

Middle School Education in Early Meiji Period Kanazawa and "Modern" Protestant College Education Based on English

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Introduction

Thomas Clay Winn, who was the founder of the first American-style middle schools for boys in Kanazawa City, was born in Georgia in 1851. After being educated at both Knox College and Amhurst College and later studying theology at McCormick Seminary and Union Seminary, he first arrived in Japan in 1887, arriving in Yokohama in December of that year as a Presbyterian missionary to Japan all set to convert the "heathen" Japanese to Protestant Christianity. ⁽¹⁾

Mary K. Hesser, the founder of Kanazawa School for Girls, was born in Pennsylvania in 1853 and brought up in a German Catholic community and later at the local English language school. Hesser later broke away from her German Catholic relatives, attended the Protestant Western Female Seminary and became a Presbyterian. ⁽²⁾ Both Winn and Hesser are significant for the following article in that they initiated American-style, Protestant high school education in the Hokuriku Region.

One of the features of Winn's experience as a missionary in the region, which can be understood from his collected letters and other sources, is the gradual change in which he became transformed from an almost archetypal, fervent missionary interested only in direct proselytizing to the Japanese into an enthusiastic educator of young Japanese. In this he was greatly aided by Mary Hesser who seems from the beginning to have been more committed to education than Winn. Although the Presbyterian missionaries interest in the education of young Meiji Period Japanese may, perhaps, have been greatly motivated by a pragmatic realization not only that direct proselytizing in Japan was relatively unsuccessful and also that providing "a good Christian education" was a more effective way of producing "lifelong" Christians. To successfully convert Meiji Period Japanese to the very alien religion of Christianity seemed to require not only religious instruction but also the imposition of an American style of education which attempted to closely mirror the education Winn and his fellow missionaries had received when growing up in antebellum America.

A further factor which aided these Presbyterian missionaries in their efforts to proselytize their religion, at least during the early years of the Meiji Period, was that many Japanese were receptive to the perceived benefits of "Western Enlightenment". Many Japanese at the time, particularly among the old Samurai classes, believed that if the West was stronger and therefore superior to Japan then Western practices including their Christian religion must also be somehow superior to indigenous practices. The missionaries were able to take advantage of this initial enthusiasm for all things Western when establishing their Christian schools.

However, it is important to stress that things were always more complex than the above paragraph might suggest. At the same time that the missionaries were encouraged by enthusiasm for Western things in some circles, they were also hindered by a constant and growing nationalistic backlash to what some saw as excess Westernization.

"This anti-Western, anti-Christian stream of thought persisted throughout the Meiji Era. Conservatives in the House of Peers kept traditionalist issues alive, continuing to portray Western values as a threat to the national polity." ⁽³⁾

The missionaries also began to get involved in Japanese education at a historically fortuitous time. Just after the

Meiji Restoration (1868), the early Meiji leaders started to create an ambitious national education system. At first they concentrated mainly on elementary education.

"Although the Fundamental Code of 1872 had mandated public middle schools in each of 256 middle school districts, the prefectures already strapped financially with expenses for elementary schools, were not able to comply with the law. Of the total of 389 middle schools in existence in 1877, only thirty one were private."⁽⁴⁾

Moreover, although the region had a long reputation as a center for education and culture it seems that even after the introduction of a national education system in 1872 the area lagged behind in middle school education compared to other areas of Japan.⁽⁵⁾ This provided the opportunity and explains the significance of the middle schools established by the missionaries in the 1880s. It was only in a fairly narrow timescale between about 1880 and the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 that the missionary schools could be particularly influential.

Promising Beginnings

At the time that Thomas Clay Winn first came to Kanazawa, it was still difficult for foreigners to travel freely in Japan and permission had to be obtained from the central government. Moreover, apart from in the designated treaty ports, permission for foreigners to live in parts of Japan was also required. On top of this, it was necessary for foreigners to be employed in occupations considered by the Meiji Government to be of benefit to Japan before they could be granted permission to live in a particular area. The work of "Christian missionary" was not considered sufficient to gain permission to reside, particularly as the ban on Christianity (1614) which had existed since the Early Tokugawa Period, had only recently been revoked.⁽⁶⁾ Winn was only able to get permission to stay in Kanazawa because he had been employed as a teacher at the Prefectural normal school for the training of teachers.⁽⁷⁾

