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EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE MEIJI RESTORATION
AND CHRISTIAN EDUCATION FOR WOMEN IN JAPAN

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A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of
Asbury Theological Seminary

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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Religious Education

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by
Yoko Maruyama
May 1963
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

For many years in Japan the influence of the family upon the development of individual personality has been very great—perhaps greater than in Western societies. Every Japanese child first learns the habits of hierarchal relationships in the bosom of his family and what he thus learns he applies in the wider fields of economic and social life later. He learns the proper place assigned to him. The Japanese family has been traditionally a condensed storehouse of people's folkways and mores. Therefore, it was no wonder that a wife's following behind her husband had been little questioned in the country of Japan.

It has been said that the "status of women is a measure of development of society."12 (p. 16). However, while granting that the above implication points out an important aspect of historical development of society, a study has revealed that in ancient days of Japan an ideal like the "predominance of men over women" in both value judgments and in the obligatory sense was not a matter of remarkable significance as compared with later periods, from Tokugawa feudalistic days down to the end of World War II. In this respect, the problem of ascribed status
for women, which is considered lower than that of men, can be more adequately understood in the light of the course of historical development.

The difference in the behavior and attitude of men and women may be due to the difference in the physical nature of each sex. This can be regarded as necessary if a society is to continue to function as a system. But role expectations of the female sex in society, with relation to the "proper position" which is definitely prescribed and ascribed—leaving no room for rational consideration, as well as showing rigidity against the historical development—are a serious problem and must be studied further. In this regard this paper was given an invaluable suggestion by Ruth Benedict who said: "Whatever one's age, one's position in the hierarchy depends on whether one is male or female."⁶ (p. 53). In the family children were not only taught the rule of life but also habits according to family expectations which were charged with emotional as well as ethical approval. In this there are found important implications in connection with the education of women in Japan.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century Christian women's education has challenged this type of a traditionally well-established society with its revolutionary ideal. Miss Takeda, a professor of Christian Ethics at Tokyo International Christian University refers
to the problems of becoming Christian in a country such as Japan. She says:

We who were born in a non-Christian country cannot easily shake off the shell that keeps old views of human nature and ethical views characteristic of the land of Japan. At the critical time of conversion experience we cannot totally discard such old things that governed and ruled our emotional and ethical as well as thought life. We must continually pray in order to realize the truth of Christianity not only within ourselves but also our proper self-existence with history. We must make our effort to overcome old and non-Christian elements that still persistently attempt to control and rule the life newly born in us. In this sense we cannot easily evaluate the transitional process of Japanese Christians in the early period of Meiji Era. There would be individual variances and differences in the form and content of the reception of Christianity. 23 (p. 74).

It is the purpose of this paper to observe and understand the serious dilemma the women had to resolve within their own personalities as they looked forward, while being at the same time pulled back by the old sanctions and traditions. It is not the purpose of this paper to make any kind of value judgment upon the situation, but rather to analyze these struggles and dilemmas that Japanese women have had since the introduction of Christianity.

II. PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The first purpose of this study is to analyze and describe the historical setting of the position into which women had been placed in Japanese society. In the
second place this study attempts to describe and present the historical background of a nation's educational policies and principles in relation to those of Christian ideals. In the third place, this study makes an effort to analyze and describe the tensions existing between the national education policies and the Christian endeavors in those earlier days. Finally, the writer will attempt to establish some predictive implications for the future of Christian education as a result of the historical study.

However, it is not the aim of the writer to give any kind of prescribed direction in which the program of Christian education should be directed. Rather, the writer hopes that this study may offer basic data with which future judgment can properly be made in the light of the individual's commitment to Jesus Christ.

III. SOME LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One of the difficult things in studying Japanese women's education is the fact that most of the books which have dealt with the problems of Japanese women thus far are replete with subjective implications. A majority of the works in this field have been done with the enthusiastic purpose of enlightening, encouraging, uplifting and awakening the sleeping Japanese women.
This indicates the true position of the women of Japan at this early period.

The area of this study is limited chiefly within the period known as the Meiji Era, 1868-1911 A.D., since basic educational trends were unchanged from this time to the end of World War II. This will be the period between Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853, and the end of the Meiji Era. A study of this period offers us an important basis for understanding the post World War II changes in the educational program of the nation of Japan. Those who are concerned with Christian education can learn invaluable lessons from a study of this period.

The historical survey of women's position in the several periods of the nation's history prior to the Meiji Restoration is done with the sole purpose in mind of clarifying the background that related to this Era. The writer, however, could not deal only with the general life of situations and social activities of women of the period, since it was her purpose to also deal with the tension arising between the national education policies and the ideals of Christian women's education. Necessary references and interpretations are made whenever necessary in the course of the development of this study.
CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MODERN NATIONAL EDUCATION

1. MEIJI RESTORATION

The Guiding Spirit of the Meiji Restoration. The period prior to the promulgation of the epoch-making Imperial Rescript on Education on October 30, 1890, had been one of national turmoil. The new clashed directly with the old. People were intoxicated with the advent of a new era. Ships from America awakened the Japanese to the unexpected. Along with this commerce, Christianity was introduced to the country. The Japanese people wanted to try every new thing which would develop their country which had been asleep so long.

Commodore Perry arrived in Japan and cast anchor off Shimoda in 1853. A treaty of commerce was exchanged in 1854. This had been arrived at chiefly on the basis of the economic ambitions held by the United States. Japanese economists and historians usually refer to this treaty as only benefitting the United States and further hindering Japan from becoming a real force in world history. However, things were not really so one-sided. The majority of Americans dealing with Japan had something more than economic success in mind. When, in 1860, the first Japanese ambassador to the United States arrived in Washington the New York Illustrated News, May 26, 1860,
They themselves are certainly not the least cultivated nation on the earth, as their wonderful progress in the arts and sciences, in literature, agriculture and manufactures, so triumphantly attests; and what they may become—starting from this solid groundwork of culture—when they have acquainted themselves with the vast stores of Western knowledge, and shall have been inoculated with the Christian idea, is not of the most hopeful problems in the future history of the race.28 (p. 198).

The influx of Western ideologies and civilization was initiated and the process of acculturation has been highly complicated since. To be brief, the period before the official announcement of the Imperial Rescript on Education could be characterized as uncritical in the reception of Western culture, while the Japanese nation itself endeavored to lay a foundation of its own on a basis totally at variance with the outside influences.

Against these Western cultural offensives, strong reactionary trends were awakened. The nation felt it necessary to cope with the progressive Western powers. Therefore, we must not miss the very core of the nation’s real motivation lay underneath the obvious, massive onslaught of Western influences. This hard core remained unchanged until the end of World War II. It is, therefore, highly important for us to investigate what was the educational philosophy of the nation at this critical period. The Meiji Restoration is the entrenchment of the emperor-centered government. It gave the solid foundation to the direct rule of the emperor. The basic
principles of the new Meiji government were pursued back into the legendary stories of the founding of the Japanese nation. The Emperor's throne was proclaimed as coeval with heaven and earth and it proclaimed that the Emperors had succeeded in an unbroken line for eternal ages. This became even more explicit in 1890, when the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued. The last portion of it stated that the Japanese people should guard and maintain the prosperity of the Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth, and, further, that this is brought to fruition when the subjects render service to their Emperor.

It is apparent that the propelling power of the philosophy of the Meiji Restoration was found in Shintoism; which related to the story of the founding of the nation, and which had been markedly insignificant until on March 17, 1868, the government proclaimed the separation and independence of Shintoism from Buddhism.\(^{13}\) (p. 338). The core of the guiding spirit of this earlier period was this restoration of Shintoism as the State religion of Japan. This restoration of Shintoism and the restoration of the Emperor's throne as eternal became the core of the nation's future development.

In 1868—the first year of Meiji—"Five Clauses of Charter" was promulgated. The Emperor Meiji made the oath before Heaven and Earth, God and Light; thus, unity
of the religious rites and of the State were established. The emperor Meiji declared by way of an edict:

To revere the deities of heaven and earth and to lay importance on ceremonial rites is the core of the Empire and the basis of religion and the State.\textsuperscript{11} (p. 160).

The implication of this is that since the founding of the empire the spirit of ceremonial rites has been the basis of administrative affairs, and in the Imperial papacy His Majesty graciously administers the ceremonial rites of three sanctuaries with the utmost dignity.

We are reverently informed that this is an expression of His Majesty’s partaking of the august spirit of the founding of the Empire by the Imperial Ancestor and of the great august mind to rule over his people during his reign in the way handed down by the deities. Truly, reverence for the deities and love for their subjects are the great august will of the successive Emperors.\textsuperscript{11} (p. 160–161).

Thus, the nucleus of the Meiji new government found guiding policy in the founding of the nation back in the era of deities and also in the establishing of the unity of religious rites with the State ruled directly by the Emperor. The educational philosophy and policy were the counterpart of this spirit.

**Trends of Progressive Movements.** Thus far, it has been observed that the guiding spirit of the Meiji Restoration is that of a return to the spirit of the founding of the Empire. But it must be recognized that
there were other factors that played greater roles for bringing about such a revolutionary transformation. In addition to the decline and final collapse of Tokugawa-shogunate, Japan had to face the Western powers. Japan found it impossible to remain self-contained behind closed doors. It was too much for the Tokugawa-shogunate government to defend the nation against the Western powers now marching toward the Far East. To meet this critical moment the new Meiji government took over the former Shogunate government. The new government was not blind to the use of progressive ideas in order to successfully implement a national policy based on the ideal of embodying the spirit of the foundation of the Empire. Abandoning its isolation policy and opening the nation to Western influence became the turning point in the nation's destiny. The decision that the new government took toward this step was well expressed in the Five Clauses of the Charter proclaimed in the year 1868 as the basis of national policy. To quote from this Charter:

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be established and all measures of government decided in accordance with public opinions.

