxiliaries and the Board as a response to the rapid growth. The object of the Bureau was "to sustain and increase the interest so widely awakened in missionary work, to bring the branches and auxiliaries into a closer connection and fuller sympathy with the Board, to give information in regard to the work of the Board, to furnish missionary intelligence by copying and distributing letters, to welcome those who call at the rooms of the Board and embrace every opportunity for giving information, or receiving suggestions."
102. Those entitled to vote at any regular meeting of WBMI were as follows: the officers of WBMI, the President and Secretary of each State Branch. At the Annual Meeting, each auxiliary was entitled to one delegate. Any auxiliary with fifty members and contribution of one hundred dollars was entitled to a second delegate. Any auxiliary contributing three hundred dollars or more was entitled to a third delegate. Only those delegates personally present and duly accredited by the auxiliaries that they represent were entitled to vote. Source: WBMI, ed. *Annual Report of the Ninth Annual Meeting of WBMI* (Nov.7-8, 1877), 29, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
103. Various names to call the children's societies and young people's societies developed over time, including Children's Circles, children's societies, Mission Bands, Juvenile Societies, Young Ladies' Societies and Young People's Societies. The development of the Christian Endeavor Society by the American Board was threatening for the WBMI as it took away members as well as receipts from the Young Ladies' Societies of the WBMI. By 1897, however, the WBMI managed to sustain their Young Ladies' Societies by asking donations from the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor as well so that they could loosely incorporate this organization in their network. See WBMI, ed. *Annual Report of the WBMI* (1889-1911); Elizabeth E.Humphrey, "Ten Years' Review of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior," 14 in WBMI, ed. *Annual Report of the WBMI*, 1879, Andover-Harvard Theological Library; Woman's Boards, ed. *Life and Light*, vol.IX, (March, April 1878), 140-145,172-174, 189-191, Kobe College Library.
104. "List of Manuscript Papers," "Leaflets of WBMI" compiled in the end of the WBMI, ed. *Annual Report of WBMI* of 1880, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
105. WBMI, ed. *The Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of WBMI*, 1896, 5, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
106. n.a., "The 'Life and Light'", in *Life and Light*, vol.IX, (Feb. 1879), 127-30, Kobe College Library.
107. List created from WBMI, ed. *Annual Report of the WBMI*, 1868-1923, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.

108. Goodsell. *You Shall Be My Witness*, 154; Beaver. *All Loves Excelling*, 25. Beaver wrote that Sally Thomas donated \$345.38, a different figure.
109. Beaver, *All Loves Excelling*, 25.
110. The Woman's Board of Missions, ed. *Life and Light*, Vol.VIII, (January 1878), 10–13, Boston, Kobe College Library.
111. The Japan Mission, "The Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 1884," ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
112. The Japan Mission, "Estimates of Japan Mission, 1909," ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
113. Ibid.
114. . The Japan Mission, "The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Japan Mission, 1874," ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
115. Kohiyama. *Amerika Fujin Senkyoshi*, 147.
116. Emily M.Brown to N.G.Clark, November 4, 1893, New Haven, Conn., #254, microfilm, ABCFM Papers.
117. ABCFM, ed. *Fragments of Fifty Years*., 5, Kobe College Library.
118. Of the nine Kobe College missionaries between the 1880s to the 1900s whose fathers' occupations are known, the distribution was as follows: (Sources: Biographical Candidate Files, ABCFM Papers.)
119. The following sources differed on the number of sisters of Eliza Talcott. Arthur W.Stanford, "Miss Talcott—Parentage, Education, and Incidents in Her Life-Work," in *Mission News: Talcott Memorial Number*, 46–47, stated that Eliza was the second of four sisters. Lora E. Learned's biography, *Eliza Talcott: The Florence Nightingale of Japan* (Boston: Woman's Board of Missions, 1917), 1, stated that she was the second of five sisters. "Four sisters" may be correct because the word "five" was crossed out and corrected to "four" by handwriting in a copy of the latter compiled in "Eliza Talcott," unpublished scrapbook, Kobe College Library.
120. Arthur W.Stanford, "Miss Talcott—Parentage, Education, and Incidents in her life-Work," *Mission News*, Vol.XV No.3, 15 December 1911, Kobe, "Talcott Memorial Number," 46–47; Lora E.Learned. *Eliza Talcott Jubilee Issue*, 1–3; in ABC Individual" Biographies58:28, ABCFM Papers. (Also in

	1880s	1890s	1900s
farmers	2	1	0
missionaries (ministers/professors)	0	2	2
business	0	0	1

Charlotte B.DeForest, comp., "Eliza Talcott," unpublished scrapbook, Kobe, 1920, 3, 100, Kobe College Library.)

121. Kobe College Archives, ed., comp., *Gakuin Shiryo* [Kobe College Archives Bulletin] Vol. (March 1988), Kobe, 59, fn 6, 61, fn15.
122. Author unknown, "Miss Dudley," a ten-page handwritten paper, in "Julia Dudley," ABC Individual" Biographies 18:37, ABCFM Papers.

123. J.D.Davis to N.G.Clark, November 1, 1872, Kobe, Reel 329, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
124. The Alumnae Association of Kobe Women's Evangelistic School, comp., *Onshi Miss Dudley* [Our Former Teacher, Miss Dudley,] (Kobe, 1930), Kobe College Library.
125. n.a. "Martha J.Barrows," a six-page handwritten missionary sketch (two-pages typed,) in "Martha J.Barrows," ABC Individual" Biographies 6:5, ABCFM Papers.
126. Notes by Anna C.Edwards, Class of 1859, "ABCFM, Martha Jane Barrows, Japan Mission, Kobe, non-grad. 1862," "Kobe College," 23, in Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Archives.
127. Martha J.Barrows to N.G.Clark, September 20, 1874, Middlebury, Vermont, #2, reel 328, microfilm copy, ABCFM Papers.
128. n.a. "Martha J.Barrows," a missionary sketch, ABC Individual" Biographies 6:5, ABCFM Papers.
129. Elaine Tyler May. *Great Expectations: Marriage & Divorce in Post-Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 167, table 2 "Median Age at First Marriage, by Sex: United States, 1890-1930."
130. n.a., "S Martha Barrows," Obituary in "Martha J.Barrows, non-graduate 1864 [there are indications of two different years of class, non-grad. of 1862 and 1864]," in Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections.
131. Susan A.Searle, "Miss Barrows," a two-page handwritten essay, February 19, 1911, in ABC Individual" Biographies 6:5, ABCFM Papers.
132. n.a., "S Martha Barrows," Obituary in "Martha J. Barrows, non-graduate 1864," in Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Archives.
133. Julia Dudley to N.G.Clark, February 14, 1873, Yonkton, Dakota; Eliza Talcott to N.G.Clark, April 12, 1873, Kobe (microfilm), ABCFM Papers.
134. Susan A.Searle, "Introduction," in "Emily Maria Brown Harkness," unpublished scrapbook, Kobe College, 1938, 1, Kobe College Library.
135. "Obituary: Emily M.Brown," a local newspaper, Cresco, Iowa, 1925, in "Emily Maria Brown Harkness," unpublished scrapbook, Kobe College, 1938, Kobe College Library.
136. Emily M.Brown, "Prophecy," in *Carletonia*, June 1882, Student Journal of Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, 8-10, Alumnae Record File of "Emily M.Brown," Carleton College Archives.
137. n.a., "Missionary Sketches—No.6, Susan A.Searle," 1886 (?), a six-page handwritten essay, 2, in "Susan A.Searle," ABC Individual" Biographies 54: 6, ABCFM Papers.
138. *Ibid.*, 1.
139. Alice E.Cary to Japan Mission Family, October 25, 1951, Boston, "Susan A. Searle," ABCFM Papers.
140. Leona L.Burr to Foreign Department, the ABCFM, "Searle Memorial Service," two-page report of the memorial service, November 20, 1951, in "Susan A.Searle," ABCFM Papers.
141. *Ibid.*
142. "Susan A.Searle, Kobe College, Kobe Japan, 1883," a pamphlet, Illinois Branch, WBMI, Chicago 1921, in "Susan A.Searle," ABCFM Papers.