Nevertheless, it is obvious even in these early years that Winn was only a teacher by convenience. When his contract with the normal school expired in October 1880, it became necessary for the local Japanese Christians to open a small school to allow Winn to stay in Kanazawa and continue his missionary work.⁽⁸⁾ Although officially it was necessary for missionaries to be employed as teachers, according to Winn they were hardly covert in their missionary activities. As Winn recorded at the time, "There does not seem to be any great enmity against us among the highest (local) officials... they know my purpose in remaining here for not only when I came here but also a few days ago I told them in the plainest manner what it is."⁽⁹⁾ It seems that local, and sometimes, central government officials took a pragmatic view of the Christian missionaries at the time. For the advantage of having educated Westerners like Winn as English and Science teachers they were willing to allow them to do a certain amount of Christian proselytizing in their free time.

Once the decision to open a mission school in the region had been made, Winn was clearly anxious that the Presbyterian Church Foreign Mission Board in America should send out some female missionaries.⁽¹⁰⁾ There seems to have been an understanding that male missionaries would mainly be concerned with the more "serious" work of preaching directly to the Japanese people while the female missionaries would undertake the "secondary" but necessary work of doing most of the actual teaching.

The Aishin and Eiwa Schools

The first school to be opened was the Aishin Boys School in April 1882. At first the school was little more than a small *kyūku* with only eighteen pupils. The school's stated purpose was "to teach English and Chinese Studies".⁽¹¹⁾ At the time there was still some competition between the older educational tradition of Chinese Studies (Chinese language and literature etc.) and the newer and increasingly in demand Western-style education. The Presbyterian missionaries were in the forefront of introducing Western ideas to Meiji Period Japanese.

Another American missionary, J. B. Porter, was to handle the management of the Aishin School, leaving Winn to

concentrate on what he initially considered to be the more important job of direct proselytizing in the field. However, in order to remain in Kanazawa, Winn was still obliged to teach a few hours a day in the school.⁽¹²⁾ Unlike the more successful Kanazawa Girls School later established by Mary Hesser in 1885, not much information seems to remain about the curriculum of the school. The Aishin School was later renamed the Eiwa Elementary School and it existed until 1899, just after Winn was transferred to Osaka. Certainly with the schools for boys as opposed to the school for girls there is a strong sense that their existence only made sense as long as Winn remained in Kanazawa.

Student recollections of the schools and of Winn and Porter give some sense of their activities and the kind of education the schools' aimed to provide. Winn shared the common Victorian enthusiasm for gymnastics and physical fitness. "As Kanazawa was a place which had much snow we had difficulties having no place to take exercise in winter. Because of that Mr. Winn appealed to his country (for funds) and kindly delighted us students by building an all-weather gymnasium."⁽¹³⁾ Winn taught the boys American-style gymnastics in the new gymnasium.

Matsubara Shigeo recalls something of Winn's teaching style "...when I was a third year student I was taught Willard's Moral Science...Mr. Winn's educational policy was totally enlightened and he encouraged students to bring out the best of their abilities."⁽¹⁴⁾

Although the school is said to have produced a number of successful graduates, perhaps the most famous was the writer Izumi Kyoka. He slightly inaccurately recalled his time at the Eiwa School:

"I enter Kanazawa Upper Primary School. Within one year, I transfer to the Hokuriku Eiwa Gakkou (an English-Japanese school) run by Americans and affiliated with the United Church. Although I got a perfect score on the entrance examination, I present a problem since I am still small enough to ride on the palms of the corpulent ones who taught there. Granted special permission, I matriculate. My classmates are all about twenty years old. One is already married and has his own family. Headmaster Porter is a tall man with a red beard. His wife and daughter are in charge of instruction. The daughter eighteen or nineteen years old, is extremely neat in appearance. Schoolmaster Winn is plump and has black hair."⁽¹⁵⁾

However, it would be misleading to suggest that almost all the teaching at the school was carried out by foreign missionaries. One ex-student recalled that although Winn taught him "conversation," "Chinese Literature," "Mathematics" and "English", both reading and "interpretation" were taught by Japanese teachers.⁽¹⁶⁾ Naturally enough, the division of teaching among the American and Japanese teachers was decided mainly by subject. Although many of the missionaries, in particular, Winn were said to speak Japanese very well, in general the foreign teachers seem to have taught through English using, for the most part, American high school textbooks. Most of the Japanese teachers seem to have taught in Japanese using textbooks written in Japanese. Nevertheless, there were sufficient foreign teachers to make the experience very different to studying at a normal Japanese school. As Koriyama Genjiro pointed out for at least some of the time, it was as if they had suddenly been "...transferred to an American high school or college."⁽¹⁷⁾