2. All classes high and low shall unite in vigorously carrying on the affairs of State.

3. All common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall be allowed to fulfill their just desires so that there may not be any discontent among them.
4. All the absurd usages of the old shall be broken through and equity and justice to be found in the workings of nature shall serve as the basis of action.

5. Wisdom and knowledge shall be sought throughout the world for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Empire. II (p. 250).

Thus, the period was marked by two opposing forces and both were needed at this time. There was a guiding spirit which expressed itself in moving back into the very spirit of the founding of the nation, and also, there was the overflowing spirit of enterprise and progress to move forward, even to the point of breaking with the old philosophy.

II. LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

Educational Policy of Meiji Restoration. How, then, did the guiding spirit of the Meiji Restoration reflect itself in the philosophy of education? There already existed an elementary educational system in Japan established by an edict issued simultaneously on February 5, of the Second Year of Meiji, 1869, by each municipal government of the nation. The principle of the system was to conform to the guiding spirit of the nation. It said:

... not mentioning the importance of reading and writing, but also sometimes the lectures shall be given to them so that the essentials of
the national entity may be learned; the way of loyalty and filial piety may be known.16 (p. 8).

At this period the nation put the greatest emphasis on education at the college level. The new educational system was made public in 1872. It was entirely different from that of Taiho-Ritsurei, which was the systematization of the educational philosophy of Taika-Reformation of the seventh century. This older system was based on the teachings of Confucius and Buddha. The new system enshrined the idea of the Imperial Ancestor Amaterasu Ohmikami (Heavenly Shining Great August Deity) in its educational philosophy.

At the same time, the government encouraged the study of the Chinese classics and Western learning as supplementary to the national educational principles of this system.

The Content of the New Educational System. By now enough has been said as to the main emphasis of the age. It is significant to observe that the newly reformed educational system established the idea of the divine lineage of the Imperial Household as its center. This was proclaimed in 1872, the Fifth Year of Meiji.

Just before the establishment of the new educational system a learned Christian scholar, Arinori Mori, went to the United States as an envoy to seek the advice of
leading American educators in establishing a good educational system in his country. Mr. Mori later became a Minister of Education in Japan.

At this time, 1873, an American scholar, David Mourray, was invited by the Japanese Government to come and assist in the establishment of the new educational system. When he returned to the United States the Emperor conferred a high honor medal upon him for his distinguished contribution to the Japanese nation.

The new educational system was born amid the critical turning point in the nation's history. Its basis was the idea of Japanese classical entity, with the Emperor in the center of the system. But the educators were wise enough to recognize the importance of both the learnings of China and the West in serving the interests of the nation's future, for many of the leading educators up to this time of the new era had been trained in the Chinese classics and the new system could not completely divorce itself from their experienced leadership.

The over-all emphasis of the philosophy of the new education was "success in life", or "utilitarianism." This is clearly stated in a decree issued in 1872 by the Administrative Council of the Japanese Government. It said:

"... therefore the learning is as it were financial capitals for the success of life and gaining
independence in one's career. Thus, it is imperative for any who is born human to achieve an education.31 (p. 162).

Education seemed to be little regarded as a developer of character and personality, but rather only an imparting of facts and skills. Becoming wise or foolish depended upon whether one learned or not—so taught one of the textbooks for children. For only the wise will be of use to society and those who are fools will have no place. Hence children must become educated in order not to be useless.

Ideally the new educational system laid the foundation for equality of educational opportunity for both men and women and provided equal opportunity for all classes of people. It made explicit that:

Thence there shall be no one in the house or family of the general public, farmers, factory workers, merchants, women and children who do not have an opportunity for learning.31 (p. 161).

This proclamation marked an important peak in the history of Japanese education. Through this legislation opportunity for learning was extended to all people, regardless of status and class. The principle implicit here was not unlike the idea of Western individualism. The underprivileged could have a chance to achieve some distinction through his own efforts.

But we should not miss the point in the new educational system that all the educational policy was
now controlled by the Educational Ministry of Government. The centralization of controlling powers over the educational policies and administration became greater as time went on. This tended to establish a spirit of ultra-nationalism.

**An Enactment of the Revised Education Law of 1880.**
The new educational system in Japan seemed well organized, but it did not function smoothly in its implementation; so the Government felt it should adopt some changes and a plan similar to the American educational system was adopted. It was called the New Education Law and was passed in September, 1879. It indicated less control by the national government in the plan of local education. Course content and the administration of the local educational institutions was under the direct responsibility of the local authorities. A much more liberal methodology, patterned after Pestalozzi was introduced.

This Revised Education Law was drafted by David Mourray, who was then an American special educational adviser to the Japanese government.² (p. 111).

The Pestalozzian influence swept the Japanese educational methods at this time. The name the Japanese gave to this procedure was "developmental education." A book entitled "Revised Teaching Methods" expounded the natural development of children as follows:
1. Lively activities are children's by nature: habitue of proper behavorial manner of children shall be made. Let them practice and train their hands.

2. Develop the power of the soul according to the order of nature; make first the soul and nurture it.


4. One thing at a time. Teach the lessons from A to B to C.

5. Move forward step by step. Carry things through to completion.

6. The purpose of education is not to show what teachers are able to teach, but what pupils are capable of learning.

7. Make the main points of the lesson clear to the child.

8. First comprehend the idea, then express it.

9. Proceed from the known to the unknown; from the particular to the general; from the corporeal to the spiritual; from the easy to the difficult; from the near to the far.

10. Bring the whole first, then analyze its parts. S1 (p. 181-183).

But the new education program did not meet with the success that the Government had anticipated and there were many areas where the parents stopped sending their children to the schools and failed to support them with their taxes. It was keenly felt by educational leaders that new educational legislation must be enacted, and a piece of legislation was passed entitled, A Revised Education Law of December, 1880.
This Law was an attempt to centralize the controlling powers over educational policy and administration which had been largely left to the local authorities. This paved the way for shifting the loosely controlled local school into an administration directed by the government; which now sought to unify and standardize the nation's educational system.

In practice, the Government now became a real agent to encourage and advise in the matter of educational policy. The underlying motivation of the enactment of the Revised Education Law of December, 1880, was not only to save the program of national education; but, also, to do something about the influx of Western ideology which was offensive in its utilitarianism and pragmatism. A revival of Oriental philosophy and moral views based on Confucius was encouraged.

To encourage the return to Japanese culture the Meiji Emperor himself traveled throughout the northern part of Japan in 1878, expressing himself that he was not satisfied with the country's educational program based on Western ideas and encouraging a reformation. He advised that national loyalty should be thoroughly taught and that the core of ethics taught in the schools should be "justice-humanity-loyalty-filial piety."\(^3\) (p. 47).

Previously the writer has dealt with the opportunistic trend expressed by the educational authorities of
the government. In the beginning the government thought it wise to encourage individualism and liberal trends in education as being means to enhance the nation’s future. These liberal tendencies fostered a movement in society that gradually manifested itself in opposing the policies of the government; which, unlike the people’s expectations, moved backward.

To cope with this progressive liberal movement among the educated citizens, the government had to again emphasize the idea of a national entity; which was, according to them, so unique that no other nation of the world could possess it or be compared with it. The government, at the same time, resorted to the deification of the Emperor and to the promulgation of Confucian ethics. Emperor Meiji became a decisive promoter of this philosophy.

III. THE GOAL OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

The Promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education, 1890. The years during the 1880's witnessed a steady shift in Japan's educational policy to an emphasis of Imperial absolutism and a growth of Shintoism and of Confucianism. The Christian Minister of Education, Arinori Mori played a decisive role at the time by helping to establish a strong national system of education.
Here follows the complete text of the Imperial Rescript on Education, October 30, 1890. This is the official translation.

**IMPERIAL RESCRIP ON EDUCATION**

Know ye, Our Subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that We may all thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd Year of Meiji (October 30, 1890)

(Imperial Sign Manual)
The occasion that initiated the necessity of issuing the Imperial Rescript on Education could be traced to the early part of the same year, 1890, when the nation's local governors met in Tokyo. At this meeting a debate over the matter of "moral culture or training" became an intense issue and later the meeting officially sent a note to the Ministry of Education reminding it of the necessity of rectifying the current confusion in moral training and demanding that the Ministry of Education establish basic principles for the moral training of the youth.20 (p. 83).

The issue of moral training arose as a reaction against the rapid infiltration of Western culture on the one hand, and on the other it reflected the social and economic unrest aroused by the process of modern industrialization. Now loyalty to the Emperor and to the traditions of the Imperial Line became not a duty, but the object of life itself. The Imperial Rescript on Education announced this the object of faith and religious belief.

The editor of Hokutai No Hongi discusses this reasoning in his "Editor's Introduction":

It has been charged, and it possibly is true, that the great Japanese leaders in the Meiji Restoration manipulated the revival of State Shinto because they recognized the political desirability of encouraging a religious fervor in the people's loyalty to the restored Emperor. Whatever the motives of these nineteenth century advisors of the Emperor Meiji, their work was well done. If
in fact these early expressions of belief were not entirely sincere, many of the Meiji Advisors and a majority of their successors came to believe their own propaganda.\textsuperscript{11} (Pp. 5-9).