143. Susan A.Searle, "Sketch of My Life," July 1945, three-page typewritten autobiographical essay, 1-2, "Susan A.Searle," ABCFM Papers.
144. "President Emeritus of Kobe Dies," *The Christian Sun*, 8 November 1951, in "Susan A.Searle," ABCFM Papers.
145. Anna C.Edwards, Class of 1859, "ABCFM, Mary Anna Holbrook, M.D.," in "Mary A.Holbrook, non-graduate 1878," Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections..
146. Harold L.Holbrook, Ph.D. "*The Missionary Story in Brief of Mary Anna and Charles W.Holbrook*," a three-page typewritten essay, in "Mary A.Holbrook, non-graduate 1878," Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections..
147. Olive S.Hoyt, "Obituary: Mary A.Holbrook," in *Mission News*, Kobe, Japan, 15 February 1916, in "Mary A.Holbrook, non-graduate 1878," Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections..
148. For a description of this Divine call, see n.a. "Mariane Holbrook, M.D.," a two-paragraph printed passage in "Mary A.Holbrook, non-graduate 1880," Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections.. The story goes that Mary A. Holbrook, although she was least interested in missionary work and thought herself to be totally unqualified, heard a question of "what kind of a letter she would write if she were a missionary" that haunted her until she finally made "an honest surrender," asking God if He made the way "so plain that she could not doubt," "she would go anywhere." Then "peace came" and also the "love she had never known before and a hearty interest in mission work everywhere" came.
149. Harold L.Holbrook, Ph.D., "*The Missionary Story in Brief of Mary Anna and Charles W.Holbrook*," in "Mary A.Holbrook, non-graduate 1878," Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections..
150. Anna C.Edwards, Class of 1859, "ABCFM, Mary Anna Holbrook, M.D.,"; Olive S.Hoyt, "Obituary: Mary A.Holbrook," in "Mary A.Holbrook, non-graduate 1878," Alumnae Biographical Files, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections..
151. Clifton J.Phillips, "The Student Volunteer Movement and its Role in China Missions, 1886-1920," in John K.Fairbank. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, 91-109.
152. Olive S.Hoyt, a ten-page typewritten autobiographical essay (no title), in "Olive S.Hoyt," Individual Biographies 29:47, ABCFM Papers.
153. n.a., "New Jersey Branch Missionary, Miss Olive Hoyt, Matsuyama, Japan," a pamphlet (WBM), in "Olive S.Hoyt," ABCFM Papers.
154. Olive S.Hoyt, an autobiographical essay, 3-4, "Olive S.Hoyt," ABCFM Papers.
155. Charlotte B.DeForest, "Forty Years Ago," from *New Bulletin*, 1 March 1931, Personal Papers, "Charlotte B.DeForest," ABCFM Papers.
156. Charlotte B.DeForest, "Annotated Curriculum Vitae for Dr. Bell: *Charlotte Burgis DeForest*," April 1942, 1-3, Personal Papers, "Charlotte B.DeForest," ABCFM Papers.

157. Ibid.
158. Charlotte B.DeForest, "Why I Became a Missionary," 1942, in Personal Papers, "Charlotte B.DeForest," ABCFM Papers.
159. Charlotte B.DeForest, "Forty Years Ago," from *New Bulletin*, 1 March 1931, Personal Papers, "Charlotte B.DeForest," ABCFM Papers.
160. n.a. (Charlotte B.DeForest?), "Biographical Sketch of Charlotte Burgis DeForest," 1912, Personal Papers, "Charlotte B.DeForest," ABCFM Papers.
161. Charlotte B.DeForest, "A Formative Year," in Personal Papers, "Charlotte B.DeForest," ABCFM Papers.
162. Although Charlotte B.DeForest was born and raised in Japan until fourteen years old, she wrote that she was not completely bilingual. She had "no Japanese playmates" in her early childhood and her mother did not leave the children "to the care of Japanese attendants" but looked after them herself. Charlotte B.DeForest writes that their return to the United States for a year and a half when she was three years old (their first furlough) "effectually supplanted Japanese with English" in her mind. After their return to Japan, she became preoccupied with her "studies in the English text-books" to prepare for her schooling in America and she "had no desire to study Japanese." Thus she writes that she "forgot almost in toto [a limited vocabulary of Japanese] during the ten years" that she was in the United States before her return to Japan as a missionary. Her childhood days in Japan did have advantages on her subsequent Japanese language training, however. She wrote there were two advantages, that she had "ear-training" of the language and that she had "a feeling for the order of the words, so different from that in English." See Charlotte B.DeForest, "Learning the Japanese Language," a one-page typewritten essay, "Personal Papers of Charlotte B. eForest," ABCFM Papers.
163. Charlotte B.DeForest, "Why I Became a Missionary," 1942, in Personal Papers, "Charlotte B.DeForest," ABCFM Papers.
164. Charlotte B.DeForest, "Annotated Curriculum Vitae for Dr. Bell: *Charlotte Burgis DeForest*," April 1942, 1-3, Personal Papers, "Charlotte B.DeForest," ABCFM Papers.
165. "Famed Christian Educator Will Retire in Berkeley," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, 14 December 1950, in Personal Papers, "Charlotte B. eForest," ABCFM Papers.
166. Charlotte B.DeForest, "My Contribution to Kobe College," April 1942, in Personal Papers, "Charlotte B. DeForest," ABCFM Papers.
167. n.a., "Dr. Charlotte B.DeForest," in Personal Papers, "Charlotte B.DeForest," ABCFM Papers.
168. Emily A.White Smith to Kate G.Lamson, February 15, 1907, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
169. E.Harriet Stanwood to Sarah Pollock, February 26, 1907, Boston, ABCFM Papers.
170. Such action by Mary Anna Holbrook perplexed the WBMI, because the WBMI wanted to avoid dispute with the Woman's Board of Missions and the American Board.
171. Emily A.White Smith to Kate G.Lamson, February 15, 1907, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.

172. "Enclosure: Statement formulated by Secretary J.L. Barton (ABCFM)," in M.D.Wingate to J.L.Barton, April 9, 1908, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
173. M.D.Wingate to J.L.Barton, April 9, 1908, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
174. Ibid.
175. Ibid.
176. M.D.Wingate to J.L.Barton, April 11, 1908, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
177. M.D.Wingate to E.F.Bell, July 24, 1911, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
178. M.D.Wingate to E.F.Bell, August 4, 1911, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
179. M.D.Wingate to J.L.Barton, March 15, 1910, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
180. E.F.Bell (ABCFM) to M.D.Wingate, May 26, 1914, Boston, ABCFM Papers.
181. M.D.Wingate to J.L.Barton, March 15, 1910, Chicago; Emily A.White Smith to J.L.Barton, July 5, 1912, Chicago, September 6, 1912, Chicago; ABCFM Papers.
182. Emily A.White Smith to James L.Barton, October 19, 1906, Chicago: September 4, 1911, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
183. M.D.Wingate to J.L.Barton, June 13, 1908, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
184. Valentine H.Rabe. *The Home Base of American China Missions, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 82.
185. M.D.Wingate to J.L.Barton, April 1, 1911, April 13, 1911, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
186. M.D.Wingate to Mrs.C.H.Daniels of the WBM, July 20, 1901, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
187. M.D.Wingate to E.F.Bell (ABCFM), August 4, 1911, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
188. M.D.Wingate to J.D.Barton, August 4, 1911, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
189. Florence A.Fensham (WBMI) to J.D.Barton, August 24, 1911, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
190. Emily A.White Smith's letter, August 15, 1915, in DeForest, comp., "Mrs. Moses Smith," 103, Kobe College Library.

CHAPTER THREE

1. J.D.Davis to N.G.Clark, November 1, 1872, Kobe #191, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
2. Azusa Oyama, *Kyujoyakuka ni okeru kaishi kaiko no kenkyu* [A Study of Open Cities, Open Ports under the Former Treaty] (Tokyo: Ootori shobo, 1988), 109-128, 327-30; Kaiko sanjunen kinen kai, ed. *Kobe kaiko sanjunen shi* (jo) [Thirty-year History of Kobe Open Port, first volume] (Tokyo: Hara shobo, 1899, reprinted ed., 1974), 211-217, 292-93, 301-02, 328-356, 394-397, 422-23.
3. Yoshiki Shigeru, *Meiji shoki Kobe dendo to D.C. Gurin* (Tokyo: Shinkyō shuppan sha, 1986), 36; Okahisa Saburo, *Kobe shishi gaisetsu kobe monogatari* [An Outline of the History of Kobe City, the Kobe Story](Kobe: Okahisa Saburo, 1942, reprinted ed. 1978), 258.
4. J.D.Davis to N.G.Clark, October 1, 1873, Kobe #204, ABCFM Papers (microfilm); *Kobe kaiko sanjunen shi*, 559-562; Sanda shishi hensan iinkai, ed.