As for textbooks used, it is reported that they read such American high school texts as *Wilson's First Reader*, *Parley's Universal History, On the Basis of Geography* and *Mitchell's New School Geography*.⁽¹⁸⁾

For these nineteenth century Presbyterian missionaries the distinction between education and Christian proselytizing was not significant. The schools were considered as part of the means towards their hoped for end of converting considerable numbers of Japanese to Protestant Christianity. Of course they expected that many of the boys who attended their schools would, after converting, contribute to their on-going project to bring "light" to the "heathen Japanese". Among the students at the schools the most "promising" would be identified and encouraged to go on to Theology colleges elsewhere in Japan. Winn applied to the Missionary Board for special funds for "worthy young men" who would then be sent to Meiji Gakuin in Osaka.⁽¹⁹⁾ Of course it was hoped that such students would later be active as native born missionaries.

Kanazawa School for Girls

In many ways the school for girls set up by Mary Hesser is of more significance than the schools for boys. This is not simply because it outlasted them and still exists today as the Hokuriku Gakuin Junior College. It is because the Kanazawa School for Girls was the first middle school for girls in the entire region. In the early years after the Meiji Restoration, the authorities put more emphasis on education for boys as it was widely believed that an elementary education was sufficient for girls. The absence of any competing middle schools for girls provided the missionaries with a special opportunity as:

"Equality for girls at the middle level found minimal attention. Official ambivalence about girls' education continued through much of the century, with the result that private mission schools were able to function in comparative freedom from restrictive national policies. The missionaries thereby gained and took advantage of this opportunity for 'experimentation and religious influence.'" ⁽²⁰⁾

Mary Hesser was anxious that the school for girls be a boarding school and Winn supported her plan by writing to the Missionary Board requesting funds for that purpose. ⁽²¹⁾ It was not unusual for Protestant missionaries active in Asia at the time to establish boarding schools, particularly for girls. Speaking of such schools established in India, Maina Chawla Singh has written:

"Boarding schools in particular were considered important sites for transmitting the missionary message as an ideology and a way of life. Most missionaries believed that physically distancing Indian children from their 'idol worshipping,' 'superstitious' homes provided the best opportunity for 'Christian training' to penetrate their 'dark minds.' When boarding schools were opened as part of early mission work, the children usually came from less-privileged classes and the lower classes." ⁽²²⁾

As far as the missionaries in Japan were concerned it seems that many of them considered the minds of the average Japanese in Meiji Japan as equally "dark". ⁽²³⁾

Already by about 1885 Thomas Winn, who had from the beginning had viewed educational work as a necessary evil which missionaries had to put up with to obtain the right to live in Japan, seems to have become enthusiastic about educational activities. He reports to the Missionary Board that: "If girls' schools are of any value in Missionary work, a school of that kind is quite as likely to succeed here as any where." ⁽²⁴⁾ Moreover Winn was also clearly aware of the pragmatic value of the school as part of the mission's proselytizing activities. He writes, "We feel there is a large and important field opened to us for work in this city & surrounding country. If we can remain here, as I have no doubt we can if our school is made worthy of the name, we can do most for the enlightenment of the people..." ⁽²⁵⁾. The arrival of Mary K. Hesser in May 1883 in Kanazawa specifically to establish a girls' school contrasts strikingly with the almost accidental founding of the boys' school. Winn specifically states in a letter to the Missionary Board that Hesser's school is to be specifically founded on the "Mt Holyoak plan". ⁽²⁶⁾ Mount Holyoak Female Seminary, established in 1837 by Mary Lyon, had for long become the model for advanced educational institutions for women as well for boarding schools for girls in Protestant communities in America and elsewhere. It also influenced the establishment of mission schools for girls in various parts of the world.

Although Mary Hesser had not attended Mount Holyoak Seminary, she was a recent graduate of Western Female Seminary which had been founded by Helen Peabody, a former student and dedicated follower of Mary Lyon. Furthermore, Western Female Seminary was popularly known as "the Mount Holyoak of the West". ⁽²⁷⁾ Mount Holyoak Seminary was highly significant both in the history of women's education and in the history of overseas Protestant missions in the nineteenth century.