In discussing the matters of the Constitution and The Imperial Rescript on Education, a writer of the \textit{Kokutai No Housi} (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan) repeats the same belief some fifty years later. Such a belief has been aptly expressed in the Official Document of the National Entity, circulated about 1937:

We make known that which Our Heir, Our subjects, and the descendants of Our subjects should observe for ever and ever. . . . And we see therein the firmness of the spirit of the founding of the Empire that runs through it all. Later, on October 30, 1890, His Majesty issued the Imperial Rescript on Education, and clearly pointed out how our national education finds its source in our national entity.\textsuperscript{11} (p. 123).

These attitudes of the Japanese people toward the Imperial Household and the Shinto Shrines, as well as to the content of the Imperial Rescript on Education, were passionately colored by emotional fervor and devotion. People began to believe that a unification (initiated by the Meiji Government) of the ceremonial rites, government and education was a fundamentally unique national characteristic. They honestly believed that their country was a divine country governed by an Emperor who was a deity incarnate, who was one in essence with the Heavenly deities by offering them worship and thereby making all the more clear his virtue as a Deity Incarnate. Such beliefs
were so deeply held that they virtually became the religious convictions of the people.

We see clearly now the cardinal principles of education that characterized the period between 1890 and 1945. The spirit of this fifty years shaped, controlled and directed the Japanese people's thought patterns, beliefs, and practical behavior. The sources for these beliefs were found in Mori's patriotic efforts to systematize the nation's educational system into a national absolutism. Herein lies a great lesson—the educational system of a country can become an important factor in shaping and determining the direction of a nation's future.

The establishment of national education. An official promulgation of The Imperial Rescript on Education, October 30, 1890, marked another historical epoch for the history of Japan's educational policy and destiny. The foundation upon which the skyscraper of an educational ideology of a modern, ultra-militaristic nationalism could stand until the end of World War II had, indeed, been laid by this official promulgation of The Imperial Rescript on Education. But saying this is not to distort the objective facts of what history teaches us.

To illustrate this we turn our attention to one of the last copies of the Ministry of Education Order,
No. 2, March 25, 1943, just two years before the surrender of Japan to the Allied Forces on August 15, 1945. In the section, "Ethics" of this issue the policy for instruction reads:

1. In obedience to the spirit of the Imperial Rescript on Education, the fundamental principles of our national entity shall be clarified and the students shall be thoroughly taught the true import of faithfulness and loyalty and of guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the Imperial Throne.

2. A spirit of reverence for the deities and one's ancestors and public service shall be cultivated by guiding the students in walking the way of the Empire in all phases of national life.

3. The characteristics peculiar to the Empire's administration, military affairs, economy, and culture, which find their source in our national entity, shall be taught; and a spirit to strive for prosperity of the nation and for the creation and development of her culture shall be fostered.

4. The students shall be taught so that they may contribute to the clarification of the fundamental principles of the Way of the Empire by inquiring into those features that characterize Western and Oriental ideologies and cultures.

5. The students shall be made conscious of the Empire's mission in the Far East and the world of the vital nature of national defense; and a spirit and intellect worthy of a great nation shall be cultivated.11 (p. 189).

In 1885, Japan established for the first time the Cabinet system and Hirobumi Ito became the first Japanese prime minister. It was under Prime Minister Ito that Arinori Mori was appointed the Minister of Education. We
have previously noted that Mr. Mori had become a Christian while in the United States as an envoy of the Japanese Government. Later he departed from his Christian beliefs as he worked in the educational program of his country. The more he considered Japan's future in relation to the powerful Western nations the more he reverted to the spiritual traditions of Japan. The dilemma for Mori in this respect was due to the fact that he found it hard to differentiate between Western culture and Christianity. He was too nationalistic, too much preoccupied with establishing his nation's strength and independence. He became thoroughly absorbed in the arena of politics, where he upheld the principle of "Our-nation-to-be-first." But his work was influenced by his knowledge of Christian principles.

Mori was the first politician to try to improve the status of women in Japan. His views on women were largely based on the teachings of Christianity. It was Mori who spoke about the role of women in the light of Christian ethics. This was an entirely different emphasis from the spiritual legacy and traditions of Japan concerning the position of women.\(^5\) (Pp. 104-105).

It was Mori's responsibility to firmly establish a system of national education in Japan. The national program had been changed three times since the Meiji...
Restoration and much work needed to be done in order to standardize the program. The first national educational program was an imitation of the French System and was called the New Educational System. This was established in 1872. The Education Law of 1879, introduced American ideas into the educational program of Japan. Then came The Revised Education Law the following year—1880. Under Mori a new Revised Education Law was passed which provided for additional government spending for the local elementary schools and made financial provision for the normal school.

Mori felt it imperative to build up his nation's power in order to compete with the greater Western countries. He wrote to Prime Minister Ito expressing his conviction that: "Education for the sake of achieving the wealth and power of our nation should now lay a foundation that will produce sure results thirty years hence." 14 (p. 140).

Except for the provision for the education of women, Mori left few traces of definite Christian influence as Minister of Education. While in the United States in 1872, he wrote a book, Religious Freedom in Japan, wherein he expressed strong convictions on the matter of freedom of religion in his country. However, the fact that his thinking was colored by Christian principles made
the Emperor Meiji fear him. Mori was assassinated on February 12, the Anniversary of the Accession of the First Emperor Jimmu. He was killed, perhaps, "because he was a Christian."30 (p. 10).

He had worked with a passionate endeavor to build the nation of Japan in order to be ranked with Western powers. He attempted to reform the normal school and university. In 1886, he made public the Imperial University Order, which defined the sole purpose of a university education as producing a citizen who could serve his nation. One of Mori's strongest emphases was the training of the youth of Japan in order to insure the nation's growing future.

Emphasis on teacher training in the normal schools was characterized by an attempt to train for character, as well as to impart knowledge of facts. Mori set forth as the purpose of normal school education these three virtues: "Dignity, Friendship, and Obedience."

Every phase of the normal school education was permeated by the spirit of nationalism. Procedures were thoroughly militaristic, even the daily life in the girls' dormitory was regulated by the sound of a trumpet.

Although he had been influenced by Christianity, Mori's basic view of ethics was not much beyond the teaching of Confucius. He position can be noted in this
statement of his concerning national education:

Our Empire has passed more than 2500 years since the founding of the nation. The language, customs, morals, and national constitution—all these possess the unique characteristics of the Empire; however, nothing, nothing can be compared with the fact that our greatest honor and felicity rest on receiving the single line of the Emperor's Throne—the line of the Emperor unbroken from ages eternal.31 (p. 193).

The basis of the national education policy was laid during the time of Mori, and the groundwork for the promulgation of The Rescript on Education was also built. Japan's educational destiny molded by Mori's influence was dominated by the philosophy of Confucius, with the Emperor over-ruling all. The view of educational policy expressed and systematized by Mori was again and again reaffirmed and reinforced by the educators of Japan until the close of World War II. The period of Mori was the critical and historic moment for the future of national education in Japan, as well as for the nation herself. For it was, indeed, this period that determined the destiny of the nation of Japan.
CHAPTER III

BEGINNING OF SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF
JAPANESE WOMEN

The Earliest Period. The statement, "Status of
women is a measure of the development of a society," may
be regarded as indicative of the cultural level of that
society in comparison with other societies. However, it
does not give us a satisfactory interpretation of the
position of women in Japan because our history does not
necessarily convince us of the fact that the more we go
back to the primitive age the lower becomes the status of
women in a society. Japanese society of ancient days has
been depicted in the two chronicles, *Nojiki* (Record of
Ancient Things) and *Mihon-shoki* (Chronicles of Japan),
compiled between 712 and 720 A.D.; and, more particularly,
the greatest anthology of ancient poetry, *Man-nyo Shu* (The
Collections of Myriad Leaves), composed during the seventh
and eighth centuries, show a surprising picture of women.
The myths of Shintoism clearly indicate the fact that Japa-
nese society retained salient features characteristic of
a matriarchal institutional arrangement, even as far back
as the Nara Period of history.

A record called, *Gishi-wajin-den*, written by a
Chinese in the third century described Japan as ruled by
a woman "Himiko". Japanese historians have generally accepted the fact that the ruler of State Shintoism at this early period was a Sun Goddess and the priests of both local and state Shinto shrines were sometimes Shamans (priestesses). Historians speak of relics of a mother-centered society. An old story to this point tells of a woman who danced, almost naked, before the Sun Goddess (Heavenly-Shining-Great-August-Deity) who hid herself behind a rock door. The dancing woman was a Shaman.

As to human relationships—ancient literature describes a contrasting picture of the relationships of mother and children, husband and wife, when we compare them with those of more modern Japanese history. Even up to the Nara Period a baby born into a family was named after its mother and belonged to the mother's family—not to the father's. The responsibility of rearing the children and keeping the household were the women's.

In ancient times when the word "Oya"—meaning either parent or parent—was spoken it usually referred to the mother of the family. The pattern of marriage was greatly different from the modern plan. The husband lived outside the wife's family and made frequent visits to his wife. This pattern of marriage is noted in the poems of Man-nyo-shu.

In the story, Genji-Monogatari, a story of the court life of the Heian Period (794-1192 A.D.) written by
a court woman, this marriage pattern is depicted. So it is concluded that at this period of Japanese history the status of women was arranged according to the functional demands of a mother-centered social system.

**Women in a Feudal Society.** The period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries saw the rise of the warrior class. It assumed power over the Emperor and the aristocracy associated with the emperor. It also controlled the farmer class, which was inseparably rooted in the plan of territorial domain. The farmer class was not only the source of the nation's food, but also supplied much of the man power.