- Sanda shishi*[The History of Sanda City] (Sanda: Sanda City, 1964), 433–42, 662–72, 676–85, 702–708.
5. J.D.Davis to N.G.Clark, October 1,1873, Kobe #204, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 6. Takenori Oku, “Kokumin Kokka’ no nakano Josei-Meijiki o chushinni” [Women in ‘Nation State’-Meiji Era] in Akiko Okuda, ed., *TimeSpace of Gender—Redefining Japanese Women’s History*, Vol.V Modern, (Tokyo: Fujiwara shoten, 1995),415–450, 427–430. The university districts was reduced to seven later. Kokuritsu Kyouiku Kenkyujo [National Education Research Institute], ed. *Nihon Kindai Kyouiku Hyakunen Shi* [The Centennial History of Modern Education in Japan], Vol.1 *Kyouiku Seisaku I* [Education Policy I], (Tokyo: Kokuritsu kyoiku kenkyujo, 1974), 61,72.
 7. Katsumi Senju, “Meiji ki no Joshi Kyouiku no Shomondai-Kankouritsu wo chushin toshite,” [Various Issues on Women’s Education in Meiji Era-with a focus on government and public schools] in Japan Women’s University Women’s Education Research Institute, ed. *Meiji no Joshi Kyouiku* [Women’s Education in Meiji,] (Tokyo: Kokudoshsha, 1967), 8–41.
 8. Shoko Akie, “Gakusei jidai ni okeru joshi kyouiku no shuppatsu ni tsuite” [On the Beginning of Women’s Education during the Period of the Fundamental Code of Education] in Fukuoka Women’s University, ed., *Bungei to Shiso* [Literary Arts and Thought], no.13, 1957.
 9. Akio Doi, *Nihon Purotesutanto Kirisutokyo shi* [The History of Protestant Churches in Japan], (Tokyo: Shinkyō shuppan sha, 1980), 77–80.
 10. Shirayuri Girls’ School was founded in 1881, but most of the other Catholic girls’ schools including Seishin Girls’ School [the Sacred Heart School for Girls], Yokohama Futaba Girls’ School and Futaba Girls’ School were founded in the 1900s. The French mission of Saint Maur had arrived in Japan (Yokohama and Tokyo) as early as in June 1872 but was long engaged in orphanages and other social welfare work and not in the work of girls’ education until Futaba Girls’ School was officially established in 1909. Characteristically, Catholic missions including Saint Maur and Saint Paul (which founded Shirayuri Girls’ School) focused on charity and social welfare work to save the less fortunate in their beginning years. Orié Ogou. *Joshi Kyoiku Kotohajime* [The Beginnings of Women’s Education], (Tokyo: Maruzen Books, 1995), 38–54.
 11. Kohiyama. *Amerika Fujin Senkyoshi*, 184–186.
 12. Kohiyama points out that this founding year of A-6ban Jogakko remains questionable. See *Kohiyama.Amerika Fujin Senkyoshi*, 308, endnote 5.
 13. Mombusho [The Ministry of Education], *Mombusho Dai San Nempo* [The Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, vol.3], Meiji 8 (1875), The National Archives, Tokyo.
 14. Yasutaro Ota, Kobe shogakko kaiko sanjunen kinenn shukutennkai ed., *Kobe-ku Kyouiku Enkaku shi*, [The History of the Educational Development at Kobe-ku], (Kobe: Mitsumura insatsu, 1916, reprinted ed., Tokyo: Daiichi insatsu, 1982), 192–222.
 15. Hiogo Prefecture, comp. Hiogo ken Toukeisho [The Statistics of Hiogo Prefecture], Meiji 18 (1885), 89. The statistics quoted is the data of the ward of Kobe in Hiogo Prefecture. The Central Library of Kobe City.

16. Yoshioka Yayoi joshi denki hensan iinkai, ed., *Yoshioka Yayoi den* [Biography of Yayoi Yoshioka], (Tokyo: Yoshioka Yaoi denki kankokai, 1967), translation by author. This description in Yoshioka of the state of girls' education took place in Shizuoka prefecture, about 180 miles east of Kobe. As the location is different, it does not state the situation of girls' education in Kobe at the time of its founding. Yet, it is still a useful source as the time period discussed paralleled the opening years of Kobe Home. The primary school Yayoi described was opened in the year Talcott and Dudley first opened a girls' school in Kobe. Yayoi's description illustrates how little the need for schooling of the girls were felt among ordinary Japanese people despite the government proclamation during the 1870s.
17. Kokuritsu kyoiku kenkyujo, ed., *Nihon Kindai Kyoiiku Hyakunenshi*, vol.1, , 79-84.
18. Mombusho [The Ministry of Education], *Mombusho Dai San Nempo* [The Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, Vol.3], Meiji 8 (1875), The National Archives, Tokyo. The enrollment rate for the year of 1874 (Meiji 7) was 6.32% for the Hiogo prefecture when the national average was 5.17%, *Mombusho Dai Ni Nempo* [The Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, Vol.2], Meiji 7 (1874), National Archives, Tokyo.
19. John L. Atkinson, "Kobe Station Report June 1878," Reel 327, ABCFM papers (microfilm).
20. Luther Gulick to N.G. Clark, July 15, 1876, Yedo, Reel 331, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
21. Talcott to Friend, September 26, 1880, Kobe, #128, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
22. Talcott to Ria of WBM, February 11, 1879, Kobe, #120, WBM-ABCFM Papers.
23. Nobuhiko Murakami, *Meiji Josei shi* [Women's History in Meiji], vol.1, 7th ed., (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1980), 358.
24. Eliza Talcott to Miss Bliss, December 16, 1873, Kobe, #108, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
25. Kobe College ed., *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Sousetsu* [The Centennial History of Kobe College: General Survey, (Kobe: Kobe jogakuin, 1976), 20; Yasuo Mizoguchi "Kindai nippon ni okeru kirisutokyo no juyou to Kobe Jogakuin" [The Reception of Christianity in Modern Japan and Kobe College] in Kobe College ed., *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Kakuron* [The Centennial History of Kobe College: Thematic Survey (Kobe: Kobe jogakuin, 1981), 34-47.
26. Eliza Talcott to Miss Bliss, December 16, 1873, Kobe, #108, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
27. Ibid.
28. ABCFM, *Annual Report of the ABCFM*, 1874, 55, Kobe College Library.
29. Talcott to Miss Bliss, December 16, 1873, Kobe, #108, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers The date of Dec.7, 1873, when the first organized Sunday School in Kobe was started by Dr. John C. Berry, was confirmed in Japan Mission, *Mission News*, Vol.XI No.4 (January 15, 1908), 54, Kobe College Library.

30. Talcott to Miss Bliss, December 16, 1873, Kobe, #108, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers
31. Ibid.
32. Talcott to Mrs. Hooker, January 31, 1876, Kobe, #112, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
33. Sarah D.Stow. *History of Mount Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Mass. During its First Half Century, 1837–1887* (Springfield: Springfield Printing Co., 1887), 92–102; Drakeman, “Seminary Sisters”(Ph.D. Diss., Princeton University, 1988), 53–55, 65–101.
34. Talcott to N.G.Clark, May 16, 1874, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
35. Japan Mission, ed. “Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 1874”, May 27, 1874, Kobe, #16, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
36. Talcott to the Springfield Auxiliary of the Woman’s Board, November 28, 1874, Kobe, #109, ABCFM Papers.
37. Kobe Station, “Report of the Kobe Station of the Japan Mission, June 1, 1876 to June 1, 1877”, 13, Reel 327, ABCFM Papers; Kobe College, ed., *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Sousetsu*, 49.
38. Kobe College, ed., *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Sousetsu*, 40–41.
39. N.G.Clark, “Ten Years in Japan,” *Annual Report of ABCFM*, 1879, xxxi, Kobe College Library.
40. Helen L.Horowitz, *Alma Mater—Design and Experience in the Women’s Colleges from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 20–25.
41. Gulick to Mrs. Phillips, January 12, 1876, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
42. Dudley to N.G.Clark, January 1, 1877, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
43. “Shichi Ichi Zappo” (A Japanese Christian journal), March 15, 1878 (Meiji 11); National Diet Library; Kobe College ed., 52–53; C.B.DeForest, *History of Kobe College* (Kobe: Kobe College, 1950), 11.
44. Extract of letter from Talcott (addressee unknown), June 3, 1879, Kobe, #121, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
45. Gulick to Friends, September 14, 1876, Kobe, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
46. Mrs.Favel Lee (Bevan) Mortimer. *The Peep of Day*, 5th American ed., from the 7th London ed. (New York, 1848?), Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
47. John L.Atkinson, “Kobe Station Report June 1878,” Reel 327, ABCFM papers (microfilm).
48. Because of such male initiative for girls’ education at the missionary schools, the characteristic pattern of entrance of Japanese girls to Kobe Home in the early days was that the male, either the father or the husband, brought his daughter or his wife to the school.
49. Talcott to Miss Bliss, December 16, 1873, Kobe, #108, ABC 16.4.2. v.11, ABCFM Papers.
50. Kobe College, ed. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Sousetsu*, 30–31.
51. Talcott to the Springfield Auxiliary of the Women’s Board, November 28, 1874, Kobe, #109, ABC 16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.

