‘Women in an Extraordinary Time’: The Transnational Network and Educational Spaces of the Canadian Eiwa Girls’ Mission Schools in 1920s and 1930s Japan



Alexandria Dugal

Mansfield College
University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History
Michaelmas 2021

Preface

Japanese historical actor names in this thesis are presented surname first in the modified Hepburn style of transliteration and written in Roman letters. The readings for the Chinese characters (*kanji*) of Japanese names (such as students and alumnae) were not included in the primary sources this thesis utilizes. In the case that I was not able to confirm a name's reading with the school archives, the common reading of the name will be given, and the footnote will list examples of possible alternate readings. Long vowels will be indicated with macrons except in familiar place names, such as Tokyo. The translations of Japanese sources are my own unless otherwise noted in the footnotes.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my parents who encouraged me to continue to PhD (DPhil) level studies. My biggest supporters, their unconditional encouragement was critical to the completion of this project. My sincere thanks also to my supervisor, Professor Sho Konishi who introduced new and fascinating ways to approach and analyze my project, and has been indispensable to the construction of this thesis. Thank you also to the staff of Mansfield College, the members of the Japanese History Workshop at the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies for providing helpful and thought-provoking feedback on draft chapters, the staff of the University of Oxford Faculty of History, the staff of the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies and Bodleian Japanese Library. I would also like to thank the staff of the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures. To everyone who has supported me and given me feedback on my research, including Professor Christina de Bellaigue, Professor James McDougall, Professor Kathryn Gleadle, Professor Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, and Professor Naoki Onishi, thank you. I would also like to thank Ikuko Matsumoto, Chise Mikasa, and the staff of the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Enomoto Fumiko, Fukasawa Mieko, and the staff of the Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakuin library, the staff of the library and archives of Shizuoka Eiwa Gakuin University and Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, the staff of the Keisen Jogakuen Archives, the staff of the United Church of Canada Archives, the Atlantic School of Theology Library, the Dalhousie University Killam Memorial Library Special Collections, and the Royal Ontario Museum, and Chiho Kojima and Mina Horikami.

My DPhil degree, wider research, and conference attendance were supported in part by, in alphabetical order, the British Association for Japanese Studies, the Canadian Centennial Scholarship Fund (CCSF), the Ishibashi Foundation, the Japan Foundation, the Mansfield College of the University of Oxford Caird Fund, Graduate Award Fund, Graduate Book & Research Materials Grant Fund, and Postgraduate Financial Support Fund, the Sir Richard Stapley Educational Trust, and the University of East Anglia. My fieldwork in Toronto, Canada and Tokyo, Shizuoka, and Kōfu, Japan was supported by, in alphabetical order, the Arnold, Bryce and Read Fund of the University of Oxford Faculty of History, the Sasakawa Fund of the University of Oxford Faculty of Oriental Studies, the Great Britain Sasakawa Foundation (Grant No. 5351), the Japan Foundation Endowment Committee, Mansfield College of the University of Oxford Graduate Travel Fund, and the St Hugh's College of the University of Oxford Colin Matthew Travel Fund.

Finally, thank you, in reverse chronological order, to the University of Edinburgh Early Career Researchers and Graduate Students Conference, Children's History Society and Manchester Centre for Youth Studies Conference, University of Vienna Graduate Conference in European History, Fifth Berlin International Global History Student Conference, University of Reading Research in Progress Postgraduate Conference, and, also in reverse chronological order, the University of Oxford's Centre for the History of Childhood The Intellectual Lives of Children One-Day Colloquium, Oxford Transnational and Global History Seminar, History Faculty Women, Gender and Culture Seminar, History of Childhood Seminar, Interdisciplinary History of War Conference, Pacific Worlds in Global History: Graduate Perspectives on Approaches, Challenges & Disciplinary Futures Workshop, New Voices in the History of War Seminar, Sudbury Transnational and Global History Seminar, and the International History of East Asia Seminar for providing scholarly rigorous spaces to present on my DPhil research.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations 1

Introduction 2

Chapter 1: Tracing a Mission School Network: Physical, Intellectual, and Transnational Community Building and the Eiwa Schools 32

1.1 Introduction 32

1.2 Connections of the Eiwa Schools to their Communities 39

1.3 The Eiwa Alumnae Associations (*Dōsōkai*) 47

1.4 Christian Women's Associations in Schools: A Case Study of the Japan WCTU (*Kyōfūkai*) 62

1.5 Tracing Eiwa Student and Alumnae Engagement with the Wider World 73

1.6 Conclusion 87

Chapter 2: Creating Eiwa School Culture: The Construction of Space and the Internal Educational Environment of the Eiwa Schools 89

2.1 Introduction 89

2.2 The Education and Internal Philosophical Culture of the Eiwa Schools 95

2.3 The Eiwa Schools and the Construction of Physically Tangible Spaces 125

2.4 Conclusion 144

Chapter 3: Promoting International Understanding through Women and Youth: Voices of Eiwa Actors in 1930s Japan 146

3.1 Introduction 146

3.2 Nationalism, Christianity, and Education at Christian Schools in 1930s Japan .. 151

3.3 Conceptualizing Period Intellectual Trends: Women, Youth, and Peace Education 160

3.4 Eiwa Student and Alumnae Intellectual Output: Results of International and Peace Education in Writing 184

3.5 Conclusion 200

Chapter 4: Connecting Women Across Generations, Institutions, and Nations: The YWCA (*Seinenkai*) and the Eiwa Schools 203

4.1 Introduction 203

4.2 The Formation of the Japan YWCA and the *Seinenkai* at the Eiwa Schools 209

4.3 Collective Group Experience and YWCA Summer Retreats 222

4.4 The YWCA, Transnational Connections, and Peace Activities 233

4.5 The YWCA and the 1939 World Conference of Christian Youth in Amsterdam 248
4.6 Conclusion 256
Conclusion 259
List of Illustrations 268
Bibliography 269

Abstracts

Abstract (Short)

The Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō, Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, and Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō girls' mission schools were founded by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (from 1925 the United Church of Canada) in the 1880s in Tokyo, Shizuoka, and Kōfu, Japan respectively. The students, graduates, missionaries, and Japanese educators of these three institutions were physically and intellectually part of a transnational network of Christian women and organizations in 1920s and 1930s Japan. The community these inter-generational and non-diplomatic Eiwa actors built, the communication and exchange students undertook, and the mobility of graduates transcended state boundaries of Japan, Canada, and beyond. By exploring individuals and activities of these three girls' schools and the network they constructed in the pre-WWII period, this thesis expands our understanding of educational and intellectual life in 1930s Japan. Through network development, physical and intellectual spatial construction, and curriculum and activity design, these historical actors reached outside their institutions to actively connect themselves and their peers with the wider world. In the 1930s, this appears to have been conducted with a sense of urgency. Ultimately, these schools survived a tense and nationalistic period of world history to operate into the present day. By shifting the lens from male educators to little-known women including students, and from missionaries to include Japanese actors, this study shows within these spaces mutual exchange and communication across national borders, international education, and discussions on and activities related to world peace took place throughout the 1930s. These actors envisioned Christianity, women, youth, education, and mutual exchange across state and East-West divides as able to foster understanding between individuals of different nations. This thesis thus looks to Eiwa women and youth in their roles as graduates, educators, and students to demonstrate a dynamic understanding of 1930s Japanese educational and intellectual life.

Abstract (Long)

In 1930s Japan, intergenerational women of the three Canadian Eiwa girls' mission schools engaged in activities which reveal a dynamic new understanding of educational and intellectual life. The Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō, Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, and Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō girls' mission schools were founded in the 1880s in Tokyo, Shizuoka, and Kōfu, Japan, respectively, by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (from 1925 the United Church of Canada, hereafter WMS). Centers for girls' education and Christian evangelization and social engagement, a wide network developed around these schools, impacting 1920s and 1930s education, activities, and movement. In the 1930s, Eiwa actors practiced international education, mobility, communication, mutual exchange, and networking which transcended nations. Women and female youth were both agents and targets of these activities. Eiwa network development reveals how intergenerational Japanese and Western actors intellectually and physically reached outside their schools. In doing so, they created links between themselves and the wider world in a turbulent period of world history, viewing

Christianity, women, youth, education, and mutual exchange across state and East-West divides as able to foster understanding between fellow humans, and fellow Christians.

The students, missionaries, Japanese educators, and alumnae of these three institutions were physically and intellectually part of a wide network of Christian women and related organizations in inter-war Japan. The network Eiwa actors built, the communication students undertook, and the mobility of graduates transcended state boundaries. Through exploring the movements and intellectual engagement of these individuals, this thesis expands our understanding of education and intellectual life in 1930s Japan. Through network building, physical and intellectual spatial construction, and curriculum and activity design, these historical actors reached beyond their institutions to connect members with the wider world. In the 1930s, this appears to have taken on a particular sense of urgency. Ultimately, their schools survived a nationalistic and insular period of history and operate into the present day. By shifting the lens from prominent male educators of state institutions to individuals of Christian girls' high schools, and from missionaries to include little-known Japanese actors, including students, this study uncovers international education, transnational communication, international mobility, and discussions on, and activities related to world peace within these spaces throughout the 1930s. This is striking amid wider 1930s trends of militarism and nationalism in Japanese education, society, and intellectual life. This study thus looks to women and youth in their roles as educators and students to demonstrate a new and dynamic understanding of 1930s Japanese educational and intellectual life.

A wide network developed around these girls' mission schools. What kind of networking did Eiwa actors engage in – which social figures were invited to the schools, and what kind of Christian women's organizations were manifested for student participation? What meaning did these individuals and groups bring to this network? What kind of professional and educational pathways did Eiwa graduates take, and how did this movement relate to school experiences? School culture is another method to explore the environment which developed within these spaces. What did Eiwa school culture encompass in the inter-war period, and how did this shape student development, school activities, and alumnae movement? What kind of intellectual and physical spaces were formed within these institutions? The creation of school culture and the activities and networking practiced at these schools ultimately facilitated surprising international and peace education activities in 1930s Japan. How did Eiwa actors discuss peace and internationalism in the 1930s, and why did they choose to do so? What did it mean that students engaged in mutual exchange across the East-West divide? Further, how was the YWCA utilized to facilitate 1930s Eiwa international activities? What role did this organization play, and how was it utilized by students, educators, and alumnae? This thesis explores these questions.

The construction of the Eiwa network through organizations and individuals reveals how intergenerational Japanese and Canadian/Western actors actively endeavored to create physical and intellectual links between their schools, individuals, and the wider world; this study explores how and why this took place in the 1930s. Christian women's organizations were manifested as school groups for student engagement. Involvement at school, and for some, after graduation, potentially contributed to constructing a sense of collective identity as a member of these organizations and the wider network. Eiwa actors also connected with peers across national boundaries through letter and object exchange, and physical mobility. These educational institutions were thus spaces for international education, cultural encounters, and mutual exchange which reached beyond the physical school walls into the local society and

wider world. Five key facets evident in inter-war Eiwa school culture included: (1) Christianity, the chapel, and Christian service, (2) Western customs and English, international, and imperial education, (3) women's education, mobility, and international connectivity, (4) individualized and 'free' thinking aligning with period 'new education' (*shinkyōiku*) trends, and (5) the incorporation of state ideology which coexisted with international and religious teachings in the 1930s.

These actors engaged in religious activities, international learning, and communication across nations, in part, to address trends of narrow nationalism and a lack of international understanding actors saw in wider world structures and education. The actors in this study attempted to temper such social and intellectual trends through their careers and in their education. As intergenerational women and youth were key agents *and* targets of these 1930s activities, gender and age were important factors in this education. This study sheds light on 1930s Eiwa student historical experiences through their period voices. Their writings suggest how peace and international activities, combined with school culture and networking, impacted how some students navigated and engaged with intellectual life in this period. Amid nationalistic education and social trends, students conceptualized the turbulent 1930s in surprising ways, discussing peace and how to achieve it, and the importance of international knowledge building and friendship. Despite significant challenges faced by Christian schools in 1930s Japan due to intensifying imperial nationalism in society and education, the experiences of Eiwa actors reveal international education, communication, and knowledge building were practiced throughout this period by women and youth.

The activities of the Eiwa school YWCA or *Seinenkai* groups reveal a significant way international education, communication, and exchange were undertaken in the 1930s. Students played important roles in YWCA activities at their schools, and their voices and contributions to intellectual life are revealed when the YWCA is brought into the narrative. Intergenerational Eiwa actors utilized the YWCA to facilitate international education and exchange through adult and young women; as such, age and gender were again central to the participants and intellectual targets of these activities. Students engaged in school group activities and attended nation-wide girls' retreats which included international learning and encounters. One concrete result of this participation was student actions to form *Kokusaibu* or International Departments at their schools in the late 1930s. This was reportedly connected to attendance at a YWCA retreat, and knowledge of activities undertaken at other schools. This study demonstrates female Japanese high school students had roles and voices in international activities in which they aimed to increase international knowledge in their peers and communicate with the wider world through what appeared to have been their own, and collaborative, initiatives to build international friendship. Further, attended by members of the YMCA, YWCA, churches, and an Eiwa alumna, the 1939 World Conference of Christian Youth serves as an example of Eiwa graduate involvement in international mobility through the YWCA for the purpose of solidifying Christian fellowship in a tense period of history. As such, the YWCA, an organization for women's Christian engagement, was also utilized to construct intellectual and physical connections with the wider world during the turbulent 1930s in which adult and young women were central actors.

This thesis contributes to the historiography of twentieth century Japan-Canada encounters, women's internationalism involving Japan, 1930s Japanese education, and the history of childhood/youth. The historiography of the Eiwa schools in 1930s Japan largely focuses on the Canadian mission, school events, and institutional reactions to 1930s imperial

nationalism and militarism. This study explores how intergenerational Eiwa actors engaged with and developed their schools and took part in physical mobility and intellectual exchange which transcended national and thus racial East-West divides. The historiography has missed how students received, interpreted, and utilized school education. Using the voices and experiences of intergenerational actors thus far not included in the historiography allows this study to also reveal how alumnae progressed into wider society, and recognize the contributions they made to school life, networking, and engagement with the wider world in this period. This thesis thus explores an alternative experience of 1930s Japan through students, alumnae, and educators of girls' mission schools who were receivers, interpreters, and constructors of their school's education, environment, and network. Through community engagement, intergenerational women participated in a wide women's network which practiced intellectual and physical exchange in a period when international connections were challenged by wider social and intellectual trends which separated Japan and the West.

Interactions between Japan and Canada in the twentieth century have been explored through intellectual, Christian mission, diplomatic/state, political, immigration, trade, and economic encounters. This specific encounter took place through generally little-known adult and young women rather than prominent male state actors. Rather than diplomatic channels, it occurred through religious, educational, professional, and social ones. State, economic, and organizational histories have missed these actors who connected individuals in the East and West on their own terms. In this case, rather than state-level activities, Japan-Canada/West encounters and relations were forged, conceptualized, and negotiated through mutual youth exchange, international learning, school peace activities, and study abroad. These informal activities are described in the period Japanese-language school publications this study utilizes, rather than state or public records. This study shows how the 1930s was also a period in which, outside governmental spaces or state policy, adult and young Japanese and Canadian women took it upon themselves to engage in exchange and mobility through their own educational, mission, and Christian women's organizational channels. They appear to have felt these actions could impact institutionalized structures which had allowed war and conflict to occur, and improve international friendship through knowledge building, understanding, and communication.

This study's historical actors reached outside their institutions, connecting with women in the wider world not through diplomatic or political work, but rather through education, communication, mutual learning, and international knowledge building. Although not featuring in existing studies on women's internationalism involving Japan, high school students contributed in significant ways to network formation and the practice of international activities at school by engaging in mutual exchange and endeavoring to expose their peers to international ideas and customs. These voices and experiences are once again found in Japanese language period school publications. The Eiwa schools had connections to and contact with such women's organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Japan branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). School sources reveal the formation of these various connections and the role they played in intergenerational network building. These women, largely little-known, formed transnational connections intellectually and physically through curricular education, school groups, international mobility, writing, religious and Christian social engagement, and communication in the mission school context and beyond.

This study utilizes a transnational historical approach to reveal and contextualize these

connections. This methodology uncovers networking, connections, and activities which transcended East and West national boundaries through non-state channels encompassing Japan, Canada, and beyond. Not limited to the movements of diplomats or political activities, this is an encounter which took place through non-state women and youth who took it upon themselves to reach out beyond the walls of their educational institutions. The activities this study explores focused on intellectually connecting Japanese and Western women, and took place through non-diplomatic channels, global prayer events, physical international mobility, international learning, and student mutual exchange of letters, photographs, and scrapbooks. Thus, these intergenerational women transcended national borders through communication and learning to address what they saw as lacking in institutionalized education and world structures. The writings of Eiwa students shed light on their 1930s historical experience, the roles they played in school life and such activities, and cultural and international encounters which occurred in these educational, religious, and social spaces. Largely unused by organizational and mission historiography, period school sources bring these actors' voices and historical experiences into the narrative. They reveal *how* and *why* these intergenerational actors engaged in the construction and development of space, and 1930s activities and networking.

This study thus uncovers the dynamic physical and intellectual community Eiwa students, educators, alumnae, and missionaries constructed which transcended state boundaries, ideology, and the East-West divide in the 1930s. It illuminates the network formed around these mission schools, connections to international (Christian) women's organizations, and student, staff, and alumnae involvement in their schools, local community, and activities across nations. The activities of the Eiwa schools and their surrounding network shed light on 1920s and 1930s education and intellectual life through the lens of intergenerational Japanese and Western women operating through non-diplomatic channels to address wider issues in society, education, and world structures. Through curriculum, school group activities, network building, and the construction of intellectual and physical space, these actors innovatively navigated a turbulent period of history. In the 1930s, the Eiwa schools saw military and government involvement, student mobilization, curriculum and school name alteration, and the installation of imperial structures. However, within these spaces and the wider network, actors instituted and took part in cultural, professional, and educational exchange, communication, and mobility which transcended nations, and ideology which separated Japan and the West. Indeed, amid militarism and insular nationalism in wider society, connections which reached outside these institutions were actively pursued with a perceived sense of urgency in the 1930s.

These findings are revealed by looking to women and youth as key actors in their roles as students, graduates, and educators. Adult and young women who lacked political power engaged in and voiced their opinions on international learning and transnational engagement within a network they were also involved in constructing. This thesis thus presents new knowledge on 1930s Canada-Japan connectivity and the Canadian mission by including students and utilizing school sources. It brings a new dynamic to the historiography of women's internationalism involving Japan by exploring intergenerational actors and moving beyond official organizational and diplomatic/political activities. The youth experience of 1930s Japan is also further illuminated through students' period voices which reveal their engagement with intellectual life and the wider world in this period, through international learning and Christian social engagement in the school setting and beyond. These historical actors practiced activities which reached out to the wider world in a period in which current events, social trends, and state

ideology challenged the practice of such phenomena, ultimately surviving the Pacific War to still operate in the present day.

Abbreviations

The following is a list of the abbreviations utilized in this thesis.

CGIT	Canadian Girls in Training
JGIT	Japanese Girls in Training
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union (in Japanese *Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai* or *Kyōfūkai*)
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WMS	Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist (from 1925 United) Church of Canada
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association (in Japanese *Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai* or *Seinenkai*)

Introduction

Thesis Summary and Context

The Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō, Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, and Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō girls' mission schools were founded by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (from 1925 the United Church of Canada, hereafter WMS) in the 1880s in Tokyo, Shizuoka, and Kōfu, Japan, respectively.[1] Eiwa students, educators, and alumnae constructed a dynamic physical, intellectual, and transnational network of women which they envisioned impacting the world of the future by fostering knowledge, experience, communication, and mutual exchange across nations and the East-West divide. The network Eiwa actors built transcended state boundaries and, in some ways, ideology in 1930s Japan.[2] This network's activities shed light on 1930s education and intellectual life through the lens of Japanese and Canadian/Western women connected with the Eiwa and other mission/Christian schools. Through Eiwa school curriculum, school group activities, network building, and the construction of intellectual and physical space, actors innovatively navigated, and attempted to work for their own goals in a turbulent period of history. Amid militarism and intensifying nationalism in wider society, connections reaching outside the institutions continued in the

[1] The United Church of Canada was formed in 1925 by merging the Methodist and Congregational churches, and much of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. See Mary Vipond, "United Church of Canada," Oxford Reference: The Oxford Companion to Canadian History, Oxford University Press, 2004, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780195415599.001.0001/acref-9780195415599-e-1590.

[2] Other Japanese school names used the word *Eiwa* (English or England/Japan). In this study, the terms Eiwa schools/network/education and actors (students, teachers, and alumnae who studied and/or taught at, and WMS women involved with these schools) refer to those of the Tōyō Eiwa, Shizuoka Eiwa, and Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō of the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist (from 1925 United) Church of Canada. Thus, I refer to them in this thesis title as the *Canadian* Eiwa mission girls' schools. It appears students recognized this distinction. For example, 1945 graduate Yano Keiko stated Tōyō Eiwa was/looked "like a Canadian mission school" (*Kanada misshon skūru rashī*). See Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, ed., *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha 1933-1993: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Kōsha no Kiroku [Our School Toriizaka 1933-1993: Records of the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin School Building]* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Dōsōkai, 1994), 118.

1930s through international education (learning about other countries to build knowledge and understanding of differences), mobility, transnational communication (transcending national boundaries through commonalities and mutual exchange), and peace activities. This thesis looks to non-diplomatic women and youth as key actors in their roles as educators, graduates, and students to demonstrate a new understanding of the intellectual landscape of and education in 1930s Japan.

This study begins by outlining the wider network individuals of the Eiwa schools constructed, which likely impacted 1930s education and intellectual phenomena. The development and reach of this network reveal how Japanese and Western actors created links between themselves and the wider world. The schools were connected to their local religious communities, organizations, and invited visitors. The school Alumnae Associations included women actively engaged in the community and related Christian and educational organizations. Widening this network's reach further, in the 1930s, actors engaged in communication, mutual learning and exchange, and mobility across state boundaries and bridging the East-West divide. The development of Eiwa school culture and spaces were impacted by Christianity, Western customs and culture, international learning, empire, and the English language. Women's education, mobility, and connectivity across nations were facilitated by the activities this network instituted. As evidenced by school rebuilding and missionaries returning after WWII, these schools, among other Christian institutions, essentially outlasted a war-time state structure which challenged such connections and exchange.[3]

Canadian Protestant missionaries engaged in school, medical, church, and other

[3] For example, missionaries Sybil Courtice returned to Japan in 1946, and Frances Gertrude Hamilton in 1950. See Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi* (Tokyo: Gakkō Hōjin Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984), 395, 397.

institutional work in Japan and its empire.[4] This study analyzes the networking, education, and transnational connections and movements of the three WMS Japanese Eiwa girls' schools. While male Japanese taught at the schools and were central to the schools' establishment and legal ownership, this study focuses on female Eiwa students, alumnae, teachers, and missionaries, the intergenerational network comprising these actors, school visitors, and individuals of Christian women's organizations.[5] It reveals how Eiwa actors participated in international education and *mutual* exchange activities which focused on connecting women and youth between Japan and the West through commonalities such as religion, age, and gender, to foster international understanding in a turbulent period of history.[6] These activities aligned with the future these actors envisioned, in which Christianity, education, women, and youth played key roles in uniting humankind through communication and understanding.

The Methodist Church of Canada was formed in 1874, and the WMS in 1881 with posts in Canada, China, and Japan.[7] Recruits faced strict "guidelines concerning age, marital status,

[4] A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 3, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3050225.

[5] For example, Frances Gertrude Hamilton wrote in 1934 of the legal owner of Tōyō Eiwa, "Dr. Hiraiwa." See F. G. Hamilton, "Principal's Message at the Fiftieth Anniversary Ceremony," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [English Section]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako, Senkyūhyakusanjūyonen Shōwa Kyūnen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jōgakkō Dōsōkai, 1935), 3. Gwen R. P. Norman notes of Shizuoka Eiwa that "the legal responsibility was in the hands of a Japanese, a representative of the shareholders." See Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973: Part 1* (Toronto: The Division of World Outreach, United Church of Canada, 1981), 69. It is also important to note that not all Eiwa school missionaries were Canadian: for example, A. Hamish Ion explains American Lois Lehman worked at Shizuoka Eiwa and the Tōyō Eiwa Kindergarten Training School, and Gertrud Keuchlich who was born in Germany, of the mission of the Evangelical Church at Tōyō Eiwa. See Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 118.

[6] As will be discussed further, in this study *international education* refers to not only learning English, but learning about different customs, lifestyles, and aspects of other countries, such as in world history/geography classes, international encounters at YWCA retreats, and school International Department activities. The learning of differences between nations was emphasized to increase understanding. *Transnational engagement* refers to participation in activities which reached into the wider world to actively transcend national boundaries, such as women's world prayer events, and student letter exchange which focused on mutual learning, not just a flow from the West to Japan, and emphasized commonalities to overcome state and ideological boundaries. Together, actors used these activities to connect with the wider world and build international understanding and friendship.

[7] Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 7, *ProQuest Ebook Central*,

education, work experience, moral character, and spiritual commitment," and a university education, professional and work experience, and language proficiency were desirable.[8] Rosemary Gagan notes "[b]ecause of its strong emphasis on teaching among the Japanese elite, the Japan mission became the chief beneficiary of the university graduates among the WMS recruits."[9] Neil Semple argues education, for Methodists, "permitted a deeper understanding of Christian principles, helped create virtuous individuals, and ultimately promoted Christ's new world of justice, peace, and love," and Methodist authorities valued female (liberal) education to serve them at home and in the Church.[10]

Education was an important avenue for WMS work in Japan. A. Hamish Ion explains the Japanese state founded schools for girls but had contributed more to education for boys.[11] Thus, "[o]f private groups involved in female education, the missionary movement was among the most energetic in establishing Western-style educational facilities for girls. By the 1880s, every major centre had a female mission school."[12] The Tōyō Eiwa, Shizuoka Eiwa, and Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō were founded in 1884, 1887, and 1889 respectively.[13] Christian evangelization was a key motivation of mission schools.[14] Shizuoka Prefecture governor Sekiguchi Ryūkichi and Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu "were the prime movers in asking the [WMS] to establish a school in

---

https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3331187, Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 1992), 12, 16, Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence*, 5.

[8] Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence*, 27-28.

[9] Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence*, 36.

[10] Semple, *The Lord's Dominion*, 240, 246.

[11] A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990), 117, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=685687.

[12] Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 118.

[13] Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973: Part I*, 67, 69, 71. This study explores the Eiwa *jogakkō* (girls' high schools). Tōyō Eiwa had a kindergarten, primary school, and kindergarten teachers' training school. Shizuoka Eiwa had an attached kindergarten and primary school, and Yamanashi Eiwa an attached kindergarten.

[14] Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 116.

Shizuoka," and Yamanashi Eiwa was "founded following a request from local Christians."[15]

This study uses the voices of Japanese educators, students, and alumnae to show their contributions to this network. As such, it explores not only *what* involvement in this network offered Japanese actors, but *how* they participated in the network and related organizations. Who were these Japanese actors? Meiji period (1868-1912) Tōyō Eiwa students included "the daughters of respected families" and daughters of politicians.[16] *The Japan Advertiser* reported in 1932 early Tōyō Eiwa students and graduates included "the wife of the Premier[,] ... the founders of the Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, Toita Koto Jo Gakko[,] ... as well as many successful teachers, women evangelists, writers and translators, wives of Government officials at home and abroad and of professional men of all types."[17] However, Gwen R. P. Norman also noted students "came from a wide cross section of society," including daughters of the nobility and shopkeepers, and most "from comfortable middle class homes. Always a number of them, particularly those engaged in … evangelistic work were "supported" [scholarship] girls."[18] Daughters of "officials and army officers" attended Shizuoka Eiwa.[19] Tōyō Eiwa student Nomura Michiko stated key factors in choosing the school were its English education and high social strata of fellow students.[20] Others reportedly selected the schools for high-quality education, facilities, and the opportunity to be immersed in Western culture.[21]

---

[15] Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 121, 122.

[16] Mara Patessio, "Western Women Missionaries and their Japanese Female Charges, 1870–1890," *Women's History Review* 16, no. 1 (February 2007): 66, DOI: 10.1080/09612020601048787, Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 118.

[17] "Toyo Eiwa Building to be Begun Today: Ceremony of Laying of Cornerstone to be Conducted by Tokyo Missionary School: To Complete Program: Canadian Organization Secures Funds After Long Period of Planning and Campaign," *The Japan Advertiser,* 21 Sept, 1932, 3.

[18] Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973: Part I*, 106, 266.

[19] Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973: Part I*, 110.

[20] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Gojū Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Gojū Nenshi [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Fifty Year History]* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 80-81, quoted in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 36.

[21] See, for example, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi, 39, and Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa*

Tōyō Eiwa alumna Takano Mitsuko who attended from 1938-1942 noted the feeling within was *jōhin* or 'refined,' and it was called *Ojōsama gakkō*, a 'gentlewoman' or 'ladies' school, within which individuals would use polite/formal Japanese language.[22] Students' social background can also be extrapolated from their family's occupation (*shokugyō*). A 1934 Tōyō Eiwa report found the majority family *shokugyō* of high school and kindergarten training school students was company employee (*kaishain*). Other areas in order of numbers (high to low) included merchants, doctors, government public officials, soldiers, factory workers/technicians, teachers, bankers, farmers, authors, priests, landowners/landlords, artists, lawyers, and politicians (members of the Diet).[23] The background of students' families in Shizuoka and Kōfu may have varied from those in the capital city of Tokyo. For example, the 1940 Shizuoka Eiwa *Dōsōkaishi* reported students' family backgrounds included such industries as agriculture, fisheries, mining, manufacturing, commerce, transportation, and public service.[24]

As noted, early motives for attending these schools included their facilities and inclusion of Western learning and the English language. The school's Christian education was evidently another reason for some individuals. *The Missionary Outlook* reported in 1924, "[i]n answer to the question, "*Why do we have girls' schools when the government has them?*"" a "Miss Clark," likely missionary Lola M. Clark, stated exposure to Christianity and Christian education were

Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin], Shinchiku Kinen ed., no. 31 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1927), 40-41.

[22] Takano Mitsuko, "Takano Mitsukosan no Ohanashi," in *Senjika no Joshi Gakuseitachi: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku ni Manada 60nin no Taiken [Girl Students in Wartime: The Experiences of 60 People who Studied at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku]*, ed. Horie Yūko (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2012), 253.

[23] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 104.

[24] "Tōkei Ittan—Shokuin to Seito: Seito Fukei Shokugyō Betsu," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuhata: Dōsōkaishi [Shizuhata: Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, Kigen Nisenroppyakunen Kinen Dōsōkaishi ed., no. 44 (Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1940), 52.

reasons some sent their daughters to these schools.[25] "The majority who enter [Yamanashi Eiwa] come from non-Christian homes," wrote Annie E. MacLean, although "[o]f the twenty-three graduates in this year's class [1925], eighteen have been baptized; two of the remaining five would like to be, but have not been able to obtain permission from home; and one other, at the eleventh hour, expressed her desire to be baptized."[26] In 1934, Kawai Michi (1877-1953) and Kubushiro Ochimi (1882-1972) wrote on Christian school students and graduates that "we have a far stronger Christian influence [than] Japanese Christianity had [at] its beginning … among the middle classes and in the intellectual class," and that the graduates of girls' mission schools "and of the schools started by Japanese Christian women are now filling the homes of the intellectual middle classes."[27]

Emily Anderson argues "[c]onversion narratives, in both Christian history and modern history, are significant because they mark a critical rupture with the converts' pasts, and herald a distinctly new future."[28] The decision to convert to Christianity is significant in the context of 1930s Japan when the religion was perceived as a potential threat to the imperial state.[29] Some students undertook baptism. For those who chose and were allowed by their families to do so, what did it mean to convert? What 'new future' could this open? While students' backgrounds varied, essentially, they were making a meaningful choice in committing themselves to a new system of belief, lifestyle, and community. Lewis R. Rambo argues conversion may provide an

[25] "Latest Tidings from our Mission Fields: Japan," *The Missionary Outlook* 44, no. 11 (November 1924): 262.