In contrast to the women of the Heian Period, a kind of Janne D'Arc woman was now highly praised. Many women went to the battle fields with their husbands and fought against the enemy.

However, since men were naturally more important than women in a warrior society, the custom of the importance of the first-born being a son was established during this period. The first son became the ruler of the household and the successor and inheritor of his family's lands and money. The cohesive authority of the social order now centered around the first son of the family. Not only the second and following sons and daughters, but also women in general lost the right to inherit the fortune of the family.
The ethics of Confucianism reinforced this emphasis of the superiority of men over women. The unquestioned obedience of a wife to her husband was regarded as the highest of virtues. The daughters of warriors did hold a higher position than ordinary women in this society, and one of them, Oichi, once ruled the nation.27 (p. 144).

In the middle of the sixteenth century Francis Xavier, a member of the Society of Jesus, arrived in Japan and Roman Catholicism was introduced into Japanese society. This brought about a revolutionary influence upon the ideas of human relations, especially the sanctity of marriage and the husband-wife relationship.

Catholicism became wide-spread in southern Japan, where it wielded an important influence on society because it permeated every strata of the social order, in contrast to Buddhism which was regarded as the religion of the upper class only. Buddhism in those days denied the possibility of women ever becoming a Buddha or attaining salvation. It was, indeed, Catholicism which brought to Japan the idea of the equality and dignity of men and women before God.

But the new religion met with severe reversals and Catholicism was almost completely wiped out; so its influence upon Japanese culture in general did not reach down to the time when Protestant Christianity was introduced into Japan after 1859.
Period of Tokugawa Shogunate. The rise of Tokugawa Shogunate, a ruling warrior family, influenced the social structure of old Japan, as well as the people's world view. The Tokugawa era achieved a highly centralized system of control for the purpose of maintaining the power of the Shogunate family and the security of the nation.

Tokugawa Shogunate restored the philosophy of power-control to the teachings of Confucianism, with an overwhelming emphasis on the man-centered household. This view of man's prerogative over woman had emerged in both the teachings of Buddha and Confucius, but the success of the centralization of Shogunate power led to the political manipulation of the ethical philosophy of Confucianism.

The Shogunate decreed that if there was no male offspring to succeed the head of a household, that family and all its possessions were to be confiscated by the authority of Shogunate. This policy produced a serious threat to the household members for their very survival. It became imperative for every family to have a male successor in order that any of the members might survive. The women, and especially a wife, was accused severely if she had sexual relations with men other than her husband. The duty of the wife was to keep the house following her
husband's death and rear the children. Here the idea was expressed that a wife belonged not only to her husband but basically to the household.

The principles that sustained the concept of the household and its system were found in the teachings of Confucius; especially the two of loyalty to the lord of the house and filial piety, which logically justified the subjection of the wife to her husband. In The Greater Learning for Women the author, Ikken Kaibara, crystallized the Confucian thinking of the "prerogative of man over woman." He wrote:

We are told that it was the custom of the ancients, on the birth of a female child, to let it lie on the floor for the space of three days. Even in this may be seen the likening of the man to Heaven, and of the woman to earth; and the custom should teach a woman how necessary it is for her in everything to yield to her husband.

A woman ... must serve her husband with all worship and reverence, not despising or thinking lightly of him. The great life-long duty of a woman is obedience. ... A woman should look on her husband as if he were Heaven itself, and never weary of thinking how she may yield to her husband, and thus escape celestial castigation.7 (pp. 21-22)

During the Tokugawa era the education of woman consisted of: "Don't look, don't listen, and don't talk."

This was the culmination of the position of women following the rise of the warrior class.

During this same era the Japanese system of social class was defined. The highest class was that of the
warriors, then followed the farmers, next the artisans and, finally, the merchants. Inter-class marriage was strictly tabooed.

II. THE GOVERNMENT'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR WOMEN

The political philosopher, Sadanobu Matsudaira, in the latter part of the eighteenth century (during the time of Tokugawa Shogunate) commented on the education of women as follows:

Learning is not necessary for woman. For woman it is only necessary to be submissive, without a jealous heart, to honor her husband as heaven, to revere her husband like God, and to be kind to the inferior. . . . The way of women is that at home they should be obedient to their husbands. It is enough for them if they can read A, B, C.26 (p. 3).

This menial position of women in Japan during the Tokugawa Era carried into the Meiji Era, but changes began to come.

The Meiji New Government, established in 1868, was preoccupied with importing Western ideas of politics, economics, culture, and education. These were uncritically introduced into the Japanese programs; so problems arose, but the position of women gradually improved.

At the beginning of the Meiji Era, Miyotaka Eiuroda, the representative of the Hokkaido Development Project, travelled to investigate the British Colonization Enterprises. He visited America on his way back to
Japan, where he saw women enjoying equal status with men. Upon returning home he emphasized the necessity of education for women, with the result that the government chose five upper class girls to study abroad. It was 1871 when these five Japanese girls came to America to go to school.

But the government's interest in the education of these girls ended with the sending of them abroad. When they returned to Japan no effort was made to utilize what they had learned for the improvement of educational opportunities for all Japanese women. All of them married, with the exception of Umeko Tsuda, who had become a Christian in America. Later she devoted her life to improving the education of her sisters.

As we have noted, during the early part of the Meiji Era Western culture was indiscriminately introduced into Japan. As far as the education for women this simply meant imitating a Western style of life in all external aspects—to wear Western costume, to eat Western food, to know how to dance, to learn how to play the piano, to be able to speak English—was the main thrust of education for women. It was not a program which would open women's eyes to new learnings and to enable them to master them.

In August, 1872, the Meiji government ruled that all children, both boys and girls, beginning at the age of six should receive an equal common school education.
This was the first big advance in the education of women. Prior to this ruling the only girls who had any opportunity to go to school were those of the Samurai, or warrior, class. This first order for the general education of children was implemented in 1875 by a second order which declared that all children, both boys and girls, be given four months of schooling per year, for four years. This second order did qualify the ruling at the point of segregation: "There shall be no room shared by both boys and girls except in the primary grades." So vestiges of the Tokugawa Period which strongly emphasized the "predominance of man over woman" were still apparent. Many of these rules minimizing the position of women remained in the educational system until the new Japanese Constitution became effective in May, 1947, 72 years later.
CHAPTER IV

THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE AND EDUCATIONAL
ENDEAVORS FOR JAPANESE WOMEN

As we have observed, the period of the Meiji Restoration brought political, educational, social, and industrial reformations dictated by the government; so the whole structure of the nation was government made.

The social environment of this era was essentially that of the non-material culture of the Tokugawa Period, whose value system, basic attitudes, and ethical codes underwent a drastic adjustment upon the introduction of the material culture of the West. Yet it must be emphasized once more, the essential core of the non-material culture remained unchanged until late in the Meiji Era. The writer considers this very important in understanding the whole trend of Japan's historical course. This idea has been emphasized in previous chapters.

The changes of the Meiji Restoration produced a confused society. There was the rapidly developing industrial progress, but a lagging cultural and spiritual transformation. The nation of Japan could not proceed forward in some areas and continue to look back in others. She could not speak of the nation's future in terms of yesterday.
Protestant Christianity was introduced into Japan at this time of cultural confusion. So it came to be regarded as a dangerous ideal to such an old, yet culturally enriched, soil. The society was very sensitive to any kind of change, either from without or from within. Seeds of the message of Jesus Christ were brought and sown in a soil where the trees of the philosophies of Buddha and Confucius were already deeply rooted and flourishing; so that any new seed strong enough to sprout was likely to become choked and wither away.

Before studying the impact of the Christian religion upon education for the Japanese woman, it would be profitable to see how Protestant Christianity was introduced into the country and also to note the general characteristics of early Protestantism in Japan. This will provide an adequate background for the particular emphases of this thesis.

I. PROTESTANT BEGINNINGS

Japan's Closed Door Policy of more than two-hundred years was broken by the unexpected arrival of American ships under the orders of Commodore Matthew C. Perry in Uraga Bay in 1853. This significant event precipitated the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate Era. Whatever Perry's real intention was, his visit to Japan
aroused the missionary fervor of the American Protestant churches.

It can be assumed that word was returned by clergy aboard ships visiting Japan between 1856 and 1859, that the time was ripe for Protestant missionaries to work in Japan—though there still existed an official ban against Christianity. Appeals were made to the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed churches of the United States and the mission boards of these churches responded immediately and eagerly. Within months, six men of exceptional fitness were found and were sent to Japan as the first Protestant missionaries.

The Protestant Episcopal Church sent one man, C. M. Williams. The Dutch Reformed Church sent three men, D. Simons, Samuel R. Brown, and G. F. Verbeek. These men brought their families with them to Japan. Other missionaries included Dr. J. C. Hepburn of the Presbyterian Board and later the Protestant Episcopal Church sent a second man, J. Liggins. In 1861, James C. Ballagh of the Reformed Church arrived with his wife and settled in Kanagawa. Ballagh ranks among the 'greats' of this first group of missionaries. "His preeminence was in the saintliness of his Christian character, his piety, prayer life, and a most humble assiduity in service to anyone in need." 15 (p. 35).
Jonathan Goble, another missionary, and his family were in Managawa by 1860. Goble, once a sailor in the United States fleet of Commodore Perry, was not a well educated man, "yet he was a very earnest Christian with devotion and enthusiasm for evangelical work and was single-hearted in the work of Bible translation."58 (p. 11).