52. Talcott to Sister, February 28, 1880, Kobe, #126 (Extract), A.B.C. 16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
53. Ibid.
54. Talcott to N.G.Clark, April 12, 1873, Kobe, #313, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
55. Dudley to N.G.Clark, June 20, 1874, Kobe, #71, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
56. Talcott to Miss Bliss, December 16, 1873, Kobe, #108, ABC 16.4.2. v.11, ABCFM Papers.
57. Dudley to N.G.Clark, June 20, 1874, Kobe, #71, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
58. For a discussion on the missionary rhetoric of “zenanas” as a justifying rationale for women’s work in foreign missions, see [chapter 2](#).
59. WBMI, ed., *Annual Report of the WBMI, 1878*, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
60. WBM, *Life and Light for Woman* Vol.X No.4 (April 1880), 289, Kobe College Library.
61. ABCFM, *Annual Report of ABCFM*, 1881, xxiii, Kobe College Library.
62. N.G.Clark, “Ten Years in Japan,” *Annual Report of ABCFM*, 1879, xxxiii, Kobe College Library.
63. Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, 178.
64. I am indebted to Dr. Roberta Wollons for the information that similar observations of Japanese women were made by Annie Howe. For a thorough discussion on Annie Howe’s role in spreading the Froebelian ideas in initiating the kindergarten movement in Japan, see Roberta Wollons, “The Black Forest in a Bamboo Garden: Missionary Kindergartens in Japan, 1868–1912,” *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol.33 No.1, Spring 1993, 1–35.
65. Kohiyama, *Amerika Fujin Senkyoshi*, 194–195.
66. Talcott to Mrs. Hooker, 9 August 1878, Hieizan, #117, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, WBM-ABCFM Papers.
67. On the legal treatment of the infidelity question and the concubine system, see Michiko Nagahata. *Onna Ryoran: Koi to Kakumei no Rekishi* [Women’s History of Love and Revolution] (Tokyo: Fujiwara shoten, 1993), 37–39.
68. Talcott to her sister, April 8, 1878, Kobe, #115, ABC 16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
69. Murakami, *Meiji Joseishi*; Nagahata, *Onna Ryoran*.
70. Talcott to Mrs. Neill, Oct. 11, 1887, Onomichi, #136, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
71. Talcott to Mrs. Hooker, August 9, 1878, Hieizan, #117, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
72. Ibid.
73. Talcott to the Springfield Auxiliary of the Woman’s Board, November 28, 1874, Kobe, #109, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
74. Pascoe, “Gender Systems in Conflict,” Ruiz & Du Bois, ed., *Unequal Sisters*, 139–156.
75. Talcott to Mrs. Hooker, August 19, 1879, Hieizan, #125, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.

76. Kobe College ed., *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunen shi*; Yokokawa Yasokichi "Talcott den", *Megumi*, Kobe College Library.
77. WBM, ed., *Life and Light*, May 1878, 151–152, Kobe College Library.
78. Beaver, *All Loves Excelling*, 105.
79. *Ibid.*, 43.
80. Barrows to the Woman's Board, extracts of a letter (no date), ABC 16.4. 2.v.7, #32, ABCFM Papers.
81. Talcott to the Springfield Auxiliary of the Women's Board, November 28, 1874, Kobe, #109, ABCFM papers.
82. Dudley to N.G.Clark, June 20, 1874, Reel 330, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
83. Talcott to N.G.Clark, May 16, 1874, Reel 333, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
84. Talcott to N.G.Clark, December 1, 1874, Kobe, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
85. The spelling of place names in Japan follows modern spelling in the text. When excerpts from missionary letters are quoted, however, the original spellings in the manuscripts which were Meiji spellings are retained. Often Meiji spellings differed from today's spellings. The following are some examples. The first spelling is the Meiji spelling and the one in parenthesis is today's spelling.

Tokio	(Tokyo)
Kioto	(Kyoto)
Hiogo	(Hyogo)

Barrows wrote that she and Talcott went to Okayama for evangelical work after they left Kobe Girls' School in 1880. Barrows, "Talukatto Kyoshi Jidai" [The Era of Miss Talcott,] in *Megumi*, vol.62 (July 1916), 27, Kobe College Library. Talcott later worked in Tottori and during the Sino-Japan War of 1894 to 1895, in Hiroshima. She also worked at the Kyoto Training School for Nurses in Kyoto and in Hawaii during her later years. *Mission News*, Talcott Memorial Number, Vol.XV No.3 (December 1911), Kobe College Library. Sanda, Hyogo, Akashi and Shikoku were described as the "principal fields of labor" for Dudley's evangelical work in the following: Author unknown, "Miss Dudley", (n.d. 1887), Biographical Candidate File of "Julia E. Dudley," ABCFM Papers. For Dudley's description of her work in Akashi and Hyogo, see Dudley, "Japan. Seed-Sowing and Harvest," *Life and Light*, Vol.10 (1880), 25, Kobe College Library. For her own description of her work in the cities of Marugame and Matsuyama in the island of Shikoku, see Dudley, "Japan. Work and its Fruits," in *Life and Light*, vol.17(1887), 147–149, Kobe College Library. Dudley was called "the Little Bishop of Shikoku."

86. Tsune Watanabe, Class of 1882, one of the first graduates of Kobe Girls' School wrote a farewell letter to Brown on behalf of the alumni of Kobe

- College upon the latter's return to U.S. in 1899. Watanabe to Brown, December 16, 1899, Kobe, printed in *Megumi*, vol.22 (1899), 5, Kobe College Library.
87. Wakuyama probably had mistakenly attributed the curriculum innovations to Dudley instead of Clarkson, because her daily life was most directly affected by Dudley. Kiso Wakuyama, "Daddorei kyoshi jidai"[The Era of Miss Dudley], *Megumi*, vol.62 (July, 1916),25, Kobe College Library.
 88. Clarkson to Mrs.Tyler, August 20, 188[0], Hieizan, Japan, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8,#7, ABCFM Papers.
 89. Clarkson wrote in her February 16, 1880 letter to the Woman's Board that the "Course of Study" was ready for printing and that a copy was enclosed. Unfortunately, however, no copy of the "Course of Study" could be found either at Houghton Library or Kobe College Library. Thus this description of the new curriculum in Clarkson's letter is the only existing source. Clarkson to Mrs.Tyler, August 20, 188[0], Hieizan, Japan, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8,#7, ABCFM Papers.
 90. Clarkson to N.G.Clark, March 5, 1880, #151, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 91. Okamoto, "Kindai Nihon no Joshi Kyouiku to Kobe Jogakuin" [Women's Education in Modern Japan and Kobe College,] in Kobe College, comp. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi-Kakuron*, 333.
 92. Clarkson to N.G.Clark, June 1, 1880, #153, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 93. Clarkson to N.G.Clark, March 27, 1880, #152, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 94. Kobe College Archives, *Gakuin Shiryo* [Kobe College Archives Bulletin], vol. 2 (1984), 57-58, endnote 50.
 95. Louise Porter Thomas, *Seminary Militant: An Account of the Missionary Movement at Mount Holyoke Seminary and College* (South Hadley: Dept. of English, Mount Holyoke College, 1937), 79. Thomas pointed out that seminaries emulating Mount Holyoke generally included the three subjects of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Higher Mathematics and Evidences of Christianity as the backbone of their curriculum. These three subjects were collegiate-level courses.
 96. Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York?Harper, 1959), 9-10.
 97. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America*, 61.
 98. Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 10.
 99. Clarkson to N.G.Clark, March 27, 1880, #152, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 100. Clarkson to N.G.Clark, June 1, 1880, #153, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 101. Clarkson to Mrs.Tyler, Hieizan, August 20, 188[0], A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8, ABCFM Papers.
 102. Yasuyuki ukouchi, "Ferris ni eikyo o ataeta taisou ni kansuru ichikousatsu" [An Analysis of the Adoption of Western-style Physical Education at Ferris Seminary,] Ferris Seminary Archives, ed. *Ayumi: Ferris Archives Bulletin*, No. 19 (1987): 1-28. Ferris Seminary Archives. Ferris Seminary was under the mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of U.S.A. Okouchi could not find any reference to the word "calisthenics" in the missionary letters.
 103. Anne Carey Edmonds, *A Memory Book: Mount Holyoke College 1837-1987* (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College, 1988), 34.

104. Clarkson to my dear friend, November 30, 1878, Kobe, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8, ABCFM Papers.
105. Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 28.
106. Clarkson to my dear friend, November 30, 1878, Kobe, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8, ABCFM Papers.
107. The customary Japanese honorific term for girls' given names at this time was to add "O" before and "San" after the name. Thus the honorific term was O Nobu San for Nobu and O Kiyō San for Kiyō. Both Julia A. Gulick and Virginia A. Clarkson spelled Kiyō as Kio in their letters. Clarkson to Miss Carruth, June 14, 1880, Kobe, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8, ABCFM Papers.
108. Ibid.
109. Clarkson to N.G. Clark, March 5, 1880, #151, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
110. Clarkson to Mrs. Tyler, August 20, 188[0], Hieizan, #7, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8, ABCFM Papers.
111. Edmonds, *A Memory Book*, 30–35.
112. DeForest, *The History of Kobe College*, 15.
113. Fisk, *Recollections of Mary Lyon*, 110.
114. Clarkson to N.G. Clark, June 1, 1880, #153, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
115. Clarkson to N.G. Clark, January 18, 1881, #346, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
116. Clarkson to N.G. Clark, August 1, 1881, Sapporo, #351, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
117. DeForest, *History of Kobe College*, 16.
118. On the ratio of the supported students to the total students, Clarkson wrote in her June 1, 1880 letter about the number of students for the academic year of September 1879 to June 1880 as follows: When "the school year commenced the middle of September," it started with "twenty-eight pupils, twenty-two boarders, six day scholars." There were additions from time to time from the cities of Okayama, Imabari, Osaka and Kobe. As of June 1, 1880 the total was thirty-nine, of which only five were day pupils. Of this total, the number of pupils entirely supported by parents was seventeen and the rest were either partially or fully supported of board and tuition by the mission fund. A few of them were employed in the missionary families and worked for their board. If these figures were accurate, it implies that 22 out of 39 or 56.4% were either partially or fully supported by the mission board. Clarkson to N.G. Clark, 1 June 1880, Kobe, #153; January 18, 1881, #346, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
119. Clarkson to N.G. Clark, June 1, 1880, Kobe, #153, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
120. Clarkson to my dear friend in Woman's Board, Kobe, November 30, 1878, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8, ABCFM Papers.
121. Clarkson to N.G. Clark, March 5, 1880, #151, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
122. Alumnae Association of Mount Holyoke College, comp. *One Hundred Year Biographical Directory: Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, 1837–1937*. (South Hadley: Alumnae Association of Mount Holyoke College, 1937).