[26] Annie E. MacLean, "Latest Tidings from Our Mission Fields: Japanese School Girls Preparing for Service," *The Missionary Outlook* 45, no. 6 (June 1925): 142.

[27] Michi Kawai and Ochimi Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America* (Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934), 122, https://hdl.handle.net/2144/600. In this English book, Kawai and Kubushiro wrote their names starting with their first names.

[28] Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 11.

[29] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 19.

individual "a rich past and an ordered and exciting present which generates a vision of the future that mobilizes energy and inspires confidence. Affiliating with a group and subscribing to a philosophy may offer nurture, guidance, a focus for loyalty, and a framework for action."[30] Gwen R. P. Norman argued Eiwa student conversions "were the beginning of a continuity of Christian life in the community."[31] Active engagement in the Christian Eiwa network also potentially offered educational, professional, and social opportunities.

Engagement in this community also enabled connections with Christian women's organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Vera Mackie explains "[f]rom the 1880s to the 1930s, middle-class women increasingly had access to international networks which brought them together as women. The Red Cross, the YWCA and the Women's Christian Temperance Union provided networks of communication for Christian women from Europe, Asia and the Pacific Rim."[32] According to Leslie A. Flemming, missionaries involved in women's temperance, peace, and other social organizations "attempted to reproduce this network in Asia, founding and drawing Asian women into such organizations as mission support societies, temperance societies, church fellowships, and ... the [YWCA]," which "provided valuable opportunities for the development of leadership skills and exposure to worldwide currents of social reform."[33]

The Eiwa schools were spaces where international education and discussions of peace and international understanding were possible and considered meaningful in the 1930s. As chapter three explores, this period was evidently perceived as a particularly urgent time for this

[30] Lewis R. Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 2, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2116/stable/j.ctt1bhkp2k.

[31] Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973: Part I*, 267.

[32] Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 99-100, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1017/CBO9780511470196.

[33] Leslie A. Flemming, "Introduction: Studying Women Missionaries in Asia," in *Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia*, ed. Leslie A. Flemming (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989), 5.

education. These activities occurred within an intellectual landscape of (Christian) women's peace activism and discussions on the importance and potential of youth to build a new future. They included peace prayer events, exploration of organizations involved in disarmament activism, and peace essay assignments/contests. Students discussed peace through Christianity, individual responsibility, understanding, and international knowledge. This transnational engagement (reaching out beyond national boundaries, transcending the borders of countries and races by communication, simultaneous practice, and emphasizing commonalities) and international education (learning about other countries, such as differences in customs and traditions to increase understanding) were engaged in by, and focused on, women and youth. They were not only learning about the West, but also engaged in mutual exchange.

Students had roles and voices in activities for peace and international learning and friendship. Mary Jo Maynes argues "fully capturing historical dynamics and historical agency requires attention to childhood."[34] Maynes contends "by most usual criteria, girls have acted from positions of relative powerlessness, marginality, and invisibility[;]" thus, "their activities are not "normally" part of the public record."[35] While Eiwa students lacked political power, they engaged with and had voices in international learning and mutual exchange through world prayer events, English language communication across national boundaries, attendance at nation-wide YWCA retreats which included international encounters, and taking leadership roles in their school *Seinenkai*. In doing so, Eiwa students engaged with international understanding in the late 1930s. Their voices describing this involvement are found in school publications, rather than the 'public record.'

[34] Mary Jo Maynes, "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 120, DOI: 10.1353/hcy.2008.0001.

[35] Maynes, "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis," 116, 117.

This study does not argue all Eiwa actors disagreed with or were uncooperative in Japan's war effort or imperial nationalism. Takaaki Haraguchi explains "[a]ll schools existing in Japan were placed under the strict supervision of the Ministry of Education, which was concerned about the maintenance of nationalistic education based on the Imperial Rescript on Education."[36] Mobilization and militaristic and nationalistic activities were part of 1930s Eiwa school life. For example, in 1933, all Yamanashi Eiwa individuals attended a military flag ceremony, and in September of this year, individuals saw-off Manchuria bound soldiers, and students attended a military talk on Manchuria.[37] In 1936, *The Japan Times & Mail* reported a Tōyō Eiwa student accompanied members of the Japan Boy Scouts' Association to Manchuria where Japanese troops were stationed.[38] In 1937, the publication reported Tōyō Eiwa student Yonai Nakako acted as a representative of fellow students to deliver "comfort kits" to the Navy Office to be sent to troops stationed in China.[39] Also in 1937, Shizuoka Eiwa students saw-off soldiers heading to mainland Asia and made *imon bukuro* (comfort bags) for soldiers at the front.[40] In 1939, the Tōyō Eiwa primary school, high school, and kindergarten training school

[36] Takaaki Haraguchi, "David B. Schneder's Idea of Christian Education and its Implementation in Face of the Nationalistic Education in Modern Japan," in *Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea: Historical Studies*, eds. Yuko Watanabe, Scott W. Sunquist, Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Tze Ming Ng and Chong Ku Paek (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2009), 93.

[37] "Kōnai Kiji," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 7, 8. Manchukuo (*Manshūkoku*) in Manchuria was Japan's 'puppet state' in northeastern China, created in 1932. See Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 3, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.00123.

[38] "Nippon Day by Day: Festival For Precious Stones This Fall---Sight-Seeing Flights Over Tokyo For Five Yen---30 Whales Caught By Wakayama Fishermen: Five Girls with Scouts On Manchoukuo Tour," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 16 Aug, 1936, 3.

[39] "Nippon Day by Day: Girls' School Presents Comforts to Sailors," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 28 Sept, 1937, 3. Yonai Nakako was reportedly the daughter of Navy Minister Admiral (later Prime Minister) Mitsumasa Yonai.

[40] "Gakkō Tayori," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai/Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Kaihō/Dōsōkaihō [Report/Bulletin/Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 42 (Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 15. *Imonbukuro* were packets of items sent to Japanese soldiers at the front.

rented parcels of land for farming mobilization.[41]

Takaaki Haraguchi argues in the 1930s "Christian schools came to resemble non-Christian schools in faithfully fulfilling the national duties imposed by the government."[42] However, this study aims to contextualize activities and discussions on peace, nonviolence, and international friendship and learning which occurred at the Eiwa schools and through Eiwa actors simultaneously to such trends. These activities widen our understanding of 1930s Japan by showing *how* and *why* this intergenerational group of actors instituted and participated in activities for creating international knowledge, mutual exchange, and ultimately friendship between Japanese and Western women and youth, amidst nationalism which looked inward to Japan and viewed the West as the 'other' and even an enemy.

Within these spaces, activities and learning addressed the wider social, political, and intellectual landscape of the turbulent 1930s. This was facilitated through network building, school culture, extra-curricular school groups, mobility, and communication. In this case, even in the 1930s, English was not a language for understanding the 'enemy,' but for communicating with peers in other countries, and creating connections through understanding, curiosity, and learning. Not just a West to East flow of knowledge, this communication enabled mutual learning. This education could create Japanese youth who believed they had a role to play in creating this world of the future, and a responsibility to do so through, for example, engaging with the wider world through mutual exchange, knowledge building, and Christianity. This study enables us to rethink the narrative of 1930s Japanese education, the agency and intellectual engagement of girls' school students, and the connectivity of Japan and the wider world through non-state Christian women's networks. Thus, this study has implications for

[41] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 327.
[42] Haraguchi, "David B. Schneder's Idea of Christian Education," 98.

Japanese women's history, the history of childhood, education in 1930s Japan, and Japan-Canada connectivity.

Contribution to Historiography

This study contributes new knowledge to the historiographies of twentieth century Japan-Canada encounters, Christian women's networking and women's internationalism involving Japan, 1930s Japanese education, and the history of childhood/youth in this period. It widens our understanding of these intertwined topics through the multiple generations of historical voices and school sources it analyzes, and how it conceptualizes the 1930s through the actions of Eiwa women and youth. These three schools can be used as a lens to analyze how Japanese and Canadian (Christian) women and young people engaged in 1930s networking, mobility, education, and mutual exchange.

Twentieth century Japan-Canada encounters have been explored in intellectual, mission, diplomatic/state, political, immigration, trade, and economic terms.[43] This encounter took place largely through little-known mission school-educated adult and young women rather than prominent male (state) actors, and instead of diplomatic channels, through religious, educational, professional, and social ones.[44] State, economic, and organizational histories have missed these

[43] See, for example, John Schultz and Kimitada Miwa, eds., *Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991), and Greg Donaghy and Patricia E. Roy, eds., *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), John D. Meehan, *The Dominion and the Rising Sun: Canada Encounters Japan, 1929-41* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412058, Tou Chu Dou Lynhiavu, "Canada's Window on Asia: The Establishment of the Tokyo Legation in 1928-1931," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996/1997): 97-123, *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/scholarly-journals/canadas-window- on-asia-establishment-tokyo/docview/203509359/se-2?accountid=13042, and Eber H. Rice, "Sir Herbert Marler and the Canadian Legation in Tokyo," in *Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, eds. John Schultz and Kimitada Miwa (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991), 75-84.

[44] Tōyō Eiwa graduates did include some well-known individuals, such as poet and translator Katayama Hiroko (1878-1958), poet and member of the imperial family Yanagiwara Byakuren (1885-1967), and author and translator Muraoka Hanako (1893-1968). See Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 156-164. While most of the women explored in this study are less well-known,

actors and how they engaged in forging relations between countries: Japan-Canada encounters and relations also took place through youth exchange and school activities. These less formal activities are described in period Japanese-language school publications, as opposed to state or public records. This study departs from works on Canadian diplomatic perceptions of, and policy related to Japan and the 1930s threat of war by revealing this was also a period in which, outside official governmental spaces, adult and young Japanese and Canadian women engaged in mutual exchange, mobility, and education which they appear to have felt could foster international friendship through knowledge building and communication.[45] Thus, relations and communication between individuals of separate nations were built not only through state activities, but also the school and network-based activities of these adult and young women. This intergenerational group of women created ways to connect outside of male-dominated state channels. Rather than state policy or diplomacy, they viewed learning about and communicating with people of other countries as work they could personally undertake to overcome prejudice and improve relations between different nationalities, starting with their network. Individuals connected and potentially understood the world and their peers differently than if their relationship to Canada or Japan had been mediated solely through state policy or media.

The Christian mission was one way Japan and Canada encountered each other in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. A. Hamish Ion has written extensively on the Canadian Protestant missions in the Empire of Japan between 1872 and 1945, Gwen R. P. Norman and Howard Norman outlined the United Church of Canada's Japan mission from 1873 to 1973,

---

their contributions are important, and help tell the story and reveal the wider significance of these schools and network.

[45] See, for example, John D. Meehan, "Pacific Beginnings: Canada and Japan between the Wars, 1929-41," in *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Greg Donaghy and Patricia E. Roy (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 80-100, and Gregory A. Johnson, "Canada and the Far East during the 1930s," in *Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, eds. John Schultz and Kimitada Miwa (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991), 111-125.

and Rosemary Gagan the WMS in Japan, China, and Canada until 1925.[46] The Eiwa institutions published school history books, and Patricia Sippel has explored Tōyō Eiwa missionaries and the school in the Pacific War.[47] I depart from these studies by using period school publications to bring in Japanese Eiwa students and alumnae as receivers and interpreters of WMS school education, largely missing from existing works. This is thus not necessarily a study of the WMS, but of individuals and activities of their Japanese girls' schools. Beyond Christian education and evangelization, these actors promoted learning and social/wider world engagement related to how they viewed current issues, and the world they envisioned for the future. In a tense world situation, they considered Christianity, women, youth, education, interconnection, communication, and mutual exchange between the East and West as able to foster understanding and limit misperceptions between fellow humans, and fellow Christians.

Adult and young women reached out across national borders through this encounter. Women's internationalism involving Japan has been studied through women working across

[46] See, for example, A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=685687, A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3050225, Gwen R. P. Norman and Howard Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973: Part I and Part II* (Toronto: The Division of World Outreach, United Church of Canada, 1981), Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 1992).

[47] This thesis utilizes Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin 80 Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hachijū Nenshi: 1887-1967 [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Eighty Year History: 1887-1967]* (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, 1971), Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi [Shizuoka Jogakuin One Hundred Year History]* (Shizuoka: Gakkō Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, 1990), Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin One Hundred Year History]* (Tokyo: Gakkō Hōjin Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984), Amemiya Keisaku, ed., Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi [Fifty-Year Founding Anniversary Commemorative Publication]* (Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1940), and Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi [Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Eighty Year History]* (Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin, 1969). See also Patricia Sippel, "Toyo Eiwa Jogakko as a Site of International Exchange: The Experiences of Three Canadian Methodist Women," *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Kiyō* 7, (2011): 1-20, http://id.nii.ac.jp/1093/00000354, and Patricia G. Sippel, "Surviving Japanese Militarism: Canadian Educators at a Christian Girls' School," *Ajia Bunka Kenkyū* 38, (2012): 31-45, http://id.nii.ac.jp/1130/00002835/.

nations for women's rights through a transnational feminist movement, and women's organizations such as the Pan-Pacific Women's Association (PPWA).[48] Fiona Paisley explains delegates "spoke as modern experts," and some were "established leaders in women's affairs in government departments in the United States."[49] Rather than political work or activism, the actors in this study utilized education, communication, Christian social engagement, international learning, mutual exchange, and mobility through non-state channels to connect women of different nationalities into a wide network. High school students also engaged with the formation of this women's network by reaching out to their peers and the wider world through school activities. These voices and experiences are found in Japanese language period school publications rather than organization or governmental histories.

Keisha N. Blain and Tiffany M. Gill's recent edited volume on black women's internationalism also transcends the "political struggle" narrative of black internationalism to analyze "the varied ways that black women have forged global connections."[50] It explores how (lesser-known) female actors engaged with race and gender narratives and constructed their own agendas, and thus "moves black women from the margins to the center."[51] This study also brings peripheralized actors to the forefront of transnational network building across nations in the East and West, moving beyond the narratives of Japan-Canada state encounters, and how

[48] See, for example, Taeko Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement before World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4v5b, Barbara Molony, "Crossing Boundaries: Transnational Feminisms in Twentieth-Century Japan," in *Women's Movements in Asia: Feminisms and Transnational Activism*, eds. Mina Roces and Louise Edwards (London, New York: Routledge, 2010), 90-109, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=537871, Fiona Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race Politics in the Women's Pan-Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 1, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824862657.

[49] Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific*, 2, 10.

[50] Keisha N. Blain and Tiffany M. Gill, "Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism," in *To Turn the Whole World Over: Black Women and Internationalism*, eds. Keisha N. Blain and Tiffany M. Gill (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019), 4, DOI: 10.5622/illinois/9780252042317.001.0001.

[51] Blain and Gill, "Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism," 3-4.

statesmen forged connections between the two countries. Rather than political activism, these actors utilized international learning, mutual exchange, study abroad, and group religious activities to connect Japanese and Western women across the East-West divide through what they saw as commonalities in Christian religion, worldviews, gender, and age. While it is unlikely power dynamics and hierarchical thinking were completely absent in this community, it appears actors endeavored to overcome such divides through emphasizing commonality and connection.

Leila J. Rupp has analyzed how "women from far-flung countries came together in transnational organizations and constructed an international collective identity" through women's organizations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).[52] The Eiwa schools had connections to the YWCA, WCTU, and the WILPF Japan section. School sources describe the formation of these connections and student engagement. As such, students who were targets of state nationalization were also exposed to the activities and ideology of international women's organizations.[53] They were not just receivers, but interpreters and utilizers of education. Connections were formed intellectually and physically through curricular education and school groups, mobility, writing, religious engagement, and communication in the school context. This is revealed through school reports and the voices of largely non-elite, lesser-known actors. Scholars have analyzed the Meiji period Japan WCTU and the early Japan YWCA.[54] Moving into the 1930s and outside the national associations to

[52] Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 3, 4, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=6388557.

[53] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 31.

[54] On the WCTU see, for example, Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412659, and Rumi Yasutake, "Men, Women, and Temperance in Meiji Japan: Engendering WCTU Activism from a Transnational Perspective," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 17, (2006): 91-111, http://www.jaas.gr.jp/jjas/PDF/2006/No.17-091.pdf. On the

school groups enables this study to reveal how these organizations impacted and were utilized in school activities in a turbulent time. Connections created professional and educational opportunities, and facilitated international learning, encounters, and exchange.

Kawai Michi and Kubushiro Ochimi were active in these organizations and had contact with the Eiwa schools. Their written works reveal social and intellectual engagement of well-known period Japanese Christian women, their vision for Japan, and the role they felt women and women's organizations could play in this work.[55] This study recognizes the wide network of Christian individuals and organizations the Eiwa schools operated within. Among other well-known Japanese Christian women, Kawai and Kubushiro visited and spoke at the Eiwa schools, engaged with the YWCA and WCTU, and in education, international exchange, and peace work. They were part of the dynamic network this study reconstructs which connected women of varying ages and roles, from activists to high school students.

As Christian schools, the Eiwa institutions faced challenges in the 1930s. Emily Anderson has outlined Christianity's perceived threat to the Japanese imperial state in this period.[56] Change and challenges for Christian (and the Eiwa) schools due to imperial nationalism and

YWCA see, for example, Margaret Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself: Caroline Macdonald of Japan* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412133, and Amanda L. Izzo, "'By Love, Serve One Another': Foreign Mission and the Challenge of World Fellowship in the YWCAs of Japan and Turkey," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 24, (2017): 347-372, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26549220.

[55] See Michi Kawai, *My Lantern* (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1939), Michi Kawai, *Sliding Doors* (Tokyo: Keisen Jogakuen, 1950), a copy of which I received from the staff of Keisen Jogakuen, and Michi Kawai and Ochimi Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America* (Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934), https://hdl.handle.net/2144/600. The *Japan Times & Mail* described Kawai as "perhaps better known in America than any other" Asian woman, and Kubushiro "one of Japan's most prominent women." See "Y.W.C.A. Plans for Yearly Conference: This Year Delegates Will Be In Two Groups, With Programme To Fit Each," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 16 Apr, 1921, 8, and "Japan To Grant Right To Vote, Woman States," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 19 Feb, 1923, 3 respectively.

[56] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 19.

militarism have been explored by scholars.[57] Rather than the impact of militarism or period state ideology, this study focuses on international education and mobility through the mission school setting and beyond. While actor's experiences were very much impacted by the former trends, some endeavored to move beyond these narratives by reaching out to the wider world through non-state (Christian) channels. This intergenerational group of women reached beyond institutions and countries, encouraging individuals, including students, to learn, think, communicate, and even move across state borders. Their actions were not facilitated by diplomacy, and sometimes did not align with period state ideology. They were instituted by members of this educational network, in part, to counter period state-level tensions and nationalistic trends.

Female Eiwa students are thus key historical actors in this study. Kristine Alexander has written on Girl Guides in Canada, England, and India in the 1920s and 1930s which Alexander explains includes "a commitment, inspired by girlhood studies and children's history, to take girls' experiences seriously and to give them equal weight to those of adults." [58] Peter Cave and Aaron William Moore argue Japanese children's writings can help us understand "the historical experience of young people in their own words."[59] Eiwa students' writings in Japanese school sources, too, shed light on their 1930s historical experience, the roles they played in school life, and encounters which occurred in these spaces. Their voices, activities, and school engagement

[57] See, for example, Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, Patricia G. Sippel, "Surviving Japanese Militarism: Canadian Educators at a Christian Girls' School," *Ajia Bunka Kenkyū* 38, (2012): 31-45, http://id.nii.ac.jp/1130/00002835/, and Takaaki Haraguchi, "David B. Schneder's Idea of Christian Education and its Implementation in Face of the Nationalistic Education in Modern Japan," in *Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea: Historical Studies*, eds. Yuko Watanabe, Scott W. Sunquist, Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Tze Ming Ng and Chong Ku Paek (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2009), 89-98.

[58] Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 11.

[59] Peter Cave and Aaron William Moore, "Historical Interrogations of Japanese Children amid Disaster and War, 1920–1945," *Japanese Studies* 36, no. 3 (2016): 290, DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2016.1253003.

have been largely missed by studies which focus on missionaries, school events, organizational elites, and the impact of imperial state policies and ideology, rather than the less formal but committed school activities and transnational engagement of little-known actors. The dynamism of the Eiwa school experience and this network's vision for the future is not fully revealed without students, Japanese educators, and alumnae.

These actors, including students, operated in a period of tension and conflict. The Japanese people's experience of the Pacific War has been studied through the home front, soldiers, mobilization, and mass culture and media.[60] This thesis brings multiple generations of women of girls' Christian schools into the narrative of the 1930s through an encounter which interacted with, but also took place outside of (and appears to have been in some part a reaction to) militarism, mobilization, state ideology, and war propagation. These actors appear to have felt mutual learning and exchange between the East and West was important in the 1930s, and especially prior to mobilization after the outbreak of hostilities in 1937 (although activities took place throughout the late 1930s), felt able and empowered to pursue these actions. The war experience of Japanese young people has been analyzed through children's life writing and diaries.[61] Although this study focuses on the 1930s rather than 1940s war time, young people's writings demonstrate they engaged with intellectual and educational life by participating in

[60] See, for example, Thomas R. H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1986), Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Grassroots Fascism: The War Experience of the Japanese People*, trans. Ethan Mark (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), https://doi.org/10.7312/yosh16584, and Benjamin Uchiyama, *Japan's Carnival War: Mass Culture on the Home Front, 1937–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1017/9781316899823.

[61] See, for example, Aaron William Moore, "Reversing the Gaze, the Construction of "Adulthood" in the Wartime Diaries of Japanese Children and Youth," in *Child's Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, eds. Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 141-159, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w8h25q.12, Aaron William Moore, "From Individual Child to War Youth: The Construction of Collective Experience among Evacuated Japanese Children during World War II," *Japanese Studies* 36, no. 3 (2016): 339-360, DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2016.1253434, and L. Halliday Piel, "The School Diary in Wartime Japan: Cultivating morale and self-discipline," *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no. 4 (July 2019): 1004-1037, DOI: 10.1017/S0026749X17000439.

intellectual exchange and taking an active role in school groups which facilitated such exchange. Horie Yūko compiled a collection of interviews with women who attended Tokyo Woman's Christian University during the Pacific War, including a few Tōyō Eiwa graduates.[62] Horie's interviewee recollections of Tōyō Eiwa augment this study which uses written records to capture words and actions as students described them, bringing in less visible but engaged actors and their goals and future vision for the world and humankind into the historiography.

This thesis thus explores how and why 1930s Eiwa school curricular and extra-curricular education reached outward from Japan into the wider world through an intergenerational network of women. Scholars have discussed education in 1930s Japan in relation to the impact of state policies, ideology such as *Kokutai* (National Polity), imperial objects, and propaganda.[63] However, this period also saw peace and disarmament activism, international education and mobility, and work for international friendship by, for example, Christian women who endeavored with a perceived sense of urgency to build a community and world structure outside narrow nationalism by connecting individuals through commonalities across the East-West divide. To do so, these actors utilized education. Takeuchi Hisaaki has explored Kawai Michi's

[62] *Senjika no Joshi Gakuseitachi: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku ni Manada 60nin no Taiken [Girl Students in Wartime: The Experiences of 60 People who Studied at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku]*, ed. Horie Yūko (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2012). This work is a collection of interviews with graduates of Tokyo Woman's Christian University.

[63] For example, Max M. Ward, *Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1215/9781478002741, Satofumi Kawamura, "The National Polity and the formation of the modern national subject in Japan," *Japan Forum* 26, no. 1 (2014): 25-45, DOI: 10.1080/09555803.2013.802367, and Noriko Ishii, "Difficult Conversations Across Religions, Race and Empires: American Women Missionaries and Japanese Christian Women during the 1930s and 1940s," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 24, (2017): 373-401, DOI: 10.1163/18765610-02404004 discuss *Kokutai* and education. "Play, Education, Or Indoctrination? Kamishibai in 1930s Japan," *Mechademia* 11, no. 1 (Fall 2018): 65-91, *Project MUSE*, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/725971 explores propaganda, education, and children's media. Media and propaganda feature in Sabine Frühstück, *Playing War: Children and the Paradoxes of Modern Militarism in Japan* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017) as well.

peace education in the pre-war period at her school Keisen Jogakuen.[64] This study, too, describes pre-WWII peace and international education. Mark E. Lincicome has studied Japan's official international education movement which ceased after 1931.[65] This study reveals spaces and actors through which international education continued in the 1930s. In doing so, students in Japan reached intellectually outside their country to connect with peers across physical space, national borders, and even across East-West divides. This study thus conceptualizes period Eiwa education as intergenerational by analyzing the intellectual contributions and active engagement of students, educators, and alumnae in the mission school setting and wider network.

Methodology, Terminology, and Sources

A transnational historical approach reveals women-led networking, connections, and activities through non-diplomatic channels which transcended national boundaries of Japan, Canada/the West, and beyond. As Akira Iriye explains: "Nations … now share their conceptual space with such other categories as gender, race and age. … [C]ommunities of people … may identify themselves as members of their respective nations, but they will also be connected, mentally and physically, to their counterparts elsewhere."[66] Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin describe transnationalism as "capturing experiences that traversed and transcended the borders

[64] Hisaaki Takeuchi, "Senzen Senchū Nihon ni Okeru 'Heiwa to Kyōiku' : Kawai Michi no Shisō Keisei ni Sokushite/Thoughts of 'Peace and Education' in Prewar Japan : The Formation of the Thoughts of Michi Kawai," *Tokyo Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu Kiyō* 30, (March 1991): 43-52, https://doi.org/10.15083/00029768.

[65] See Mark E. Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (May 1999): 338-360, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2659400, and Mark Lincicome, *Imperial Subjects as Global Citizens: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Education in Japan* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009).

[66] Akira Iriye, "Foreword," in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), xiii, DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.

of nation states both within and beyond the European world."[67] Further, Anne Taylor Allen explains that the term transnational "denotes relationships that fall outside formal governmental and organizational structures and evolve from the many ways—migration, travel, intellectual exchange, institutional cooperation, publication, correspondence, conferences, to name only a few—in which people and ideas cross national boundaries."[68] Non-state Eiwa actors moved and communicated across nations, transcending national, continental, and racial boundaries.

I refer to how these individuals engaged with the wider world as transnational engagement. Although students discussed relations between nations, the activities I explore focused on individuals and took place through non-state channels, women and youth, global prayer events, physical mobility, education, and mutual student exchange. Thus, these women transcended national borders through communication and learning. International aspects were found in such activities as international educational mobility, where the experience of living and studying abroad was considered central to one's educational and intellectual development within this network, YWCA activities in which students learned about other countries, and curricular world history and geography. As these aimed to increase knowledge of other countries to encourage understanding, the idea of separate nations and differences between them was important. However, these activities, too, were geared toward and undertaken by individuals.

As noted, the 1930s experience likely differed for individuals of the three Eiwa schools. For example, Gwen R. P. Norman noted "Toyo Eiwa consistently shows a greater number of girls engaged in Sunday schools and children's meetings. However, the Toyo Eiwa had larger

[67] Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, "Rethinking the History of Internationalism," in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 4, DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.002

[68] Ann Taylor Allen, *The Transatlantic Kindergarten: Education and Women's Movements in Germany and the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 5, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190274412.001.0001.

numbers to draw from and the city of Tokyo offered more opportunity for such service than the smaller provincial cities."[69] While recognizing such potential differences as school locality, community, activities, and staff, the mobility of individuals between and communication within the Eiwa network makes a study of the three sister schools meaningful.[70] Such aspects as family background, peers, and personal circumstances likely impacted student worldviews. The experiences of students in this study who attended high school in the 1930s would also have differed from "Japanese children whose childhoods had been colored by war," although military/government involvement in Eiwa school life and society occurred through the 1930s.[71]

The Japanese interwar and Pacific War periods can be analyzed in various temporal scales. Taking place before WWI, the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War was significant for Japan.[72] However, due to the Eiwa school's Western connections, this study focuses on the interwar period between WWI and WWII, the 1920s and especially 1930s. Andrew Arsan et al. explain these years "provide a privileged vantage point from which to examine the meanings, extent, and limits of transnational associational life."[73] Indeed, WWI "did not simply pit peoples against each other, leading to a resurgence of nationalism and irredentism. It also bred a growing sense of interconnectedness."[74] The transnational connections and mobility of the Eiwa network are especially tangible in the interwar years and 1930s when it appears these activities took on

[69] Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973: Part I*, 265.

[70] For example, communication took place between the schools, and individuals moved between them. Two such examples are Nomura Michiko who attended Tōyō Eiwa and worked at Shizuoka Eiwa, and Enomoto Aiko who attended Yamanashi Eiwa and worked at Shizuoka Eiwa among other posts. See Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 155, and "Enomoto Aiko Ryakunenpyō," in *Shu wa Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]* (Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014), 118. I received a copy of this from Enomoto Fumiko

[71] Frühstück, *Playing War*, 161.

[72] See, for example, chapter three of Sho Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9781684175314.

[73] Arsan et al., "Editorial – the roots of global civil society and the interwar moment," *Journal of Global History* 7, no. 2 (July 2012): 162, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022812000010.

[74] Arsan et al., "Editorial," 163.

a sense of urgency.

The Fifteen Years' War (1931-1945) scale also helps conceptualize the Eiwa school experience. Eri Hotta explains Japan's 1931 actions in northeast China "catapulted Japan into an era of warfare that lasted until ... August 1945[,]" and "some Japanese scholars … term this period the "Fifteen Years' War.""[75] This temporal scale contextualizes military and government involvement in school and wider social and intellectual life after 1931. However, Horie Yūko argues the war's impact on Japanese students took place especially from 1937.[76] As such, the scale of the Second Sino-Japanese War and Pacific War in the period from 1937 to 1945 (recognizing "the beginning of full-scale hostilities in July 1937,") help contextualize the Eiwa school experience as well.[77] However, even within these years, international education, communication, learning, and mobility occurred within the Eiwa schools and network with a perceived increase in urgency and importance. This study conceptualizes the development and practice of these phenomena.

This study utilizes scholarly sources, self-published Eiwa school history books, and period school publications to analyze what occurred in these spaces beyond our existing understanding of education and Christian schools in 1930s Japan.[78] I visited the archives of Tōyō Eiwa, Shizuoka Eiwa, and Yamanashi Eiwa to view school magazine/report/bulletin

---

[75] Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1, *EBSCOhost*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2713/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=252548&site=ehost-live.

[76] Horie Yūko, "Hajimeni," *Senjika no Joshi Gakuseitachi: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku ni Manada 60nin no Taiken [Girl Students in Wartime: The Experiences of 60 People who Studied at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku]*, ed. Horie Yūko (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2012), iii.