"The combination of benevolence, learning and millenarian enthusiasm nurtured at Mount Holyoak enabled its early alumnae to establish spin-offs of their alma mater in Ohio, Oklahoma, Persia, India Africa and elsewhere across the continent and elsewhere around the world."⁽²⁸⁾

One feature of this community or the so-called "Mount Holyoak Plan" was its distinctive system. Mary Lyon had an:

"...interest in 'introducing system' into every aspect of life at Mt Holyoak. This concern for system ranged from her careful compartmentalization of the day into a balanced sequence of activities including calisthenics, long walks and prayer meetings, to the layout of the domestic department in which the ovens, sinks, crockery, cutlery, flour, barrels, potatoes, ironing boards, tubs, doors and post office were placed in the most efficient relation... like a well oiled machine."⁽²⁹⁾

In this sense, students who attended Kanazawa School for girls have also commented that their activities at the boarding school were similarly divided into a strict and carefully detailed timetable. There was also a similar concentration on physical activity⁽³⁰⁾ with a part of the day set aside for outdoor exercise. One former student recalled:

"At five in the morning borders in turn chimed the bell. If you were even five minutes late you couldn't go out as a punishment. Borders could go out at ten in the morning on Saturdays, but if no one came to meet you, you were not allowed to go out."⁽³¹⁾

Furthermore, before entering the Dining Hall or when changing classrooms for lessons, the bell would be rung precisely for "two minutes and five seconds" before students were to arrive in the place they were supposed to be. This was said to be the exact time that was necessary. Everything was timed to the last second including the "twenty minutes" students were permitted for taking a bath.⁽³²⁾

Although such a concentration on such things as punctuality and gymnastics might be said to have been typical of the times, one further feature of the school is particularly reminiscent of the "Mount Holyoak Plan". Mary Lyon established a religious community, a kind of "family" within which older girls and teachers worked together to persuade newer members to accept Christ. She hoped to "...form a family that from day to day might illustrate the precepts And spirit of the gospel."⁽³³⁾

Another feature of the Mount Holyoak form of "family" is that it included teachers who lived with students as kind but strict "parents". This actually produced a kind of simulated family which was particularly important for unmarried teachers like Mary Hesser as it could "...provide women with an alternative to marriage while at the same time offering them the experience and structure of a family."⁽³⁴⁾ In a sense the relationship which Helen Peabody formed with her students at Western Female Seminary was a mirror of the relationship between Lyon and her students (including Peabody) at Mount Holyoak. It seems that Peabody's star pupil, Mary Hesser, achieved an approximation of this at Kanazawa School for Girls. Hesser had to try to provide an almost ideal model of Christian womanhood for her students to aspire to.

Of course the missionaries never lost sight of the fact that the real purpose of the "family" was conversion to Christian Protestantism:

"Mount Holyoak Female Seminary..was a total institution inspired by evangelical Protestantism. At the beginning of every year 'the division into the two great classes of those calling themselves Christians and those who had no hope' of being Christians occurred. The conversion of those who had yet to make 'their peace with God' was a major concern of Christian members of the Seminary family".⁽³⁵⁾

Understandably, there was a similar anxiousness to convert the non-Christian girls in Kanazawa School for Girls and Winn in his reports to the board frequently mentioned the number of girls who had "taken Christ". This was done openly in the early years of the schools with the use of the Bible as a text during official school hours. Later, after they were forbidden to teach Christianity directly in the classroom, missionary activity proceeded more covertly through prayer sessions in the dormitories, blessings before meals and Sunday School instruction.

Although the school was set up in line with the "Mount Holyoak Plan", there was some attempt to adjust to the unique local conditions in Japan. Before setting up the school it seems that Hesser visited a number of Protestant missionary schools already established in Japan.⁽³⁶⁾ So, Hesser would have been aware to some extent of the differences between the restrictions imposed by local circumstances and the ideal of Mount Holyoak. In most respects, however, Winn and Hesser planned to make the school as much like Mount Holyoak and Western Seminary as possible.