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 18–40.
2. Shunsuke Murakami, Yoshio Sakata, ed. *Meiji Bunka shi* (Meiji Cultural History), Vol.3-Kyoiku dotoku [Education and, Morality] of 14 volumes, (Tokyo: Hara shobo, 1981, originally published from Yoyo shobo, 1954), 243.
3. As C.B.DeForest noted, the Kassui Jogakuin, a Methodist girls' school in Nagasaki, was the first attempt of women's college in Japan. Due to a lack of communication, the missionaries, the Japan Mission and the WBMI in the 1890s believed that Kobe College was "the first" women's college in Western Japan.
4. DeForest, *The History of Kobe College*, 22.
5. "Shiritsu Kobe jogakuin 40nen enkaku shi," [The Forty Year History of Kobe College, a Private School], supplementary to *Megumi* Vol.61, 1916, Kobe College Library; Kobe College, ed., *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunen shi Kakuron*, 690–94.
6. Ibid..
7. Created from the list of annual ordinary school expenses in the appendix of "Shiritsu Kobe jogakuin 40nen enkaku shi", 52–4.
8. WBMI, *The WBMI Annual Report*, 1898, 45, The Andover-Harvard Theological Seminary Library.
9. Gunnison's letter in DeForest., *History of Kobe College*, 26.
10. Susan A.Searle to Woman's Board of Missions, February 27, 1889, Kobe, #46, ABCFM Papers.
11. "Shiritsu Kobe jogakuin 40nen enkaku shi"
12. WBMI, *Annual Report of the WBMI*, 1890, Andover-Harvard Theological Library. Library.
13. Ibid. WBMI, *Annual Report of the WBMI*, 1890, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
14. Ibid.
15. Brown to N.G.Clark, January 11, 1889, Kobe, #289, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
16. Brown to N.G.Clark, January 10, 1885, Kobe, #281, Reel 337, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
17. WBMI, "The Seventeenth Annual Report of the WBMI," 1885, 13, *Annual Reports of the WBMI*, Andover-Harvard Theological Seminary, Harvard University.
18. J.H.DeForest, "An Appeal from Japan," September 7, 1886, Osaka, in *Life and Light for Woman* (1887), 7–9, Kobe College Library.
19. Toyama Masakazu, *Chuzan ko: Shakai Hyoron* [Writings of Chuzan: Social Critique], (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1909), 155–172.
18. These figures exclude the music normal department which was established in 1906 outside of the college department and had the first graduates in 1907. For the music normal department, the numbers of graduates from 1907 to 1909 were three, one, one respectively. Kobe College Alumnae

- Association, comp. ,ed. *Kobe College Alumnae Directory*, (Kobe, 1990), 191–194. Kobe College Archives.
19. WBMI, *The Annual Report of the WBMI*, 1890, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
 20. C.H.DeForest identified the initials of E.K.A. as Secretary E.K. Alden. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 34.
 21. Searle to N.G.Clark, December 17, 1887, Kobe, #163, ABCFM Papers.
 22. Kiyone Sakamoto, "Complications Experienced by American Women Missionaries: The Meiji 18 Incident' of Doshisha Girl's School," a paper presented at the International Conference 1996 in Kyoto, "Cultural Encounters in the Development of Modern East Asia," July 22–25, 1996.
 23. Brown to N.G.Clark, May 4, 1885, Kobe, #282, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 24. Kobe College ed., *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunen shi: Sosetsu* [The Centennial History of Kobe College-General Survey] (Kobe: Kobe jogakuin, 1976), 97.
 25. Brown to N.G.Clark, August 12, 1886, Hieizan, #284, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 26. Searle to N.G.Clark, December 17, 1887, Kobe, #163, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 27. Brown to N.G.Clark, July 1885, #283, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 28. Brown to N.G.Clark, January 11, 1889, #289, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 29. Brown to N.G.Clark, January 31, 1889, #290, ABCFM Papers (microfilm)
 30. Brown to N.G.Clark, January 11, 1889, #289, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 31. Holbrook to the Prudential Committee, n.d., #104, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 32. Holbrook to Dr.Clark, December 10, 1890, Tottori, #398, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 33. Murakami,, Sakata, ed. *Meiji Bunka shi*, 231–232. English translation by author.
 34. For a succinct and thoughtful discussion on the treaty revision controversy, see Carol Gluck. *Japan's Modern Myths*, 114, 136–138.
 35. *Ibid.*, 120–121.
 36. The percentage of women with doctorates was 1 % for the year of 1890. Solomon. *In the Company of Educated Women*, 133.
 37. Brown to N.G.Clark, July 22, 1892, Arima, #247, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 38. Holbrook to Mrs.Cook, February 4, 1895, Kobe, #116, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 39. The seven women missionaries who served at Kobe Girls' School/Kobe College for a term longer than five years from 1883 through the mid-1890s were Susan A.Searle, Emily M.Brown, Mary Anna Holbrook, Abbie W.Kent, Cora A.Stone, Elizabeth Torrey and Caroline M. Telford. Of these seven, only Torrey did not break down in health either physically or mentally. The remaining six were all obliged to return to the U.S for medical treatment.
 40. Holbrook to N.G.Clark, April 12, 1894, Kobe, #410; May 7, 1894, Tacoma, #411; August 9, 1894, Clifton Springs, #412; ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 41. "Kobe College," Notes by Anna C.Edwards, Class of 1859, Mount Holyoke College Library Archives and Special Collections.. Alumnae Assn of Mount

- Holyoke College, *One Hundred Year Biographical Directory*, Mount Holyoke College Archives.
42. Holbrook to N.G.Clark, February 19, 1894, Kobe College, #409, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 43. Harold L.Holbrook, "The Missionary Story in Brief of Mary Anna and Charles W.Holbrook," and an obituary of Mary A.Holbrook in *Mission News* (1910), 63 in "Mary A.Holbrook," the Biographical Files, ABCFM Papers.
 44. Stone to Mrs.Goodsell, February 29, 1892, SS City of Peking, #102 A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM papers; Holbrook to N.G.Clark, February 7, 1892, Kobe, #404; February 24, 1892, Kobe, #405, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 45. Brown to N.G.Clark, November 4, 1893, New Haven, #254, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 46. Brown to N.G.Clark, March 27, 1894, Groton, Conn., #258, ABCFM Papers (microfilm)
 47. Brown to N.G.Clark, May18, 1894 (#259), June 4, 1894 (#261), June 7, 1894 (#263), New Haven, Conn., ABCFM Papers(microfilm).
 48. Brown to N.G.Clark, March 27, 1894, Groton, Conn., #258, ABCFM Papers (microfilm)
 49. Brown to N.G.Clark, March 19, 1894, New Haven, #257, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 50. Brown to Searle?, August 4, 1892, Arima, in Susan A. Searle, comp., "Emily Brown Harkness(Mrs. James Harkness), Third Head of Kobe College," Kobe College, 1937-8, 16. Kobe College Library.
 51. Holbrook to N.G.Clark, January 15, 1890, Okayama, #393, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 52. WBMI, *The WBMI Annual Report*, 1892, 26, The Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
 53. Emily M.Brown to James L.Barton, June 29, 1895, Winona, #270, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 54. WBMI, *The WBMI Annual Report*, 1892, The Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
 55. Holbrook to Mrs.Cook, October 1, 1893, Kobe College, #115, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 56. Ibid.
 57. Ibid.
 58. Ibid.
 59. Holbrook to James L.Barton, November 13, 1894, Kobe, #416, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 60. The follow-up surveys by the Kobe College Alumnae Association conducted in 1906 of both the graduates and non-graduates records two out of 264 graduates and nineteen out of 798 non-graduates in non-Japanese names. These girls may be Eurasians. The graduates were those who graduated between 1882 and 1906 and the non-graduates were those who entered the school between 1873 and 1904. Both graduates with non-Japanese names had graduated from Kobe College after 1890s. Twelve out of nineteen nongraduates with non-Japanese names entered after 1890s.