The Early Believers. It was in December, 1871, that a group of missionaries, together with a few English-speaking residents, began a series of prayer meetings in the Yokohama area. Into this group came a few Japanese students; some came through curiosity, others through a desire to please their teachers. The prayer meetings were filled with a spirit of dedication. The Japanese students attending could not help being influenced by this Spirit-filled, heart warming experience. Indeed, "Some were not too impressed with Ballagh's sermons, but even they were moved and inspired by his passionate prayers and finally led to the life of faith."9 (p. 73).

Before 1872, only ten Japanese persons had been baptized by the Protestant missionaries. To lead a Japanese to Christ was a critical action. Any Japanese must be brave to make a decision to accept Christ as his Savior. To become baptized was, in those days, a life-and-death matter for both the missionary and for the native believer. The following incident is one of many similar
incidents:

Just after the lifting of the ban against Christianity a Mr. Hara passed a series of thorough examinations in order to be eligible for Christian Baptism. One of the examiners, Dr. Hepburn asked him in Japanese,

"You know, Mr. Hara, if you become a Christian the Japanese government may imprison you?"

Mr. Hara answered in the affirmative. Then another examiner questioned him:

"You may be convicted of treason against your Government and you will be beheaded for your faith in Christ. Do you know this?"

Mr. Hara gave an unequivocal "Yes," and accepted Baptism "... in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."63 (p. 2).

In the area of Yokohama where the missionaries Hepburn and Ballagh were active, there were about thirty young men. "Day by day the spirit rose among these young men, as yet uncommitted to Christ, until finally they were on fire with earnestness, contrition and desire to become Christian."15 (p. 43). On March 10, 1872, Ballagh baptized nine of them and the first Christian church was organized in Japan. The Church was named, Nihon Kristuto Kokai—the Church of Christ in Japan. Upon its organization, the members of this church addressed the following statement to the missionaries, as quoted by Takaya:
To the Christian Missionaries in Japan the following is respectfully submitted.

In the third month of the year of our Lord 1872, the whole body of native believers, being assembled at Yokohama after mutual consultation with one accord established the first native Christian Church.

This Church, without concerning itself in the least with any of the sects of the different foreign countries, simply makes the Bible its rule of conduct and depends only on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

He, therefore, whose principles exactly accord with the Bible is the servant of Christ and our brother—and whoever, not regarding sects but pitying and helping the immaturity of our infant church, will teach to us the pure and perfect truth of the Bible, every such an one will be welcomed as our minister.

In all sincerity then we ask of you, the foreign missionaries and believers in the holy doctrines of Jesus, that in the name of the Lord alone, and taking the Bible as the rule of conduct, without regarding your sect, or harboring malice among yourselves, but working amicably, you would pity this our weak and little church and help its insufficiency, and would exert your strength, so as soon to bring the people of our whole land under the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The above is the genuine expression of the whole church.

Respectfully submitted in behalf of the Japanese Christian Church.5 (p. 13).

Following this statement this church also issued their Articles of Faith, which set forth a simple evangelical faith and a spirit of ecumenicity. It is interesting to note in some expressions in the Articles of Faith a mixture of traditional Confucian ethics. Number 13 of
the Articles reads:

Of course we will honestly and peacefully
 teach men to reverence superiors and those in
 authority and to show filial piety to parents.58
 (p. 13).

The Period of Rapid Growth. From the organiza-
tion of the first Protestant church until about 1860 (the
year of the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on
Education) there was a period of spectacular growth and
an advance of the Protestant work in Japan. The Bible
was translated into Japanese by 1868, under the scholar-
ship of such missionaries as S. R. Brown, Dr. Hepburn,
and Dr. C. Greene. When the anti-Christian edict was
dropped by the government in 1873, Christian churches
were rapidly organized from the northern cities of Sapp-
oro and Hakodate, throughout the cities of the main
island and Shikoku, to Nagasaki and Nagasaki in the
southern island of Kyushu. Most of these new churches
adopted, either then or later, a sectarian form of polity,
reproduced the previously existing creed, and followed
the common worship pattern introduced by the missionaries.

Such a rapid growth of Protestantism was due, in
large part, to the cooperation between the newly converted
Japanese and the missionaries.

Not all of the missionaries were of as exceptional
quality as the first six, but most of them were devoted
and able men and women. Missionaries came from many different denominations and undertook evangelism, supporting churches and girls' education, training women workers, beginning literature evangelism, and medical and social work. The early Protestant churches which the missionaries organized were predominantly Calvinistic in doctrine and their discipline was patterned after the polity of the Presbyterian Church.

In observing the Protestant beginnings in Japan, the outstanding role played by three great movements must be taken into consideration. These have been called the Yokohama band, the Emamoto band, and the Sapporo band. The significance of these bands lies in the fact that these movements became strong leaders in the growing Protestant movement. Before the work of these three bands the work of Protestant evangelism had been largely carried on by the foreign missionaries, now indigenous leadership was arising.

Each band had a unique ministry and individual characteristics. The Sapporo band was rather Puritanic and quite independent. The Emamoto band had a strong nationalistic element. The Yokohama band, which was organized under the work of Ballagh, was strongly Calvinistic in its theological persuasion and strongly Presbyterian in its pattern of church organization.
The Himmambo band was under the leadership of Captain L. L. Janes. In 1871, the Lord of Himmambo, realizing the need for a school of Occidental learning, gathered the best students in his area together and asked Verbeck in Nagasaki to recommend a teacher for them. The man suggested was Janes, a West Point graduate and a veteran of the Civil War in the States. Janes taught a wide range of subjects, including mathematics, geography, history, physics, chemistry, geology, and astronomy. For the first three years Janes did not as much as offer the suggestion that any of his students should become a Christian, nor did he formally teach Christianity.

Janes was, however, a man with vigorous convictions about his religion and his Christian character was evident to all of his students. After three years he began to speak of the necessity for understanding the Bible and he opened a Bible study class which met in his own home weekly.

At dawn one morning in 1876, thirty-five of Janes' students met on the top of Hanaoka Mountain and signed a "Declaration of Belief in Christianity." "It was couched in terms of national liberty, yet it had in it the drive of a universal Christian faith."15 (p. 51). Among this group of Janes' students came such leaders of the future Christian church in Japan as Tsuneteru Miyagawa, Danjo
Ebina, Tokio Yokoi, Tsurin Kanamori, Kazutani Urita, and Kotaro Shimomura.

In the far north city of Sapporo the Sapporo band was under the leadership of Colonel W. S. Clark, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, who was on a temporary leave of absence from the States. His position was uncompromisingly Christian.

Colonel Clark, in order to accomplish his purpose of establishing a Christian institution in Sapporo during the nine short months of his stay, selected twenty-four young men for his students—chiefly from Samurai families. Insisting that the Bible should be the basis for the new Japan, Clark soon led all of his boys to a firm Christian faith. They were so moved by his enthusiasm that after Clark has gone, leaving his famous message, "Boys, be ambitions," the students led the following year's entering students into the Christian life. Out of this Sapporo band came such outstanding Christians as Shoshuke Sato, Kazutaka Ito, Masaatake Oshima, Yomonishin Nuroiwa, Inazo Nitobe, Kengo Miyabe, and Kanzo Uchimura.

The protest Against Protestantism.

As observed previously, Western influences spread rapidly in the years before the passing of the Constitution of 1889, and of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890. American liberalism and pragmatism permeated
every field, including education.

Though rapid in its growth, Protestant Christianity did not reach all classes of society in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Japan. It seems that the crux of the problem to becoming a Christian to the Japanese mind was his inability to comprehend the Christian concept of "sin," since this idea could not be found in any of the Oriental religions and traditions.

Another problem was the method of evangelism. Ishiwara observes:

Christian evangelism stations were built only in the large cities and those in small villages or towns disappeared in a few years. The spiritual influence had not gone deep enough. The Japanese preachers and ministers emphasized the ethical teachings of Christianity or the social activity of the religion, but it was difficult for them to understand the real meaning of evangelism. They only accepted the new interpretation of the universe. They were willing to accept the evolutionary idea of nature. So in their preaching there was usually an "apologetic" for Christian doctrine.54 (p. 131).

But Christianity did make a phenomenal growth during this period and Winburn T. Thomas analyzed the reasons for its spread. In the first place he believed that during the years prior to 1889, Christianity was regarded as a vehicle and an essential element of Western culture. Secondly, especially between the years 1883 and 1889, Christianity conflicted less with the indigenous religions than earlier or later. Thirdly, Mr. Thomas considered
the reason for such a growth of Christianity a result of
the freedom from foreign invasions Japan enjoyed during
this period. But the primary reason for the progress of
the Christian religion, in the thinking of Mr. Thomas,
was the fact that Japan was now doing her utmost to free
herself from the conditions imposed upon her by unequal
treaties with the nations of the West.

The Meiji Restoration came partly as a response
to the challenge from Western powers. Yukichi Fukuzawa
was the first prominent citizen of Japan to advocate the
utilitarian value of Christianity as a basis for its
acceptance as a religion by the Japanese people. Though
in his later years he became a bitter opponent of Chris-
tianity, in 1884 he stated his conclusion that Christian-
ity was bound to triumph over Buddhism because of its
superiority in intelligence, wealth, virtue, and ability
to attract persons of rank.

Fukuzawa had been greatly influenced by the human-
ism of the French Revolutionary period and by British
utilitarianism and he approached Christianity with a
blending of such views and advocated its adoption as the
national religion of Japan with the following reasoning:

America and Europe excel all other lands in
religion, as well as in political institutions;
they despise any nations which lack the distinc-
tive badge of Christianity. Only by the adoption
of their religion can Japan attain equality with
them. . . . Having taken her place in Christendom,
Japan would thereby present the same social appearance as the Western powers and share equally with them the values of their civilization.46 (p. 179).