One more unusual feature of this first middle school for girls in the region was that it aimed to provide students with a rounded, modern, American style education, rather than being just a preparation for motherhood. As well as some of the usual subjects taught in Japanese schools at the time, including Chinese studies and English, the girls were taught subjects like history, geography and biology.⁽³⁷⁾ As Winn later wrote about Hesser's school, the aim was to "...impart religion and education in equal measure with boys..". Something which in Meiji Japan of the 1880s was in itself a novel and revolutionary idea.

Results

At first the boys' schools were more popular than the girls' school. Following a conservative backlash to the political rights movement, dissatisfaction about the failure of the Western powers to carry out a revision of what were felt to have been unfair trading treaties imposed upon Japan and a general reaction to the initial enthusiasm for all things Western, the Hokuriku Eiwa School seems to have lost much of its popularity and it finally closed in 1899 just after Winn's transfer to Osaka. The girls' school, on the other hand, was able to weather the unfavourable climate and, by toning down the more explicitly Christian aspect of the education it provided, and by concentrating on religious matters away from official eyes, was able to survive, even through the pre-war and wartime years. Looking at the number of students who graduated in the following chart, it is striking that so few students who entered the school were able to graduate. Partly this was due to the difficulty of the subjects and the fact that many of the classes were in English.

Both in the boys' and girls' schools the missionaries succeeded to some extent in replicating the kind of Christian education they themselves had received at Mt. Holyoak and other Protestant colleges. However barriers of language often made communication between foreign teachers and Japanese students problematic,⁽³⁸⁾ and cultural differences

year	students	graduates
1885	38	
1886	52	
1887	47	
1888	45	
1889	44	
1890	47	4
1891	47	9
1892	46	11
1893	29	8
1894	19	4
1895	23	2
1896	36	3
1897	32	2
1898	27	2
1899	24	2

Chart One Students and Graduates of the Kanazawa School for Girls⁽³⁸⁾

also frustrated them. For example, the girls' school required students to wear American-style school uniforms. However, before the uniforms were available students were forced to wear Japanese mens' *hakama*, possibly because the missionaries felt it more suitable for young women. It seems that non-borders were too embarrassed to wear mens' clothes in public and instead wore ordinary clothes, only changing into their uniforms at the last minute.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Although the local authorities had no interest in encouraging the spread of Christianity, they seem to have been impressed by the contribution that the missionaries' schools made to middle school education in the Prefecture. In December 1886, Winn wrote, "The official visit of next to the highest position in the Educational department had been in Kanazawa. He visited our schools and expressed himself much pleased with them. In a more recent letter from Miss Hesser, she says that the Govt. wishes if possible to secure missionaries as teachers for the school proposed in Kanazawa at least."⁽⁴¹⁾ Compared to some of the early foreign teachers, missionary/teachers seem to have had a relatively good reputation.⁽⁴²⁾

From the early 1890s things got more difficult for the mission schools. The Imperial Rescript on Education which promoted loyalty to the Emperor in the schools as well as the promotion of National Shinto heralded a new nationalistic climate which was not at all sympathetic to Christianity or mission schools. The missionary schools which survived, like Kanazawa School for Girls, were those where "...the missionaries adjusted their efforts and priorities in order to advance their goals of education and evangelism."⁽⁴³⁾

As the years passed, Winn seems to have become more and more convinced of the benefits of education as part of the process of proselytizing Christianity. Moreover, he seemed to believe that, as far as a Christian education was concerned, the younger the children the better. He wrote to the Mission Board in August 1887 that:

"The reasons why I voted for the establishment of the kinder-garten school when the proper time arrived were; first, A belief that work among young children well done will most probably bring forth good result."⁽⁴⁴⁾ (And,) "I do not think the 'labor' of men to girls from twelve to sixteen years of age is more likely to result in substantial fruit to the missionary mind; than that bestowed upon children."⁽⁴⁵⁾

In other words, younger children are likely to be more susceptible to the "benefits" of a Christian education. In this Winn was following similar examples by missionaries working with young Asian children.