- Thus it seems that Toshi Hirata's threat was probable. See *Megumi*, 1906, Kobe College Library.
61. Holbrook to James L.Barton, November 13, 1894, Kobe, #416, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 62. Holbrook to J.L.Barton, November 26, 1894, Kobe, #417; Holbrook to J.L. Barton's Substitute, October 5, 1895, Kobe, #421, ABCFM Papers (micro film).
 63. Holbrook to Mrs.Cook, October 1, 1893, Kobe College, #115, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 64. DeForest .*History of Kobe College*, 81–82.
 65. The subjects to be taught at the governmental high schools for girls included morals, Japanese, foreign language, history, geography, mathematics, science, domesticity, sewing, calligraphy, art, music and physical education.
 66. Murakami, Sakata, ed. *Meiji Bunka shi*, 237–238.
 67. Kobe shiritsu gakko kyouiku kenkyukai [The Study Group of School Education in the Municipal Government of Kobe City], ed. *Me de miru Kobe shi kyouiku hyakunen* [A View of a Hundred Years of Education in Kobe City], (Kobe: Kobe shiritsu gakko kyoiku kenkyukai, 1966), 7.
 68. "Chiyo Koizumi," Oral History Collection, *Kobe College Newsletter*, No.18 (1988.11.30), 56–60; "Tazu Ii," Oral History Collection, *Kobe College Newsletter No.19* (1990.3.15), 54–57, Kobe College Archives.
 69. Yamauchi, "Buraun kyoshi no kikoku," [Miss Emily Brown's Return to the U.S.] in *Megumi*, vol.22 (November 1899), Kobe College Library.
 70. Holbrook to Mrs.Goodell, February 6, 1893, Kobe, #111, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 71. Holbrook to the Woman's Board, September 30, 1893, Hieizan, #114, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 72. Holbrook to Mrs.Goodell, February 6, 1893, Kobe, #111, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 73. Holbrook to the Woman's Board, November 16, 1892, Kobe. #112, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 74. DeForest, *History of Kobe College*, 36.
 75. "Sachi Tokikawa, Class of 1922" Oral History Collections, *Kobe College Newsletter*, No.19 (Kobe, 1990.3.15), 61, Kobe College Archives.
 76. Holbrook to Mrs.Cook, July 23, 1895, Hieizan, #117, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 77. Holbrook to Mrs.Cook, February 4, 1895, Kobe, #116, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 78. Holbrook to Mrs.Cook, July 23, 1895, Hieizan, #117, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
 79. Holbrook to J.L.Barton, February 28, 1895, Kobe, #419, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 80. Yasuko Tsukahara, "The Meiji-period Reorganization of Court Ceremony and Study of Western Music by *gagaku* Musicians," a paper presented at the International Conference 1996 in Kyoto "Cultural Encounters in the Development of Modern East Asia," July 22–25, 1996.
 81. This is Charlotte B.DeForest's translation of *Kobe Jogakuin*, DeForest, *History of Kobe College*, 36.

82. Holbrook to J.L.Barton, November 13, 1894, Kobe, #416, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
83. Kobe College Alumnae Association, ed., *Megumi* (Kobe College Alumnae Bulletin) vol.23 (March 1900), 3; *Ibid.*, vol.25 (December 1900) 4–5, Kobe College Library.
83. Holbrook to the Woman's Board, September 30, 1893, Hieizan, #114 A.B.C. 16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
84. *Megumi*, vol.15 (December 16, 1896), vol.17 (December 30, 1897), vol.19 (January 25, 1899), vol.20 (April 25, 1899); Kobe College, ed., "Shiritsu Kobe jogakuin 40nen enkaku shi" Kobe College Library.
85. For the follow-up data of the three graduates, the following sources were consulted. Hisa Amaya: *Megumi*, [Kobe College Alumnae Bulletin] vols. 5, 12, 14 (Kobe; 24 June 1892, 27 December 1895, 12 August 1896), Kobe College Library; Kobe College, ed. *Kobe jogakuin hyakunenshi-kakuron*, 208. Fuji Tsukamoto: *Kobe jogakuin hyakunenshi-kakuron*, 210–211. Yae Mase: *Megumi*, vols. 19, 20, 23, 30 (January 25, 1899, April 25, 1899, May 11, 1900, January 15, 1903); *Mission News* vol.X No.2 (Kobe, November 15, 1906), Kobe College Library.
86. Searle to Miss Child, June 16, 1896, Kobe, #47, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
87. Holbrook to J.L.Barton, January 22, 1902, Montreat, N.C., #303, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
88. Holbrook to Miss Lawson, December 2, 1904, Kobe College, #124, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
89. *Ibid.*
90. Holbrook to J.L.Barton, April 19, 1904, Kobe College, #122, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
91. Holbrook to Mrs.Cook August 13, 1903, Kobe, #121; Holbrook to Dr.Barton, April 19, 1904, Kobe College, #122; Holbrook to Miss Lawson, August 4, 1904, Karuizawa, #123; Holbrook to Miss Lawson, December 2, 1904, Kobe College, #124, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
92. Hana Ibuka, [In memory of late Dr.Mary A.Holbrook], *Megumi*, vol.67 (August 5, 1919), 40–43, Kobe College Library.
93. "Sonoe Yoshida," Oral History Collection, *Kobe College Newsletter*, No.18 (Kobe, 1988.11.30), 52–53, Kobe College Archives. [author translation].
94. *Ibid.*
95. Holbrook to Miss Child(?), December 26, 1891, Kobe, "110, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
96. *Ibid.*
97. Holbrook to Mrs.Goodell, February 6, 1893, Kobe, #111, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
98. *Ibid.*, Holbrook to Miss Child(?), December 26, 1891, Kobe, "110, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
99. Martin V.Melosi, *Garbage in the Cities: Refuse, Reform, and the Environment 1880–1980* (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1981), 26.
100. For a discussion on how the cultural implications of cholera changed over time from a question of immorality to a social problem of urban cleanliness during the nineteenth century U.S., see Charles E.Rosenberg, *The Cholera*

- Years: The United States in 1832, 1849 & 1866* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 147, 216, 226–229.
101. Melosi, *Garbage in the Cities*, 88–89.
 102. On the role of women in sanitary reform, see Melosi, *Garbage in the Cities*, 117–133. Melosi identified the Woman’s Municipal League of New York City as “the best known of the activist women’s groups.”
 103. Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: the Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (n.p.: Basic Book, 1983), 86–89.
 104. Information on the development of sanitation system in Japan and the Japanese concepts on hygiene were consulted from the following sources: For the general history of the development of Japanese sanitation and water supply system, see Keizo Shibusawa, ed. *Meiji Bunka shi, vol.12, Seikatsu* [Meiji Cultural History, vol.12, Lifestyle], reprint ed. (Tokyo, 1979), originally (Tokyo, 1955), 690–697. On the history of the development of modern water supply system in Kobe city, see Kobe shi Suidokyoku, [Kobe-city Waterworks Bureau] ed. *Kobeshi Suido 70nen shi* [Seventy-year History of Kobe-city Water Supplies], (Kobe, 1973), 1–63 and Kobe shi Suidokyoku [Kobe-city Waterworks Bureau], ed. *Kobeshi no Suido 80nenno Ayumi: Kobeshi Suido Kyuusui kaishi 80shunen kinen* , [Eighty years of Kobe-city Water Supplies, in commemoration of eightieth anniversary since the beginning of Kobe municipal water supply system], (Kobe, 1981), 9. On the Japanese concepts of “hygiene” and “cleanliness,” see Hiroshi Aramata, “Kawara, Benjo, Toire no Kigen towa: Nihon Toire gainen shi” [the roots of *kawara*, *benjo* and toilet— three names for the restroom, a history of the concepts of Japanese toilets], 5–24 in Kaoru Agi, and others. *Nihon Toire Hakubutsushii* [The Natural History of Japanese Toilets](Tokyo, 1990) and Masayasu Kusumoto. *Koyashi to Benjo no Seikatsushii: Shizen tono kakawari de ikitekita Nihon minzoku* [A Social History of Manure and Toilets: Japanese tradition to live in nature] (Tokyo, 1981), 75–108.
 105. Eliza Talcott to sister, June 24, 1879, Kobe, #122, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers. Kobe shi Suidokyoku, ed. *Kobeshi Suido 70nen shi* [Seventy-year History of Kobe city Water Supplies], (Kobe, 1973), 1–2.
 106. Wallace Taylor to N.G.Clark, March 27, 1878, Kioto, #287, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
 107. Eliza Talcott to sister, June 24, 1879, Kobe, #122, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, WBMABCFM Papers.
 108. “Ellen Swallow Richards,” in Edward T.James, Janet Wilson James, Paul S. Boyer, ed. *Notable American Women 1607–1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol.III P-Z (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), 143–146.
 109. Holbrook to Mrs.Goodell, February 6, 1893, Kobe, #111, ABCFM Papers.
 110. Ibid..
 111. Hana Ibuka,[In memory of late Dr.Mary A.Holbrook], *Megumi*, vol.67 (August 5,1919), 40–43, Kobe College Library.