These calculated motives expressed by Fukuzawa should be considered from the standpoint of his serious concern for his nation's future. What he feared most was that Japan would become subservient to the Western powers. India was already under the control of Great Britain; Indo-China had come under France; and China had suffered severely from the Opium War of 1840. These happenings on the outside aroused the deep concern of the Japanese, and Fukuzawa felt the danger to Japan most keenly.

It was natural, then, that when Japan failed to improve her position in the unequal treaties with the Western Powers that Fukuzawa became one of the leaders who began to bitterly attack Christianity because he identified Christianity with the Western powers.

Setting aside any kind of value judgment, Arnold Toynbee describes the Meiji Revolution (Restoration) as follows:

The Japanese carried through their social metamorphosis with their own hands, and were thus enabled to enter the Western comity of nations as the equals of the Great Powers and not as colonial dependencies or "poor relations."47 (p. 269).

With the autumn of 1889, the winds began to blow unfavorably toward the Christian movement. Many of the mission schools suffered great decreases in enrollments.
Manzo Uchimura, the greatest evangelical of this period, deplored the times with tears. He said, "Christianity has failed because too little Gospel and too much Western civilization has been taught."

Now the Christian movement in Japan had to face the iron-like wall of rising nationalism. Thomas gives us a shrewd insight into the cause for such a reaction against Christianity. In 1889, when Japan failed to succeed in revising the unequal treaties with the Western powers they bitterly turned from the West and anything having to do with the West and a strong ultra-nationalism developed.46 (p. 185). The growth of the Christian faith came to be regarded by many Japanese as a danger to the future of the nation, for to them this Western religion contributed to a denationalization of the country.

II. THE IMPACT OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

UPON JAPANESE WOMEN


This section will attempt to view the picture of Christian endeavor for evangelism through educational means and facilities. It is not over-emphatic to say that one of the most important instruments used by Japanese Protestantism to arouse a sense of Christian responsibility in the churches, as well as to help awaken the public conscience to the problems in society, was the extensive
educational program established by the Christians. Most of the Christian missionaries began their work in Japan with the establishment of educational institutions.

From the beginning, classes were held at missionaries' homes and there students gathered to learn the English language. From these home classes grew the independent institutions. Learning English in the missionary homes, the students could not escape being influenced with the deeply devoted Christian personalities and the sincere convictions of their teachers. They caught from them the true spirit of Christianity, not alone from what they were taught, but by what the missionaries were, i.e., through their personalities grounded in a faith relationship with the Lord Jesus.

By 1889, eight colleges for men and twenty-eight higher schools for women had been founded by the Christians. These latter were an entirely new venture in Japan and the nation owes a great debt to the Protestants for their program of the education of women. Until 1900, the Protestant school, under the direction of the missionaries had the field of the education of women almost entirely to themselves. Nothing contributed more to raising the status of women and to developing them as persons in their own right than this educational opportunity. Takenaka points out that "Forty-four Christian
girl's high schools were organized before 1899, about 70 per cent of the number of Christian girls' high schools in Japan today. 43 (p. 25). Meiji Gakuin University in Tokyo began as a girls' school and Dr. Hepburn's clinic in Yokohama became a one-room school for girls.

Takenaka, viewing the problems of Japan solely from the standpoint of the social philosophy of dialectical materialism, admits that the change of Japanese society toward its women was the greatest contribution of Protestant Christian education for women. 40 (p. 215). A teacher like Iwamoto Zenji in the Meiji Jogakko (Meiji Women's High School) illustrates how greatly a devoted Christian affected the place of women in the society and gave an example of the real worth of the individual and the meaning of personality, especially of a woman.

Meiji Jogakko provided an education for many an intelligent woman who took an active part in every phase of their society in the early part of the twentieth century. However, it could not endure the stormy tide of rising ultra-nationalism of the late nineteenth century, and it was forced to close its doors. The high school had suffered a marked decrease in enrollment during this period of severe reaction against Protestantism and the institution which had been established in 1885 by a Christian lady, the wife of a Japanese pastor was no more.
Another factor, apart from outside pressure, which forced Meiji Jogakko to close its doors was expressed later by one of its graduates, Motoko Hani, who became a prominent woman leader in Japan during the first half of this century. She wrote:

    I owe my whole life both to Meiji Jogakko and to Mr. Zenji. The school gave me an insight and a wisdom that helped me solve the problems that I have faced through my life. I was very thankful to have had the opportunity to enter the school when it was in its full bloom and at the zenith of popularity. Meiji Jogakko, indeed, lavishly offered precious inspirations which still are my source of courage and strength.

    However, even at its peak of popularity, it undoubtedly lacked the vitality of Christian faith. Of course, intellectually it was enjoying very great fame. Such a magnificent intelligent and intellectual capability could understand without any difficulty what Christianity was about, but it did not vitally grasp and experience the power of faith. Because of this, I am very sorry, my Alma Mater was doomed to be taken away from this world. 23 (p. 159).

The latter part of the nineteenth century also saw the arrival of liberal theology which became another important factor in retarding the movement of Christian faith.

The Government of Japan also contributed to its decline by prohibiting all religious instruction in any of the schools. And students in Christian schools were not exempted from military service until graduation, as were students in the Government schools.

As Takenaka observed, and many other Japanese
concur, the Christian influence in the early period of Japan's modern development was immensely great. Takenaka summarized the significant contributions of Christian education in Japan as follows:

1. Christians introduced into Japan the pattern of the modern Western university.

2. Christians stressed education for women and introduced coeducation into the schools.

3. Christian education in Japan maintained a unique character in its stress on the development of personality and the worth of the individual.43 (p. 24).

The most significant concept that Christianity brought into Japanese thought-life, which to this time had been molded by the spirit of the teachings of Buddha and Confucius, was the worth of the individual—the dignity of a person before God, as well as before any man. This concept was largely taught through the close relationship between the Christian teacher and his students.

The pioneering by the Christians in providing schools for women brought a clearer understanding of the right of women to have an education; a right that had been denied them in the earlier feudalistic society. This concept was now challenged by the new ideas of man and his place in the world.

Education in the mission schools, particularly in the girls' schools, while being puritanical was not feudalistic nor reactionary, as was the case in the girls'
schools run by the Government. It is not surprising that most of the leaders in the Women's Liberation Movement and in social concern after the nineteenth century were mainly alumnae of the mission schools.

However, Christian education in Japan, particularly in the Christian educational institutions, had to face many difficulties both within and without. In the next section the writer has tried to elucidate and analyze the factors that explain why Christianity in Japan conflicted with the nation's basic policies.

Social Upheavals and the Educational Awakening of Women.

The Collision of Christianity with Japan's Education. As has been said, the emergence of liberal theology was one of the fatal blows which came from within the Christian movement in Japan. In addition to this, the shallow roots of the Christian tradition in Japan permitted the new type of nationalism to creep into Christian thinking, allowing a conformity to the rising ultranationalism.

Japanese Christianity should exhibit some qualities not discernible in the older stock; that it must stand on a pedestal of Buddhism and Confucianism, with theology, rites, and ceremonies purely Japanese.46 (p. 196).

Liberalism chilled personal enthusiasm and caused many young leaders of the Churches to renounce their
faith. So-called Christian nationalism was on the way to the stage. Revere the Emperor, worship Buddha, maintain the national character—these became the common slogans of the people. Many Christians explained their stand apologetically, saying that Christian teachings were not entirely incompatible with the cardinal principles of the national entity of Japan. Tokio Yokoi, a man from southern Japan who represented the most liberal position among Christian leaders stressed the necessity of combining nationalism with the spirit of Christianity. In his essay, "Christianity for Japan's Future", which he wrote in 1890, he said:

Christianity, now prevalent today in our country is that of the Anglo-American. There has not been yet any type of Christianity which can be fully characterized as "Japanese." However, now the opportunity for it has arrived in our hands to develop such a Japanese Christianity. . . . To wit, as we have our own Japanese national characteristics and virtues in our nation, our Japanese Christianity must be something Oriental. 39 (pp. 40-41).

Here it is clear that the Christians were not far from compromising their teachings to accommodate the spirit of the Imperial Rescript On Education. This also seemed that there was a way to escape the conflict between Confucianism and Christianity. It was this liberalism among Christian thinkers that paved the way for compromise between Christianity and national-Emperor-absolutism and gave the chance for Japanese laymen to
accept these obviously contradictory elements in their thinking.

The major trend of the Christian movement from 1890 to the close of World War II was to be apologetic and on the defensive. The leaders were busy pleading the suitability of Christianity as the religion of this sovereign nation.

The year 1889, saw the acceptance of Japan's Constitution and the following year the passing of the Imperial Rescript on Education. By promulgating this latter piece of legislation, Japan officially established the ancient Confucian virtues of filial piety and loyalty. This also established the ethical basis for the obedience of the Japanese subjects to their Emperor and reaffirmed the old moral and ethical principles and codes of conduct. It was a systematization of Confucian ethics interpreted in consideration of Western ethics, although virtually nothing was changed.

As the Kokutai No Hongi (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan) repeatedly emphasized, these ethical ideas were absolutely authoritative since they were issued from the Emperor himself and, as such, were divinely decreed. The Constitution of 1889 made it clear that the Emperor was divine and the Rescript on Education of the following year pushed this point to its extremity
and declared the Emperor a "living God."

Persecution was publicly directed against the Christians. The clash between Christianity and the nation's educational policy became impossible to reconcile when Kanzo Uchimura, a teacher in Tokyo Dai Ichi Moto Chu Gakkoo (Tokyo First High School) caused an incident by refusing to pay homage to the Imperial signature affixed to the recently proclaimed Imperial Rescript on Education. This made it necessary for him to resign his position in the Government school due to the pressure of consequent public opinion.