"As one missionary woman put it 'Through education should not have the first place in Mission work, it should play a very important part, both in the foundation and throughout the whole structure. The older people have within them...the knarles and kinks of heathenism, even though converted now, but the young of the land, trained in schools are our hope.'⁽⁴⁶⁾

As the leading missionary at the Kanazawa Mission, Winn was regularly asking and arguing for further funds. Although never explicitly stated it seems that gradually the role of the missionaries in social and educational activities was supplanting their direct religious activities. In a sense, he and Mrs Winn were responding to local needs. After using their own funds to establish an orphanage to care for abandoned Japanese children they encountered some friction from the Mission Board.⁽⁴⁷⁾

In attempting to set up an Industrial Department in the boys' school so that the boys could pay for their education by making toothbrushes which would be sold in the United States, Winn again met with disagreement from the Mission Board. Winn who seemed primarily concerned with increasing the educational opportunities of the local youth, seems to have prompted a suggestion from the board that they concentrate more directly with proselytizing activities. Winn was forced to protest that, "...we are teaching the Bible every day as truly as we ever taught it..."⁽⁴⁸⁾. The position of members of the board seems to have been similar to Winn's when he first arrived in Kanazawa. They seemed unenthusiastic about educational work and charity and more interested in direct Christian proselytizing.

Indeed, Winn himself confesses to be surprised at the extent to which he has become involved in educational and other social work, and also how his opinion has changed. In a later letter he wrote:

"I had made up my mind very positively that I would never teach school. I would do evangelistic work pure & simple. The truth is that the Mission put me at once into a school and I've done more or less teaching ever since I came to Japan. I found it to be for my happiness and usefulness."⁽⁴⁹⁾

In this reference to his "usefulness", Winn was no doubt responding to an urgent need for educational and social work in Kanazawa at the time. It is worth mentioning that a lot of the American missionaries in Meiji Japan often seemed to have more success in educational as well as Christian proselytizing through teaching and other social activities rather than through direct proselytizing.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Winn and his wife seem to have discovered that in Japan a more subtle

approach was often a more successful way of achieving their long-term ends. Mrs. Winn put it well when she wrote "... if we would be really efficient missionaries we should cultivate and use all the social talents which we are endowed."⁽⁵¹⁾

It is difficult to be precise about the extent to which the missionaries were able to "bring Mt. Holyoak to Kanazawa," and their lasting achievement seems to have been to introduce higher education for women in the region as well as introducing Western-style education, which allowed young women to gain a broader general education than had previously been available for female students. The contribution of the mission schools was most significant in the early years when a number of factors and a lack of a middle school for girls gave the missionaries considerable freedom in the activities and curriculums at their schools. The experience of the missionaries in Kanazawa shows that well into the 1890s local officials in the area, if not the central government, usually tolerated the mission schools and sometimes actively supported them.⁽⁵²⁾ Later, changing times led to a reduction in the number of foreign teachers and the Kanazawa School for Girls became more of a "normal" Japanese school, even having to provide a military-style education in the war years. Nevertheless, the mission school created a tradition of higher education for women in the region which exists to this day and such schools represent the greatest attempt to provide Western/American-style education for Japanese students.

Notes

- (1) Outline information about significant events in Thomas Winn's life can be found in *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn 1878-1907*, pp.xxii-xxiv.
- (2) *Hokuriku Gakuin 100nenshi*, pp.9-10.
- (3) Motoyama Yukihiro. "Proliferating Talent." (trans.) p.359.
- (4) Richard Rubinger. "Mid-Nineteenth Century Japanese Education." p.230.
- (5) Inoue Yoshito. "Ishikawaken ni Okeru Kyuseichugakko kyouikukikkai" p.167.
- (6) The ban remained in force until 1873. See, Joseph Kitagawa. *Religion in Japanese History*. P.190.
- (7) *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn 1878-1907*, p.10.
- (8) *Kanazawa Kyokai Hyakunenshi*, p.12.
- (9) *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn 1878-1907*, p.11.
- (10) *Ibid.*, p.17.
- (11) Regulations of the school cited in *Hokuriku Gakuin 100nenshi*, p.8
- (12) *Ibid.*, p.8.
- (13) Memories of ex-student Aoki Tojyuro in Nakagawa Shoshichi. *Nihon no Shitou: Tomasu Uin Den*, p.82.
- (14) Matsubara Shigeo. *Ibid* p.84.
- (15) Izumi Kyoka cited in Charles Shirou Inoue. *The Similitude of Blossoms*, p.27. According to Inoue and other critics, Kyoka in a number of his novels used Francina Porter as a model of the ideal woman. *Ibid.*, pp.34-34.
- (16) Matsubara Shigeo in *Nihon no Shitou : Tomasu Uin Den*, p.85.
- (17) Koriyama Genjiro in *Ibid.*, p.90.
- (18) *The Similitude of Blossoms*, pp.32-34.
- (19) *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn 1878-1907*, p.103.
- (20) Dorothy Robins-Mowry. "Not a Foreigner but a Sensei-a Teacher." p.92.
- (21) *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn 1878-1907*, p.27
- (22) Maina C. Singh. *Gender, Religion and "Heathen Lands"*, p.60. In the mission schools in Kanazawa as well the schools often provided education for poor children without the means to obtain it elsewhere.
- (23) Nineteenth Century missionaries often seemed to treat all Asians as essentially "Orientals". "The personal qualities of Orientals are complacency, pride, self-confidence, and conscious assurance of the superiority of himself and his environment. ...He needs a through toning up in intellectual sincerity and moral manhood and some lessons in humility." A contemporary quotation, *William Hutchison. Errand to the World*, p.110. Moreover, David P. Page in his *Theory and Practice of Education* published in 1847 expressed the attitude of the missionaries well "Very justly we attribute our superiority as a people over those who dwell in the darker portions of the world, to our purer faith derived from that precious fountain of truth-the Bible. Very justly, too, does the true patriot and philanthropist rely our institutions and the our unequaled social privileges." Cited in Mark Lincicome. *Principle, Praxis and the politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan*, p.48.
- (24) *The Letters of Thomas Winn 1878-1907*, p.28.
- (25) *Ibid.*, p.33.