[77] Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, "Introduction," in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, eds. Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 3, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1215/9780822381051-001.

[78] The Eiwa school experience is further revealed in the Methodist Church of Canada periodical *The Missionary Outlook*, the United Church of Canada periodicals *The New Outlook* and *The United Church Observer*, and letters and WMS annual reports from the United Church of Canada Archives. *The Japan Times & Mail* and *The Japan Advertiser* newspapers also describe period events and activities which connected the Eiwa schools with their local communities and other girls' schools.

publications from the period of 1920 to 1940 to analyze school events, student compositions, alumnae activity reports, school visitors and groups, connections to the WCTU and YWCA, and international education and exchange.[79] I reviewed the Tōyō Eiwa *Dōsōkai Kaihō* (1920-1940), *Kōyūkaishi* (1930-1933), and *Kaede* (1934 and 1936-1941), the Shizuoka Eiwa *Dōsō*(*kai*) *Kaihō* (1920-1921 and 1923-1940), and the Yamanashi Eiwa *Dōsōkaihō* (1920 and 1930-1938) which has a *Kōyūkaishi* section in the 1932 to 1937 issues.[80] I utilize these sources as similarly formatted publications were produced by the three schools, suggesting possible connections in the purpose of their creation, featured content, and intended audiences. These sources bring a little-known and intergenerational group of actors' voices and historical experiences into the narrative and show how these women engaged in the construction and development of space, and 1930s activities and networking.

It is important to acknowledge methodological issues of using these sources. The student compositions I analyze were printed in school publications, and thus likely written in response to school assignments, activities, or events instituted for specific goals. Student opinions were likely impacted by such aspects as family background, lifestyle, peers, personal experiences, local community and geographical location, and consumed media. When looking at valedictorian speeches, we may wonder how representative of their fellow Eiwa students valedictorians were.[81] Student essays and speeches may also have been written with the guidance of teachers or parents, or edited before publication. Graduates sending correspondence to be published in the Alumnae Association Reports would have had a certain audience in mind

[79] *Kaihō* means report/bulletin, while the Tōyō Eiwa *Hyaku Nenshi* refers to *Kōyūkaishi* as a *zasshi* or magazine. See Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 311.

[80] While *Kaihō* means a report or bulletin, I use the term 'Alumnae Association Report' throughout this study.

[81] I discussed some of these Shizuoka Eiwa student valedictorian speeches in my 2016 Kyoto Prefectural University master's thesis: '*God and Patriotism: Mission School Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakkō in Pacific War-era Japan*.'

for their words. While keeping these issues in mind, it is useful to analyze key terminology used, ideas discussed, and the purpose and significance of activities which essays responded to. Some included ideas and terminology surprising for the time and begin to reveal an alternative intellectual landscape which these actors constructed.

My thesis title is based on a Yamanashi Eiwa student essay entitled 'Women in/of an Extraordinary Time/A Time of Crisis' (*Hijōjika no Josei*), and Kawai Michi and Kubushiro Ochimi's English translation of *hijōji*.[82] While Kawai and Kubushiro translated this as 'extraordinary period,' I chose the wording 'extraordinary time,' although *hijōji* can also mean a time of crisis or emergency. While the contents of the above student essay were not provided, as it was written in 1938 the author may have discussed the war effort, rather than internationalism friendship and peace. However, I feel the term connotes an image of women engaging in society and intellectual life in a significant, challenging, and changing time. Women engaged in intellectual, physical, and transnational exchange and mobility, educational institutions and global organizations, the war effort, and had roles as mothers and within the home. In a time of great turbulence, Eiwa actors traveled between Japan and the West, communicated across oceans and national borders, and instituted activities to build international knowledge which they envisioned ideally leading to friendship and understanding despite state-level tensions and conflict. Thus, I view them as 'women in an extraordinary time.'

This study thus conceptualizes writings, mobility, and school activities undertaken by women and youth which widen our understanding of 1930s Japanese education and intellectual life. It utilizes period school publications to analyze the Eiwa network structure, school culture and activities, and individual women's experiences, voices, goals, and visions for the future.

[82] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi* (Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin, 1969), 205, Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 5.

This methodology reveals a wide transnational network surrounding three girls' mission schools through which an intergenerational network of women took it upon themselves to engage with the wider world, and practice international education and mobility in a challenging and nationalistic period. Adult and young women lacking political power and voices in public arenas engaged in and voiced their opinions on the importance of and methods for international learning in a network they constructed. The coming chapters which explore the Eiwa mission school network, aspects of Eiwa school culture, school international and peace education and student writings on these topics, and the role of YWCA activities in the 1930s thus demonstrate a new understanding of education and transnational engagement of a network of intergenerational women in 1930s Japan.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter one outlines a wide transnational network which developed around these schools. It sets the stage for conceptualizing the coming discussions of school culture, international and peace education, student discussions on peace, and the role and significance of 1930s YWCA activities. Tracing this network reveals how Japanese and Canadian actors created intellectual and physical links between their schools, students, graduates, and the wider world. Christian women's organizations were manifested as school groups for student engagement. Involvement at school, and for some, after graduation potentially contributed to constructing a sense of collective identity and community membership. Multiple generations of Eiwa actors also connected with peers across national boundaries through their voices and physical mobility. These schools were thus spaces for education, Christian social engagement, and exchange which reached into local society and the wider world. Using a transnational approach to examine these

1930s activities reveals connections and ideas which did not necessarily align with period social and intellectual trends and state ideology, thus expanding our understanding of international education and women's engagement with the wider world in 1930s Japan.

Chapter two narrows the focus to explore aspects of Eiwa school culture. The construction of the intellectual and physical environment created spaces for cultural encounters, international learning, and interactions between Japanese and Canadian/Western actors. This chapter explores five key facets evident in interwar Eiwa school culture: (1) Christianity, the chapel, and Christian service, (2) Western customs, English, international, and imperial education, (3) women's education, mobility, and connectivity across nations, (4) individual and 'free' thinking aligning with period 'new education' (*shinkyōiku*) trends, and (5) the incorporation of state ideology coexisting with international and religious teachings in the 1930s. There was evidently a naturalized culture and environment inside the schools which did not completely align with what was considered the norm outside. This analysis of school culture contextualizes the coming discussions of international and peace education which occurred in an unlikely period of Japanese history. This study explores how and why international learning was practiced throughout the 1930s at these Christian girl's schools through groups of intergenerational female actors. The construction of school intellectual and physical spaces and the wider network likely impacted the development of this phenomena, and thus are the focus of chapters one and two.

Chapter three turns to 1930s Eiwa school international and peace education activities and resulting written intellectual output. International education and transnational engagement were practiced through religious activities, international learning, and communication across nations. Women and youth were key agents *and* targets in these activities. Thus, gender and age were

important aspects of these educational practices. 1930s Eiwa student compositions suggest how peace and international activities, combined with the school culture and networking previously explored, impacted how students intellectually navigated and engaged with intellectual life in this period. Within the Eiwa schools, students were able to, and indeed chose to discuss and conceptualize the turbulent 1930s in surprising ways, writing on peace, nonviolence, international friendship, and individual potential and power. Such phenomena also took place within a wider intellectual landscape of discussions on women, youth, Christianity, and education in the effort for peace. Despite significant challenges faced by Christian schools in militaristic and nationalistic 1930s Japan, the experiences of Eiwa actors reveal international education, communication, and knowledge building throughout this period.

Chapter four explores how the YWCA or *Seinenkai*, in addition to being a group for women's Christian social engagement, was utilized to facilitate international education and exchange for intergenerational groups of Eiwa actors which centered on adult and young women. Students participated in school group activities and attended nation-wide girls' student retreats. One concrete result of this participation was student action to form *Kokusaibu* or International Departments at their schools in the late 1930s. Young women had roles and voices in international activities, through which they aimed to increase international knowledge within their peers and communicate with the wider world to foster international friendship. This chapter also examines the 1939 World Conference of Christian Youth, attended by youth of the YMCA, YWCA, churches, and a Yamanashi Eiwa alumna. The YWCA was thus utilized to construct intellectual and physical connections with the wider world in the 1930s in which adult and young women were key actors.

Through this chapter structure, this thesis explores an alternative intellectual landscape in

and experience of 1930s Japan through intergenerational groups of women and youth of girls' mission schools. Eiwa actors were receivers, constructors, interpreters, and utilizers of their school's education and environment, and the wider network. Through community engagement, adult and young women practiced intellectual and physical exchange to address current issues in education and social and intellectual life which challenged connections to the wider world.

Chapter 1: Tracing a Mission School Network: Physical, Intellectual, and Transnational Community Building and the Eiwa Schools

1.1 Introduction

In 1939, WMS missionary Isabel Govenlock stated, "the history of a school is the history of its graduates."[1] Graduates, as well as students and educators of the Tōyō Eiwa, Shizuoka Eiwa, and Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō girls' mission school community constructed a Christian educational and professional network which transcended nations.[2] The actions, agency, and movement of multiple generations of women created and widened it, in ways and through organizations which aligned with and facilitated community goals. While Canadian Protestant missionaries including those of the WMS were involved in school, medical, church, and other institutional work throughout the Empire of Japan, this study focuses on the networking, education, and transnational connections of the three WMS Eiwa girls' schools.[3] A key aspect of the dynamic history of these schools is revealed through the engagement of Japanese and Western female school actors which transcended nations. Thus, this chapter begins this study by tracing the Eiwa mission school network through international women's organizations, women's mobility, and student activities by moving progressively outward from the institutions into Japanese society and the wider world. It explores the wider physical and intellectual

[1] Isabel Govenlock, "To the members of the Alumnae Association of the Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakko," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuhata: Dōsōkaihō [Shizuhata: Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 43 (Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1939), 9.

[2] While conceptualizations of who makes up a network can vary and some period actors may not have considered themselves part of a wider network, this study specifically explores female students, alumnae, teachers, and missionaries teaching at or involved in the work of the schools which it refers to as 'Eiwa actors' of the 'Eiwa network' for the purpose of exploring its wider reach and significance.

[3] A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 3, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3050225.

network the Eiwa schools, which WMS missionary Olivia C. Lindsay (1882-1965) termed an "Eiwa [c]ircle" and "family" in 1930, were situated within in the 1920s and 1930s, and resulting connections which transcended physical institutional boundaries.[4] At a time when such activities were challenging and requiring commitment, this community engaged with international (Christian) women's organizations, practiced communication, exchange, and professional, educational, and physical international mobility. This chapter contextualizes this community and network building and analyzes what participation potentially meant to and offered members. Thus, these schools and the wider network is understood not only through the contributions and movement of foreign missionaries or institutional operations, but the active membership, participation, and mobility of Japanese students, alumnae, and educators.

Eiwa actors operated and moved within an established intellectual landscape of Japanese women's movements and Christian women's networks. As Mara Patessio explains, "[b]y the 1880s Japanese women had … formed the roots of the Japanese feminist movement."[5] Japanese feminists who debated the role of women and the state from varying political and ideological standpoints in the Taishō period (1912-1926) included Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), Yamada Waka (1879-1957), Hiratsuka Raichō (1886-1971), and Yamakawa Kikue (1890-1980).[6] According to Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, "mass-circulation newspapers and magazines, lecture halls, and mission schools for girls were … important, as they collectively provided women with a means to learn about current events in Japan and elsewhere, issue their own calls for reform,

[4] Olivia C. Lindsay, "Senseigata Goshokan: To the Eiwa Alumnae Circle," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 34 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō, 1930), 30-31.

[5] Mara Patessio, "Western Women Missionaries and their Japanese Female Charges, 1870–1890," *Women's History Review* 16, no. 1 (February 2007): 73, DOI: 10.1080/09612020601048787.

[6] Laurel Rasplica Rodd, "Yosano Akiko and the Taishō Debate Over the "New Woman"," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 176, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02398.

and develop networks and "sisterhoods" for organized activism."[7] In a study of Charlotte B. DeForest and her student Takeda (Cho) Kiyoko, Noriko Ishii explains that "[o]wing to prewar mission school education," Takeda "acquired Christian faith, English proficiency, and access to transnational missionary networks."[8] Similarly, the Eiwa girls' schools were spaces for women's education (including in Western customs and the English language), Christian evangelization, and engagement within the surrounding network.

Sho Konishi argues the Nonwar Movement that emerged at the time of the Russo-Japanese War played a role in the women's movement, as its "sustained critique of *ryōsai kembo* (good wife, wise mother) ideology contributed to shaping a modern women's identity independent of the state."[9] The historical actors in this study were non-state women whose transnational activities took place through non-diplomatic channels. While Japanese women lacked the right to state political participation at this time, 'non-state' also refers to the knowledge and experiences members of this network constructed which were not limited to state ideological boundaries, connecting the East and West physically and intellectually. Indeed, Glenda Sluga argues: "[t]he history of internationalism leads us to women as well as men, … to the ideologies of popular social movements as well as elites, and to non-Europeans and colonials as well as to the 'West'."[10] Non-state women also feature in transnational studies.

---

[7] Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 33, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412659.

[8] Noriko Ishii, "Difficult Conversations Across Religions, Race and Empires: American Women Missionaries and Japanese Christian Women during the 1930s and 1940s," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 24, (2017): 397, DOI: 10.1163/18765610-02404004.

[9] Sho Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 164, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9781684175314. 'Nonwar Movement' is Konishi's translation of *hisen undō*. See Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 143, 165.

[10] Glenda Sluga, "Women, Feminisms and Twentieth-Century Internationalisms," in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 82, DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.005.

Joyce Goodman took "a transnational approach to make women visible as non-state actors constructing educational knowledge, founding institutions and practicing as educationists" in studying the writings of Kasuya Yoshi (1894-1994).[11] Goodman contends transnationalism focuses "on non-state actors, flows across national borders," while "also provid[ing] ways to make visible gendered processes of knowledge construction and their maintenance and to illuminate the spaces women created to foster the production of educational knowledge and practice."[12]

Tracing the Eiwa network contextualizes school activities which involved transnational communication (between nations to overcome boundaries through commonalities and mutual exchange), international education (learning about other countries to gain knowledge and understanding of differences), peace education, and international mobility between nations in the turbulent 1930s. Introduced in Japan in 1925, the Peace Preservation Law or *Chianijihō* led to arrests of individuals, "teachers included—whom the government deemed a threat to social order and to its own power."[13] Thus, this 'peace' would result from the suppression of groups considered potential threats to state ideological supremacy. After the 1931 Manchurian Incident, "pacifism of any kind was considered practically seditious because of its implicit rejection of the military's actions and the state's decisions."[14] Radio, among other media, was censored.[15] These factors would have impacted the practice and discussion of peace activities, international

[11] Joyce Goodman, "Gender, cosmopolitanism, and transnational space and time: Kasuya Yoshi and girls' secondary education," abstract, *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 683, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2015.1076066.

[12] Goodman, "Gender, Cosmopolitanism, and Transnational Space and Time," 698.

[13] Gregory James Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 41, Mark Lincicome, *Imperial Subjects as Global Citizens: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Education in Japan* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 110.

[14] Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 213.

[15] Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan,* 41.

education, and transnational networking in the 1930s which this thesis explores. In this chapter specifically, radio, communication and movement across national borders, and involvement with international women's organizations advocating disarmament feature prominently. The Eiwa network was created in part through choices members made to facilitate connections and institute activities connecting students, educators, and alumnae to the wider world in the 1920s and 1930s. How and why such activities, connections, and development took place in a tense and nationalistic period of history starts to be revealed in this chapter's exploration of Eiwa intellectual and physical networking.

Studies on 1930s Japan detail increasingly close intellectual connections between the state and Japanese people, such as through *Kokutai* or national polity, which Max M. Ward explains "[expanded] into various domains of everyday life in imperial Japan."[16] However, this group's networking is surprising as it operated, in part, outside state ideology which viewed the West as an enemy and separated Japan and the West. Exploring these women's movements and actions on a transnational level reveals the significance of their work to internationalize and build connections which transcended 1930s state-level boundaries to counter narrow nationalism and ensure future fellowship between fellow Christians, and humankind. This chapter outlines this network's construction, movement, and engagement before narrowing the focus to the institutions in the following chapter. This network building is uncovered, in part, through period school publications.[17] These internal school print forums recorded student, teacher, missionary, and alumnae voices and activities, school events, and individual involvement in wider society beyond mission reports. Resources from the United Church of

[16] Max M. Ward, *Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), 22, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1215/9781478002741.

[17] This chapter utilizes Tōyō Eiwa's *Kaede* and *T. E. Nyūsu*, and the three Eiwa school's *Dōsō*(*kai*) *Kaihō* (Alumnae Association Reports).

Canada Archives in Toronto, Canada also shed light on how the WMS and related actors facilitated this network building.[18]

This study adds a new dimension to the historiography of the WMS mission in Japan by revealing the reach of these mission schools in domestic, international, physical, and intellectual contexts, and the intergenerational network Western and Japanese Eiwa actors created.[19] While prominent male Japanese Christians such as Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) and Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930) and their international connections are very well-known, little-known female actors contributed to building this network by reaching out to individuals and organizations to solidify a network of women and youth, connected across national borders by similar worldviews and religious beliefs in a challenging period of conflict and tension.[20] While recognizing the role of the WMS in the founding and running of the schools, this study also uses Japanese language sources to add the engagement and movements of Japanese actors to a narrative in which the Western missionary has played a prominent role. Including multiple generations of actors reveals how and why adult and young women were networking and moving. Youth voices and experiences show how students connected to and engaged with the

[18] In addition, *The Japan Times & Mail* newspaper, and periodicals (*The Missionary Outlook* of the Methodist Church of Canada, and *The New Outlook* and *The United Church Observer* of the United Church of Canada) further contextualize these developments within wider period trends in Japan and the Christian community.

[19] See, for example, Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 1992), A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=685687, and A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3050225.

[20] See, for example, George M. Oshiro, "Nitobe Inazō and the Sapporo Band: Reflections on the Dawn of Protestant Christianity in Early Meiji Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34, no. 1 (2007): 99-126, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/30234177, chapter six of Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824863036, John F. Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet: Uchimura Kanzō, 1861-1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412107.

wider world through school activities. In addition, tracing alumnae movement elucidates how school environment, curriculum, and activities encouraged such progression, and what membership in this community potentially offered graduates.

This chapter thus sets the stage for the coming discussions of Eiwa school culture, student writings on and school activities related to peace and international education, and the role of YWCA activities in the late 1930s by examining the network which facilitated these phenomena. It showcases how Japanese and Western Eiwa actors created physical and intellectual links between themselves and the wider world through language, mobility, and mutual exchange during a period in which such connections were challenged. The schools were connected to their immediate communities, visitors and speakers, and their Alumnae Associations. Alumnae movement constructed wide transnational and social connections, international Christian women's organizations were manifested as school groups, and school activities facilitated communication across nations.

These challenging activities were likely purposely instituted to create concrete and tangible connections and facilitate personal development aligning with the ideology and worldview of this community. As chapter three explores further, the 1930s was perceived to be a particularly important and urgent time for this work. WMS missionary Frances Gertrude Hamilton (1888-1975) expressed this in 1931:

> This is a critical time in the field of Christian service, not only in Japan but in every country of this world. There are perplexing problems to be solved and heavy loads to be lifted and carried. *May we be saved from the sin of merely dreaming* and drifting when the age demands the very best of every individual; and when, *to bring ... [p]eace into this much-troubled world, the utmost faithfulness and service is required of each follower of Christ.* [emphasis added][21]

[21] F. G. Hamilton, "Dear Friends:–," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō/Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsokai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1931), 76. The idea of service will be explored in the following chapters.

Hamilton argued idealism, concrete action, and individual effort were necessary to bring about the solutions this community aimed for – in other words, their envisioned interconnected world of the future. This chapter traces aspects of a physical and intellectual network to reveal how Japanese and Western WMS actors actively participated in Eiwa network construction which, in the 1930s, included the active engagement, development, education, and movement of Christian women despite, and to counteract, nationalistic trends.

1.2 Connections of the Eiwa Schools to their Communities

This chapter begins tracing the Eiwa mission school network by exploring the place of the schools within their communities on a physical level through gatherings and student work, and intellectually through visitors. It brings in student and alumnae voices and experiences, which will continue to be utilized throughout this thesis. In addition to educational development and Christian evangelization, the Eiwa schools were places of encounters. Students were potentially exposed to a variety of ideas through talks and school visitors, which staff likely chose based on what they could contribute to – and how they aligned with – school education and wider community goals. Students engaged with their communities through religious and social work. This solidified the place of the schools within the local religious community. These connections would have impacted how individuals developed and navigated the 1930s, and the school's wider educational environment. School activity, the community worldview, and the movement and progression of graduates were likely also linked; this will be explored in the following section. Students who worked in their communities and alumnae who moved into society or further education widened this network and became tangible examples of their

school's education.

Tōyō Eiwa was a location for wider educational and Christian community activities in the interwar period which connected it to, and gave it a significant presence within, women's educational and religious organizations. The Japan branch of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, members of the Tokyo Union Church, the Japan Methodist Church, and the American Association of University Women utilized the school for meetings.[22] School staff also participated in the Tokyo religious community. For example, Gertrude Tweedie reported "teachers of the Eiwa Jo Gakko and kindergarten" attended parts of the ten-day World's Sunday School Convention in 1920: "It certainly was a great privilege to join in worship with Christian workers from all over the world, many different in language, color, and costume, but all one in heart," Tweedie wrote.[23] This example of Tōyō Eiwa educators participating in the religious life of their local community was also a transnational religious and social encounter. The belief in Christianity's supranational nature, overcoming languages, ethnicities, and national boundaries, featured in period peace narratives as well, which chapter three explores. Further, in 1930, the Shizuoka Eiwa Alumnae Association meeting was held at Tōyō Eiwa.[24] It was thus also a physical link for alumnae of its Shizuoka sister school living in Tokyo.

Prominent Christian figures and peers and educators from other Japanese girls' Christian schools visited Tōyō Eiwa. For example, a religious talk by Kawai Michi, the first general

[22] "Coming Events," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 1 May, 1919, 1, "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser*, 23 Jan, 1923, 5, "Church Meeting First Since the Big Shake-Down," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 28 Jan, 1924, 2, "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser*, 27 Mar, 1935, 5, "A.A.U.W. Meeting," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 26 Apr, 1935, 4, and "Tokyo Society Notes," *The Japan Advertiser,* 27 Sept, 1936, 8.

[23] E. Gertrude Tweedie, "Correspondence from the Fields: All One in Heart," *The Missionary Outlook* 41, no. 2 (February 1921): 39. Tweedie was likely referring to the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō as this event took place in Tokyo.

[24] Naitō Takako, "Shibu Hōkoku," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 34 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō, 1930), 20. Naitō (内藤) can also be read, for example, as Uchifuji.

secretary of the Japan YWCA and founder of Tokyo's Keisen Jogakuen school, took place at the school in 1931.[25] On the fiftieth anniversary of its founding in 1934, Tōyō Eiwa received congratulatory telegrams from individuals of such institutions as Poole Jogakkō, Kinjō Joshi Senmon Gakkō, Kyūshū Jogakuin, Dōshisha Daigaku, Hiroshima Jogakuin, Kwassui Jogakkō, Fukuoka Jogakkō, Ranbasu (Lambuth) Jogakuin, Iai Jogakkō, Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, and Joshi Gakuin.[26] Tōyō Eiwa was thus part of a wide network of communicating Christian and girls' mission schools throughout Japan from southern Kyūshū to northern Hokkaidō. In 1935, Yamamuro Tamiko (1900-1981), who became high-ranking in the Salvation Army, gave a talk at the Tōyō Eiwa Sunday school, and Tōyō Eiwa entertained students from Aoyama Gakuin (a school founded by the American Methodist Episcopal Church).[27] In December, a teacher referred to as Miyakoda (likely Miyakoda Tsunetarō, 1897-1983) from Aoyama Gakuin gave a talk at the school.[28] These two examples demonstrate connections between two Methodist institutions beyond the national boundaries of their founding missions (the United States and Canada, also linking Japan with the geographical Christian West).

Shizuoka Eiwa was also connected to the local religious community. Missionary Olivia Lindsay wrote in 1925 that

> [i]t is no narrow, individualistic type of Christianity that is being developed among these young women. In the various student organizations, such as the Y.W.C.A., the Sunday school and the Evangelistic Band, our girls engage in definite forms of Christian work. … [S]ince our institution works in hearty co-operation with both the Japanese Methodist Church and the General Board representatives, it serves as a base of supply when Sunday-school teachers, choirs, etc., are needed. Moreover,

[25] "Seinenkai 20 Nenshi: Kiji," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinenshi Section]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 32.

[26] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako, Senkyūhyakusanjūyonen Shōwa Kyūnen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jōgakkō Dōsōkai, 1935), 81.

[27] "Shōwa 10 Nen Kōnai Kiji," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 132.

[28] "Shōwa 10 Nen Kōnai Kiji," 133.

> since most of our Methodist and other Japanese pastors send their daughters to our school, *our compound becomes a sort of rallying-ground for the Christians of the city*. [emphasis added][29]

The school's presence in the local religious community thus reportedly encouraged and facilitated student involvement in Christian work. Through this engagement, students tangibly encountered individuals and organizations of their local religious community. As we will see in the following section, some alumnae took such experience into society and continued such work following graduation as well.

Yamanashi Eiwa also hosted visitors from Japanese Christian girls' schools in the 1920s and 1930s, showing connections between Japanese girls' mission schools in physically distanced locations. For example, Kyoto's Heian Jogakuin (a girls' school founded in 1875 by a missionary of the American Episcopal Church) lecturer Matsuyama Hatsuko and Aoyama Gakuin lecturer Imai Saburō (1885-1942) gave a talk at the school in 1929.[30] Muraoka Hanako gave a talk at the school in December of 1933.[31] A well-known Tōyō Eiwa alumna, Muraoka will be discussed further below. Although these sources do not list the contents of these talks or activities engaged in when receiving visitors, these examples are evidence that exchange and connections were consciously formed between individuals of Japanese mission schools of different Protestant denominations and geographic and historical backgrounds, illustrating how the construction of this intellectual network took place.

Shizuoka Eiwa also held activities with well-known individuals in the 1930s. In 1936,

---

[29] Olivia C. Lindsay, "Our Shizuoka School," *The Missionary Outlook* 45, no. 4 (April 1925): 86.

[30] "Gakkō no Enkaku [History of the School]," Heian Jogakuin Chūgakkō・Kōtōgakkō, accessed 19 Apr, 2020, http://www.jh.heian.ac.jp/school_profile/gakkouno_enkaku, "Kōnai Gyōji," in Hirose Yasoji, ed., *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1930), 91.

[31] "Kōnai Kiji," Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 9.

fifth year Shizuoka Eiwa students attended a talk on current events by Yamada Waka (1879-1957).[32] Yamada was a Japanese Christian feminist who, "as a supporter of family and motherhood," advocated for state protection of women.[33] A member of the Seitō Society, Yamada was active in journalism as a "women's commentator."[34] Founded in 1911, the Seitō Society "provided a literary voice for women. It served as a vehicle to promote female talent and self-awareness, increased readers' knowledge of some social issues, and created an ideal venue to discuss women's problems."[35] Yamada had participated in the public *'bosei hogo ronsō*' or 'controversy over the protection of motherhood' in the late 1910s.[36] Further, in the mid-1930s, Yamada had "catapulted into national fame by accepting the nomination to the chairmanship of the Motherhood Protector League," shortly before this 1936 talk.[37] Yamada's well-known and visible involvement in women's issues and Christian faith likely played a role in Shizuoka Eiwa individuals attending this talk.

Another striking example took place in 1937 when Helen Keller visited Shizuoka with her companion Polly Thompson (1885-1960). Taught by Anne Sullivan Macy (1866-1936), Keller was an American author, activist, and the first deaf-blind person to receive an honors university degree.[38] Chizuru Saeki notes "Helen Keller was invited to Japan for the first time in 1937 by her sightless friend Iwahashi Takeo [(1898-1954),] ... professor at Kwansei Gakuin

---

[32] "Gakkō Dayori," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Kaihō [Report/Bulletin]*, no. 40 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1936), 28. The details of Waka's talk were not provided in this source. I discussed Yamada's talk and Helen Keller's visit which follows in my 2016 Kyoto Prefectural University master's thesis: '*God and Patriotism: Mission School Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakkō in Pacific War-era Japan*.'

[33] Tomoko Yamazaki, *The Story of Yamada Waka: From Prostitute to Feminist Pioneer*, trans. Ann Kostant and Wakako Hironaka (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985), 23.

[34] Hiroko Tomida, "The Controversy Over the Protection of Motherhood and its Impact upon the Japanese Women's Movement," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 3, no. 4 (2004): 247, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23615651, Tomida, "The Controversy Over the Protection of Motherhood," 259.

[35] Tomida, "The Controversy Over the Protection of Motherhood," 245.

[36] Tomida, "The Controversy Over the Protection of Motherhood," 247.

[37] Yamazaki, *The Story of Yamada Waka*, 22, 136.

[38] J. W. Tibble and Anne Tibble, *Helen Keller* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), 117.

University[.] ... He was convinced her presence would inspire blind people in Japan, and help change Japan's social welfare system and raise public awareness of the handicapped."[39] Referred to as a "saint" and depicted as "a friendly peacemaker," Keller was already very well-known in Japan at this time.[40] Discussions regarding Keller's schedule signify "how widespread was the desire in Japanese society to participate in her visit."[41] Helen Keller's arrival in Japan on 15 April 1937 "was reported in all national newspapers and radio programs in Japan with excitement and sensation."[42] She "undertook a nationwide lecture tour in order to promote public awareness and understanding of the blind. She visited over thirty nine cities and gave ninety seven lectures, attracting huge audiences wherever she went."[43] It appears to be within this lecture tour that Keller visited Shizuoka. Chizuru Saeki explains Keller's visit to Japan took place at a time "when Japanese leaders were hoping to repair relations with the U.S."[44] One year prior to Keller's visit, Tōyō Eiwa students participated in (and won) a Japan branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) essay contest by writing on how to improve United States-Japan relations.[45] The purpose of Keller's visit to Japan thus connected to themes and motivations of recent Eiwa school activities.

Keller and Thompson arrived at Shizuoka Eiwa on 4 May 1937 and stayed overnight in Principal Isabel Govenlock (1883-1974)'s residence.[46] Enomoto Aiko (1910-2008), a

---

[39] Chizuru Saeki, "Helen Keller's Civil Diplomacy in Japan in 1937 and 1948," *Japan Review* 27, (2017): 202, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23849575.

[40] Mochizuki, "Working for Equality," 68, Chikako Mochizuki, "Working for Equality: Activism and Advocacy by Blind Intellectuals in Japan, 1912-1995" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2013), 66-67, *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/dissertations-theses/working-equality-activism-advocacy-blind/docview/1499243905/se-2?accountid=13042.

[41] Mochizuki, "Working for Equality," 67.

[42] Saeki, "Helen Keller's Civil Diplomacy," 202.

[43] Saeki, "Helen Keller's Civil Diplomacy," 205.

[44] Saeki, "Helen Keller's Civil Diplomacy," 203.

[45] See "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai Tōsen Ronbun," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 7 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1937), 14. Chapter three will explore this contest in detail.

[46] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi* (Shizuoka: Gakkō Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, 1990), 595.