This incident greatly enhanced the doctrine of Emperor worship and from this point the nationals accepted it as a matter of course. Shinto priests were pleased with the promulgation of The Imperial Rescript on Education and the Bureau of Shintoism gained a prominent position in the nation's administration and policy forming.

The Uchimura incident made a very good occasion for nationalistic groups and organizations of Buddhism to further their causes. Their publications seized this rich opportunity to propagate anti-Christian ideas.

Local newspapers turned their attacking spearheads against Christianity. A local governor in the southern part of Japan ordered every teacher in any kind of educational institution not to believe in Christianity.
The occasion of this order arose out of an incident which happened at Kumamoto Eiaakko (Kumamoto English Language School) which had been founded by Captain James. At the reception of a new principal who had returned from the United States he made a speech entitled, "Educational Principles of Our School." in which he said, "Before the truth every nation should bow down."¹ (p. 71). This aroused the resentment of the people and he was attacked as an anti-nationalist and immediately dismissed from his position by the local governor.

Professors of Government universities participated in the movement against Christianity. In late 1892, Tetsujiro Inoue, a professor of Tokyo Imperial University, circulated an article entitled, "Collision of the Nation with Yasoko-Christianity" in the periodical published by his group. He argued in the following way in discussing the Uchimura incident:

"Education in Japan ought to be based on the Imperial Rescript on Education because this is the standard. Therefore, it is absolutely discordant with the spirit of the Imperial Rescript on Education to carry the education with Christian religious conviction. Christianity is anti-nation. With our nation Christians should not live. It is also very impious to build such a high church building as the Nicholas Russian Orthodox church, which is higher than any buildings of the Imperial Palace."² (p. 144).

Many of the professors of Tokyo Imperial University responded to this denouncement and united in their efforts to exterminate Christianity.
Inoue particularly disliked the Christian ideal of love. He believed that this was not applicable for the advance of his nation, because Christian love teaches people to love those of other nations and this was in direct contradiction with the new spirit of Japanese nationalism. Christianity also taught that their God ruled above the Emperor and it commanded its followers to obey God rather than parents. To Inoue Christianity tried to cancel the beauty of filial piety and loyalty to the Emperor that the country had enjoyed before this foreign religion had been introduced.

In answer to these charges by Inoue, one of the Christian leaders contributed an article in the same periodical and declared that Christianity had never contradicted the national good nor the idea of national education. "It only contradicts those who are blindly conservative as to the matter of education in our nation." (p. 144). Inoue, reading this article, secretly implored a truce with the Christian leaders. But the climate of the period between 1890 and 1899 was not favorable to the growth of Christianity.

Collision Between Christianity and Japan's Traditional Family System. The influence of Confucianism upon the moral and ethical life of the Japanese people was immensely great. The moral aspects of the "Samurai"
(warrior class) were much the same as in Confucianism. This legalistic moral attitude could be compared with Puritanism in the Protestant movement. Because most of the early Christians in Japan were members of the Samurai class we must note the socio-economic aspects of this group at the close of the Tokugawa Shogunate Era.

Ethical decisions and religious sentiment of the Japanese people were emotionally tied in with their devotion to the Emperor. "Mukai No Hongo" expounds this way of loyalty:

Indeed, loyalty is our fundamental way as subjects, and is the basis of our national morality. Through loyalty are we become Japanese subjects; in loyalty do we obtain life; and herein do we find the source of all morality. . . . In our country filial piety originates with one's family as its basis, and its larger sense has the nation for its foundation. Filial piety directly has for its object one's parents, but in its relationship toward the Emperor loyalty is also taught. . . . Verily, loyalty and filial piety as one is the flower of our national entity, and is the cardinal point of our people's morals. Hence, national entity forms not only the foundation of morality but of all branches of such things as politics; and filial piety as one must be made manifest in all practical fields of these national activities and the people's lives. We subjects must strive all the more in loyalty and filial piety for the real manifestation of the immense and endless national entity.11 (pp. 183-192).

It is easily understood how Christianity came into direct conflicts in the Japanese society where the basic social philosophy of the people was so very different. In Japan up to now the position of women was completely controlled by the five cardinal articles of the
principles of Confucius: Justice, reverence, sincerity, love, and filial piety and loyalty. It was not until 1947 that equality of the sexes was established legally in Japanese society.

The contrast between the old Constitution of 1899, and the new Constitution of 1947, reveals the difference in the position of women legally. These differences are summarized in the UNESCO Report of 1961:

1. Stipulations concerning the wife's disqualifications are eliminated; the wife is now, from a legal standpoint, no less qualified than her husband.

2. The adult man and woman, or husband and wife, need no other consent for marriage or divorce than their own.

3. Judicial causes for divorce apply equally to husband and wife.

4. Equal right to the inheritance of property is recognized, with no discrimination on the basis of sex.

The Japanese national contended that Christianity taught anti-filial piety, and it was at this point that they centered much of their criticism; for were not these Christians undermining Japan's family system which had been honored from generation to generation and regarded as the very foundation of her society? For a Japanese to become a Christian entailed much serious consideration. His values were so deeply rooted in the old tradition, where allegiance to the family was the highest virtue, that it was a radical shift requiring a grave, determined
will for a believer to declare Christ as his Savior.

Even when there was no persecution from the out-
side, there was the compunction of the conscience within.
How could a widow become a Christian, move away from her
old life, leave her dead husband and give up the worship
of her husband's ancestors? Had she not made an oath
before her Gods to follow her husband and be obedient to
him, even to the world beyond, at her wedding? To those
who ventured to become Christian in opposition to family
tradition and parents, the words of Christ became, indeed,
very real to them:

You must not think that I have come to
bring peace to the earth; I have not come to bring
peace but a sword. I have come to set a man
against his father, a daughter against her mother,
a young wife against her mother-in-law; and a man
will find his enemies under his own roof.

No man is worthy of me who cares more for
father or mother than for me; no man is worthy of
me who cares more for son or daughter; no man is
worthy of me who does not take up his cross and
walk in my footsteps. By gaining his life a man
will lose it; by losing his life for My sake, he
will gain it. (Matther 10:34-39. New English
Bible).

Many Japanese came to believe that His cross was
too heavy for them to bear. One of the members of the
Kumamoto band in Southern Japan told in an agony that his
mother had protested his new religion with a threat of her
death and compelled him to disown his Christian faith. He
said:
Too heavy is His cross for me to bear; I could bear it, however unbearably heavy it might be, if I could do it by myself. I cannot endure it myself when I see my mother and brother suffer bitterly because of me.39 (p. 50).

The traditional religious motif in Japan had been sustained by a pattern of human relationships which was found in the teachings of Confucianism. "Filial piety is the source of all virtues" had been firmly established as the cardinal principle of national life and thought. Loyalty and allegiance to the superior became the pillar that sustained Japanese society. In this type of social structure the human relationship was determined from top to bottom, not mutually—one demanded and others obeyed.

When Christianity was introduced into Japan it radically upset the traditional value system of the society. It was at this point of variance with the family system that Christianity was regarded most revolutionary by the people, but this difference ultimately contributed to the elevation of the position of women and the promotion of their public and higher education. Apart from the emphasis on national education and the ethics of the old family system we cannot adequately describe or properly analyze the Christian program of education for women.

The Christian Endeavor For Women's Education. The general trend of public opinion in the circumstances we have observed in the previous section, i.e., the conflict
between education and the family system with Christianity, directly affected the whole area of the administration and maintenance of Christian schools. There were many schools which gave up principles of Christian education and became merely "private schools."

While Government and public schools were growing rapidly, Christian schools suffered a marked decrease in enrollments and were forced to accept unequal treatment for the authorities. The number of graduates from Meiji Gaukin University, which was founded by the first missionary, Dr. Hepburn in 1877 in Tokyo, indicates the trend in attendance at Christian schools in the latter part of the 1890's:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of students graduated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1 (p. 81)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1894, the nation had only fourteen public girl's educational institutions with a total enrollment of 2,341. By the year 1902 there was a marked increase with eighty public schools in the country and a total enrollment of
21,523. It has been generally recognized that Christian educational endeavors contributed much to the furtherance of educational opportunities for the women of Japan.