Chapter Five

1. The oldest national figure was for 1920. The average rate of those married of the total number of women in Japan was 63.1% which included all the ages above fifteen. If the age group of 20 to 59 is taken the average marriage rate would be 77.9%. "Five-Year Age Groups, and Sex (1920–1985)," *Nihon Choki Toukei Souran*, vol.1 [The Long-Term Statistics in Japan], 85. The Kobe City Central Library. The source for this table was: Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency "Population Census."
2. They were among the pioneering Japanese women students to earn college degrees in U.S. The first U.S. college graduates were Uryu Shigeko (Vassar College, Class of 1881) and Yamakawa Sutematsu (Vassar College, Class of 1882) who went abroad with the Iwakura mission.
3. Unfortunately, the data of class origins of the students of Kobe Home/Kobe Girls' School is not open due to privacy reasons. Kobe College seems to regard the issue of the class origins of its graduates as a sensitive issue more than 100 years after their attendance.
4. Clarkson to N.G.Clark, January 18, 1881, #346, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).
5. Talcott wrote on January 31, 1876 that Tami Kameyama had been nearly four years at Kobe Home. Talcott to Mrs. Hooker, January 31, 1876, Kobe, #112, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
6. On the follow-up survey of the first class of 1882, see *Megumi*, vol.55, the memorial volume commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the first class after graduation, (March, 1913), 1–14, Kobe College Library. The basic biographical data including the familial, educational and occupational background of 33 graduates and non-graduates combined out of the total of 72 are discussed in Michio Okamoto, "Kindai Nihon no Joshi Kyouiku to Kobe Jogakuin" [Women's Education in Modern Japan and Kobe College], Kobe College, ed. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi-Kakuron*, 1981, 204–212. Kimiko Nakanaga, "Appendix II: Sousouki Kobe Jogakuin no Seishinteki Kiban, Shiron" [The Spiritual Foundation of Kobe College in its Founding Years,] in *ibid.*, 362–371..
7. Julia A.Gulick to Friends, September 14, 1876, Kobe, #8, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Gulick to Mrs.Phillips, 7 January 1877, Kobe, #10, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
10. Gulick to Mrs.Kimball, 13 November 1877, Kobe, #14, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
11. Hongma to Julia A.Gulick, 1 August 1876, Oisai, ABCFM Papers.
12. Clarkson to Miss Carruth, 14 June 1880, Kobe, #6, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8, ABCFM Papers.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Talcott to N.G.Clark, 5 July 1880, #325, Reel 333, ABCFM Papers (microfilm).

15. Kimiko Nakanaga, "Kobe Jogakuin ni okeru Shinkouteki Kiban" [The Spiritual Foundation of Kobe College,] unpublished B.A. Thesis, Kobe College, 1975, 236.
16. Kobe College Alumnae Association, ed., *Megumi* [Kobe College Alumnae Bulletin], vol.55 (March 1913), 11–12: Nakanaga, "Kobe Jogakuin," 235. Bunroku Arakawa ed. *Oncho 70nen no ayumi: nihon kirisutokyodan fukuoka kyokai ryakushi* [70 Years of Grace: A Brief History of Fukuoka Church, United Church of Christ in Japan]
17. For a detailed discussion on Kanamori Kohisa and Tanaka Ei, see Nakanaga, "Kobe Jogakuin," Chp.4, 145–239. For a further discussion on Tanaka Ei and Sekishinsha, see, Kimiko Nakanaga, "Appendix II: Sousouki Kobe Jogakuin no Seishinteki Kiban" [The Spiritual Foundation of Kobe College in its Founding Era,] in Okamoto, "Kindai Nippon no Joshi Kyouiku to Kobe Jogakuin," in Kobe College, comp. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi-Kakuron*, 362–371.
18. The following excerpt confirms that this girl was probably Koga Fuji. "The 'City of Peking,' after more than a week's delay, left at twelve o'clock today. . . . But all this time the 'City of Peking' is standing in the San Francisco harbor, and one after another comes on shore, as a loud voice again and again, calls 'All ashore.' Over six hundred Chinese are on this vessel, returning to their native land.... There was with them O Fugee San, a young Japanese girl, who came to this country with Mr. and Mrs. Gordon (now returning);... "Mrs.D.P.Browne, "Our Missionaries" in *Life and Light*, (September,1877), 335–337.
19. Gulick to Friends, August 20, 1877, Kobe, #13, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.10, ABCFM Papers.
20. Talcott to Ria, 11 February 1879, Kobe, #120, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
21. Atkinson to N.G.Clark, November 20, 1875, ABCFM Papers..
22. Japan Mission, ed., *Mission News*, Vol.VII No.10, 27 August 1904, Yokohama, 192, Kobe College Library.
23. Hirata Toshi, "Sotsugyogo no aramashi o" [A Sketch of My Life after Graduation,]; "Daiikkai sotsugyosei no rireki oyobi shousoku" [A Follow-up Survey of the First Class,], *Megumi vol.55* (March 1913), 1–2, 11–14.
24. Clarkson to Miss Carruth, June 14, 1880, Kobe, #6, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.8, ABCFM Papers.
25. Talcott to [unknown], October 30, 1877, Kobe, #114, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
26. Talcott to sister, April 8, 1878, Kobe, #115, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
27. Talcott to Mrs.Hooker, August 19, 1879, Hiyeizan, #125, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
28. Talcott to her sister, October 9, 1880, Okayama, #132, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM-WBM Papers.
29. Talcott to Mrs.Hooker, January 31,1876, Kobe, #112, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.
30. Talcott to Sara, May 9, 1882, Kobe, #131, A.B.C.16.4.2.v.11, ABCFM Papers.

31. As Charlotte B.DeForest explained, the name “Kobe College (Kobe jogakuin in Japanese),” by definition, encompasses the whole institution including the Academy (High School), the College Department and the Music Department and is not used exclusively to the college department. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 38.
32. Table II-15, “The Graduates of Tokyo Women’s Normal School, 1886–1908,” in *Tokyo Joshi Shihan Gakko Hyakunenshi* [The Centennial History of Tokyo Women’s Normal School,] , 112–113, The Institute of Women and Cultural Studies, Ochanomizu University. Unfortunately no national rates exist which can be compared with these Kobe College/Academy rates of graduates who remained single. The earliest “marriage rates” on record after Meiji 16 (1883) calculates the number of marriages per 1000 people. This “marriage rate” includes all the living population regardless of age or sex. Hence it cannot be compared with the rates of single women of Kobe College graduates. The earliest available statistics comparable to the rates of single Kobe College alumnae is of 1920, when 18.7% of all women 15 years old and over, never married. See “Five-Year Age Groups, and Sex (1920–1985),” in Somu-cho Tokei-kyoku [Bureau of Statistics, Agency of General Affairs], comp. *Nihon choki Tokei soran* [Japan Long-term Statistics], vol.1, (Tokyo), 85.
33. *Megumi*, vols.5, 12, 13, 16, 17, Kobe College Library; Kobe College, ed. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Kakuron*, 208.
34. These numbers overlap, as there were cases in which one graduate taught at various types of schools over time.
35. Mase Yae, “Harmony,” graduation thesis, Kobe College Library.
36. *Megumi*, vols.19 (1899), 20 (April25, 1899), 23 (1899), 29 (25 June 1902), 15, 30 (15 January 1903); *Mission News*, vol.X no.2 (15 November 1906), Kobe College Library. Doshisha Jogakko dosokai, ed. *Jogakko kiho* [Doshisha Girls’ School Alumnae Bulletin], vol. 39 (1916), 12–15; vol. 50 (1925), 6–7, 35–41, Doshisha Women’s University Archives.
37. Kobe College, ed., *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Kakuron*, 210–211.
38. Nobuko Fujisaki, “Obituary of Masako Hasebe,” in *Megumi*, vol.40 (July 1958), 32–34; *Mission News* vol.XII no.7 (Kobe, 15 April 1909), Kobe College Library; Kobe College, ed. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Kakuron*, 234.
39. Kobe College, ed. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Kakuron*, 219.
40. *Megumi*, vol.5 (1969), Kobe College Library: Ibid., 239. Author’s conversation with Fukui Seiichi, the head of Vories Memorial House, who was named by Vories and was taught by Mr. and Mrs. Vories during his boyhood.(April 5, 2003 at the Vories Memorial House in Omihachiman, Shiga prefecture, Japan)
41. *Megumi*, vols. 3 (15 January 1892), 4 (5 April 1892), 9 (June 1894), 12 (1895), 16 (7 August 1897), Kobe College Library.
42. *Megumi*, vols. 15 (16 December 1896), 16 (7 August 1897), 17 (December 1897), 18 (5 August 1898), Kobe College Library.
43. “Sonoe Yoshida,” Oral History Collections, *Kobe College Newsletter*, No.18 (Kobe, 1988.11.30), Kobe College Archives.
44. Kobe College, ed. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Kakuron* [The Centennial History of Kobe College: Thematic Studies], (Kobe, 1981), 238.