Yamanashi Eiwa alumna at this time teaching at Shizuoka Eiwa, explained that on 4 May, students lined up outside the school to greet Keller and Thompson.[47] Keller gave a public lecture that day, and the following day a talk in Shizuoka Eiwa's hall.[48] Keller had become "a strong believer in the doctrines given to the world by Emanuel Swedenborg, [(1688-1772)]" and some Swedenborgian theological themes are evident in the content of her talks.[49] Although a transcript was not provided, Enomoto reported that Keller stated: "The Bible, to me, is like a living river flowing through the dark silence of [my] life," and: "The [definition] of my religion is to love and to serve."[50] Poignant as 'love and service' is Shizuoka Eiwa's school motto, these terms also relate to Swedenborgian belief that God is "the source of all love," and the importance of being useful to others.[51] Critiqued by such prominent period figures as Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and having founded a "new Christian church," Swedenborg was "both adored and derided."[52] While the Protestant WMS was of a different denomination to Keller's Swedenborgian religious beliefs suggesting some flexibility, it is likely that her prominence, extremely well-known activism, and social contributions were of central importance to her visit.

The 1937 Shizuoka Eiwa *Dōsōkaihō* published three student reports on Keller's visit. Horikawa Yōko wrote she and her fellow students waited with "happiness and excitement" for Keller to arrive, and they were very happy to hear Keller would spend a night in "our principal's

---

[47] Enomoto Aiko, "Heren Keraa Joshi wo Mukaete," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1937), 62. Enomoto Aiko will be explored further below and in chapter four.

[48] Enomoto, "Heren Keraa Joshi wo Mukaete," 63.

[49] Jane Williams-Hogan, "Helen Keller's Spiritual Sight," Swedenborg Foundation, accessed 14 Apr, 2020, https://swedenborg.com/scholars-helen-kellers-spiritual-sight/.

[50] Enomoto, "Heren Keraa Joshi wo Mukaete," 63. Enomoto's report in the Yamanashi Eiwa *Dōsōkaihō* also informed alumnae of that school of Keller's visit, widening the reach of this event through print.

[51] "The Lord," Swedenborg Foundation, accessed 1 Nov, 2020, https://swedenborg.com/emanuel-swedenborg/explore/lord/>, "Usefulness," Swedenborg Foundation, accessed 1 Nov, 2020, https://swedenborg.com/emanuel-swedenborg/explore/use/>.

[52] Inge Jonsson, "Swedenborg, Emanuel," Oxford Reference: Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment, Oxford University Press, 2005, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780195104301.001.0001/acref-9780195104301-e-697.

home."[53] Horikawa called Keller a "great figure" and wrote she would never forget her deep emotion at seeing Helen Keller.[54] Horikawa wrote "God's work" was displayed on/in Keller.[55] Student Baba Miwa explained that Shizuoka Eiwa alumnae from Shizuoka city also attended Keller's talk, during which they prayed together with Keller.[56] Like Enomoto, Baba wrote Keller stated "religion is a life of love and service," suggesting this stood out to the Shizuoka Eiwa audience.[57]

Koitabashi Mineko wrote Keller "told us to hold ideals as high as Mount Fuji which we look up to in the morning and in the evening, and to become the happiness of all people."[58] Here, too, Keller's comments were reminiscent of the Swedenborgian belief that being useful to others is important. Koitabashi also described Keller as being "the light of humanity [*jinrui no hikari*]."[59] Koitabashi wrote she had heard about Keller before, but previously Keller's story had been one of "a far-away country."[60] She thought Keller "would be most happy" if they "became true light in the human world."[61] Koitabashi's description of Keller as a 'light of humanity' suggests that to her, Keller and her work transcended national boundaries. Koitabashi's report also shows how meeting a well-known figure in person and hearing them speak could bring that individual and their ideas intellectually closer to the audience. These

[53] Horikawa Yōko, "Heren Keraa Joshi no Kōen wo Kiku," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 34. Yōko (陽子) can also be read, for example, as Haruko and Hinako.

[54] Horikawa, "Heren Keraa Joshi no Kōen wo Kiku," 34.

[55] Horikawa, "Heren Keraa Joshi no Kōen wo Kiku," 34.

[56] Baba Miwa, "Heren Keraa Joshi no Kōen wo Kiku," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 35. Baba (馬場) can also be read, for example, as Banba.

[57] Baba, "Heren Keraa Joshi no Kōen wo Kiku," 35.

[58] Koitabashi Mineko, "Heren Keraa Joshi no Kōen wo Kiku," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 33.

[59] Koitabashi, "Heren Keraa Joshi no Kōen wo Kiku," 34.

[60] Koitabashi, "Heren Keraa Joshi no Kōen wo Kiku," 34.

[61] Koitabashi, "Heren Keraa Joshi no Kōen wo Kiku," 34.

students also used emotional language, demonstrating this event moved and inspired them, aligning with Keller's prominence, and how significant her visit would have been. This event brought Eiwa teachers, students, WMS missionaries, and the prominent figure of Helen Keller together into the wider intellectual network being constructed.

It goes without saying that Eiwa students also had direct contact with peers. Some students had international upbringings. Tōyō Eiwa instituted a "special class" from 1933 to 1943 for students who had been living abroad for a long period of time and returned to Japan.[62] Alumna and teacher Akiyama Shunko ran the department.[63] While communication between students may have depended on the Japanese ability of the girls in the 'special class,' this connectivity to a peer group of young women raised overseas potentially impacted student opinions and experiences. Aaron William Moore argues moving beyond how adults conceptualized children is important, as "the contributions of young people to the construction of their shared identity cannot be ignored."[64] Individuals within these schools, including peers and visitors, as well as the physical and intellectual connections which extended outward from the institutions allow us to trace the immediate beginnings of the Eiwa mission school network.

1.3 The Eiwa Alumnae Associations (*Dōsōkai*)

The Eiwa alumnae network included a large community of graduates. Some took on further education, engaged with women's organizations, and/or took part in the YWCA, WCTU, church work, and moved between mission and Christian institutions educationally and

[62] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi* (Tokyo: Gakkō Hōjin Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984), 250.

[63] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 251.

[64] Aaron William Moore, "From Individual Child to War Youth: The Construction of Collective Experience among Evacuated Japanese Children during World War II," *Japanese Studies* 36, no. 3 (2016): 340, DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2016.1253434.

professionally. Outlining the Eiwa Alumnae Associations (*Dōsōkai*) and graduate movement uncovers significant aspects of this community. The *Dōsōkai* kept records of alumnae and their movements through the association's internal print form, revealing surprising mobility and activities in the 1930s. These sources also recorded school events and visitors, student voices and experiences, and activities of school departments, and thus the ideas, ideology, and activities constructed, mobilized, utilized, and practiced in the 1930s. They allow this study to outline intricacies of the educational experience at the Eiwa schools by revealing the voices and experiences of an intergenerational network of Japanese actors.

Some Eiwa alumnae engaged in professional and educational mobility in the 1920s and 1930s. For graduates who took on further work or education in this period, some key areas which were also connected to school activities included 1) Educational progression and professional roles in educational institutions including the Eiwa schools, 2) Engagement with the YWCA and the WCTU, 3) Work with religious organizations and institutions, and 4) International mobility and education within North America and the wider Christian West. In choosing these avenues, Eiwa graduates engaged in roles aligning with the intellectual landscape of the wider Christian (women's) community as well as the identity, ideology, and social conceptualization of their school's education. Many modes of progression into society or the home were chosen by graduates. However, the alumnae movement explored in this section suggests Eiwa school education emphasized educational and professional progression within Japan and the West, religious engagement, and WCTU and YWCA work as important, viable, and worthwhile future pathways, and that these paths were attractive to some graduates. Some graduates also moved between nations. Having taken active roles in the wider community after graduation, these women are tangible individual examples of what the education at these schools

encouraged, and the kind of lifestyles alumnae actively created and developed.

Tōyō Eiwa alumnae movement reveals international mobility and work within schools, religious institutions, and the YWCA and WCTU. These pathways will continue to feature prominently in the discussion of Shizuoka Eiwa and Yamanashi Eiwa below. A. Hamish Ion argues "Canadian women missionaries helped create a new independent class of Japanese women who were relatively well educated and interested in pursuing their own careers, usually as teachers."[65] E. S. MacFarlane touched on graduates taking up teaching roles. MacFarlane explained that in 1922 the Canadian Methodist mission in Japan had twenty teachers who were graduates of Tōyō Eiwa, and that many Eiwa alumnae were "teaching in [g]overnment schools, in kindergartens, or engaged as evangelists or social service workers."[66] In 1924, *The Missionary Outlook* periodical reported on Tōyō Eiwa alumna Hisako Koike "who taught there for several years, and who is now studying music in New York."[67] It also wrote that Koike attended and spoke at a 'Young People's Rally' in Canada.[68] Koike is an example of a Tōyō Eiwa alumna who taught at the school, and who practiced international mobility within North America. In 1930, Tōyō Eiwa graduate Muraoka Hanako was involved with both the YWCA and the Japan WCTU.[69] A well-known alumna, Muraoka taught at Yamanashi Eiwa and translated many works into Japanese, including Mark Twain's *The Prince and the Pauper*, and Lucy Maud Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables*.[70]

---

[65] Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 124.

[66] E. S. MacFarlane, "Field Secretaries' Reports: Japan," *The Missionary Outlook* 42 no. 11 (November 1922): 514-515. It appears MacFarlane meant the WMS institutions specifically, as MacFarlane referred to schools in "our mission in Japan."

[67] "Hisako Koike San," *The Missionary Outlook* 44, no. 11 (November 1924): 257.

[68] "Hisako Koike San," 257. Koike's activities were included in *The Missionary Outlook*'s report of the Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the Board of Managers, so this rally may have been connected to that.

[69] "Kyōshi Shōsoku," in Hirose Yasoji, ed., *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1930), 9.

[70] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi* (Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin, 1969), 163, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa*

Tōyō Eiwa also played a key role in staffing WMS schools later in this period. Sybil R. Courtice (1884-1980) noted in 1940 that "[t]he seventy-seven teachers in our kindergartens are, as far as procurable, graduates of our own kindergarten teachers' training school, the highest department of the [Tōyō] Eiwa."[71] Progression from the Tōyō Eiwa kindergarten training school to jobs in WMS kindergartens was thus possible and evidently preferable. This was likely due to aspects of the education practiced at Tōyō Eiwa viewed as unique, and which were perceived as less likely to be replicated in graduates of, for example, government schools.

Shizuoka Eiwa graduates also followed paths involving educational progression and YWCA and religious community involvement. For example, in 1923, Arihara Chiyoko and Sugimoto Tsuruko entered the Tōyō Eiwa kindergarten training school.[72] Hasegawa Teruko was working at Ueda Baika Kindergarten, which was founded by the WMS and had ties to Tōyō Eiwa's kindergarten training school.[73] In 1925, Isabel Govenlock wrote of further education and professional roles for Shizuoka Eiwa graduates: "[o]f the thirty girls who graduated in March, six are continuing their studies in higher schools. One is taking a Household Science Course in Doshisha University [Kyoto], another a Dentistry Course in Tokyo. Eight other girls have secured positions as teachers in Kindergartens or Primary Schools or as Secretaries in

---

Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi, 162-163, Akiko Uchiyama, "*Akage no An* in Japanese girl culture: Muraoka Hanako's translation of *Anne of Green Gables*," *Japan Forum* 26, no. 2 (2014): 210. DOI: 10.1080/09555803.2014.900513.

[71] Sybil R. Courtice, "Sixty Years Educational Work in Japan," *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 3 (1 Apr, 1940): 6.

[72] "Dai Nijūnanakai Shunki Dōsōkai Hōkoku," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1923), 5.

[73] "Gakkō Shōsoku," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1923), 16. Hasegawa (長谷川) can also be read, for example, as Hasekawa. On Baika Kindergarten, see "Baika Yōchien: Baika Yōchien no Enkaku [Baika Kindergarten: History of Baika Kindergarten]," Baika Kindergarten, accessed 28 Sept, 2020, http://www.baikayouchien.com, and "History," Toyo Eiwa Jogakuin, accessed 28 Sept, 2020, https://www.toyoeiwa.ac.jp/english/history/index.html.

Government Offices."[74] In 1926, Shima Chieko was studying English literature at Japan Women's University.[75] In 1928, Mochizuki Sakiko was taking a business course at the Tokyo YWCA, and Asami Hideko was teaching physical education and physiology, and working with the YWCA and Bible groups at Kyōritsu Jogakkō girls' school in Yokohama.[76] Some Shizuoka Eiwa alumnae in this period were thus engaged in fields related to the above discussion: higher education at Tōyō Eiwa, other women's institutions, and Christian girls' schools, work in the WMS kindergartens, and engagement with the YWCA. These were evidently pathways which aligned with the education and network building at Shizuoka Eiwa as well.

Yamanashi Eiwa alumnae were also engaged in Christian women's associations, further education, and religious and professional work in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1920, Suda Kiyoko was working at Japan Women's University, and Tsuchiya Shigeko at the Osaka branch of the Japan YWCA.[77] Lola M. Clark wrote in 1923 that Yamanashi Eiwa "graduates are coming to mean more and more to our school, and are taking a deeper and deeper interest in its development and welfare."[78] Clark also reportedly stated in 1924 that "[s]eventy of the helpers in our school are graduates of our own school. They become the pillars of our evangelistic work throughout the country," demonstrating in both reports the importance to the WMS of religious

[74] Isabel Govenlock, "Shizuoka Branch.: Shizuoka.," in *First Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada 1925-1926* (Toronto: The Armac Press Limited, 1926), 119.

[75] "(Ni) Sudachi Ikareshi Kojima Nado no Sugata," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 30 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1926), 13.

[76] "Kaiin Shōsoku," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 32, Gotaiten Kinen ed (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1928), 33. Mochizuki (望月) can also be read, for example, as Mochitsuki, "Kaiin Shōsoku," Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō* (1928), 43. Asami (浅見) can also be read, for example, as Azami.

[77] "Kaiin Shōsoku," in Mukōyama Kiyo, ed., *Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Minister of Education Designated Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1920), 4, 5.

[78] Lola M. Clark, "Latest Tidings from our Mission Fields: The Girls' School in Kofu," *The Missionary Outlook* 43, no. 9 (September 1923): 214.

work conducted by Eiwa graduates, and in the development of these institutions.[79] In 1925, Annie E. MacLean reported one graduate was going to enter the Woman's Christian College (likely referring to Tokyo Woman's Christian University), one "expects to study in the Bible Training School in Tokyo in preparation for the work of Bible woman. Two will enter the Azabu [Tōyō Eiwa] Kindergarten Training School, two are going to a sewing school, and one to a university in Tokyo."[80] MacLean also explained that students took part in Sunday schools in the local community, and many graduates would start Sunday schools in their hometowns, "and so will put to use the experience they have gained."[81] Some Yamanashi Eiwa alumnae thus continued on in educational or professional settings in women's educational institutions, and were involved in the religious work of their local communities. MacLean also touched on graduates using the skills they developed in school and continuing such activities after graduation, connecting school activities with future progression.

Educational progression domestically and transnationally, work with the YWCA and WCTU, and professional careers within Christian and women's educational institutions were also evident among Yamanashi Eiwa graduates in the 1930s. These pathways aligned with school activities and aspects of Eiwa school culture which this thesis explores. They reveal how this network widened through transnational Christian women's organizations, and educational and international mobility even through the turbulent 1930s. The sections of Yamanashi Eiwa's *Dōsōkaihō* (Alumnae Association Reports) which recorded graduates' activities facilitate tracing this movement. Some students continued their education at institutions in Tokyo and

[79] "Latest Tidings from our Mission Fields: Japan," *The Missionary Outlook* 44, no. 11 (November 1924): 262.

[80] Annie E. MacLean, "Latest Tidings from Our Mission Fields: Japanese School Girls Preparing for Service," *The Missionary Outlook* 45, no. 6 (June 1925): 142.

[81] MacLean, "Latest Tidings from Our Mission Fields," 142.

internationally, furthering this network's link between Canada, the broader West, and Japan. For example, in 1930, Maruyama Tamiko and Fukuda Hanako, both Yamanashi Eiwa teachers, were studying in Canada.[82] Also this year, Hayakawa Tomiko had graduated from Tokyo Woman's Christian College (today University).[83] Hayakawa, Maruyama, and Fukuda will be explored below in their roles as recipients of WMS scholarships for educational study in Canada. In 1934, Kunugi Yoshiko was studying in the United States.[84] Also this year, Odagiri Hiroko was studying at Joshi Daigaku in Tokyo (likely referring to Japan Women's University).[85]

Some Yamanashi Eiwa alumnae took on professional work within Christian and women's educational institutions. In 1930, Oka Kiyoko was on the board of Joshi Daigaku, and Narusawa Taiko had begun teaching at Iai Jogakkō, a mission school in Hakodate, Hokkaido.[86] In 1931, Imamura Suzuyo was working at Tōyō Eiwa, Oka Kiyoko had become a lecturer at Joshi Daigaku, and Osada Yūko was working in the women's association of a church.[87] In 1932, Hosoya Chishima was involved in administration and (likely Yamanashi Eiwa's) *Kōyūkai*, which was a school group for volunteer/service activities or *hōshi katsudō* at Yamanashi Eiwa, and which Ichiyama Masami has defined a "student-teacher association in schools in prewar

[82] "Kyōshi Shōsoku," (1930), 8.

[83] "Kaiin Shōsoku," Hirose Yasoji, ed., *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1930), 15.

[84] "Kaiin Shōsoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 22. Kunugi will be discussed again in chapter three.

[85] "Kaiin Shōsoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1934), 30.

[86] "Kaiin Shōsoku," Hirose Yasoji, *Dōsōkaihō* (1930), 13. *Joshi Daigaku* likely referred to Japan Women's University, "Kyōshi Shōsoku," (1930), 8.

[87] "Kaiin Shōsoku," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1931), 11. The source refers to Tōyō Eiwa as the "Azabu school," and likely refers to Japan Women's University, "Kaiin Shōsoku," Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1931), 13.

Japan."[88] In 1932, Narisawa Taiko was serving as housemistress of Iai Jogakkō.[89] Hayashi Tomoe was the head of the Kōfu Church Women's Association, Nonaka Hideko was working with the women's association of a church in Ogasawara, Maruyama Tomiji was involved in a church women's association, and Miyata Kiiko, the Kobe branch of the Yamanashi Eiwa *Dōsōkai*.[90] In 1933, Ogihara Yoshie was supervising students at Kyoto's Dōshisha Joshi Senmon Gakkō (today Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts), and Matsuo Mitsue was a women's missionary of the Numazu Methodist Church in Shizuoka.[91] In 1934, Maruyama Tamiko became a teacher at Tōyō Eiwa, and Enomoto Aiko was a teacher at Shizuoka Eiwa.[92] Maruyama would continue in this post teaching English for thirty years.[93] Kunugi Yoshiko returned to Japan in 1935 and began working at the Kameido Kindergarten in Tokyo.[94] The professional work these graduates engaged in included women's education, religious engagement, and work within the Eiwa and wider mission/Christian school network,

---

[88] "Kyōshi Shōsoku," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1932), 7, Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 218-223. The Yamanashi Eiwa *Kōyūkai* was created by merging the *Seinenkai* (YWCA) and *Shōnen Kinshugun* (the Loyal Temperance Legion, the WCTU branch for children) in 1930. See Amemiya Keisaku, ed., Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi* (Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1940), 55, Ichiyama Masami, "Kyūsei Chūgakkō no Kōyūkai ni Okeru Seito Jichi no Sokumen : Kōyūkai Kisoku no Bunseki wo Chūshin ni/The Aspect of Self-Government by Students in Junior High School in Prewar Japan : From the Analysis of the Rules of Koyukai," abstract, *Tokyo Daigaku Daigakuin Kyōikugaku Kenkyūka Kiyō* 43, (2004): 1, https://doi.org/10.15083/00031427.

[89] "Kyōshi Shōsoku," (1932), 8.

[90] "Kaiin Shōsoku," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1932), 17, "Kaiin Shōsoku," Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1932), 18, 19, "Kaiin Shōsoku," Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1932), 20.

[91] "Kyōshi Shōsoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1933), 10. Ogihara (荻原) can also be read, for example, as Ogiwara, "Kaiin Shōsoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1933), 57.

[92] "Kaiin Shōsoku," Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1934), 18, "Kaiin Shōsoku," Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1934), 25.

[93] Patricia Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika no Kōtesu Shoran (1925-1941) wo Yomu [Reading Courtice's Correspondence in a Tense International Situation (1925-1941)]," *Shiryōshitsu Dayori: Kanada Gōdōkyōkai Ākaibuzu Yori* 89, (November 2017): 4, https://www.toyoeiwa.ac.jp/archives/publications/pdf/shiryo89.pdf.

[94] "Kaiin Shōsoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1935), 26.

illuminating sustained connections between Yamanashi Eiwa alumnae and the wider Christian and women's educational communities in Japan.

Period Canadian church periodicals included reports on baptized Eiwa students, and as seen above, graduates working within the schools. Evidence of further alumnae work is revealed through school publications which also reveal alumnae were active in such groups as the YWCA and WCTU.[95] This shows alumnae engaged with international women's religious organizations which were also manifested as school groups for student participation.[96] This was the case for some Yamanashi Eiwa graduates in the 1930s. For example, in 1930, Sawai Chieko was working for the YWCA, as was Yamanashi Eiwa teacher Yamamoto Kotoko.[97] In 1931, Shimizu Kimie was engaged with the school's *Seinenkai* (YWCA).[98] In April, teachers referred to as Akagi and Hosoya travelled to Tokyo for the YWCA board meeting where they met 1931 graduates Hayashi Setsuko and Mikami Nobuko, and Akagi attended the board meeting again in October.[99] For these alumnae, as well as being a group for Christian engagement, the YWCA facilitated domestic mobility and social and professional connections.

Another organization connected to school activities which Yamanashi Eiwa alumnae engaged in, and which will be explored further below, was the Japan WCTU or *Kyōfūkai*. In 1930, alumna Shimada Tameno (whose WCTU report will be discussed below) was working

[95] See, for example, Rose Beatty, "Field Secretaries' Reports: Japan," *The Missionary Outlook* 41, no. 11 (November 1921): 223.

[96] The WCTU as a school group is explored below, and the school YWCA is the focus of chapter four.

[97] "Kaiin Shōsoku," Hirose Yasoji, *Dōsōkaihō* (1930), 13. Sawai was still working with the YWCA in 1931 and 1932. See "Kaiin Shōsoku," Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1931), 11, "Kyōshi Shōsoku," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1931), 5. In 1932, Yamamoto Kotoko and Sawai Chieko were still working for the Japan YWCA. See "Kyōshi Shōsoku," (1932), 9, 19.

[98] "Kaiin Shōsoku," Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1931), 16.

[99] "Kōnai Nisshi," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1932), 12. This source was likely referring to Hosoya Chishima and Akagi Yoshiko, "Kōnai Nisshi," 14.

for *Kyōfūkai* causes.[100] Shimada was still involved with the organization in 1931 and in 1936, showing sustained participation with the social engagement of this organization.[101] Located in Kobe in 1931, Watanabe Tsuneko was involved with the Japan WCTU. Watanabe engaged in domestic mobility by attending a conference in Hiroshima and a meeting in Takasago, Hyogo.[102] Watanabe was reportedly involved in 1932 as well, as was Maruyama Tomiji who was also engaged in other social work.[103] Miyata Kiiko, mentioned above as working with the Yamanashi Eiwa *Dōsōkai* Kobe branch, was involved with this organization, as was Tamogami Kikue, who was working with the Kobe branch under Watanabe Tsuneko.[104] In 1933, Ueno Hideyo was working for the Shizuoka WCTU, and in 1934, Sugamura Kikuko appears to have been involved in temperance work as well.[105]

The alumnae explored in this section are tangible individual examples of movement and progression connected to the (extra-curricular) education offered at their schools, and engagement with opportunities presented to them through community membership and active participation. What did Yamanashi Eiwa alumnae involvement in the WCTU, YWCA, church groups, and Christian schools mean for community building? Individuals of this women's network spread into various Christian women's organizations with connections transcending nations, and which were involved in peace and international work, and women's educational institutions domestically and in North America. One reason these pathways were chosen by individuals was likely because these organizations and activities were first encountered through

[100] See "Kaiin Shōsoku," Hirose Yasoji, *Dōsōkaihō* (1930), 11.

[101] "Kaiin Shōsoku," Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1931), 9, "Kaiin Shōsoku," in [Missing author], *[Missing Title]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1936), 20.

[102] Watanabe Tsuneko, "Omoide no Mama," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1931), 7.

[103] "Kyōshi Shōsoku," (1932), 8, 19.

[104] "Kaiin Shōsoku," Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1932), 20.

[105] "Kaiin Shōsoku," Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1933), 55, "Kaiin Shōsoku," Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1934), 15.

school activities. Educational progression was also impacted by Japanese government recognition of the Eiwa institutions, after which "graduates from all three schools could move on into government normal schools or the Woman's Christian College without hindrance."[106] Gwen R. P. Norman explained that for government certification "[t]eachers must be duly certified. The educational standing of the pupils must meet government standards," and physical upgrades of facilitates were sometimes necessary.[107] Government accreditation took place in 1913 at Shizuoka Eiwa, 1918 at Tōyō Eiwa, and 1919 at Yamanashi Eiwa.[108]

The relationship between early participation in work as a student and continuation after graduation was touched on by Betty Ross in 1940 about Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT) member participation in church work. Ross explained: "In ten churches in one city, ... information was gathered about Canadian Girls in Training ten years after their graduation. It was found that on the average, fifty-five [percent] were actively engaged in Church work; that is, they were not only members, but in active participation."[109] Ross attributed this to "early practice in such group work."[110] As Shizuoka Eiwa valedictorian Mineko Koitabashi stated in 1938: "Today our paths part. Each goes her own way. Some go to higher schools, some to positions in the business world[,] some back to their homes. Each, in her own way, will seek to develop in future those ideals and that way of life of which she learned in this school."[111] It

---

[106] Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973 Part I* (Toronto: The Division of World Outreach, United Church of Canada, 1981), 269.

[107] Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973 Part I,* 268.

[108] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 415, Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973 Part I,* 269, Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973 Part I,* 268.

[109] "Girls In Training Developing Church Leaders: Miss Betty Ross Tells of Work With Teen-Age Girls," *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 11 (1 Aug, 1940): 11. This article appears to be written by Betty Ross. The CGIT will be explored in chapters two and four.

[110] "Girls in Training," 11.

[111] Mineko Koitabashi, "Valedictory Address," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai/Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Kaihō/Dōsōkaihō [Report/Bulletin/Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 42 (Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 28. In this English address, Koitabashi wrote her name starting with her first name.

appears many of these 'ideals' and 'ways of life' were connected to the Christian learning and engagement at school, such as participation in the religious community, with the YWCA or WCTU, or higher education and professional work within Christian/women's schools.

Danette Ifert Johnson has examined "the relationship between specific college experiences (participation in activities and contributions of college to intellectual/personal skills) and alumni community participation behaviors" within contemporary higher education.[112] Ifert Johnson recognizes "[o]ne important behavior is participation in community organizations, including cultural, youth, educational, and religious activities."[113] The above examples support this chapter's argument that student community work and school religious, YWCA, and temperance activities likely encouraged further involvement with such groups after graduation. As such, some individuals engaged with this network both as students and alumnae. As Ifert Johnson writes, "[p]ast behavior is strongly associated with future behavior."[114] These examples also demonstrate further study in Japan and North America was possible for graduates. And, for those who took on professional work, this could involve women's education, work in religious institutions, and within the Eiwa and wider Christian school network. Although certainly not all graduates took on further education or professional work, surviving school sources enable this study to trace how the Eiwa alumnae network widened in this period, and some of the sectors and organizations into which it did so. In continuing to take an active role in these networks, graduates sustained their involvement with a transnational intellectual, social, educational, and professional community even in the 1930s when exchange, communication,

[112] Danette Ifert Johnson, "Relationships between College Experiences and Alumni Participation in the Community," *The Review of Higher Education* 27, no. 2 (Winter 2004): 170, *Project MUSE*, DOI: 10.1353/rhe.2003.006.

[113] Ifert Johnson, "Relationships," 172.

[114] Ifert Johnson, "Relationships," 180.

and mobility across nations and continents required significant commitment.

The Alumnae Association updated Eiwa graduates on school events and peers' lives, families, and work. Citing Gertrude Arnold and John L. Gill, Melissa D. Newman and Joseph M. Petrosko explain "alumni associations serve an important role in engaging alumni and providing a connection to and from the alma mater."[115] Alumnae, teachers, and missionaries published updates on their lives in the annual Alumnae Association Reports (*Dōsō*(*kai*) *Kaihō*). Membership also potentially fostered a sense of belonging and collective identity between members. Takano Mitsuko who attended Tōyō Eiwa from 1938 to 1942 explained that as many Tōyō Eiwa students entered the school at the primary level, this created closeness and fellowship. Takano also used the term *Eiwakko* or 'Eiwa girl(s)' to describe students.[116] According to James M. Jasper and Aidan McGarry, "collective identity … depends on individuals' subjective identification with some broader group, although that identification can follow from collective action as well as contribute to it."[117] In that case, the examples in this section suggest that an Eiwa collectivity identity was created through identity-defining membership, contributions to and engagement with the community, and collective social activities and involvement in related organizations (such as the WCTU and YWCA) as students and alumnae. As Shizuoka Eiwa student Yusa Unno wrote in 1927, "should we think that our

[115] Newman and Petrosko cite Gertrude Lee Arnold, "Friend Raisers and Fund Raisers: Alumni Relations and Development in Large, Public Universities" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2003), *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/dissertations-theses/friend-raisers-fund-alumni-relations-development/docview/305326725/se-2?accountid=13042, and John L. Gill, "Alumni Programs: Principles and Practice," in *Excellence in Advancement: Applications for Higher Education and Nonprofit Organizations*, ed. William W. Tromble, 241-280, (Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen Publishers, 1998). See Melissa D. Newman and Joseph M. Petrosko, "Predictors of Alumni Association Membership," *Research in Higher Education* 52, no. 7 (2011): 738-759, JSTOR, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41483814.

[116] Takano Mitsuko, "Takano Mitsukosan no Ohanashi," in *Senjika no Joshi Gakuseitachi: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku ni Manada 60nin no Taiken [Girl Students in Wartime: The Experiences of 60 People who Studied at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku]*, ed. Horie Yūko (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2012), 255.

[117] James M. Jasper and Aidan McGarry, "Introduction," in *The Identity Dilemma: Social Movements and Collective Identity*, eds. Aidan McGarry and James M. Jasper (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 1, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=2055011.

school life is ended [when] we take our departure hence? No, [n]ever, I will say."[118]

How might one know they are a part of this community, and when did one become a member? The term Takano Mitsuko used above, *Eiwakko*, suggests school attendance was one way of becoming an 'Eiwa girl.' While school membership as students or teachers brought one into the immediate Eiwa community, active participation in school groups and actively practicing Christianity and related activities could bring members more fully into the wider network, contributing to personal development in ways which aligned with the goals and ideology of the community. It also opened educational, professional, and social opportunities. As chapter two will discuss, some aspects of Eiwa education were not found at public schools. Thus, a unique form of education could be gained by attending these institutions. Members would likely have had a sense of being part of a wider network of peers in Japan and across the Christian West, especially in Canada, who also engaged with the shared ideology and activities of this transnational network.