The following table lists the educational institutions for women in the years before 1900, which offered courses above the junior high school level:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estab.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ferris Girls High School</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Yokohama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
<td>Joshi Gakuin</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yokohama Nyoritsu</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Yokohama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td></td>
<td>Umegasaki</td>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>Nagasaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aoyama Girls (Now Aoyama Gakuin University)</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td></td>
<td>Surugadai</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kobe Women's College</td>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>Kobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rikkyo</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td>Doshisha Girls (Now Doshisha Girls College)</td>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>Kyoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shini (Later merged with Joshi Gakuin)</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sakurai (Later merged with Joshi Gakuin)</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rikkyo Women's High</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baika</td>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kassui</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>Nagasaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td></td>
<td>Eisel (Pool)</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year Estab.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Denomination</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Yokohama English</td>
<td>Interdenominational</td>
<td>Yokohama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Iai</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>Hokkaido</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Toyo Higa</td>
<td>Canada Mission</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Wilmina</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Kyoto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>FukuoKa</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>Fukuoka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Hokuiku</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Fukuoka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Meiji Jogakko (closed)</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Miyagi</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>Miyagi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Hiroasaki</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>Hirosaki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Soshin</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>Yokohama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Shizuoka</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>Shizuoka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Hokusei</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Hokkaido</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Moran</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Niigata</td>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>Niigata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Kumamoto (closed)</td>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>Kumamoto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Tottori (closed)</td>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>Tottori</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Osaka Ichi (closed)</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Quaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>KyoaI</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Nakashima</td>
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<td>1888</td>
<td>Honyo</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Yamaguchi</td>
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<td>1888</td>
<td>Kumamoto Jogakko</td>
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<td>Kumamoto</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Kinjo Jogakko</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Estab.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Denomination</td>
<td>Location</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td></td>
<td>Joshi Gakuin</td>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>Hobe</td>
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<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shoin</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>Himeji</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hinomoto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-</td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tsuda Juku English</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nihon Joshi Daigaku</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Japan Women's College)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seiwa Junior College</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>Hiroshima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td></td>
<td>Joshi Seigakuin</td>
<td>Disciples</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The preceding table suggests this observation: There were few Christian Girls' Schools established during the period between 1890 and 1900. By then the program of Christian education for women had to change its strategy. The chief aim of Christian educators for Japanese women during the period between 1890 and 1900 was to establish college-level educational institutions. In this they were most successful, as the table indicates. It also indicates how severe the persecution had become by the end of that ten-year period.

In July, 1887, Tokyo's newspaper *Jiji Shimpō* reported an article entitled "A Criticism of the Education
in Christian Girls' Schools." The conclusion of the article seemed to be that the original intention of establishing these school was to provide an education for the poor children whose parents could not afford to pay the fees of other schools. These were the points of the criticism:

1. The content of the curriculum does not fit our country.

2. The moral training has little practical application.

3. The girls do not learn to write in Japanese as well as they do in English.

4. The girls learn the "A, B, C's" and to crochet Western style, but they do not learn how to sew a Japanese kimono.7 (p. 66).

Later in 1902, the Minister of Education, Eikuchi, publicly expressed his opinion concerning women's education at a national meeting of principals of girls' high schools, held in Tokyo, as follows:

Our country does not expect women to become independent, because what the majority of the women does eventually is to marry and become "good wives and wise mothers." The purpose of the women's education must consider this matter and help to realize the purpose, so that they fulfill their vocation. Specialized knowledge and teachings, while undoubtedly are a help in creating a woman's independence, are not considered necessary for her ultimate position in society.33 (pp. 114-115).

Eikuchi abhorred the idea of an equality between the sexes and made clear his position that it was not the woman's part to compete with man in the Japanese society.
But the proponents of education for women did not accept defeat and they moved ahead slowly and steadily, cultivating the area of higher education for women. Indeed, Christian educators took the lead in establishing specialized institutions for the higher education of the Japanese women. This was an especially productive endeavor during the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. By the year 1920 there were ten private women's colleges in Japan, seven of them being founded by Christian leaders.

It was Iwamoto Zenji who was a strong early leader who stressed the importance of women's higher specialized education. He believed that women were the most responsible for the rising generation of the nation; therefore, he considered that in order to strengthen and build up the nation adequate provision must be made for educating its women. "Without good mothers the nation cannot expect good and responsible citizens for tomorrow," he said.

Zenji was a man of high Christian ideals, blended with a sober patriotism. His public appeals inspired Jinzo Naruse, a Congregational, and Miss Umeko Tsuda to pioneer in this uncultivated field.

Naruse was a devoted Christian and an able school administrator. He had received his training and many of his ideas of the education of women during a period of
study in the United States. In 1907 he published a book, *Women's Education*, which made clear his philosophy on the subject, viz., "Women should be taught as persons."33 (p. 171). Previous to this, in 1901, with the favor and help of Prime Minister Ito's wife, Harue founded the famous Japan Women's College Of Three Years' Programme, in Tokyo. This became a historic beginning for women's higher education in Japan. It was certainly a radical and progressive adventure to attempt such an enterprise in the days when the people's views on women were not like those of today, and educational authorities regard it as a significant milestone in the progress of women's educational opportunities.

In 1900 there was another memorable and important school founded by a Christian woman. It was named Tsuda English Language School in honor of its founder who had worked with Senji. After World War II, Tsuda Juku Women's College of Four Year Programme became the name of the school.

Tsuda was one of the first five government-sponsored girls to study in America, and the only one who later devoted her life to the education of the women of Japan. She was only five when she came with the Japanese Ambassador to the United States in 1871 and she returned to her country in 1882 with the idea of establishing schools for girls in her Japan like she saw them in the
United States.

In her address given on the occasion of the dedication of the Tsuda Girls' English Language School she gave the purposes of opening this school for women:

1. To provide the students with spiritual nurture. This is considered much more important than superb material facilities to the truly educated person.

2. To have small classes in order to meet the personal needs of each student adequately.

3. To train English teachers and thereby to provide a noble occupation for women.¹ (p. 83).

We note that there was no definite Christian commitment expressed in her address, but we must consider that her school was opened at a time when it was dangerous to express Christian ideas in public and she was trying to do her best under unfavorable circumstances for Christians and Christian Churches in Japan. She displayed much energy and courage to take the initiative and promote the cause of women's higher education in Japanese society, where the spirit and ethics of Confucianism were so deeply rooted in the people's traditional thought and moral life.

Before 1900, public expressions of Christianity in the schools had to be carefully phrased, since Government authorities, as well as public opinion, were opposed, and courses offered in the curriculum were limited according to Government regulations. They were allowed
to teach the English language, music, home economics and the natural sciences. Although Christian worship during the chapel period was permitted, Bible class meetings and small group rallies were the principle channels through which the witness to Christ was made. As an effective means to promote its principles the Christian schools regularly invited pastors and leading Christian laymen to lecture to the students on moral and social issues. And, always, there was the personal relationship between the Christian teachers and the students which inspired faith in Christ.

The major emphasis of educators in providing education for women was the Christian idea of the personal dignity of the individual before God, his Creator. And the second point of emphasis was to provide occupational training so that the Japanese women could step into places of independence in their society.

Indeed, it should be emphasized that the Christian educational endeavor for the women of Japan accomplished two things which the secular, public schools did not do as effectively; these were: (1) The acceptance of the individual—particularly a woman—as a person of dignity in his own right; and (2) The emancipation of the Japanese woman by providing vocational training.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

More than one-hundred years have elapsed since the introduction of Protestant Christianity into Japan. Still the words of Channing Williams, the first Episcopal Bishop in Japan echoes in our ears today, when he wrote back to the United States in 1864 his great conviction concerning the spread of Christianity in Japan: "It will not be long before our time will come—and it may come much sooner than we imagine."\(^{39}\) (pp.7-8). But contrary to Williams' prediction, the nation's history evolved in a different direction.

The soil where the seed of the Word of God was sown has not been favorable to the growth and fruition of Christianity. Fewer than one per cent of the Japanese people are now Christians. Why so? Some of the answers have been made in this paper.

The deification of the Emperor, going back to the mists of mythology, and the establishment of Emperor-absolutism, supported by the nation's basic guiding policy illustrated by The Imperial Rescript on Education, were diametrically opposed to Christian endeavor. The consolidation of the hierarchy of the family system, supported by the philosophy of Confucianism, reaffirmed the assets of Japanese traditions which provided cultural continuity from the past generations.
Underneath the influx of Western thought and culture Japan moved steadily toward building an ethos that was characteristically Japanese. The social and religious trends of those days overwhelmed any efforts made by Protestant Christians. Some had to compromise with ultra-nationalism and Emperor absolutism, with the result that obviously contradictory elements were taught. Shaken both inside and outside, some Japanese Christians renounced their Christian faith and returned to their former way of life.

Preoccupied with self-preservation, the process of accommodation ran through the churches. Some, because of their enthusiastic dedication to Japan's future, unfortunately failed to differentiate between Christianity and Western culture and power. Others courageously endured, survived the hardships and bore a clear witness to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

During the Meiji Era (1868-1911) the basic pattern for the education of women in Japan was established. This remained unchanged until the end of World War II. Christianity was thought of as a dangerous foreign religion which would undermine their ideas of the nation's family system, with its filial piety and Emperor worship. The leaders of Japan were afraid that Christian principles might distort the society's ideal picture of womanhood, as depicted by traditional Confucian teachings.
It was Christianity, with some aid from the philosophy of Humanism, that lifted the position of the women of Japan, placing them on an equality with men.

It was Protestant Christianity that showed the first interest in providing higher education for women and in giving them training which eventually brought them social emancipation. Because of the high quality of their relationship with God, through faith, established by their own experience of salvation, many women in these hard days nurtured the ideals of the Gospel and stood against the stream of traditional Japanese culture and education.

This education of the women of Japan has led to a conflict in purpose. Whereas, traditionally, women were not expected to become independent, the result of their education has placed them in a position of economic independence. The Confucianist experiences his concept of eternal value through the worship of his ancestors, whereas the Christian knows his eternal life is through Jesus Christ. In consequence, the basic premise of each religious outlook has a profound influence on the educational system which each group developed and in the position of the end product—the woman with education.

Hard-won gains for which the Christian pioneers struggled in the earlier stages of education for women in Japan have made their impressions upon the present
society in such areas as the right of women to own property, to teach and perform other work outside the home, and to hold positions of authority in the government.

It should be clearly understood that the continuing struggle with tradition has not ceased in Japan. The need is for Christian educators to be constantly vigilant, searching for the Christian meaning of human worth and dignity for both women and men. This becomes more imperative as new problems are faced. The basic and present problem is that of maintaining the early motivation and zeal of the pioneer educators which grew out their personal faith and experience with Jesus Christ.
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