- (26) Ibid. p.27.
- (27) *Hokuriku Gakuin 100nenshi*. p.10.
- (28) Amada Porterfield. *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoak Missionaries* P.47
- (29) Ibid. p.37
- (30) Hesser and the other teachers ordered the girls outdoors with the command "Take exercise, girls!" Umezome Nobuo. *Meri Hesseru no Shougai*. p.256. This was similar to the instruction ("Girls, take exercise!" given by Helen Peabody when Hesser was studying at Western Seminary. Ibid. p.115
- (31) *Hokuriku Gakuin 100nen no Ayumi*. p.10.
- (32) Ibid. p.10 A former student recalled: "Boarding students would get up between 5 and 6 am., at six thirty, after helping Inoue San prepare with the students' help, we would have breakfast. A teacher made the blessing before the meal, then, all together we would take up our chopsticks while the teachers read out the main stories from the newspaper for us the thirty minutes for the meal passed. After school, thirty minutes were spent for exercise. No one stayed behind and we all had to go to the sportsground or the garden." Ibid.p.28.
- (33) *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoak Missionaries* p.37.
- (34) Ibid. p.35.
- (35) Marion Kilson. *Mary Jane Forbes Greene (1845-1910): Mother of the Japan Mission* p.16.
- (36) *Meri Hesseru no Shougai* pp.170-181. It seems that Mary Hesser visited Kobe Eiwa School for Girls and the Ferris School, the first school for girls of its kind in Japan.
- (37) *Hokuriku Gakuin 100nenshi*. p.15.
- (38) Translation of a chart in *Hokuriku Gakuin 100nenshi*. p.15.
- (39) *Mission no Mori*. Part 8
- (40) Ibid. Part 4.
- (41) *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn 1878-1908* p.37.
- (42) For example, in one of his early letters Winn wrote, "...from what I hear of some of the former teachers they have had; I have no hesitancy in saying that for other reasons. They will not be losers but gainers." Ibid. p.6.
- (43) *Not a Foreigner but a Sensei-a Teacher*. p.93.
- (44) *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn 1878-1908* p.43.
- (45) Ibid. p.43.
- (46) *Gender, Religion and "Heathen Lands"*. p.58.
- (47) In one of his letters Winn states "I will only say, lest I seem to boast that this little orphanage has in no way hindered the board's work here." *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn 1878-1908*. p.160.
- (48) Ibid p.160.
- (49) Ibid. p.82.
- (50) Examples include William Clark in Hokkaido and Captain James in Kumamoto neither of whom were engaged in direct preaching but both of whom seem to have stimulated considerable interest in Protestantism. Hirakawa Sukehiro. *Japan's turn to the West*. p.472.
- (51) Eliza Winn in *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn 1879-1908*. p.172.
- (52) Francina Porter in a letter recalled that even the Governor sent his two daughters to the Eiwa Kindergarten. *Hokuriku Gakuin 80nenshi*. p.305.

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