Membership contributed to school development as well, as individuals engaged with their schools, and served as examples of their school's education. Shizuoka Eiwa principal Isabel Govenlock stated in 1932 that alumnae were "perhaps more influential than any other factor in moulding public opinion and leading people to understand the value of the [C]hristian principles of education for which the school stands."[119] Govenlock referred to the work and lives of alumnae as "the flower and fruitage of this school."[120] Alumnae were thus examples of the school's education, culture, and values, and became especially visible when they sustained

[118] Unno Yusa, "My school life," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, Shinchiku Kinen ed., no. 31 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1927), 39.

[119] Isabel Govenlock, "Senseigata no Gokansō: To the Members of the Alumae [*Sic*]:," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 37 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1933), 62. I discussed this statement in my 2016 master's thesis.

[120] Govenlock, "Senseigata no Gokansō," 62.

engagement with society and the wider community following graduation.

This thesis explores a geographical network of individuals, including Eiwa actors, and organizations which connected Japan and the Christian West. However, the Eiwa network was global: as former WMS missionary and Tōyō Eiwa principal Isabella S. Blackmore (1863-1942) wrote in 1933, "we must look beyond these walls to find all the evidences of the worth of our school. Where can we find them? Throughout the length and breadth of Japan and beyond–in Manchuria, China and Siam; in England, Europe and Africa; in South America, the United States and Canada our girls are found, and everywhere their lives are witnesses for our school."[121]

The Alumnae Association Report print forum enabled these physically separated graduates to remain updated on their schools and peers. The reports included such content (in English and Japanese) as messages from and about alumnae, the school principal, past and current teachers and missionaries, yearly timelines of school events, descriptions of school ceremonies, class trips, athletic meetings and music concerts, valedictorian speech transcripts, finances, student essays, stories, poems, and reports on school departments and clubs. Alumnae in various locations reported on their lives or events in their locality, or through a branch (*shibu*) of the Alumnae Association. For example, in 1937, the Tōyō Eiwa Alumnae Association Report included a report from an alumnae branch in Kansai.[122] Alumnae were located in, for example, New York and Korea (Keijō or Gyeongseong, present-day Seoul).[123] Shizuoka Eiwa had

[121] I. S. Blackmore, "Untitled," in Tōyō Eiwa Jōgakkō/Tōyō Eiwa Jōgakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1933), 7.

[122] "Kansai Shibu: Showa Jyūni nendo Hōkoku," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako, Shōwa Jūni-sannen Senkyūhyakusanjūnana-hachinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 45-49. Kansai is a region in the south of Honshū island.

[123] See Mizuno Matsuko, "Nyū Yōku," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako, Shōwa Jūni-sannen Senkyūhyakusanjūnana-hachinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 103-108, Maekawa Umeko, "Kurasu Tayori: Showa Ninen Shihanka Sotsugyōsei," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*,

branches in Tokyo (whose meetings took place at a building within Tōyō Eiwa), Nagoya, Kansai, and Hokuriku.[124] Yamanashi Eiwa had branches in Tokyo, Kobe, Shizuoka, and Ichikawa, and alumnae reported on their lives as far away as Manchuria.[125] These branch reports, Blackmore's quote, and alumnae international mobility discussed throughout this chapter illustrate the domestic and international reach of the Eiwa alumnae network. Through involvement with international, educational, and professional mobility, and involvement with international Christian women's organizations in Japan, Eiwa alumnae built on development and exposure to activities and engagement which occurred during school and contributed to the directions the network took as it expanded with each outgoing graduate.

1.4 Christian Women's Associations in Schools: A Case Study of the Japan WCTU (*Kyōfūkai*)

The movement of Eiwa actors into and within international women's and Christian

ed. Muraoka Hanako, Shōwa Jūni-sannen Senkyūhyakusanjūnana-hachinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 82.

[124] "Tokyo Shibu Hōkoku," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 17-18, Hirano Ito, "Nagoya Shibu Hōkoku," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 18. Hirano (平野) can also be read, for example, as Hisano, Kitazawa Hiko, "Kansai Shibu Hōkoku," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 18-20. Kitazawa (北澤) can also be read, for example, as Kitasawa, Yamazaki Hanako, "Hokuriku Shibu Hōkoku," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 20-22. Hokuriku is the northwestern part of Honshū island. Hanako (華子) can also be read, for example, as Kako and Haruko, and Yamazaki (山崎) as Yamasaki.

[125] See "Tokyo Shibu Tayori," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1937), 4-5, Watanabe Tsuneko, "Kobe Shibu Hōkoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1937), 7-8, Enomoto Aiko, "Shizuoka Shibu Hōkoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1937), 8-9, and Ichinose Masuko, "Ichikawa Shibu Hōkoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1937), 10, Nakamura Kakio, "Manshū Tayori," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1937), 56-57.

organizations are key to intellectually and physically tracing this mission school network. These included the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). The Japan WCTU or *Kyōfūkai* was a key organization for Eiwa alumnae involvement, and for students, Christian social service activities at school. Choosing to manifest Christian women's associations within schools brought participating staff and student members into the collective social work, ideology, and activities of the wider organization. School visitors from national associations created intellectual connections and contributed to the building of knowledge and ideas between the schools and organization. The WCTU impacted intellectual and physical network building and knowledge construction within the Eiwa community. As the *Kyōfūkai* was formed in the Meiji period, early information will be provided to contextualize this discussion of the 1930s when the connection of the World WCTU to peace activism and disarmament illustrated a form of social and intellectual engagement which challenged some social, intellectual, and educational trends of 1930s Japan.

Elizabeth Dorn Lublin has explored the Japan WCTU in the Meiji period, and transnational activism within the temperance movement in Meiji Japan is the focus of a study by Rumi Yasutake.[126] While both explore a period temporally earlier than this study, Dorn Lublin's work outlines the formation of the Japan WCTU and the organization's activities, ideas, and narratives. Yasutake's analysis brings in a transnational approach as it explores the WCTU movement which expanded from the United States to Japan, and the role of gender in the movement. A methodological difference within this thesis is the inclusion of student groups and

[126] Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 33, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412659, Rumi Yasutake, "Men, Women, and Temperance in Meiji Japan: Engendering WCTU Activism from a Transnational Perspective," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 17, (2006): 91-111, http://www.jaas.gr.jp/jjas/PDF/2006/No.17-091.pdf.

voices. This creates an intergenerational study of the potential impact of temperance involvement on (Christian) youth, network development, and connections between student and alumnae engagement. Nancy M. Sheehan argues the WCTU "believed that education was a non-school, as well as a school matter."[127] The Eiwa schools, too, included curricular and extra-curricular school group and community activities in the educational and developmental process. YWCA and WCTU activities connected students to international women's groups, wider society, and, significant in the 1930s, peace work. School sources utilized in this thesis are also key to understanding student involvement in these groups and the impact of extra-curricular activities. They illuminate the experiences and values alumnae potentially brought into society, the role these organizations played in school and wider network building, and the creation of shared knowledge and ideology related to specific social and worldviews.

Nancy M. Sheehan explains the American National WCTU was founded in 1874, what is recognized as the first Canadian WCTU was formed in Ontario in 1874, and more than five-hundred branches existed by 1917. Further, Sheehan notes the organization engaged with communities in their effort to push for sobriety.[128] The social gospel is also useful to conceptualize such work. It was "an attempt to apply Christianity to the collective ills of an industrializing society, and was a major force in Canadian religious, social and political life from the 1890s through the 1930s," as "[o]lder moral causes" including temperance "were reinterpreted, reinvigorated and incorporated into the progressive reforms," explains Richard Allen.[129] While men certainly engaged in temperance work in significant ways, the WCTU (and

[127] Nancy M. Sheehan, "The WCTU and Educational Strategies on the Canadian Prairie," *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 102, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/367995.

[128] Nancy M. Sheehan, "Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Canada," The Canadian Encyclopedia, Historica Canada, last modified 12 Oct, 2016, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/womans-christian-temperance-union.

[129] Richard Allen, "Social Gospel," The Canadian Encyclopedia, Historica Canada, last modified 4 Mar, 2015, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/article/social-gospel.

Kyōfūkai) were women's organizations. Indeed, as Sheehan notes, Ruth Bordin has labeled the WCTU "one of the most powerful instruments of women's consciousness raising of all time."[130]

In 1883, Frances Willard "proposed the organization of the World's" WCTU.[131] Further, from 1886, visitors from the World WCTU "provided stimulus and guidance for organized WCTU activism in Japan."[132] A WCTU was founded in Tokyo, Japan on 6 December 1886.[133] It was given the name *Fujin Kyōfūkai* (Woman's Moral Reform Society) and in 1897, was renamed the *Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai* (Japan Christian Woman's Moral Reform Society).[134] The organization worked "for monogamy and regulation of overseas prostitutes, ... against the building of new brothel districts," for "victims of natural disasters," as well as work with youth and, significantly for this study of the 1930s, for "world peace and arms limitation."[135] Yamanashi Eiwa alumna Shimada Tameno reported in 1931 that members of the Japan WCTU numbered seven thousand, working for "temperance, purity," and "peace."[136] Although such organizations had to cease or alter activities after war was declared in 1941 and the Japan WCTU had to end its correspondence with the wider World WCTU, the organization survived this difficult period and today is Japan's oldest "such" women's organization.[137]

Harriet Hyman Alonso has described the temperance movement as a "conduit for peace work."[138] According to Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, in 1902, the Japanese *Fujin Shimpō* magazine

---

[130] Ruth Bordin, *Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), quoted in Nancy M. Sheehan, "The WCTU and Educational Strategies on the Canadian Prairie," *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1984): 101-102, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/367995.

[131] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 21.

[132] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 4.

[133] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 32.

[134] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 31, 169.

[135] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 171.

[136] Shimada Tameno, "Kyōfū Undō," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1931), 43.

[137] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 171, 174.

[138] Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 47.

stated "all WCTU activities aimed to achieve world peace."[139] Members worked for international friendship, and "in 1910, executives voted to affiliate with the Japan Peace Society and, at the WCTU's annual meeting that July, created a department for work for peace to coordinate activities."[140] A Japan WCTU founder, pacifist, activist, and educator, Yajima Kajiko (1833-1925) was a leader in this work from 1910, "at the same time that opinions favouring international alliances and arms reduction gained wide-spread currency in Japan and abroad."[141] Thus, Dorn Lublin importantly argues, "[i]n promoting peaceful relations among nations, the WCTU contributed to the emergence and shaping of a peace movement in Japan."[142] In fact, Taeko Shibahara has linked the formation of the Japan section of the WILPF to "ideological identification with Christian social activism and a continuity with the social reform activism that the [Japan WCTU] had practiced since the late nineteenth century."[143] Shimada Tameno wrote in 1931 that "world peace is a large desire for all humanity. Believing international conflicts should reach a peaceful conclusion," the *Kyōfūkai* "works to prevent the causes of war."[144] By 1934, the Japan WCTU had seven thousand five hundred members.[145] Members "added their voices to the chorus calling for world peace and arms limitation," and by 1939, membership totaled over nine-thousand.[146] WCTU involvement in peace work also aligns with an intellectual trend of the interwar period where war and peace were viewed by some individuals in gendered terms, and women considered themselves responsible to call for and

[139] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 155.
[140] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 155.
[141] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 156.
[142] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 156.
[143] Taeko Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement before World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), 68, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4v5b.
[144] Shimada, "Kyōfū Undō," 43.
[145] Howard Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973: Part II* (Toronto: The Division of World Outreach, United Church of Canada, 1981), 388.
[146] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 171.

work for peace through, for example, religious practice, and the teaching and rearing of young people.[147]

The WCTU's work for social reform as well as peace can be conceptualized as 'positive peace' which works for "greater social justice."[148] It was not militarized or armed peace as a nation-state might set in place, as examples of WCTU disarmament activism will illustrate. Andrew Webster explains "[t]he popular revulsion with militarism and belief in the absolute need for peace … generated powerful pressure on governments to engage in disarmament," as, importantly, "it was the arms race leading up to 1914 that many blamed for the catastrophe of the First World War."[149] Kawai Michi and Kubushiro Ochimi wrote in 1934 on what they termed the "Peace Section of the W.C.T.U."[150] They explained that in 1921, at the age of eighty-nine Yajima Kajiko delivered a petition to United States President Warren G. Harding with "ten thousand signatures of Japanese women desiring peace, and to beg him to further the success of the first Disarmament Conference."[151] Manako Ogawa notes at the 1930 London Naval Conference, "a group of women from various women's organizations … lobbied the attendants to reach an agreement to curb the arms race and, ultimately, to avoid war" following a campaign initiated by "[Tsune] Gauntlett and her Japanese colleagues."[152] This group also included

[147] This will be explored in the below discussion of World Goodwill Day, and chapter three's discussion on student writing and school activities related to peace and their relation to peace/international education in the 1930s.

[148] Merav Moshe Grodofsky, "Community-based human rights advocacy practice and peace education," *International Social Work* 55, no. 5 (September 2012): 741, DOI: 10.1177/0020872812448078.

[149] Andrew Webster, "The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism," in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 140, 141, DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.008.

[150] Michi Kawai and Ochimi Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America* (Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934), 176, https://hdl.handle.net/2144/600.

[151] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 176-177.

[152] Manako Ogawa, "The "White Ribbon League of Nations" Meets Japan: The Trans-Pacific Activism of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1906–1930," *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 1 (January 2007): 21, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24916019.

Hayashi Uta(ko).[153] Interestingly, according to Ogawa, this group of women were not formally invited to the conference: "The presence of the uninvited female guests at the London Naval Conference signified their challenge to the domination of international political power by the elite men's club and their pressure to incorporate their voices into the agendas of international affairs."[154] Further, in 1932, Kawai and Kubushiro wrote that women from "peace organizations" also gathered signatures to present at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, where two hundred thousand signatures were delivered to Japanese Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855-1932).[155] The 1930s was thus a key time of WCTU work for disarmament.

These petitions were concrete and tangible examples of WCTU peace work. Rather than peace as an absence of war or negative peace, the WCTU aimed to work for peace through active calls for reduction of arms.[156] Another connection is evident between women, disarmament activism, and the YWCA. For example, in 1932, Mary Gingman of the YWCA reportedly submitted "a petition of women's organizations of the world favouring abolition of war, [and] declared that the women of the world were behind the statemen to further that object" at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, at which women from fifty-two countries presented petitions.[157] As disarmament was a nation-state level concept with negotiations generally conducted by male state leaders, it is significant these female actors took part in such activism, especially as Japanese women lacked suffrage rights until 1945 (in contrast to, for example, Canadian women gaining the vote provincially between 1916 and 1925 (Quebec by 1940), and

[153] Ogawa, "The "White Ribbon League of Nations" Meets Japan," 31.
[154] Ogawa, "The "White Ribbon League of Nations" Meets Japan," 21.
[155] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 177.
[156] William C. Gay, "Editorial Forward," in *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace Education, Nonviolence, and Social Change*, ed. Andrew Fitz-Gibbon (New York: Brill Rodopi, 2010), xv, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9789042029927).
[157] Rengo Service, "Women and Lord Cecil Have Field Day at Disarmament Conference Amid Enthusiasm," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 9 Feb, 1932, 1.

American women by 1920 through the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment).[158] Taeko Shibahara explains peace activism presented these women "a rare opportunity to participate in international politics, something they were usually denied."[159] In the 1930s, this work reveals women-centered world peace activism in a period of nation-state level tension.

The formation of Eiwa school temperance groups reveal how school groups were constructed to connect students intellectually and concretely to their religious communities and the worldview of the wider transnational Christian women's community. Tōyō Eiwa's *Kyōfūkai Seinenbu* (youth department) was formed in 1900.[160] Its work "aimed to actualize the principle of Methodist belief in realizing a sanctified life," and, among other work, it advocated against tobacco and alcohol consumption.[161] In addition, Tōyō Eiwa's *Shōnen Kinshugun* or 'Loyal Temperance Legion,' the WCTU branch for children, was formed in 1907.[162] Moriya Azuma (1884-1975) was the organizer of the Japanese *Shōnen Kinshugun* in this period.[163] The Tōyō Eiwa *Hyaku Nenshi* (One Hundred Year History) also notes the significant influence of a Miss Davis on the department, likely referring to Ruth F. Davis, who, among other World WCTU representatives, had "resided in Japan for a few years," tangibly connecting Tōyō Eiwa to the work and personnel of the wider organization.[164] In fact, "[b]etween 1886 and 1913, there were at least twelve women with World WCTU titles who toured or lived in Japan;" Japan was thus

---

[158] Vera Mackie, "In Search of Innocence: Feminist Historians Debate the Legacy of Wartime Japan," *Australian Feminist Studies* 20, no. 47 (July 2005): 211, DOI: 10.1080/08164640500090376, Tracy Kulba and Victoria Lamont, "The periodical press and western woman's suffrage movements in Canada and the United States: A comparative study," *Women's Studies International Forum* 29, (May-June 2006): 266, 277, DOI: 10.1016/j.wsif.2006.04.005, Holly J. McCammon et al., "How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866 to 1919," *American Sociological Review* 66, no. 1 (February 2001): 49, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2657393.

[159] Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement*, 61.

[160] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 175.

[161] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 177, 175.

[162] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 176.

[163] Margaret E. Burton, *The Education of Women in Japan* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1914), 196.

[164] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 176, Yasutake, "Men, Women, and Temperance in Meiji Japan," p. 92.

significant to the World WCTU.[165] In 1922, *The Japan Advertiser* reported "[a] Conference of the Loyal Temperance Legion (L.T.L.) was held at Kanda[, Tokyo] from October 16 to 21. ... The medal contest ... was won by Miss Masako Ikegami of the Toyo Eiwa Jogakko, Azabu."[166] In 1910, a number of *Kinshugun* in the area were led by Tōyō Eiwa students.[167] Formed in 1915, Tōyō Eiwa's *Seinenkai* (YWCA) took on the work of the *Kyōfūkai*, while the *Shōnen Kinshugun* continued through younger students.[168] *The Japan Times & Mail* also wrote in 1920 that "the Temperance Society of the foreign residents in Tokyo" was headquartered at the Tōyō Eiwa, so the school was reportedly a gathering spot for foreigners in Tokyo involved in temperance work as well.[169]

Shizuoka Eiwa had a temperance department (*Kyōfūbu*) within their *Joshi Seinenkai* (YWCA) which had been formed in 1917.[170] According to a 1927 report, each term the department had talks from the department head, and occasionally from the head of the city WCTU, during which the audience was reportedly able to visualize social conditions.[171] Through *Kyōfūbu* participation, Shizuoka Eiwa students engaged with temperance and "moral" work within the school, and with members of their city WCTU and thus intellectual ideas and values of the wider organization.[172]

Yamanashi Eiwa's *Kyōfūkai* was formed under the leadership of teacher Watanabe

---

[165] Yasutake, "Men, Women, and Temperance in Meiji Japan," p. 92.
[166] "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser*, 27 Oct, 1922, 5.
[167] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 176-177.
[168] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 293.
[169] "General and Local," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 24 Sept, 1920, 4.
[170] "Joshi Seinenkai Jōkyō," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1923), 13, Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 1046.
[171] "Shōwa Ninendo Seinenkai Hōkoku," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, Shinchiku Kinen ed., no. 31 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1927), 58.
[172] "Shōwa Sannendo Seinenkai Hōkoku," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 32, Gotaiten Kinen ed (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1928), 24.

Shigeko.[173] And, according to alumna Shimada Tameno, in 1931 the Yamanashi Eiwa *Shōnen Kinshugun* "developed a campaign to donate educational material on temperance to … primary schools in Japan."[174] This department appears to have been formed in 1930.[175] By taking part in the *Shōnen Kinshugun*, Hosoya Chishima, one of the leaders of first year students in the group, argued members "increased their spirit of inquiry, came to take responsibility in their work, came to think about other people, and … gained common sense," among other skills.[176] This suggests while the work of the *Shōnen Kinshugun* was related to temperance, participation also potentially facilitated personal development for students.

Eiwa students also participated in WCTU recitation contests, through which they voiced their opinions on the temperance cause. A contest took place at Yamanashi Eiwa in 1906, and Moriya Azuma was a judge at a 1928 contest at Tōyō Eiwa in which Tōyō Eiwa student Fukui Miyoko won first place.[177] As will be evident in chapter three, Tōyō Eiwa students also took part in a Japan branch of the WILPF and school essay contests to express their opinions on international relations and peace, suggesting expression through writing and speech were skills encouraged through Eiwa extra-curricular education.

The Eiwa schools were also tangibly connected to the work and individuals of the wider Japan WCTU. They served as sites for community organization activities. Meetings of the Tokyo WCTU "Circle" and, as noted just above, "the foreign auxiliary of the W.C.T.U." were

---

[173] Amemiya Keisaku, Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi*, 53.

[174] Shimada, "Kyōfū Undō," 43.

[175] See Hosoya Chishima, "Shōnen Kinshugun Kiji," Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1931), 96. Hosoya states this group had been formed "last year."

[176] Hosoya, "Shōnen Kinshugun Kiji," 96.

[177] Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 137, "Eight Fair Young Speakers at Toyo Eiwa Jogakko Put John Barleycorn in His Place," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 7 Jul, 1928, 1. This refers to the 'Army for Prohibition for Minors,' likely another English translation of *Shōnen Kinshugun*, Fukui Miyoko, "Kinshu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1929), 39-41.

held at Tōyō Eiwa.[178] Kubushiro Ochimi of the Japan WCTU attended a WCTU meeting at Tōyō Eiwa in 1923, and gave a lecture at Tōyō Eiwa in 1927 for "women from Tokyo and Yokohama."[179] Yamanashi Eiwa alumna Shimada Tameno wrote in 1931 that persons interested in WCTU work, regardless of religious affiliation, could apply at Kōfu Church and Yamanashi Eiwa.[180] The WCTU in Kōfu thus had ties to the local church as well as Yamanashi Eiwa, bringing the school into the wider religious and temperance community. This also opened up the possibility of cooperation with interested non-Christians outside this community through shared ideas of social service. In 1933, the Yamanashi Eiwa *Dōsōkai* cooperated with the Japan WCTU to invite Hayashi Utako, head of the Osaka WCTU, to give a talk with Shimada Tameno at the Kōfu Church on the organization's history and women's work.[181] Later this year, Hayashi also gave a talk at Yamanashi Eiwa.[182]

The WCTU is thus an example of an international Christian women's organization which was manifested within mission schools to create tangible physical and intellectual connections, facilitate intellectual network and community building, expose students to the worldview of the organization, and encourage concrete, active, and potentially sustained participation for students and alumnae. The WCTU aids the tracing of this mission school network as its peace work, social service, and exposure and connection to a wider transnational Christian women's community impacted Eiwa network building and knowledge creation. Especially significant

[178] See, for example, "People and Events," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 13 Feb, 1922, 8, and "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser*, 8 Nov, 1927, 5.

[179] See "W.C.T.U. Meets Today," *The Japan Advertiser,* 10 May, 1923, 2. The newspaper recorded the speaker's name as "Madame Kabushiro," most likely referring to Kubushiro Ochimi, "Tokyo and Yokohama Women Hear Lecture By Mrs. Kubushiro," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 12 Nov, 1927, 3.

[180] Shimada, "Kyōfū Undō," 43.

[181] "Dōsōkai Reikai," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1933), 2.

[182] "Kōyūkai Ippan Jikō," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1933), 4.

given wider trends of intensifying nationalism within society and education in the 1930s, Eiwa students and alumnae were brought into a community which offered opportunities to build social connections through an organization which transcended nations, and also construct shared knowledge and ideas which also encouraged active work for peace and social change.

1.5 Tracing Eiwa Student and Alumnae Engagement with the Wider World

We can further trace the Eiwa mission school network by expanding the lens to include physical and intellectual activities for students and alumnae which concretely transcended nations. Student transnational communication and alumnae international educational mobility in the wider context of the 1930s required commitment and were challenged by nation-state level tensions. As chapter two will outline, international education and encounters were part of Eiwa school culture. This section presents two examples of how this was facilitated for students and alumnae. Eiwa students took part in World Goodwill Day activities; this section explores the event in 1935. This event encouraged students to build intellectual connections with peers in the wider world in the mid-1930s through an activity purposely created and instituted to counteract a perceived lack of international understanding in institutionalized education. A 1925-1941 WMS scholarship program for study in Canada, meanwhile, facilitated network building and international educational progression for Eiwa graduates. These two activities connected students and alumnae to Canada and the wider Christian West through non-state channels and encouraged the building of international knowledge and understanding to counteract period nationalistic trends. Kristine Alexander writes of a "new intensity after 1918 as individuals, organizations, and nation-states turned to *internationalism and youth* to articulate

their hopes for a peaceful future." [emphasis added][183] World Goodwill Day is one example of how youth and internationalism were concretely connected in the interwar period.

Participating in World Goodwill Day at one's school suggests that for some actors, education institutionalized by the state was viewed as lacking in the effort to create peace and understanding between nations. Fannie Fern Andrews, author, lecturer, and organizer of the American School Peace League, wrote in 1928 that the "extraordinary growth of new activities aiming to promote world amity is the one distinctive feature of the post-war period," and "[p]re-eminent among these activities, and perhaps more far-reaching than any of them, are the post-war educational efforts to promote the spirit of international goodwill."[184] In 1923, the World Federation of Education Associations designated 18 May as World Goodwill Day.[185] The Federation's convention objects in the years following were "to foster the dissemination of information concerning the progress of education in all its forms among nations and peoples, to cultivate international goodwill and to promote the interests of peace throughout the world."[186] Andrews wrote that since instituting World Goodwill Day, governments were offering "special traveling facilities," there had "been a steady growth in the building up of a substantial literature on good-will teaching in the schools," and young people had "courageously assumed a definite responsibility for establishing world fellowship."[187] These concrete changes focused on encouraging communication and understanding between youth of differing nations by

[183] Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 6.

[184] "Andrews, Fannie Fern," in *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada 1914-1915*, ed. John William Leonard (New York: The American Commonwealth Co., 1914), 50, Fannie Fern Andrews, "The Historical Basis of World Goodwill Day," *The Journal of Education* 107, no. 20 (14 May, 1928): 587, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/42836540.

[185] Andrews, "The Historical Basis of World Goodwill Day," 587.

[186] Andrews, "The Historical Basis of World Goodwill Day," 587.

[187] Andrews, "The Historical Basis of World Goodwill Day," 587.

supplementing the content of their state education.

The New Outlook periodical wrote in 1931: "The school children of the world are to talk with each other over the telephone on May 18th. That will be World Goodwill Day," when

> schoolboys and schoolgirls of many nations will exchange greetings through their representatives, speaking across oceans and continents and expressing sentiments of the friendly understanding which really exists wherever young people of any race or country talk together. "The great problem of our time," says one of those sponsoring the movement, "is to realize the new kind of world, closely united and interdependent, capable of quick communication for the adjustment of any differences or misunderstanding, in which we live. It is believed that to talk in this way around the world, to hear each other's voices across thousands of miles, will help young people in the schools to form a new picture of the world."[188]

Connecting youth intellectually across national boundaries to encourage understanding contrasts with parts of the wider social, intellectual, educational, and political climate of the 1930s because it was intended to counteract these trends. The 'new' world youth participants were encouraged to build appears to have been one aiming to realize peace between nations through understanding and communication, further emphasizing that institutionalized education was viewed by some as inadequate to achieve this. While Akira Iriye explains that the 1920s "idea of intellectual communication was unabashedly elitist," and that "[t]hose involved envisaged that the intellectual and cultural elites would befriend one another to establish a cross-national community of learned individuals," in this 1930s case, young people participated in activities for community and knowledge construction across state boundaries.[189]

Tōyō Eiwa students took part in World Goodwill Day activities held by Tokyo's International Young Women's and Children's Society in 1935. In doing so, students connected

[188] "The World for a Day: World Goodwill Day," *The New Outlook* 7, no. 17 (29 Apr, 1931): 391.

[189] Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 65.

intellectually with a wider network of youth around the world. *The Japan Advertiser* reported:

> In commemoration of International Goodwill Day today, the nations of the world will participate in spreading the message of peace [and] friendship among their respective peoples. In Japan there will be a nationwide ... radio broadcast from station JOAK [Tokyo Broadcasting Station, today NHK][.] … Tsuneko Gauntlett will represent the International Women's and Children's Society of Tokyo and will address radio listeners. … Miss Yasuko Mori, student of the Toyo Eiwa Girl's Higher School of Tokyo, will read a message in English to the youth of the land, a copy of which has already been sent to the International Goodwill Day committee headquarters in Wales. The object of the goodwill movement is to foster peace-mindedness among the peoples of the world.[190]

Mori's address reportedly read as follows:

> Dear Friends of Wales: … Thank you very much for the letter you send us every year for Good-will Day. We are glad to hear from you, friends of other lands, and especially to have the opportunity of thinking together about international friendship. ... We feel that spring is the most suitable time to receive your happy message for World Peace. ... On this Goodwill Day we are made to think of how we can form better relations with people of other nations. ... Let us discard our doubts and prejudices and try to learn good things of other nations that we may come nearer to this ideal; and let us continue in our common hope and aim in preparation for the day when we must take greater responsibility in the building up of a better world.[191]

Mori's address touched on the idea of building a new world, and better understanding of and communication with one's peers. In this case, communication took place between young women. And, as chapter three will reveal, Eiwa student writings on peace in the 1930s also included concepts of international understanding and knowledge to bring about peace, showcasing a further connection between communication, understanding, and peace.

It is striking that Tsune Gauntlett took part in this event which encouraged communication

[190] "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser*, 18 May, 1935, 5.

[191] "Japanese Girls Greet Those Of Wales On Radio," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 21 May, 1935, 2. *The Japan Times & Mail* referred to it as 'International Goodwill Day.'

across national boundaries, as her husband George Edward Luckman Gauntlett (1868-1956) was "instrumental in spreading Esperanto in Japan," a constructed universal/international language Ian Rapley refers to as a "solution to a very modern problem of international communication, the culmination of a series of experiments and ideas in international language."[192] As Sho Konishi explains, through Esperanto, "a vision of translingual world order and peace was formed. The language without culture was viewed as a tool for the practice of internationalism."[193] It became extremely popular in Japan and "[b]y 1928, Japan had the highest number of registered Esperanto speakers by far of any non-European country."[194] Tetsutaro Hasegawa of the International Women and Children's Society reported Gauntlett's speech was "on the World's Peace and Children's Duty" and had been sent to Wales.[195] The Society had also held an Esperanto school in 1937.[196] Tsune Gauntlett may have been asked to participate in these events because of her membership in this society, her engagement in peace work, and her connection to Esperanto and thus communication between nations.

This Tōyō Eiwa student address was constructed in response to a broadcast by Welsh students which was described in the *T.E. Nyūsu* (T. E. News) school publication as "the message of peace and friendship that the children of Wales broadcasted to the children all over the world last year, and forwarded by some school[-]girls of New Zealand with whom some of our girls

[192] Saiko Gauntlett, "Edward Gauntlett (1868-1956), English Teacher, Explorer and Missionary," in *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Vol. VI*, ed. Hugh Cortazzi, vol. 6 (Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental, 2007), 303, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/ej.9781905246335.1-448.212, Ian Rapley, "Sekaigo: Esperanto, international language, and the transnational dimension to Japan's linguistic modernity," *Japan Forum* 32, no. 4 (2020): 526, DOI: 10.1080/09555803.2019.1594342.

[193] Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 259.

[194] Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 260.