45. *Megumi*, vol.18: notes by Yoshihisa Takada, Kobe College Library: Kobe College, ed. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Kakuron*, 210.
46. "Kobe Jogakuin Oral History 2. Chiyo Koizumi," *Kobe College Newsletter*, No.18 (11.30.1988), 56–60, Kobe College Archives.
47. Yoshida Tsuru, "Joshi Kyouiku no Hensen," [The Transformation of Women's Education] in *En no Rakuyo* [The Falling Leaves of the School], vol.4 appended to *Megumi* vol.20 (4/25/1899), Kobe College Library. [author's translation].
48. Kobe College, ed. *Kobe Jogakuin Hyakunenshi: Kakuron*, 204–40.
49. *Ibid.*, 214: *Megumi*, vols.39, 43 (April 1960), 54 (December 1965), *kirisutokeu shinbun* [The Christian Newspaper], v. 362, 3.
50. *Ibid.*, 235.
51. *Ibid.*, 238: *Megumi*, vol.45 (1961), Kobe College Library
52. *Ibid.*, 238.
53. *Megumi*, vol.42 (July 1959), 37–38, Mitsui Tama "watashi no hibi,"[My Days,] an essay in vol.54 (December 1965), 28, "Obituary of Tama Mitsui," vol.66 (July 1977), Kobe College Library.
54. A letter from Sugi Kitajima to the Kobe College Alumnae Association in *Megumi*, vol.42 (July 1959), 36–37, Kobe College Library.
55. *Megumi*, vols. 32 (September 1948), "Obituary of Tomie Tokunaga," in vol. 37 (October 1956), 53, Kobe College Library.
56. *Megumi*, vol. 32 (September 1948), Kobe College Library.
57. *Megumi*, (April 1960), Kobe College Library.
58. *Ibid.*
59. "The Desires for the Alma Mater," Kiyoko Tanaka, class of 1910, in "Omoidegusa" [Remembrance], *Megumi*, vol.62 (Kobe, 30 July 1916), 49, Kobe College Library.
60. Sources: the follow-up study of the Kobe College Alumnae Association in 1906, in *Megumi* (1906) issue, Kobe College Library.
61. Charlotte B.DeForest. "Practical Christian Problems Arising at Kobe College," WBMI Annual report, 1912, Andover-Harvard Theological Seminary Library.
62. The records of Christian rates start from 1882 because this was the first year of graduation. The Christian rate of the total population of Japanese has increased little by little from 0.423% for 1948 to 0.860% for 2000, Protestant, Catholic and the Orthodox churches combined. 2001 *Kirisuto kyo nenkan* [2001 Christian Yearbook], (Tokyo: Kirisutokyo shinbun sha, 2000).

EPILOGUE

1. James L.Barton to Emily A.White Smith, July 12, 1905, Boston; Susan A. Searle to Charlotte B.DeForest, September 30, 1915, Kobe College; in DeForest, "Mrs.Moses Smith (Emily White Smith)," 24–28, Kobe College Library.
2. n.a. "The Outline of a Christian College for Women in Kobe, Japan," 8 pages, #308, Reel 373, ABCFM Papers.
3. *Ibid.*

4. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 46.
5. Mrs.L.O.Lee (Eula Bates Lee) to Kobe College missionaries, December 31, 1923 in DeForest. *History of Kobe College* , 43.
6. The seven Union Colleges of the Orient were: Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, India; Woman's Christian College, Madras, India; Yenching College, Peking, China; Ginling College, Nanking, China; Woman's Christian College, Tokyo; North China Medical College for Women; The Union Missionary Medical School, Vellore, India of which Yenching College was founded by the WBMI. In 1921 the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund agreed to give \$1,000,000 provided the Joint Committee secured the additional \$2,000,000, which was successfully reached and the campaign was closed in January 1923. *WBMI Annual Report*, 1923, 28, Harvard-Andover Theological Library.
7. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 43.
8. Susan A.Searle to M.D.Wingate, 18 January 1913, Kobe College; James L. Barton to Susan A.Searle, 24 March 1913, Boston, "Kobe College 1913," Reel 386, ABCFM Papers.
9. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 47.
10. "The Kobegram" vol.I No.4 (June 1927), 1-2; Mrs. George R.Wilson to Dr. Enoch F.Bell, 7 March 1927, Chicago, Reel 385, ABCFM Papers.
11. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 48.
12. Emily A.White Smith's letter, July 17, 1918, in DeForest, comp., "Mrs. Moses Smith, 72, Kobe College Library.
13. Emily A.White Smith's paper, January 1917, in DeForest, comp. "Mrs. Moses Smith," 96, Kobe College Library.
14. A three-page handwritten paper, #307, Reel 373, Japan Mission, ABCFM papers.
15. The Japan Mission, "To The American Board Constituency, An Emergency Call to Prayer from The Japan Mission," September 1919, (A printed advertisement of the needs of the Japan Mission,) Reel 373, Japan Mission, ABCFM papers.
16. *Ibid.*, 2, Reel 373, Japan Mission, ABCFM papers.
17. Japan Mission (Anna W.Bennett, H.Newell, W.E.Hall) to the Prudential Committee and Officers of the American and Allied Woman's Boards, September 1919, Karuizawa, #314, Reel 373, ABCFM Papers.
18. *Ibid.*
19. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 68-69; DeForest, "Kobe College and the Japanese Exclusion Bill," #215, Rec'd May 27, 1924 by the American Board, Reel 385, ABCFM Papers.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Beaver. *All Loves Excelling*, 178.
22. *Ibid.*, 180.
23. M.D.Wingate to Mrs.C.H.Daniels (WBM), July 18, 1910, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Emily A.White Smith to E.Harriet Stanwood, September7, 1910, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
26. *Ibid.*

27. Eula B.Lee (WBMI) to Sara L.Day (WBM), September 10, 1914, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
28. Eula B.Lee to Sara Louise Day, October 18, 1919, Chicago, ABCFM Papers.
29. Nancy F.Cott. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 7.
30. Hill, *The World Their Household*, 172.
31. Ibid.
32. Cott. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 95–96.
33. Ibid., 96.
34. Cott. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 217.
35. Hill. *The World Their Household*, 108, 123.
36. When the Constitution of the Kobe College Corporation was proposed in July 1922, Mrs.L.O.Lee wrote to Secretary James L.Barton of the American Board that “at least half the members of the Kobe College Corporation must be members of the Board of Managers of the WBMI;” yet this stipulation was removed in a few years. DeForest. *History of Kobe College* 50.
37. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, iii.
38. Frank A.Lombard to Harriet A.Lee, February 4, 1929, n.p., Reel 385, ABCFM Papers.
39. Frank A.Lombard to Mr.S.F.Nicholas, January 28, 1929, n.p., Reel 385, ABCFM Papers.
40. Ibid., 167; Beaver, *All Loves Excelling*, 199–203.
41. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 132.
42. DeForest, “Kobe College Annual Report of the President for the School year ending March 31, 1928,” submitted to the Trustees of the Kobe college Foundation at their annual meeting, April 26, 1928, 4, Reel 385 “Vol.3 Kobe College Foundation, Kobe College Corporation, 1918–1929,” ABCFM Papers.
43. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 132.
44. Susan A.Searle, “Kobe College,” 10 July 1912, Reel 374, ABCFM Papers.
45. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, 132, i
46. *The WBMI Annual Report*, 1913, 45, Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
47. Olive S.Hoyt to Mrs. L.O. Lee, December 6, 1916, Kobe, Reel 386, ABCFM Papers.
48. Ibid.
49. DeForest. *History of Kobe College*, vii.
50. A ten-page autobiographical essay of Olive Sawyer Hoyt, 10, in “Olive S. Hoyt,” *Individual Biographies* 29:47, ABCFM Papers.
51. Charlotte B.DeForest, *The Woman and the Leaven in Japan* (West Medford, Massachusetts, 1923), 136.
52. Charlotte B.DeForest, “My Experience with Shinto,” in “Charlotte B.DeForest, Personal Papers,” ABCFM Papers.
53. Ibid.
54. DeForest, *History of Kobe College*, 222.
55. The Christian rate of Japanese for 1997 is 0.862% of the total population, Protestant, Catholic and the Orthodox churches combined. 1997 *Kirisuto kyo Nenkan* [1997 Christian Yearbook], Tokyo, 1996, 58. The overall religious preference of the Japanese for the year 1988 was as follows: 0.7%

Christians, 43.2% Buddhists, 50.7% Shintoists, 5.4% Other religions. Source: *Shukyo Nenkan* [Religious Yearbook], Tokyo, 1989.

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To my limited knowledge, at least the following Japanese university libraries hold the microfilm copy of the Japan Mission Papers of the ABCFM Papers (cited as microfilm): The Institute for Comparative Studies of Culture at Tokyo Woman's Christian University, The International Christian University Library, Kobe College Library, Doshisha University Library.

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