[195] Tetsutaro Hasegawa, "World Friendship Through Women And Children," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 4 Aug, 1937, 5. In this English article, Hasegawa wrote his name starting with his first name.

[196] Hasegawa, "World Friendship Through Women And Children," 5.

are in correspondence."[197] It read:

> To the World's children: … Boys and girls of all nations, we, the children of Wales, once again warmly greet you on Goodwill Day. ... We do not know why there should be so much sorrow in a world which is so beautiful[.] ... We believe that this would not happen if all the nations to which we belong would live and work together as members of one family[.] ... We, believe, too that by our thoughts we can help to bring this new spirit into the world. Let us then[,] on this [Goodwill] Day, millions and millions of us, unite in one great thought of peace, peace between the peoples and peace between the nations. With the faith that can remove mountains our thoughts will change the world.[198]

Similar themes of unification, international peace, and the building of a different world further emphasize perceived inadequacies within institutionalized world structures which allowed conflict to occur between nations. This address suggests some youth viewed themselves capable of changing this through cooperation with peers, communication, and an appropriate mind-set.

The Dominion of Canada's place in the British Empire may help explain why a message from Welsh students was forwarded to Tokyo by students of New Zealand (and was being sent annually), why Tōyō Eiwa students responded to the message from Wales, and why communication was taking place between Tōyō Eiwa and girls' students from New Zealand. Rather than a language for understanding the enemy, as chapter two notes was the government's treatment of English in the 1930s, in this activity the English language was treated as a communication tool to increase international understanding. This communication created an intellectual network between Tōyō Eiwa students and those of Western countries as, in a sense, these young women represented Japan to the Western students they communicated with. In these activities, communication was consciously instituted between young women.

[197] Ikuko Matsumoto, email to author, 30 Aug, 2019, "Message of peace and friendship," *T.E. Nyūsu [T.E. News]*, Undated, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan, n.p.
[198] "Message of peace and friendship," n.p.

Commonality was represented by age, gender, worldviews, and likely Christianity. These were aspects of a shared identity through which communication and understanding may have been more easily facilitated. This exchange took place between students at a Japanese Christian high school with Canadian connections and those in nations with high percentages of Christians, and with a shared history of connections to the British Empire. This relationship linked these places geographically and intellectually, potentially creating a shared experience between students in Japan and their peers in other nations, and a shared goal reminiscent of that which the creators of World Goodwill Day had reportedly envisioned. Tōyō Eiwa's World Goodwill Day participation and correspondence with girls' students in New Zealand are two ways students and organizers engaged in intellectual network building across nations through young women.

Eiwa alumnae also took part in physical and intellectual network building through international educational mobility facilitated by a WMS study abroad scholarship program. A WMS initiative expanded by a Japanese donor, the "WMS Scholarships for Japanese Women Students" program which ran from 1925 to 1941 and its participants have been outlined by Patricia Sippel through United Church of Canada mission documents.[199] The approximately ten graduates who participated were expected to work for the WMS for a period of time following their studies.[200] Missionary Frances Gertrude Hamilton wrote that "[t]he hope of sending a picked few of our graduates abroad … gives us courage for the future. A few foreign trained workers are absolutely necessary to the future of our work."[201] Why the WMS considered

[199] Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika," 3, 4, Patricia Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika no Kōtesu Shoran (1925-1941) wo Yomu [Reading Courtice's Correspondence in a Tense International Situation (1925-1941)]," in *Shiryōshitsu Dayori: Kanada Gōdōkyōkai Ākaibuzu Yori* 89, (November 2017): 1-7, https://www.toyoeiwa.ac.jp/archives/publications/pdf/shiryo89.pdf.

[200] Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika," 3, 4.

[201] F. Gertrude Hamilton, "Tokyo Branch: Report of Azabu School for Year 1925-6," in *First Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada 1925-1926* (Toronto: The Armac Press Limited, 1926), 112.

workers trained abroad necessary is illuminated by a resolution passed by the WMS Executive Committee:

> "*Whereas* it is our belief that the interchange of students of different nationalities makes for international sympathy and understanding, and consequently for the peace of the world;
> "*Whereas* in Eastern countries there is a strong and growing national spirit, which has the legitimate desire to express itself according to its own genius and its own leadership, requiring therefore, its own training;
> "*Whereas*, since the world is now one, study abroad for all peoples is necessary to offset a too pronounced nationalism and to develop the most liberal minded statesmanship;
> "Therefore, be it resolved that we put on record our approval of the plan of Japanese scholarships, which would we believe, further the principles already enunciated.[202]

Both the WMS and organizers of World Goodwill Day evidently saw the facilitation of understanding and knowledge between young people of different nationalities as important for world peace. The WMS appeared to believe understanding and international experience could temper rising nationalism by providing recipients an opportunity to study and live in a foreign country and develop international knowledge and understanding. While World Goodwill Day aimed to address these issues by facilitating intellectual connections and communication through, for example, literature and communication, the WMS scholarship program enabled personal experience through international educational mobility. In choosing women to take part, the WMS had the opportunity to infuse shared knowledge and values within and strengthen connections to the WMS and to Canada of graduates who were involved with WMS/Eiwa school work in Japan, and who would have a sustained role to play in the community after their

[202] "Report of Executive Committee: Japan," in *Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1924-1925* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press Wesley Buildings, 1925), xix. The date this resolution was passed was not recorded in this source. This copy was missing the information page with publisher, date, and place of publication, so these details have been provided after consultation with the UCCA.

period of study. Participants, meanwhile, progressed educationally and professionally in an international setting, strengthened intellectual connections with the Christian community, and solidified their roles in the WMS and Eiwa school network in Japan.

This section explores the physical mobility of five scholarship recipients: Maruyama Tamiko, Kōmyo Teruko, Enomoto Aiko, Hayakawa Tomiko, and Hana(ko) Fukuda. Their experiences and progression illustrate the personal, educational, and professional development possible for some graduates through active and continued involvement in the Eiwa community. These women embarked on the WMS scholarship program through the 1920s and 1930s, until 1941. First mentioned above as having taught English for three decades at Tōyō Eiwa, as Patricia Sippel explains, Maruyama Tamiko left Japan in 1928 to study for a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Toronto in Ontario, Canada. Maruyama then studied for a Master of Arts in Education and Practical Arts at Columbia University in New York, United States, and returned to Japan in July of 1933.[203] Maruyama's career pathway involved long-term professional engagement at Tōyō Eiwa in English instruction, and higher education in North American institutions.

Kōmyo Teruko was accepted by the WMS Executive of the Japan Mission Council for study in Canada from September of 1935.[204] Sybil R. Courtice reported "Miss Komyo is a graduate of the Toyo Eiwa and of the Woman's Christian College and has taught in our school here for the last two years. She has done very excellent work. We feel assured that she ... will make good in her studies [abroad] for she has led in her classes here as a student as well as

[203] Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika," 4.

[204] UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-7, Sybil Courtice to Anson Spotton, 1934 June 24, n.p. A page number was not recorded on this page.

having proved herself a very capable teacher."[205] Komyō "was granted a scholarship by the Woman's Missionary Society and graduated in Arts from Mount Allison University [Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada]. She undertook post-graduate study in London, England, and returned to Japan in 1938."[206] Kōmyo was a faculty member of Tōyō Eiwa until 1946 and later became director of the school from 1976 to 1985.[207] Kōmyo progressed through the Eiwa network and within institutions in Canada and England, again highlighting a geographical conceptualization connecting Japan, North America, and Britain. Courtice's report also shows that Christian work and teaching skills were desirable qualities for scholarship recipients. While the graduates who would be considered for this program were thus limited to those with such experience and who would continue working with the organization after their period of study, the mobility and professional and educational activities they took part in and the transnational network building that occurred through their engagement from the 1920s to 1941 are nonetheless striking.



Figure 1: Enomoto Aiko. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 2000.017P/3035. Aiko Enomoto, [before Jan 10, 1955].

Scholarship students from Japan were reported on in *The United Church Observer* for the Canadian audience, updating them on student developments. Yamanashi Eiwa alumna Enomoto Aiko was one such individual. Enomoto had attended Tokyo Woman's Christian University, graduating in 1932.[208] Garrett L. Washington explains "[t]he curriculum at Tokyo Woman's Christian University ... provided women with a

[205] UCCA, Courtice to Spotton, 1934 June 24, 1. 'Women's Christian College' likely refers to Tokyo Woman's Christian University.

[206] UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, Minutes and general papers, 83.058C, 77-17, Kōmyo Teruko to Winifred Thomas, 1945 November 13, n.p. This information about Komyō appears to have been added on the text of the letter.

[207] Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika," 4.

[208] Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika," 5.

relatively well-rounded Christian liberal education."[209] The Shizuoka branch of the WMS submitted an application for a scholarship for Enomoto in 1937.[210] On 15 June 1940, *The United Church Observer* reported Enomoto had completed a year of study at The United Church Training School in Toronto, Canada, "specializing in religious education and vocational work in relation to child education."[211] Enomoto also received a certificate at the United Church (Training) School Convocation in 1941.[212] The former 1940 issue also reported on another student, Hayakawa Tomiko, a Yamanashi Eiwa alumna who had also graduated from Tokyo Woman's Christian University.[213] A request for a scholarship had been made for Hayakawa in 1937 as well.[214]

Reporting on WMS scholarship students in church periodicals could spread awareness of the presence and achievements of these women through its readership. Just as these women were receiving an international experience, in a sense, so too were the periodical's readership through these reports and those on the mission, and on the development of the church's Japanese schools. These reports on scholarship recipients were personal, providing a name, photograph, and individual achievements. The WMS scholarship program and the inclusion of scholarship students in the national church periodical contributed to the creation of this community which intellectually and physically transcended national boundaries.

---

[209] Garrett L. Washington, "Christianity and "True Education": Yasui Tetsu's Contribution to Women's Education in Imperial Japan," in *Christianity and the Modern Woman in East Asia*, ed. Garrett L. Washington (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 153-154, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9789004369108.

[210] UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-10, Sybil Courtice to Ruth Taylor, 1937 June 11, 1.

[211] "WMS Scholarship Students," *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 8 (15 June, 1940): 6.

[212] "United Church School Convocation," *The United Church Observer* 3, no. 7 (1 June, 1941): 3.

[213] "WMS Scholarship Students," 6.

[214] UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-10, Sybil Courtice to Ruth Taylor, 1937 June 11, 1.

It was also possible for these students to publish in these periodicals, thus engaging with United Church intellectual life and voicing their thoughts through church print material. Enomoto Aiko wrote in a 1940 issue: "God … began loving me even when I did not know Him. He has been leading and lifting me all these years from all directions. I am thankful that He has given me … opportunity of education, of adventure with hardship; experiences of heart-breaking sorrow, of sleepless nights and of happy, carefree days, of working among promising young girls."[215] Enomoto would continue to work in women's education throughout her professional career as head teacher (*kyōtō*) of Yamanashi Eiwa, director (*inchō*) of Fukuoka Jogakuin girls' school, and principal (*kōchō*) of Shizuoka Eiwa, among other posts.[216] Enomoto demonstrated substantial career progression through the Eiwa network, higher education in Canada, and Christian schools in Japan, moving between nations and women's educational institutions. Enomoto is a prime individual example of the mobility and social and intellectual engagement demonstrated by graduates active in this network.

Patricia Sippel explains individuals chosen for this scholarship program were advised to study at the Canadian Academy before their period abroad.[217] A manifestation of Canada in Japan which connected the two countries, the school in Kobe, Hyogo prepared Eiwa alumnae for living and studying in Canada. Ernest W. Clement wrote in 1930 of "the widening popularity and influence of schools for the education of foreign children in Japan such as the ... Canadian Academy in Kobe[.] ... They are really international institutions that develop a truly cosmopolitan spirit and ... are first-class investments in good-will."[218] Similarly, L. S. Albright

[215] Aiko Enomoto, "What Christianity Means to Me," *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 3 (1 Apr, 1940): 18. In this English address, Enomoto wrote her name starting with her first name.

[216] "Enomoto Aiko Ryakunenpyō," in *Shu wa Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]* (Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014), 118-119.

[217] Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika," 5.

[218] Ernest W. Clement, "Educational Trends in Japan," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 16 Mar, 1930, 3.

wrote in 1932: "The Canadian Academy is a unique institution in the Far East. We want it to worthily represent Canada, serve the whole foreign community, give a sound education and instil high ideals of international and interracial [cooperation]."[219] Albright thus desired the Canadian Academy to facilitate international cooperation while representing Canada in Japan. Fred Ainsworth also reported in 1938 that the Canadian Academy was where "we send our children," suggesting cultural interactions could take place within between children of Canadians (such as missionaries) in Japan, and Japanese students with connections to Canada.[220]

Hayakawa Tomiko was encouraged to study at this school, and "after studying English at the Canadian Academy in the summer of 1938 as a WMS scholarship student," Hayakawa "studied the training of girls and religious education for two years in Toronto and [Ottawa], and returned to Japan in 1940."[221] Hayakawa was reported on in *The United Church Observer* in 1940 as well: "Tomiko Hayakawa, Japanese scholarship student, has finished two years' study at The United Church Training School, specializing in religious education and observation work in relation to teen-age and child education. She returns to Japan to engage in rural evangelistic work," the periodical wrote.[222] Hayakawa sailed for Japan on 13 August 1940.[223]

Finally, Fukuda Hana(ko) was a Tōyō Eiwa alumna.[224] Fukuda's educational career demonstrated international mobility, and her professional career was connected to the Eiwa schools. Fukuda first received a scholarship to study at Ontario Ladies College (today the Trafalgar Castle School in Ontario, Canada), graduating in 1932.[225] Upon returning to Japan

[219] L. S. Albright, "The Japan Mission Council: Facing Great Tasks in a Fine Spirit," *The New Outlook* 8, no. 13 (30 Mar, 1932): 309.
[220] Fred Ainsworth, "The 1938 Japan Mission Council," *The New Outlook* 14, no. 15 (15 Apr, 1938): 364.
[221] Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika," 5.
[222] "WMS Scholarship Students," 6.
[223] "W.M.S. Missionaries Return to Foreign Fields," *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 16 (15 Oct, 1940): 29.
[224] Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika," 5.
[225] Sippel, "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika," 4.

she taught music at Yamanashi Eiwa. Fukuda was considered again for a scholarship in 1937.[226] This scholarship would have likely begun in 1941 when Enomoto Aiko returned to Japan, had war with the West not broken out.[227] However, due to the increasingly tense international situation, Enomoto was advised to finish her course in March of 1941, returning to Japan in June of 1941 aboard the *Hiye Maru* and taking up work in Shizuoka.[228]

Physical mobility, communication, and intellectual connections which transcended nations were consciously and purposely constructed and facilitated for Eiwa students and graduates at a time when such activities required commitment. These activities were instituted to address what was perceived as lacking in institutionalized state education, to temper social, educational, and intellectual trends of nationalism, and to connect women through shared aspects of identity and worldviews, and the building of knowledge and experience. They impacted intellectual and physical network building and the creation of school culture, ideas, knowledge, and personal experience which aligned with the goals of this community. Through the engagement, encounters, and professional, educational, and international mobility traced in this chapter, Eiwa community members concretely enlarged this community in terms of membership and geographical scope. Thus, this encounter of Japanese and Canadian actors in this intergenerational network had wide reach which spanned outward from their physical

[226] UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-10, Sybil Courtice to Ruth Taylor, 1937 June 11, 2.

[227] UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-13, Alice Strothard to Ruth Taylor, 1940 January 22, 4.

[228] UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-15, Courtice to Taylor, 1941 March 12, UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-15, Sybil Courtice to Ruth Taylor, 1941 May 6, 1, UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-15, Sybil Courtice to Ruth Taylor, 1941 June 19, 1.

institutions and immediate communities. Eiwa students and alumnae took part in activities which transcended nations through extra-curricular activities and international education. In doing so, they built connections with peers across nations through a shared social and intellectual worldview in the 1930s, which aimed to counter increasing nationalism and tense nation-state level relations.

1.6 Conclusion

The Eiwa schools were not only institutions for Christian evangelization and girls' education, but spaces for transcultural encounters and international education in 1930s Japan. School engagement facilitated participation in work related to and connections with international Christian women's associations, international, educational, and professional mobility, and the building of international knowledge and transnational communication. Such activities were reportedly instituted to temper rising nationalism and engage students and alumnae in Christian service and the community worldview. These intellectual and physical connections illuminate network construction which potentially impacted school culture, education, and how the Eiwa schools and actors navigated the 1930s. This study uncovers the agency of female Japanese actors in a historiography where Western Christianity and its encounters in Japan have often focused on missionary contributions and prominent male Japanese Christians. Through active community engagement, female actors widened the network and created educational and professional opportunities which in some cases transcended nations. Instituted in a period of state-level tensions, this interconnectivity, communication, and mobility were significant. These activities start to illustrate an alternative narrative of lived experiences in 1930s Japan through Japanese women and girls' school

students as historical actors who continue to feature prominently in the following chapters.

This chapter thus conceptualizes the Eiwa schools as intellectual and physical spaces connected to local and transnational organizations within a large women-focused Christian community. They became physical spaces for wider community gatherings and centers of their local religious communities. Well-known figures entered this network through school visits and talks. Eiwa education consciously facilitated the creation and sharing of knowledge and ideas, communication, and the building of connections which physically and intellectually transcended national boundaries. Alumnae progressed within the educational, social, professional, and religious ideals this community espoused. Instituted to temper nationalism and involve students in Christian social engagement, these activities and connections are important for understanding the lived historical experiences of students, alumnae, and educators of these schools in the 1930s. These activities served an important role in creating shared knowledge and connections to a wider community which moved beyond idealism to concrete action. This exploration of the wider physical and intellectual network in which the Eiwa schools were situated, and themes which activities and organizations focused on, serve as a base for the coming chapter's discussions of school culture, the construction of intellectual and physical space, students' writings on and school activities related to peace, and the role and significance of Eiwa YWCA activities in 1930s Japan.

Chapter 2: Creating Eiwa School Culture: The Construction of Space and the Internal Educational Environment of the Eiwa Schools

2.1 Introduction

The Tōyō Eiwa, Shizuoka Eiwa, and Yamanashi Jogakkō girls' mission schools created an innovative intellectual and physical landscape in which an 'Eiwa' school culture and identity was constructed in tangible and symbolic ways within physical spaces, as well as an intellectual network. We have seen how physical and intellectual connections transcending institutional walls and even nations were created through global women's associations, communication, and mobility which transcended the physical walls of these schools, as well as state-level boundaries. This chapter narrows the lens to the environment of the schools. While recognizing differences likely existed between the three schools geographically and in terms of personnel and activities, it outlines five key facets of an Eiwa school culture in the 1930s: (1) Christianity, the chapel, and service was at the center of the intellectual landscape of these institutions. (2) The education at these schools manifested Western customs, learning, and environment into the Japanese context, including the teaching of English, international learning, and empire. (3) In addition to Christianity, this network was based on and facilitated women's education, professional mobility, and international mobility and connectivity. (4) In the interwar period, some educational aspects encouraged individual, critical, practical, and 'free' thinking in students, and (5) especially visible in the 1930s, Eiwa school culture and education incorporated state ideology which coexisted with these transnational and religious teachings. In doing so, this network, its connections, and activities persisted despite challenges presented by wider 1930s social conditions. The aspects of school culture outlined in this chapter help to conceptualize

the wider argument of this thesis of *how* and *why* international learning and mobility and communication which transcended state boundaries were practiced in these spaces and through related individuals in the 1930s.

This chapter illuminates how intellectual and physical space developed within these institutions through aspects of curriculum, teaching, environment and spatial construction, and school building design. David N. Livingstone asks: "In what ways does the regulation of space shape the character of particular schools in particular places?"[1] Intellectual and physical spaces were developed, utilized, and ascribed value and significance by Eiwa actors in ways which impacted the school culture and environment created within. The perception of what constituted school culture (and who was involved in creating it) would likely have differed among individuals and within the three schools. Aspects such as the application of curriculum, extra-curricular activities, features of the immediate surrounding area and local community, building layouts, and the usage of rooms and spaces likely varied. For example, A. Hamish Ion argues Shizuoka Eiwa students "were not exposed to the diversity of Japanese and Western cultural influences that the pupils at the school in Tokyo [Tōyō Eiwa] were."[2] While recognizing probable differences, this study explores activities and education practiced, and spatial construction undertaken within the three schools to suggest what constituted aspects of an Eiwa school culture, and how this school culture and environment potentially impacted student and network development.

Eiwa school curriculum and learning methods can be illuminated through curriculum,

[1] David N. Livingstone, "Keeping knowledge in site," *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 782, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514299.

[2] A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 122, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3050225.

textbooks, library holdings, and period methods for formal and informal youth education. Joyce Goodman argues Japanese educator Tsuda Umeko (1864-1929) "illustrate[d] Henri Lefebvre's observation that for 'ideas, representations and values' to maintain their distinctiveness, groups must carve out a particular space" in the creation of her school, Joshi Eigaku Juku (today Tsuda University) in Tokyo.[3] Similarly, this study explores how in the 1930s, the Eiwa schools served as spaces for practicing methods of education and ideas which were in some ways distinct from those of government schools. Exploring physical space reveals the environment in which students studied and some lived, and educators practiced and developed education as well as engaged in their own personal development. As David N. Livingstone contends, "school experience is profoundly shaped by spatial formations," and "knowledge is not just incarnated in bodies; it is also located in buildings."[4] 1955 Tōyō Eiwa alumna Okajima Taeko suggested there was indeed something tangibly constructed within these institutions by stating: "Daily life at school was in the 'Eiwa' spirit."[5] Indeed, "[c]ulture affects all aspects of a school," argue Terrence E. Deal and Kent D. Peterson.[6] Within these spaces, students and teachers, among other actors, participated in the creation of their school's environment and culture. Deal and Peterson further note that "[o]ne of the most significant roles of leaders … is the creation,

[3] Joyce Goodman, "Gender, cosmopolitanism, and transnational space and time: Kasuya Yoshi and girls' secondary education," *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 692, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2015.1076066. Goodman cites Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 51.

[4] Livingstone, "Keeping knowledge in site," 782, 781. Livingstone refers to Andrew Saint, "Battersea: education in a London parish since 1750," *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 681-693, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514296, and Alison Clark, "'In-between' spaces in postwar primary schools: a micro-study of a 'welfare room' (1977–1993)," *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 767-778, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514297.

[5] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, ed., *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha 1933-1993: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Kōsha no Kiroku [Our School Toriizaka 1933-1993: Records of the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin School Building]* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Dōsōkai, 1994), 106. Okajima used the phrase '*'Eiwa' to iu seishin no naka de,*' or 'in the spirit/essence of 'Eiwa.'' This chapter explores what an 'Eiwa' spirit may have represented through analyzing Eiwa school culture.

[6] Terrence E. Deal and Kent D. Peterson, *Shaping School Culture*, 3rd ed (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2016), 14, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=4605622.

encouragement, and refinement of the symbols and symbolic activity that confer meaning and significance" as they "continuously renovate the culture of their school."[7] Although teachers and principals may be the most obvious 'leaders,' this study outlines how students and alumnae also developed school culture and the wider network in the 1930s through the activities, mobility, and communication they engaged in.

Many individuals may contribute to the intellectual, physical, and spatial construction of school spaces, environment, and culture. For example, Eiwa educators engaged in curriculum building and application, teaching, and interacted with students and each other. Students would have engaged with teachers, peers, school buildings, and curriculum. This study brings students into this intellectual narrative by using their voices from school publications which have been largely unutilized.[8] And as chapter four will explore further, students also took on leadership roles within their school *Seinenkai* (YWCA) groups which were reportedly the "heart" of the institution, and "a touchstone" of its "religious life."[9] Chapter one analyzed how some alumnae became teachers at the Eiwa schools and/or engaged with global women's organizations and international educational mobility after graduation. These individuals allow us to trace how this network widened and what kind of culture, ideas, worldviews, and activities were carried into society and potentially back into the schools. David N. Livingstone argues "[k]nowledge ... is a geographical phenomenon. It is acquired in specific sites, it circulates from location to location, it transforms and is transformed by the world."[10] Thus, the knowledge created and acquired, and the values emphasized within these schools are of interest as these potentially spread within

[7] Deal and Peterson, *Shaping School Culture*, 17.

[8] This chapter utilizes Yamanashi Eiwa and Shizuoka Eiwa's Alumnae Association Reports (*Dōsō*(*kai*) *Kaihō*) and Tōyō Eiwa's *Kaede* and *Kōyūkaishi* publications.

[9] F. G. Hamilton, "Seinenkai Nijūshunen wo Mukauru ni Saishite," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai 20 Shūnen Kinenshi Section*], ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 1.

[10] Livingstone, "Keeping knowledge in site," 784.

individuals and the wider network.

This chapter briefly explores the Eiwa schools' early years to set the stage for the 1930s when this school culture was particularly striking, as activities related to these values appear to have been instituted with an increased sense of urgency. While studies on the Eiwa schools in the 1930s have described challenges presented by curricular changes and eventual mobilization for the war effort, innovative incorporation of state ideology into an existing school culture is another way to explore what occurred and was instituted within these schools during this turbulent period.[11] The incorporation of aspects of international and Christian education through curricular and extra-curricular activities demonstrated what can be conceptualized as 'persistence through strategic cooperation.' Ideas and practices supporting an established school culture were maintained where possible in some cases, and activities were instituted which coexisted with what was expected from government accredited educational institutions. 'Cooperation' refers to methods undertaken by these institutions to survive, while 'strategic' suggests these schools had aspects of an established curriculum and educational lifestyle to protect by acting in a certain way. While some period actors may not have endeavored to challenge government ideology or institutionalized structures, evidently some did, and as we will see in the following chapter, in some cases what was considered the norm within these schools in the 1930s did not match what individuals had experienced outside.

Despite increasing challenges which would come as the Pacific War intensified such as student mobilization and WMS missionaries being returned to Canada, these actors' actions and

[11] See, for example, A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3050225. As chapter three notes, the influence of nationalism, imperialism, and militarism have been explored in the case of other Christian schools as well.

efforts in the 1930s were significant. Some actors appear to have acted to counter or temper aspects of state or social trends which did not align with community goals and their vision for the future. During the 1930s, a fusion and coexistence of aspects of the national and international was evident within the Eiwa schools. Nationalism and imperial teachings, for example, coexisted with learning which focused on international friendship, community, world outlook, and the building of connections based on aspects of commonality (gender, age, Christianity) across nationalities. This chapter explores aspects of Eiwa school culture and identity which encompassed a duality of and interplay between the West (*Ei*) and Japan (*Wa*), visible in aspects of period education and, as the previous chapter explored, in the makeup of this network.

This discussion reveals how actors built and engaged with this network and these spaces through the 1930s. Catherine Burke et al. describe schools, among other institutions, as "sites of knowledge production and consumption."[12] Indeed, Gill Valentine contends "[c]onsumption is regarded as crucial in the construction of young people's identities."[13] What knowledge and ideas were produced and consumed within the Eiwa schools? If culture "influences ... the type of instruction valued" within schools, which teachings, activities, and aspects of school culture were valued within these institutions, and how does this impact our understanding of 1930s Japan?[14] Who and which tangible ideas influenced the school culture formed? What role did intellectual and physical space play in the creation of these ideas, and in the intellectual development of Eiwa actors? This chapter addresses these questions and, through this study of three girls' mission schools, explores the significance of its findings for our understanding of

[12] Catherine Burke et al., "'Putting education in its place': space, place and materialities in the history of education," *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 678, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514526.
[13] Gill Valentine, "Boundary Crossings: Transitions from Childhood to Adulthood," *Children's Geographies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 45, DOI: 10.1080/14733280302186.
[14] Deal and Peterson, *Shaping School Culture*, 14.

education and the intellectual landscape of 1930s Japan.

2.2 The Education and Internal Philosophical Culture of the Eiwa Schools

WMS missionary Esther Ryan stated in 1920: "The most deep and strong impression I received" while on furlough "was the idea of 'internationalism' and 'service'. In other words, thinking also of other people and sacrificing yourself for those people, not only your family and friends," but "thinking of all humanity living on earth."[15] What kind of school environment could also create such an impression? And how did ideas of internationalism and service, for example, impact how this network navigated and attempted to address the turbulent 1930s? Eiwa actors constructed spaces where education followed state-mandated curriculum and ideas while being supplemented by religious engagement and international learning. 'Free' thinking and individualized training found in the new education (*shinkyōiku*) movements of the 1920s were reportedly infused in courses such as composition, *Kokugo* (Japanese), science, and mathematics, and Christian religiosity in classes typically designed to instill nationalistic ideas, like civics. And as the following two chapters explore, international education, including knowledge building, mutual object exchange, and communication, was also practiced throughout the 1930s through extra-curricular group activities.

Mark E. Lincicome has explored Japan's official international education movement from the Russo-Japanese War to the Manchurian Incident of 1931 through male Japanese intellectuals, explaining "[t]he interwar campaigns calling for liberal and international education … challenged political and ideological conventions in the decade after World War One, only to

[15] Esther Ryan, "Kōen," in Mukōyama Kiyo, ed., *Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Minister of Education Designated Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1920), 22. This address was published in Japanese.

capitulate to them in the 1930s."[16] Chizu Sato, too, argues while "the term 'international education' was already used by some educators as early as the Taisho period (1912–1926)[,] ... the school system changed owing to increasingly nationalistic social trends, and this budding experiment did not continue."[17] Indeed, according to Lincicome, the official international education organization follows this narrative. However, this thesis reveals international education and engagement with the wider world for the purpose of fostering international friendship was practiced at the Eiwa schools, and through Eiwa students, educators, and alumnae through the 1930s. Lincicome notes educator Noguchi Entarō (1868-1941) published an essay in 1923 expressing his belief that international and national education were "complementary."[18] Eiwa actors, not prominent intellectuals but non-state, non-diplomatic, and largely little-known adult women and youth, also appear to have practiced international education with a perceived sense of urgency, together with national curriculum in the decade following this 1923 essay, after the cessation of Japan's officially organized movement.

As noted, change and challenges for mission schools in 1930s and 1940s Japan related to curriculum, imperialism, religious education, and mobilization have been a key focus of the historiography thus far. Although these were significant in the Eiwa experience as well, this network's journey through this period was dynamic, as members reacted to and attempted to address, navigate, and even temper period trends. Further, these schools have not been thoroughly explored through analyzing details of intellectual and physical space and how these

[16] Mark E. Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (May 1999): 357, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2659400.

[17] Chizu Sato, "Education for international understanding in Japan: Japanese self-identification and the discourse of internationalization after the Second World War," *Intercultural Education* 15, no. 2 (June 2004): 210, DOI: 10.1080/1467598042000225050.

[18] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 348. Lincicome cites and translates Noguchi Entarō, "Kokusai Kyōiku Kaigi Oyobi Sono Mokuteki," in *Kokusai Kyōiku no Riron Oyobi Jissai* (Tokyo: Kokusai Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1923).

potentially influenced student and alumnae development or experiences in 1930s Japan. While chapter one explored the wider landscape this network and these institutions were situated within, and how it was constructed, this chapter explores the spaces which developed within in depth. While the 1930s "is often related in terms that emphasize its regressive, oppressive tendencies, … but that downplay the persistence of a dynamic popular culture and the pursuit of reform at the local level," Kerry Smith argues "this should not … obscure developments at the level of the neighbourhood, the village, and the workplace which reveal how average citizens and their communities negotiated these changes."[19] Schools, too, can reveal the innovative and surprising ways students, educators, and alumnae experienced, negotiated, and navigated the 1930s.

This section explores aspects of the internal intellectual landscape which developed within the Eiwa schools by exploring instituted curricular aims, ideas taught, and vocabulary used by educators. In doing so, it shows how an intellectual Eiwa school culture was constructed. As Paul Standish notes, "[t]he substance of the curriculum is an expression … of what the culture takes to be important and of the values that the culture wishes to pass on."[20] Why is a study of this microhistory significant? In the 1930s, Eiwa curriculum not only fulfilled state-mandated course aims, but together with extra-curricular education, taught students about, and actively created a connection to, the wider world. In doing so, these methods of teaching instilled somewhat contrasting but coexisting values into the school culture within. As such, despite 1930s government involvement in schools, both the international and national were able

[19] Kerry Smith, *A Time of Crisis: Japan, the Great Depression, and Rural Revitalization* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 17, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9781684173419, quoted also in M. William Steele, *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 175, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=180917.

[20] Paul Standish, "The Educational is Political," *Educational Studies in Japan: International Yearbook* 13, (March 2019): 8, https://doi.org/10.7571/esjkyoiku.13.5.

to (and indeed needed to) coexist at these schools through curriculum and wider school activities. In this way, it appears actors made efforts to strategically, and purposely, maintain the (international) education and Christian religiosity of the schools in the 1930s. And as Mark E. Lincicome asks, "given the widely held belief that the state methodically extended hegemonic control over education from the 1880s until Japan's defeat in 1945, is it not significant that attempts at resistance occurred at all?"[21] While these schools cooperated necessarily with the state, aspects of their 1930s education are surprising given wider state and social trends.

These schools were intergenerational and transcultural spaces. Jones et. al argue "adults play an important role in supporting their children's autonomy and agency through the production of space and spatial possibilities."[22] Eiwa students, educators, and alumnae can be conceptualized as adults and young people as well. Explored through period school sources, the experiences of these historical actors elucidate the roles teachers played in providing and interpreting school and dormitory spaces for students, and how students viewed, interacted with, and utilized these spaces. The education at the Eiwa schools and students' personal development were impacted by educational avenues, curriculum taught by missionary and Japanese teachers, and the purpose, value, and meaning assigned to these subjects as well as to physical spaces. Jones et al. also "recognize children and youth as subjects who enact agency in creative ways as they figure out who they can and cannot be in different contexts as well as how they can shape different contexts as they engage with both adult and youth in those contexts."[23] Thus, this thesis more widely includes students as historical actors. It suggests how Eiwa students,

[21] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 341.

[22] Stephanie Jones et al., "Childhood Geographies and Spatial Justice: Making Sense of Place and Space-Making as Political Acts in Education," *American Educational Research Journal* 53, no. 4 (August 2016): 1145, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24751625.

[23] Jones et al., "Childhood Geographies and Spatial Justice," 1152.

and later alumnae, exhibited agency in their school, educational, and professional lives. As will be evident as this study continues, some of these women wrote on social and international issues, communicated with the wider world, took on leadership roles in key school groups such as the *Seinenkai* (YWCA), and participated in global women's organizational activities and international mobility. This thesis thus explores the interplay between what was created for students by adults – namely, the physical schools, departments, and curriculum – and how students used, interpreted, developed, and interacted with these. The schools were, in certain aspects, a creation of teachers, other staff, students, and alumnae.

This chapter continues to explore chapter one's argument that students' identities (and a broader 'Eiwa' identity) could be shaped through participation and mobility within this network, and in the context of school life. It adds ideas imbedded in Eiwa education to the discussion, and where possible utilizes the words of students, teachers, and alumnae. Eiwa actors could take on an identity upon entering the schools as students or teachers, and also contribute to the development of their network's identity. James Jasper and Aidan McGarry argue "[c]ollective identities enable groups to do certain things but not others. An identity offers individuals some options but not others."[24] A perceived Eiwa identity could allow students to recognize themselves as members of a school and sister school-wide group of peers (for example, as we have seen, students could refer to themselves as *Eiwakko* or 'Eiwa girls'), and as part of a wider network of teachers, alumnae, and even school visitors and members of the women's organizations manifested as school groups for student participation.[25] This identity also enabled,

[24] James M. Jasper and Aidan McGarry, "Introduction," in *The Identity Dilemma: Social Movements and Collective Identity*, eds. Aidan McGarry and James M. Jasper (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 2, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=2055011).

[25] Takano Mitsuko, "Takano Mitsukosan no Ohanashi," in *Senjika no Joshi Gakuseitachi: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku ni Manada 60nin no Taiken [Girl Students in Wartime: The Experiences of 60 People who Studied at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku]*, ed. Horie Yūko (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2012), 255.

and potentially encouraged them to interact with ideas of what it meant to be Christian (and perceived responsibilities that came with this identification), Japanese, and a citizen of the world, and to explore various social ideas.

The 1920s and 1930s Eiwa network is situated not only in a history of nationalist social trends, but also of progressive and international education movements. Taishō Japan saw a movement for freer and more individualized 'new education.' Benjamin C. Duke explains that "World War I stimulated a humanistic movement in many countries of the world, including Japan," and led to the establishment of "progressive schools, including the Jiyūgakuen (Liberty School) founded by Hani Motoko [(1873-1957)] and the Seijō Elementary School by Sawayanagi Masatarō [(1865-1927)]."[26] L. Halliday Piel notes "progressive educators in the interwar era experimented with new concepts like the Seaside School, founded in 1921 in Nagasaki, and the Roofless Kindergarten in Osaka prefecture."[27] Margaret Mehl further writes that international exchange and *Zenjin* or "whole man (or 'whole person') education" of "physical, intellectual, moral, aesthetic and religious education, and education based on real life experience," were central to Obara Kuniyoshi (1887-1977)'s educational concepts.[28] This period also saw a *jiyūga* or 'free-style painting' movement in elementary education, focusing on "creative self-expression."[29] Tamura Naomi (1858-1934), who published 'The Rights of the Child' (*Jidō no Kenri*) in 1911, criticized standardized and institutionalized public education

[26] Benjamin C. Duke, *Japan's Militant Teachers: A History of the Left-Wing Teachers' Movement* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1973), 14, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv9zck04.

[27] L. Halliday Piel, "Outdoor Play in Wartime Japan," in *Child's Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, eds. Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 169, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w8h25q.13.

[28] Margaret Mehl, "Lessons from history? Obara Kuniyoshi (1877–1987), new education and the role of Japan's educational traditions," *History of Education* 38, no. 4 (July 2009): 540, 530, DOI: 10.1080/00467600801994164.

[29] Mark Lincicome, "In the Shadow of the Asia-Pacific War: Rewriting the History of Education and Childhood in Modern Japan," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 7, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 491-492, DOI: 10.1353/hcy.2014.0045.

for the "uniformity and passive "pouring in" method of teaching" within such education.[30] Individualized education will be seen below in aspects of period Eiwa curriculum as well.

According to *The Missionary Review of the World* periodical, a "striking feature" of the Tokyo Joshi Daigaku (Tokyo Woman's Christian University), was an "atmosphere of freedom and friendliness that binds teachers and students together. There is little of that stiff lecture system in which the professor does all the talking and the student simply takes notes[.] ... The students are constantly urged to do their own thinking."[31] Further, Kawai Michi and Kubushiro Ochimi described Christian education in similar terms, emphasizing individualized learning and thinking, arguing it "teaches the importance of personality. ... [I]ts instruction is throughout one of personal discovery instead of imbibing infallible knowledge. Schools like these build true womanhood as God intended it to be, set free to think, and to be oneself."[32] In the Japan YWCA Girls' Department (which chapter four explores further) in the 1920s, too, through "small self-governing groups and informal activities," young Japanese women were reportedly "learning how to work together, to think for themselves, to express their own ideas, to respect the opinions of others in their groups, and to make judgements on the basis of facts."[33]

Aspects of this 'new education' movement were not restricted to the Taishō period and were still evident in the 1930s as well. In 1930, Ernest W. Clement wrote on what would become Tokyo school Keisen Jogakuen that Kawai Michi was "starting a school which emphasizes the industrial element, to give training in self-support. Such really private, personal schools are

[30] Lincicome, "In the Shadow of the Asia-Pacific War," 496, 498.

[31] Rev. A. K. Reischauer, "Woman's Christian College, Tokyo," *The Missionary Review of the World* 43, no. 9 (September 1920): 787.

[32] Michi Kawai and Ochimi Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America* (Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934), 37, https://hdl.handle.net/2144/600.

[33] "Y.W.C.A. Plays Important Part In Life of Japanese Girls: Activities Described of Tokyo Branch Which Today Dedicates Cornerstone of New Building," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 4 Dec, 1927, 6.

made possible by the more liberal policy in education."[34] Kawai gave a talk in 1931 on 'Modern Trends in Education in Japan' in which *The Japan Times & Mail* reported she stated:

> [t]he imparting of knowledge has been emphasized too much while life itself has been neglected, and education has become a system, school a machine and the teacher an instrument[.] ... But fortunately some experimental schools have been started within the last decade and some older schools are taking up new methods and denouncing the over-emphasis of knowledge without practical application.[35]

Some examples of so-called 'experimental schools' were outlined above.

Such period trends were also manifested in the Eiwa school intellectual landscape. Katherine Martha Greenbank (1891-1983) was first appointed principal of Yamanashi Eiwa in 1926.[36] According to A. Hamish Ion, Greenbank, "the heart and soul of the school" in the 1920s and 1930s, emphasized service in education.[37] Greenbank also stressed the importance of individuality and personal subjectivity of students, and aspects of 'free' and practical education were evident in her teaching methods. For example, Greenbank wrote in 1932 that everyone had different strengths within them, that these were gifts from God, and she reportedly believed education was the way for each person to discover what these gifts were.[38] Greenback further wrote: "Studying is not only reciting what you write in



Figure 2: Katherine Greenbank. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 76.001P/2308. Katherine Greenbank, n.d.

[34] Ernest W. Clement, "Educational Trends in Japan," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 16 Mar, 1930, 3.

[35] "Michi Kawai, Noted Christian Leader, Traces Modern Trend Of Education in This Country," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 4 Feb, 1931, 1.

[36] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, Y*amanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 191.

[37] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 123.

[38] Katherine Greenbank, "Kōyūkai no Minasan he," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1932), 1. This address was published in Japanese. Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, Y*amanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 188.

your notebook. Teachers and students must also find the truth in all things. ... So, while you are at this school, learn to put forth your own strengths little by little. ... However, the things we do at school are just the beginning," as these strengths would impact one's life when entering society as well.[39] Shizuoka Eiwa principal Isabel Govenlock also reportedly esteemed students' individuality and individualized guidance.[40]

Not only missionaries, but dormitory heads and Japanese teachers would also have significantly influenced students' education and development.[41] Aaron William Moore notes "the degree to which young people were influenced by adults is dependent on how they viewed adult authority figures."[42] In that case, the example of teachers and school and dormitory staff as adults in the lives of students, as well as the education they taught, could influence intellectual development. As Mara Patessio argues, Western missionaries impacted this development as well: "what Japanese women and girls learned from missionary women … presented them with different styles of life, with examples of women active in public society and outside their homes, and with the acknowledgement of the possibility of creating an international sisterhood."[43]

As Eiwa educators could potentially teach and create Eiwa school culture through instruction, an examination of curriculum is revealing. Topics of instruction particular to Christian schools were apparent from early on. English language instruction is one part of a version of the West mission schools constructed through teaching Western topics to Japanese

[39] Greenbank, "Kōyūkai no Minasan he," 2.

[40] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi* (Shizuoka: Gakkō Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, 1990), 503.

[41] Examples of the curricular aims of Tōyō Eiwa teachers will be discussed below. And on dormitories see, for example, Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 196-201.

[42] Aaron William Moore, "Reversing the Gaze, the Construction of "Adulthood" in the Wartime Diaries of Japanese Children and Youth," in *Child's Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, eds. Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 142, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w8h25q.12.

[43] Mara Patessio, "Western Women Missionaries and their Japanese Female Charges, 1870–1890," *Women's History Review* 16, no. 1 (February 2007): 60, DOI: 10.1080/09612020601048787.

youth. As A. Hamish Ion explains, the Eiwa "schools came to offer education from kindergarten to high school level. Their curriculum was similar to government or other state-recognized schools. Their special strength was the English-language training given by [WMS] missionaries."[44] One Meiji period Tōyō Eiwa graduate noted not only were the 'English Studies' (*Eigaku*) courses conducted in English, but "geography was foreign geography [*gaikoku chiri*]," and "history was English history [*Eikoku rekishi*]," and this graduate noted students were once asked to write about Boston, United States.[45] Another alumna explained that even physical education was taught by a missionary in English.[46] Further, English education at Tōyō Eiwa took place within class time, worship, and Bible study.[47] *The Japan Advertiser* wrote in 1929 about Tōyō Eiwa that

> this school, like most Christian high schools, has three special features: — 1. Bible is taught in every class and special programs of worship are conducted on Sunday, with the whole school in attendance. 2. English is taught six hours a week throughout the High School Department, most of the teaching being done by foreign teachers. 3. Music, meaning piano instruction, is increasingly in demand. A carefully planned course is followed.[48]

In 1932, the publication explained one difference between Tōyō Eiwa and other government schools: "English is given a larger place in the curriculum than in the average Koto Jo Gakko

---

[44] A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990), 123, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=685687.

[45] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Tōkōkai, *Tōkō Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Sōritsu Hyakushūnen Kinen [Tōkō Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin One Hundred Year found Anniversary Commemorative Publication]*, ed. Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Tōkōkai (Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Tōkōkai, 1984), 29, quoted in Funaki Terumi, "Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Ni Okeru Eigokyōiku [English Education at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin in the Meiji Period]," *Takachiho Ronsō* 52, no. 4 (2018): 38, http://id.nii.ac.jp/1303/00000111.

[46] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Tōkōkai, *Tōkō Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Sōritsu Hyakushūnen Kinen*, 33, quoted in Funaki, "Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin ni okeru Eigo Kyōiku," 38.

[47] Funaki, "Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin ni okeru Eigo Kyōiku," 48.

[48] "Drive Now Planned for Girls' School: Toyo Eiwa Jo Gakko Needs Money to Provide New Building and Land: Was Founded in 1884: Under Canadian Mission It Has Developed Many New Departments," *The Japan Advertiser,* 23 Mar, 1929, 6.

[government girl's high school] and is also taught throughout the primary department. Probably it is for this reason that girls who have been in schools abroad are constantly seeking entrance into the Toyo Eiwa."[49] This is interesting in the 1930s because, as will be explained later, the English language was discouraged and viewed as the language of the 'enemy' West.

This education also appears to have been impacted by Canada's membership in the British Empire. Hamish Ion explains "[w]hile these missionaries were Canadian, they did not live in a linear state with Canada and Japan at either end; many, in fact, lived in a triangular context involving Britain, Canada, and Japan," and as such they "showed their connection to the British Empire … in a myriad of ways."[50] This study explores how this fact may have influenced school activities. For example, chapter one explored how Eiwa students had contact with those in New Zealand and Wales, and as noted above, early on history was taught as the history of England at Tōyō Eiwa. Further, Benjamin Bryce explains "[t]he governments of Canada, the United Kingdom and other dominions threw their weight behind imperial education, and for decades those intentions influenced what millions of children learned at school," which "shaped how people in dominions such as Canada understood citizenship and their country's place in the evolving British Empire."[51] Eiwa students may have been exposed to and potentially shaped by similar ideas when Canadian educators brought their educational background overseas to Japan, as well as through period Japanese imperial education. As will be explored in the following two

[49] "Toyo Eiwa Building to be Begun Today: Ceremony of Laying of Cornerstone to be Conducted by Tokyo Missionary School: To Complete Program: Canadian Organization Secures Funds After Long Period of Planning and Campaign," *The Japan Advertiser,* 21 Sept, 1932, 3. These "special classes" for girls' from foreign countries at Tōyō Eiwa were explored in the previous chapter.

[50] Hamish Ion, "Soul Searchers and Soft Power: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, 1873-1951," in *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Greg Donaghy and Patricia E. Roy (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 14.

[51] Benjamin Bryce, "Citizens of Empire: Education and Teacher Exchanges in Canada and the Commonwealth, 1910–40," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45, no. 4 (2017): 608, DOI: 10.1080/03086534.2017.1294238.

chapters as well, Eiwa school international education activities evidently included a focus on learning about and reaching out to individuals in countries of the British Empire.

Facets of Eiwa school culture can also be elucidated from a 1934 Tōyō Eiwa student study exhibition held to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the school's founding. Working under a teacher, students chose topics and "freely investigated," forming these findings into an exhibition.[52] On 'education,' students researched, for example, the Imperial Rescript on Education, education since the Meiji period, the number of girls' schools, teachers, students, and graduates nation-wide, and schools in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka. Such research could also increase students' knowledge about their own school and peers as they investigated the history of Tōyō Eiwa and its various departments. For example, students explored the family occupation (*shokugyō*) of their peers, religious beliefs of students and their families, relationships between students' families and the school (for example, if a family member had also attended Tōyō Eiwa), and about the Tōyō Eiwa school uniform.[53] Other report topics included the religious relationship between Japan and Canada, including the arrival of WMS missionaries in Japan and the opening of Shizuoka Eiwa and Yamanashi Eiwa.[54] These topics thus included such themes as women's and Japanese education, and the relationship between Canada and Japan. In this way, students learned about aspects of Eiwa culture – for example, women's education and international knowledge – outside standardized curricular activities.

---

[52] Maruyama Tamiko, "Tenrankai Kiroku: Hashigaki," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 87.

[53] "Tenrankai Kiroku: Kyōiku no bu: Ippan Kyōiku: Kyōikubu Seisakubutsu Taiyō," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 88-89. The Imperial Rescript on Education will be explored below and in chapter three.

[54] "Tenrankai Kiroku: Kyōiku no bu: Ippan Kyōiku: Nihon to Kanada no Shūkyōteki Kankei," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 97-99.

Textbooks and curriculum further reveal aspects of international learning, Christianity, and a connection to Canadian education. "Whether mapping the material sites of textual production, the distributional networks of mass print, the cultural topography of book buying or the social morphology of lending libraries, the significance of the spatiality of textuality surfaces," explains David N. Livingstone.[55] The Tōyō Eiwa *Hyaku Nenshi* notes although most textbooks at Tōyō Eiwa were approved by the Ministry of Education (*kentei kyōkasho*), the Bible, hymn, song, and English textbooks were not.[56] Further, in the early Shōwa period, the Bible was taught at Tōyō Eiwa as part of *shūshin* (moral training) classes which may have impacted what kind of 'morals' were taught in the mission school context.[57]

In 1913, for English classes, Shizuoka Eiwa students were using Ontario, Canada's *Reader*, and *Eikoku Rekishi Yori* (From English History) for conversation, again showing a connection to England.[58] The Shizuoka Eiwa *Hyaku Nenshi* compared the school's 1913 curriculum with that of a public girl's high school from 1908. It determined that while students at both schools studied some courses for the same number of hours including *shūshin*, science, drawing, and music, Shizuoka Eiwa students learned foreign language (*gaikokugo*) for twenty extra hours a week.[59] This is striking and represents, as noted above, a key difference between mission schools and government schools. As late as 1929, missionary Olivia Lindsay was teaching *shūshin*, which again may have impacted what was taught in this course, similar to how it will be evident below that missionary Frances Gertrude Hamilton described religious

[55] Livingstone, "Keeping knowledge in site," 783.
[56] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi* (Tokyo: Gakkō Hōjin Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984), 190.
[57] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 238-239.
[58] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 437.
[59] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 432.

education being included in civics classes at Tōyō Eiwa.[60] At Yamanashi Eiwa, by 1911 courses covered such topics as *shūshin*, *Kokugo* (Japanese), *kanbun* (Chinese characters/writing), English, geography and world geography, Western and Eastern history, mathematics, science courses, drawing, sewing, music, and physical education.[61] It is evident that here, too, international history and geography were included in Yamanashi Eiwa curriculum.

How did 1930s Eiwa school curriculum differ from public girls' high schools? Hugh Ll. Keenleyside and A. F. Thomas explained in 1937 that "in a typical four-year course in a [Japanese] girls' high school," students studied "morals" (*shūshin*), civics (*kōmin*), "national language" (*Kokugo*), history, geography, mathematics, natural science, drawing, a "domestic course," sewing, music, and gymnastics (physical education).[62] Like Shizuoka Eiwa's comparison above, absent from Keenleyside and Thomas' description was English and Bible study. And how did society view English in this period? Mayumi Ohara and John Buchanan argue parts of the Japanese state began to prohibit English, while it was also considered necessary to "understand the enemy."[63] Thomas R.H. Havens further notes "officials in the spiritual mobilization [a 1937-1940 campaign] branded English as the language of the enemy in 1937."[64] In contrast, through the 1930s school activities this thesis explores, the English language enabled Japanese Eiwa students and alumnae to communicate with and learn about

[60] "Genzai Shokuin Ichiran," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 33 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1929), 28. I discussed this in my 2016 Kyoto Prefectural University master's thesis: '*God and Patriotism: Mission School Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakkō in Pacific War-era Japan*.'

[61] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 155-157.

[62] Hugh Ll. Keenleyside and A. F. Thomas, *History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1937), 238-239. Keenleyside was associated with the Canadian Association and the Canadian legation in Tokyo. Esther Crane, "Tokyo Society Notes," *The Japan Advertiser,* 12 Jan, 1936, 11.

[63] Mayumi Ohara and John Buchanan, *English Language Teaching during Japan's Post-War Occupation: Politics and Pedagogy* (London: Routledge, 2018), 36, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.4324/9781315157726.

[64] Thomas R. H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1986), 30.

people in the West, but also to teach people in the West about themselves through an encounter of mutual exchange.[65] Christianity was also central to the Eiwa schools: in 1929, teacher Amemiya Shigeko wrote: "Not only girl's education," but "spiritual education, religious education through Christianity, that is this school's central purpose," noting the importance of Christianity and efforts in women's education to Yamanashi Eiwa.[66]

A period notebook (undated but likely dating from between 1933 and 1941) on "outlines of Jo[gakkō] teachers' work" compiled by Tōyō Eiwa WMS missionary Frances Gertrude Hamilton provides a detailed look into potentially striking points of Tōyō Eiwa's curriculum.[67] If these aims were indeed followed by teachers (Hamilton wrote teacher names with each course outline which are included in the descriptions below) and thus accurately represented Tōyō Eiwa's education in this period, this record suggests its curriculum did indeed differ from government school curriculum.[68] Although Hamilton did not state who designed these courses (although, as mentioned, teacher names are provided suggesting they may have done so), the agency and innovation of the period actor(s) who constructed and instituted these aims are seen in the weaving of Eiwa ideas into standard curricular aims. International learning, Christian religiosity, and the problematization of narrow nationalism were reportedly found within the curriculum, in some ways reverting nationalistic teachings, but also innovatively coexisting

[65] Chapter four explores how one way this took place for students was through letter exchange. Enomoto Aiko's article on what Christianity meant to her published in *The United Church Observer* in 1940, which chapter one presented, is an example of how Enomoto used the English language and a print forum to share her views on the meaning of religion with a Canadian audience during her period of study in Canada. See Aiko Enomoto, "What Christianity Means to Me," *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 3 (1 Apr, 1940): 18.

[66] Amemiya Shigeko, "Mukashi no Omoide," in Hirose Yasoji, ed., *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1930), 86.

[67] Ikuko Matsumoto, email to author, 6 Mar, 2019. Matsumoto explained one teacher mentioned in Hamilton's notebook joined the school in 1933. And the notebook would likely not have been written by Hamilton after Japan's entry into WWII in 1941, when missionary teachers were no longer able to officially teach. Frances Gertrude Hamilton, Notebook, Undated, Source ID 1201822325, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan. While the notebook does not have page numbers, I have provided numbers for reference.

[68] The Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives assisted me with clarifying which teachers Hamilton referred to.

with them where possible in this period. Individualised education and aspects of critical and original thinking are also apparent. This section will look at mathematics, science, physical education, sewing, history, geography, moral training, etiquette, Japanese, composition, civics, Bible, and music classes. It reveals these course descriptions included aspects of Eiwa culture and 'new education' outlined above, which relate to how this network envisioned the role education could play in impacting the world of the future by teaching students about and engaging them with Christianity and the wider world to foster interconnection and understanding across nations.

To begin with mathematics classes (teachers Iwatsubo Etsuko and Nagano Wataru), in arithmetic, students were taught to apply problems to their everyday lives, increase their thought power, and observe.[69] Hamilton wrote geometry required the "power of attention" and "original thinking."[70] Students were to "cultivate power of imagination," and reasoning, as they "[studied] math not for itself but for its practical usefulness when applied."[71] Science courses (teacher Matsushima Ryūzō) included biology, zoology, and physical geography, to give students "accurate knowledge of nature, especially to teach [the] place of [the] *human race in the universe*. ... To bring out powers of observation, reasoning, originality," and "develop personality." [emphasis added][72] These courses encouraged original thinking and reasoning, and strikingly, taught students about their place in wider humanity.

Individualized education was also seen in physical education classes (teacher name not recorded). These aimed for "[full] development of body and mind;" Hamilton also noted the importance of individuality, as teachers needed to use "[c]are as to individual needs … [and]

[69] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [1]
[70] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [3]
[71] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [2]
[72] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [47]

give [the] drill most needed."[73] Hamilton further described teaching students sewing (teacher Shibata Junko) in a practical sense, to "[t]each in [a] logical sequence" that which "fits [the] psychological need of [the] student," and fitting students' "age and development."[74] Students were taught sewing of both Japanese and foreign garments. This course aimed to "[c]reate interest by presenting what students can understand," making the lessons personalized and "[s]uited to [the] will and feeling of [the] student."[75]

For history classes (teacher Okabe Shūzō), first year students were taught the pre-war concept of '*Kamiyo*,' Japanese history from the 'Age of the Gods' until the Heian period (794-1185) when the imperial capital of Japan was located in Kyoto. Hamilton wrote in these lessons students were to "study [the] specialty of [Japanese] history but must connect it with *universal history*;" this was thus "[n]ational history," but teachers "*must not emphasize nationalism in a narrow sense*." [emphasis added] [76] This suggests Tōyō Eiwa educators aimed to keep their history education from teaching narrow nationalism. This could be nationalism at the expense of connections with the wider world which were of central importance to this network, or perhaps nationalism with the potential of creating xenophobia and viewing other countries as an 'other' or enemy. In second year, Hamilton explains students were taught about important events in Japanese history, "[s]ocial changes in Japan [and the] origin of civilization, culture," the "[r]elationship [between Japan and] foreign countries," and Japan's "contribution to the human race," as well as the "[p]rogress of [the] Japanese nation [and] its [national] constitution."[77] The purpose of these classes were "[t]o remember close connections" between

[73] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [7]
[74] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [9]
[75] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [10]
[76] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [13]
[77] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [13]

history, *shūshin*, geography, and the Bible, linking the school's Christian education to these courses as well.[78] Third year classes centered on Chinese history from what Hamilton termed the 'beginning' to the Mongolian dynasty; Hamilton wrote it was "[i]mportant to know Chinese history for understanding [the] relationship [between] China [and] Japan," which is striking as this notebook was compiled sometime following the Manchurian Incident of 1931 in north-east China, and possibly during the Second Sino-Japanese War with China that began in 1937.[79]

Hamilton noted fourth year students studied Western history, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Restoration, and the influence of the French Revolution on "all nations" because "Japan is influenced by" Western civilization; this study was important "*to understand [the] human race as a whole*." [emphasis added][80] Through this course, too, students were taught about the wider world, Western history, and the 'human race.' Fifth year classes turned to modern Japanese history. Lesson topics reportedly included democracy, imperialism, and the result of WWI. The purpose of this study, Hamilton wrote, was "[t]o understand the present age[,] to appreciate close relations [between] Western nations [and] Japan[, t]o understand Japan's place among the great nations [and] to show the importance of *world citizenship*." [emphasis added][81] History lessons seem to be a main area where international education took place through the study of Japan and its relationship to and with other nations of the world. Essentially, it appears Tōyō Eiwa educators taught students, imperial subjects, the concept of world citizenship in a nationalistic period. This thesis looks at how the recognition of and identification with a wide network of women and youth transcending nations was a striking part of 1930s Eiwa activities which included international education, communication, mutual

[78] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [14]
[79] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [14]
[80] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [15]
[81] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [15]

exchange, and mobility. The idea of world citizenship aligns with these activities and curriculum.

It appears that international and national teachings coexisted within geography as well (teacher Okabe Shūzō). First year students learned about Japan, Korea, the Chinese Kwantung Peninsula, and the South Sea Islands of Polynesia. Thus, Japan's imperial reality at the time was included in these studies.[82] However, students would also "learn [the] place of Japan *on the globe* [and] its natural setting [and] cultural development." [emphasis added][83] By doing so, teachers approached the study of Japan in a wider, global context through its relationship to other countries, at a time when nationalism featured prominently in the intellectual landscape of Japanese society. Second year students were taught about Manchuria, Asia, and Western Europe. Third year classes explored Eastern Europe, North and South Africa, the Americas, and Oceania. Hamilton emphasized international learning, explaining that "[t]o help understand one's own country we must understand other countries," and the purpose of this education was, strikingly, "*[t]o make students internationally minded*." [emphasis added][84] According to Hamilton's descriptions, this education intended to expose students to the wider world outside Japan to internationalize student's education, worldview, and perhaps perceived identity.

In contrast, although speaking on primary/elementary as opposed to high school education, Hugh Ll. Keenleyside and A. F. Thomas noted in 1937 that "[i]nstruction in geography begins

[82] The Chinese Kwantung Peninsula was leased to Japan following the Russo-Japanese War. See, for example, Alvin D. Coox, "High Command and Field Army: The Kwantung Army and the Nomonhan Incident, 1939," *Military Affairs* 33, no. 2 (October 1969): 302, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/scholarly-journals/high-command-field-army-kwantung-nomonhan/docview/1296640809/se-2?accountid=13042. Japan occupied Micronesia from 1914 to 1944; see, for example, Mark R. Peattie, "The Nan'Yō: Japan in the South Pacific, 1885-1945," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, eds. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 172, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780691213873.

[83] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [17]

[84] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [17]

in the fifth year, and opens with an outline discussion of the geography of Japan itself. In general it is only in the last year of the higher elementary course that any progress is made towards an understanding of the geography of foreign countries," and it "is generally admitted … that the average Japanese student has but a slight knowledge of world geography."[85] The above course descriptions, however, suggest international (including historical and geographical) education through curriculum was utilized by the teachers at Tōyō Eiwa in their high school education. If Tōyō Eiwa's curriculum indeed followed Hamilton's descriptions of 'teachers' work,' these teachings appear to have been instituted, in part, in an attempt to temper intensifying nationalism in 1930s society. This curriculum was also supported more broadly by the connection of the schools to Canada through the WMS network, the British Empire, and of Eiwa students to Canadian global girls' students through groups such as the CGIT (Canadian Girls in Training), and the YWCA through communication across national borders, as this thesis reveals.

Hamilton described the purpose of *shūshin* or 'moral training' classes (teacher Kushibiki Tomosaburō) as "[t]o develop personality, ... reasoning[,] feeling [and] will. ... To cultivate responsibility, repentance, reflection," and the "will to do duty towards [one's] self[,] family[,] society[,] nation," and the "*human race*." [emphasis added][86] *Shūshin* would also align with the Imperial Rescript on Education.[87] E. Patricia Tsurumi notes from the beginning of the twentieth century, Japanese "primary school ethics texts relied heavily on the presentation of famous individuals in history as models for character-building," and valued ideals such as "filial piety, friendship, determination to succeed, benevolence, frugality, endurance, purity, public-

[85] Keenleyside and Thomas, *History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System*, 182.
[86] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [19]
[87] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [19]

spiritedness, forthrightness, [the] ability to learn from [one's] errors, courage[,] and sincerity."[88] The Imperial Rescript on Education echoed these values. Indeed, according to Emily Anderson, as it was "the basis for ethics education and the focus of public ritual that tied schoolchildren to the imperial state, the Imperial Rescript was arguably the most immediate point of contact that the Japanese people had with the emperor and the ideological apparatus used to prop up the modern Japanese emperor-centered nation-state." [89] Strikingly, according to Hamilton's notebook, at Tōyō Eiwa, doing one's duty for the wider human race was also included. *Sahō* (etiquette) classes (teacher Tachi Rei) also reportedly aligned with *shūshin* to prepare students "[t]o take into consideration changing customs of the times to cultivate all-round personality [and] to take their places in [the] nation[,] family[, and] society."[90]

Hamilton further wrote that *Kokugo* (Japanese) classes (teacher Unuma Saki) also included teachings of the wider world and original thinking. They were to use textbooks to "teach ... national characteristics ... according to ideals of womanly modesty," and "following the school motto ['Reverence and Service']. With [textbooks and] other material[, to] introduce students to *great characters of all nations* [and] help them to learn from their deeds [and] sayings." [emphasis added][91] Students would connect textbook material to their own "original thinking" and express this in their "own words."[92] In later years, nationalistic topics are evident in this course: second and third year students (teacher Tsuruki Fumiko) were to "understand national spirit, [and] to train wholesome ideas [and] sentiment as Japanese citizens."[93] In fourth

[88] E. Patricia Tsurumi, "Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks: Old Values for a New Society?" *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 2 (1974): 258, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/311639.
[89] Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 32.
[90] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [22]
[91] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [23]
[92] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [25]
[93] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [26]

year (teacher Mizuno Fumiko), the aim was to have students "develop [the] power to understand [and] to express oneself[,] ... [t]o emphasize [the] national constitution[,]" and "[t]o teach moral ... conceptions."[94] In *sakubun* (composition) classes (Tsuruki), meanwhile, students developed individual and critical thinking by learning to express themselves and read their own or friends' essays and "understand [and] criticize them."[95]

Composition class (Mizuno) would help students express their "personality" and "individuality," and "cultivate [the] power to express accurately one's own mind."[96] Meanwhile, *shūji* (calligraphy) classes (Mizuno) were considered, according to Hamilton, "[e]specially important for girls," as "writing reveals character," noting a gendered dynamic to the reported purpose of this class.[97] Jon Swain has argued the school is a "thoroughly gendered institution," and this appears to have been reflected in some choices of curriculum at these *jogakkō* – literally 'girls' schools,' as well.[98]

For Bible class (teacher name unclear), Hamilton wrote students at Tōyō Eiwa were taught about the life of Jesus from primary school. This education would ideally allow students to come to know and revere Jesus, as well as "deepen [their] spirit of love [and] service for others."[99] Here we see in a religious context, the idea of service found below in nationalistic courses. New incoming students, perhaps coming from government schools where Christianity was not taught, explored figures in and the history of the Bible to learn about "God's providence [and] the joy, peace, victory, [and] thoughtfulness which come [through] faith in Him."[100]

---

[94] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [28]
[95] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [27]
[96] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [30]
[97] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [32]
[98] Jon Swain, "The Right Stuff: Fashioning an identity through clothing in a junior school," *Gender and Education* 14, no. 1 (2002): 57, DOI: 10.1080/09540250120098889.
[99] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [41]
[100] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [41]

Second year students were taught about Jesus' life, applying that to daily life, and to "have a personal experience of Him[, and] to build a strong all round personality."[101] Third year students learned about the gospels, as students were "becoming more individualistic [and] thinking [about their] own problems [and] questions."[102] Fourth year students learned about the Acts, while fifth year students reflected on what they had learned in previous years "to build understanding of [the] fundamental principles of Gospel [and the] meaning of life."[103] Similar to Shizuoka Eiwa's use of hymn books for music class, music (singing) courses (teacher Matsuda Kōichi) were connected to Christianity at Tōyō Eiwa too: they "must teach [the] connection of music with religion," as music is an "expression of religious spirit," according to Hamilton.[104]

Fourth- and fifth-year students took *kōmin* (civics) classes (Matsuda). Hamilton wrote the purpose of this course, according to the Japanese government, was to teach about citizenship, "political and social life," how to be "law abiding[,] cooperation[,] public service," as well as one's "position in society[,] ... responsibility towards social progress," the "national [standpoint]" as well as the individual, to understand current trends, and how to "improve society."[105] As we will see in the following chapter, Eiwa students wrote about social and current issues when conceptualizing and discussing peace and issues related to international friendship. Evidently, civics classes were a way of instilling what teachers considered Christian social ideas as well: Hamilton notes that at Tōyō Eiwa, civics took on a "special meaning," emphasizing "social righteousness [and] love. In this material [and] self[-]centred world[,] only

[101] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [41]
[102] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [42]
[103] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [42]
[104] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [38]
[105] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [35]

by understanding God's will [and] being conscious of his will can we accomplish social righteousness."[106] This is an example of how nationalistic courses were innovatively adapted within this Christian institution. Finally, fifth year students learned about such topics as nationality, the imperial family and imperial subjects, laws and the police, constitutional government, *international intercourse*, and the "[w]orld [and] Japan." [emphasis added][107]

What kind of citizens would these civics classes create? These course aims suggest Tōyō Eiwa students learned about their own society as well as the wider world and 'international intercourse.' Such curriculum had the potential to create graduates aware of national issues, their own and Japan's place in the wider world, and their perceived position and role as international citizens. It also taught how Christianity fit into ideas of social service and duty found in nationalizing courses. So, while Eiwa students were necessarily taught courses aligning with state curriculum (as the Eiwa schools were government accredited institutions), their conception of Japan and its relation to the world may have been significantly different than that of government school students, perhaps encouraging them to conceptualize Japan and the world, and their own position on the globe, in a less nationalistic and more interconnected way.

Yukiyo Nishida has studied American missionary Annie L. Howe's Glory Kindergarten or *Shōei Yōchien* in Kobe in which similar educational aims for personalized education and for creating internationally minded young people were implemented for children. According to Nishida, Glory Kindergarten's education "was to help children to grow into independent adults with a broader view of the world and an international mind-set. … Howe considered that childhood was an important period of human growth and had defined educational appropriateness as what was necessary to an individual child's development, not what was

[106] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [36]
[107] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [37]

expected by society or the nation-state."[108] According to Nishida, activities included making flags of and listening to stories about various countries "to cultivate international views and peaceful values."[109] In this case, international knowledge was utilized to shape how young people viewed the world within kindergarten education as well.

Ideas of national citizenship are interesting in the Canadian mission school context. Benjamin Bryce explains "citizenship was not a legal category until 1946" in Canada, until which Canadians were recognized as British subjects.[110] Thus, "Canadian educators spoke of 'empire citizenship' or 'imperial citizenship[,]'" and "[e]mpire citizenship was something that coexisted with … country-based education."[111] The missionaries teaching and serving as principals of the Eiwa schools would likely have personally encountered this Canadian imperial education. Eiwa educators consequently taught in Japan of empire and imperial citizenship (and world citizenship) together with national citizenship in the Japanese context. Nationalism appears to have been taught, in part, through social service and respect for the sovereign. This was also evidently extended to British (and thus the Dominion of Canada) sovereigns. For example, on 21 January 1936, Shizuoka Eiwa cancelled classes to mourn the death of British King George V and on 28 January, a mourning service was held to which approximately forty members of local Christian denominations attended.[112] In 1937, the school celebrated the coronation of King George VI.[113] Even in the 1930s, such events connected to the British

[108] Yukiyo Nishida, "A chrysanthemum in the garden: a Christian kindergarten in the Empire of Japan," *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 3 (2015): 291-292, DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2014.992919.

[109] Nishida, "A Chrysanthemum in the Garden," 292.

[110] Bryce, "Citizens of Empire," 610-611.

[111] Bryce, "Citizens of Empire," 611, 613.

[112] "Gakkō Dayori," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Kaihō [Report/Bulletin]*, no. 40 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1936), 28.

[113] Aiba Shō, "Gakkō Dayori," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 32. Aiba (相場) can also be read, for example, as Sōba, and Shō (生) as Sei and Taka. I discussed this recognition of King George V and the VI in my 2016 master's thesis.

sovereign were thus recognized at Shizuoka Eiwa. So, too, were Japanese imperial events like *Meijisetsu* (the commemoration of Emperor Meiji's birthday).[114] In the 1930s, not only did the national and international coexist, but so too did both Japanese and British imperial events.

To sum up, if this pre-WWII curriculum was indeed practiced by teachers, Hamilton's course descriptions reveal individualized and practical learning was encouraged at Tōyō Eiwa. Christianity was also infused into courses not strictly religious in nature. Aligning with other school activities this thesis explores, this curriculum taught both students' place in the Japanese nation, and the wider world. One reason imperialism may not have been viewed as problematic in this curriculum on the missionary side could have been the Dominion of Canada's position in the British Empire, and the place of empire within period Canadian education. For example, although these schools were of course located on the Japanese mainland and not in a colony or dominion, similar to how this curriculum taught about Japan's empire, Benjamin Bryce explains teachers in Ontario published articles suggesting teaching Canadian children about the British Empire by including the history of Bermuda or Gibraltar.[115] The imperial education practiced at the Eiwa schools reflected Japan's period imperial reality, and connected in some ways to that of Canada as well.

While these imperial teachings appear to have coexisted with Christianity and international education at the Eiwa schools, it is important to note that the teaching of state curriculum and upholding the Imperial Rescript on Education were necessary for Japanese schools until the end of the Pacific War to avoid being persecuted by the government, and to keep a certain standard of education after, as noted, mission schools became government-accredited institutions. As missionary Sybil R. Courtice noted in 1940: "The educational work ...

[114] Shō, "Gakkō Dayori," 30.
[115] Bryce, "Citizens of Empire," 609.

still holds its high sense of purpose, while, at the same time, our schools are being brought more and more into line with government requirements and are being incorporated under Japanese law."[116] Service is evident in Hamilton's above descriptions of Japanese, civics, and Bible classes – thus, in state-mandated and religious courses, as well as in the Eiwa school mottos.[117] This concept which could be utilized within nationalism was also represented in language which corresponded to a key aspect of Christian engagement and Eiwa school culture as well.

In addition to textbooks and official coursework, aspects of Eiwa school culture including Christianity, women's issues, international learning, and teaching of current events and social issues are seen in reading materials in the Eiwa school libraries. Depending on their consumption, these print forums had the potential to expose students to various intellectual ideas. While the holdings of Shizuoka Eiwa and Yamanashi Eiwa may have differed, in 1931 Tōyō Eiwa had books in such areas as religion, philosophy, children's books, history, geography, law, economics, home economics, science, mathematics, physiology, hygiene, industry, the Japanese imperial family, music, biographies, dictionaries, and English reference books. It also held such publications as English-language newspaper *The Japan Advertiser* (a copy of which was reportedly placed among other documents in the cornerstone of Tōyō Eiwa's 1933 school building), *Reader's Digest*, an American magazine first published in 1922, and such publications potentially geared toward young people as the British *My Magazine* (originally published as The Children's Encyclopaedia in 1908, it became *The Children's Magazine* and then *My Magazine*, published until 1933), *Eigo Seinen* or 'The Rising Generation,' literally

[116] Sybil R. Courtice, "Sixty Years Educational Work in Japan," *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 3 (1 Apr, 1940): 6.

[117] Tōyō Eiwa: 'Reverence and Service,' Shizuoka Eiwa: 'Love and Service,' Yamanashi Eiwa: 'Reverence and Love.'

meaning 'English Youth,' and *Dōwa Kenkyū* or 'Nursery Tale Studies.'[118]

In 1934, Tōyō Eiwa reportedly held the following Christian publications: *Shūkyō Kyōiku* ('Religious Education;' published beginning in 1920), *Kirisutokyō Kyōiku* ('Christian Education,' published by the *Nichiyō Gakkō Kyoku* (Sunday School Bureau) of the Japan Methodist Church), and by 1936, the *Nihon Kirisutokyō Shinbun* (Japan Christian Newspaper) published by the *Nihon Kirisutokyō Shinbunsha*, and *Warera no Gurafu* ('Our Graph').[119] In 1932, *The New Outlook* periodical wrote "Japan's new Christian monthly, ... *Warera no Graph* is designed to turn photographs to effective missionary service. Started last summer as a venture of faith, the monthly has grown to a substantial sixteen-page magazine[.] ... It is now in its ninth issue, with circulation between twenty and thirty thousand monthly."[120]

Related to international learning, the library held *Sekai to Warera* ('The World and Us;' published in Tokyo from 1935), and English-language magazines: The Canadian Girl, London News (*sic* newes), further representing Canada's connection to England, and World Friends.[121] Students could learn about what were perceived to be women's issues and ideas through *Fujin*

---

[118] "The Japan Advertiser," Library of Congress, accessed 5 Jul, 2021, https://www.loc.gov/item/sn94049903/, "Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Toshobu no Gaikyō," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kōyūkaishi [Kōyūkai Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 2 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1931), 78, "Toyo Eiwa Building to be Begun Today," *The Japan Advertiser*, 3, The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Reader's Digest," Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed 5 Jul, 2021, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Readers-Digest, Daniel Hahn, "Children's Encyclopaedia, The," Oxford Reference: The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature, Oxford University Press, 2015, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780199695140.001.0001/acref-9780199695140-e-636, "Eigo Seinen = the Rising Generation," WorldCat, accessed 22 Aug, 2021, https://www.worldcat.org/title/eigo-seinen-the-rising-generation/oclc/266222834, "Dōwa Kenkyū," CiNii, accessed 5 Jul, 2021, https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN1006896X.

[119] Yanae Takako, "Kōyūkai Hōkoku: Toshobu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 189, "Shūkyō Kyōiku," CiNii, accessed 8 Oct, 2019, https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00112034, "Kirisutokyō Kyōiku," CiNii, accessed 8 Oct, 2019, https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00125295, "Kōyūkai Hōkoku: Toshobu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 154, "Nihon Kirisutokyō Shinbun," CiNii, accessed 19 Jul, 2021, https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00064598, "Kōyūkai Hōkoku: Toshobu," 154.

[120] "The World for a Week: "Warera no Graph"," *The New Outlook* 8, no. 29 (20 July, 1932): 679.

[121] "Kōyūkai Hōkoku: Toshobu," 154, "Sekai to Warera 10(8)," National Diet Library, accessed 6 Oct, 2019, https://iss.ndl.go.jp/books/R100000039-I000376524-00.

no Tomo (‘Woman’s Friend;’ still running today, *Fujin no Tomo* was founded by Hani Motoko (1873-1957) and included “practical knowledge” to improve women’s daily lives), *Kinshu no Nihon* (literally ‘Sober/Abstinent Japan;’ published from 1923), and *Shojo no Tomo*, ‘The Girl’s Friend,’ which “far more than any other girls’ magazine fostered girls’ creativity and self-expression.”[122] Social ideas and current events could also be encountered through *Kaizō* (noted to have been mainly for teachers, ‘Reorganize’ or ‘Restructure,’ it was printed from 1919 to 1955), and newspapers *Tokyo Nichinichi*, *Tokyo Asahi*, and *Yomiuri*.[123] Students and other school individuals could thus encounter a variety of print materials in both English and Japanese which explored ideas related to the aspects of Eiwa school culture described in this chapter.

Outside the structured curriculum, Yamanashi Eiwa’s *Kōyūkai* (a school group for volunteer/service activities or *hōshi katsudō*) conducted termly research in the 1933-1934 school year.[124] Themes of current and women’s issues and a connection to Canada were evident in this activity. In 1933, the *Kōyūkai* studied the history of the Canadian mission which Hosoya Chishima reported in 1934 created “understanding and appreciation” of this work.[125] They also researched current events, the ‘ideal household,’ peace, and health. Students utilized newspaper articles about politics, women, and sports to study current affairs. Chishima did not specify which resources students used to explore peace and health. Students further researched what

[122] “Kōyūkai Hōkoku: Toshobu,” 154, Martyn David Smith, *Mass Media, Consumerism and National Identity in Postwar Japan* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 7, DOI: 10.5040/9781350030800, Yanae, “Kōyūkai Hōkoku,” 189, “Kinshu no Nihon,” CiNii, accessed 6 Oct, 2019, https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00064372, Deborah M. Shamoon, *Passionate Friendship: The Aesthetics of Girl’s Culture in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012), 29, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824861117.

[123] Yanae, “Kōyūkai Hōkoku,” 189, “Kaizō,” CiNii, accessed 6 Oct, 2019, https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00365120.

[124] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 218. On Tōyō Eiwa’s *Kōyūkai*, see “Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Kaisoku,” in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kōyūkaishi [Kōyūkai Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 2 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1931), 80-81.

[125] Hosoya Chishima, “Kōyūkai Ichinenkan wo Kaerimite,” in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 3.

kind of business/career women were living in Yamanashi prefecture, and what preparation was necessary to become one, demonstrating a way of exposing students to different lifestyles women in their area were leading in this period, and how to follow in their example.[126] This extra-curricular research reportedly fostered individual responsibility as well as wider knowledge in students.

The centrality of Christianity in Eiwa culture and education can also be explored through quotes from Shizuoka Eiwa students which illustrate the importance placed on religious teachings in addition to physical and character training. "It is a [privilege] to have lived in a [Christian] school, in a [C]hristian atmosphere, with [C]hristian teachers and friends. [S]eeing their lives every day we have been led almost unconsciously into higher and nobler ways," wrote Shizuoka Eiwa valedictorian Tashiro Yuriko in 1927, describing the influence of school life on her development.[127] Her statement also relates to Aaron William Moore's argument above that the influence of adults on youth relates to how youth viewed them.[128] In her 1932 valedictory speech, Shizuoka Eiwa student Yasue Uemura explains at school, students learned "lessons from the characters we have met in literature– … but we have also learned through our Bible study most important truths for [daily] living from Jesus Christ and His disciples. ... [W]e are thankful that we have come to know Christ and God, our Heavenly Father, the Maker of heaven and earth."[129] Finally, Haruko Tanaka wrote similarly in her 1937 valedictory speech: "We are especially grateful for the privilege of being able to study in this Christian School. …

---

[126] Chishima, "Kōyūkai Ichinenkan wo Kaerimite," 3.

[127] Tashiro Yuriko, "Valedictory," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, Shinchiku Kinen ed., no. 31 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1927), 35.

[128] Moore, "Reversing the Gaze," 142.

[129] Yasue Uemura, "Veledictory [sic] Address," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 37 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1933), 49-50. I discussed these student speeches in my 2016 master's thesis. In this English address, Uemura wrote her name starting with her first name.

We have been trained physically, mentally and spiritually which is the ideal form of education. Through the study of the Bible ... we have learned of the greatest thing in the world-the Love of God, our Heavenly Father."[130] While these statements were likely constructed with the school audience in mind and for the graduation occasion, by analyzing students' words we can infer that even in the 1930s when it was targeted by the state, as the following chapter will explore further, Christian education was a key part of Eiwa school life and culture for some individuals.

2.3 The Eiwa Schools and the Construction of Physically Tangible Spaces

In outlining how an Eiwa school culture developed within these spaces, physical school structures are also instructive. People not only utilize and interact with space, but space itself can potentially serve as a teacher. As 1946 Tōyō Eiwa graduate Kaneko Setsuko wrote: "One could think the building itself was teaching [conveying teachings to, *oshie wo katarikaketeiru*] us."[131] Kaneko thus conceived of space as a teacher. This justifies why looking at physical spaces, including buildings, as part of the construction of intellectual and physical space is important. Indeed, as Terrence E. Deal and Kent D. Peterson contend: "Architectural forms convey values," and thus space becomes a resource which can be analyzed.[132] "I think it worthwhile to at least ask the question whether the physical environments in which teaching and learning take place may shape the content and the transmission of knowledge in educational establishments," David N. Livingstone has written.[133] Further, Katie Barclay argues

---

[130] Haruko Tanaka, "Tōji," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 41. In this English address, Tanaka wrote her name starting with her first name.

[131] So Michiko, "Kōsha Rakusei to sono Haikei: 1933 Zengo," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, ed., *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha 1933-1993: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Kōsha no Kiroku [Our School Toriizaka 1933-1993: Records of the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin School Building]* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Dōsōkai, 1994), 118.

[132] Deal and Peterson, *Shaping School Culture*, 37.

[133] Livingstone, "Keeping knowledge in site," 784.

> place is a particular type of space. Within this framework, space is understood as a relationship or interaction between the material (physical location, landscape, architecture), the activity and bodies of people in that location, time, and the social norms and cultural meanings attached to all of these. It is a term that captures physical environment, discourse and human behaviour in dialogue[.] … Space is not static therefore, but is a process, continually being produced in the everyday.[134]

This section explores physical space, architecture, location, and the relationships to, and experiences of, actors within these spaces.

Created as religious educational institutions, the Eiwa school buildings were physical spaces in which students came into direct contact with through studying in classrooms, engaging in group/extra-curricular and religious activities, and in the case of boarding students, living within. Roy Kozlovsky explains "[t]he concept of 'space' was developed in nineteenth-century architectural criticism as referring to the 'containing', volumetric properties of the building ... for the purpose of shifting the focus … to the phenomenological experience of a subject moving through the building's interior."[135] Jones et al.'s study on young people in South Woods, Georgia explores "how the material (e.g., the physical place, objects, bodies, music) and discursive (e.g., circulating ideologies, ways of using bodies and ways of using the space) merge … to produce a particular *space* and *sense* of place that orients bodies toward particular ways of being."[136] Further, Jones et. al "understand children's relational ways of being with the physical, material, discursive, and time scales available to them as both shaping their spaces and being shaped by their spaces."[137] This historical study suggests how some Eiwa students

[134] Katie Barclay, "Space and Place," in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), 21, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.4324/9781315441368.

[135] Roy Kozlovsky, "The architecture of *educare*: motion and emotion in postwar educational spaces," *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 696, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514295.

[136] Jones et al., "Childhood Geographies and Spatial Justice," 1132.

[137] Jones et al., "Childhood Geographies and Spatial Justice," 1131.

interacted with educational spaces, how physical space potentially influenced student development, experiences, and school culture, and how students shaped these spaces.

Writing on the Canadian missionary experience in Japan, Hamish Ion argues in the 1930s "by squeezing missionary teachers out of the classrooms[,] … the government was achieving much of its aim to remove foreign influence in education, even in mission schools."[138] As chapter three will explain further, this period was indeed a challenging one for schools with foreign and/or Christian ties. Changes and adaptation were necessary to avoid government persecution. However, it is also important to recognize that the missionary presence was not completely cut off until the early 1940s, and that missionaries were not the only 'foreign' influence within these schools. As such, intellectual and physical space is instructive in uncovering the experiences of these schools and related individuals in the 1930s. As evident in the above discussion, international teachings appear to have been included in Eiwa curriculum into the 1930s. Further, as this wider thesis illuminates, an interest in and engagement with the wider world within students was evident throughout this period, and international education activities took place throughout the 1930s which focused on connecting women and youth. School buildings as tangible physical influences also remained through this period.

Educational institutions can be intentionally constructed in the effort to further a determined set of ideas through the construction and design of physical space. Georg Rißler et al. note "[r]esearch on the history of education reconstructs the evolution and transformation of school and classroom design," and physical design, as well as the meaning and significance actors placed on these spaces, is an important point in this historical study as well.[139] While

[138] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 333.

[139] Georg Rißler et al., "School as Space: Spatial Alterations, Teaching, Social Motives, and Practices," *Studia Paedagogica* 19, no. 4 (2014): 146, DOI: 10.5817/SP2014-4-7.

scholarly work on the Eiwa schools have delved into institutional experiences and those of Canadian missionaries, this study analyzes space in the Eiwa school context by exploring the intellectual and physical make-up of these three institutions. This reveals dynamic and active educational spaces for encounters between youth, adults as educators and alumnae, school visitors, and intellectual ideas and teachings. This section explores physical space and school building and dormitory design, and camps as methods of informal place-based education. It also outlines how the practice of foreign customs, international learning, and physical school buildings created spaces for transcultural educational encounters.

Jones et al. explore the idea of "*[i]ntentional place-making*" in the creation of spaces for children.[140] In this historical case, the creation of the Eiwa schools took place through the development of spaces within a network which was also being actively constructed, as chapter one explored. The creation of this network and the activities at these schools were intentionally constructed, in part, to address the social conceptualization and worldview of this community. The environment within impacted how these schools and their members experienced and navigated the 1930s. Indeed, Jones et al. argue "[s]paces can be produced to control, indoctrinate, colonize, and discipline young bodies/minds *just as they can be created to actively support creativity, curiosity, expansive subject positions, and social critique*." [emphasis added][141] This point will be further illustrated in the writings of Eiwa students and graduates which discuss social issues and describe a desire to serve society as this study continues. Paul Standish contends "[t]he fostering of the values imparted by educational institutions must have some effect on the kind of society that is then promoted."[142] The Eiwa schools were a microsociety

[140] Jones et al., "Childhood Geographies and Spatial Justice," 1138.
[141] Jones et al., "Childhood Geographies and Spatial Justice," 1154.
[142] Standish, "The Educational is Political," 8.

and community, so this chapter explores the values practiced and encouraged within.

These schools within their wider community are thus discussed as spaces where transcultural encounters and learning of and engagement with the wider world occurred. They were physical representations of the meeting of Canadian Methodist Protestantism and culture through the women of the WMS and Japanese students and educators. They were also spaces where state-mandated education merged in some ways with curriculum designed by Eiwa educators, many Christian and with professional and/or educational ties to the WMS. Rui Kohiyama argues "mission schools provided a window for women not only to peep at the West but also to experience it," and as such, "the education at mission schools was unique."[143] The version of the West which Eiwa actors constructed can be analyzed through how the West was manifested in architecture, building design, food culture, and religious symbols and activity.

One important aspect is dormitories, which were significant spaces in the evangelization and development process. Although commuting students would have had contact with their schools and teachers (including Western missionaries) during the day, boarding students spent even more of their school lives within these spaces. This lifestyle would have been part of students' formative education, and thus likely impacted Eiwa actors' intellectual development.

Mara Patessio argues that

> it is important to recognise the role of dormitories and boarding facilities, a new feature of the Meiji period. They were available in government schools, too, but for the missionaries, having pupils there all the time meant that the risk of 'negative influences' from families was lower and the possibility of converts higher, while this helped girls to enlarge their world, which was no longer made up only of siblings or relatives. For girls, living together was a way of creating a communal 'female spirit' outside the home, and of sharing similar interests with Japanese and

[143] Rui Kohiyama, "Women's Education and Mission Schools and the Emergence of the Modern Family in Meiji Japan," in *Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea: Historical Studies*, eds. Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Tze Ming Ng, Chong Ku Paek and Scott W. Sunquist (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2009), 106.

Western women.[144]

Indeed, this idea of communal living and encounters between multiple generations of Japanese and Western women is evident from period reports on the Eiwa dormitories. Terumi Funaki explains that Tōyō Eiwa dormitory life was in the Western style (*yōshiki*) including clothing and meals.[145] A Meiji era student noted breakfast and evening meals were taken together with the Western teachers, during which Japanese could not be used.[146] According to David N. Livingstone, "social spaces shape, and are shaped by, speech. Speech spaces operate in various ways: they condition what can and cannot be said in them; they inflect how things are said, and the way they are heard."[147] Within these spaces, language and thus speech were reportedly regulated at mealtimes. The use of the English language was connected to Western food culture by being practiced simultaneously. A Tōyō Eiwa student explained dormitory students and (foreign) teachers lived closely, "separated by a door," so they often interacted.[148] Further, boarding students "spent their days together with missionaries even outside of class."[149] Funaki further explains the early Canadian missionaries took students to hear political talks and taught them about foreign customs, furthering their exposure to foreign culture and social issues in this way.[150] This living environment created a space of cultural encounters and education in which students came into contact with ideas, food, and customs not of their native country.

[144] Patessio, "Western Women Missionaries and their Japanese Female Charges," 70.
[145] Funaki, "Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin ni okeru Eigokyōiku," 44.
[146] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Tōkōkai, "Tōkō Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Sōritsu Hyakushūnen Kinen," 41, quoted in Funaki, "Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin ni okeru Eigo Kyōiku," 45.
[147] Livingstone, "Keeping knowledge in site," 784.
[148] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Nanajū Nenshi*, ed. Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Nanajū Nenshi Hensan Iinkai (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1965), 10, quoted in Funaki, "Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin ni okeru Eigo Kyōiku," 48.
[149] Funaki, "Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin ni okeru Eigokyōiku," 41.
[150] Funaki, "Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin ni okeru Eigokyōiku," 49.

Tōyō Eiwa "had long suffered from overcrowding."[151] The design of new school buildings was taken on by William M. Vories' architectural company.[152] Founding Vories & Company in 1910, Vories had designed the buildings of Kwansei Gakuin, the Meiji Gakuin chapel, churches, and Kobe Jogakuin before the plans for Tōyō Eiwa's new buildings began in 1929.[153] Plans were finalized in 1930.[154] The complex contained two sites: one housed the kindergarten, mission headquarters, dormitory, and teachers' rooms, and the other, the primary school, girls' high school, and kindergarten training school classrooms.[155] Canadian Maple wood was used in the construction of the Japanese-style *sahōshitsu* (room for etiquette classes).[156] This was a possibly symbolic but physically tangible manifestation of Canada into the physical construction of the Eiwa schools.

Construction of the new dormitory finished on 5 February 1932.[157] It had four stories and fifty-eight rooms, and was named *Seifūryō* (literally 'Green maple dormitory').[158] Student and teacher living quarters were more separated than the previous building, however the teachers' building (*kyōshikan*) connected to the dormitory through hallways.[159] In 1934, Imamura Suzuyo wrote that in her (undated) time at the Tōyō Eiwa dorm, four or five students shared a room, and a teacher or high school student was assigned room head. According to Imamura, students

---

[151] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 333.

[152] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 247.

[153] Masaaki Yamagata, "William Merrel Vories and the Architecture of Toyo Eiwa," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, ed., *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha 1933-1993: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Kōsha no Kiroku [Our School Toriizaka 1933-1993: Records of the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin School Building]* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Dōsōkai, 1994), 47.

[154] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 247.

[155] Yamagata Masaaki, "Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin no Kenchiku to Vōrizu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, ed., *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha 1933-1993: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Kōsha no Kiroku [Our School Toriizaka 1933-1993: Records of the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin School Building]* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Dōsōkai, 1994), 52.

[156] So, "Kōsha Rakusei to sono Haikei," 117.

[157] Yamagata, "Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin no Kenchiku to Vōrizu," 54.

[158] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 247, 248.

[159] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 248, Yamagata, "Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin no Kenchiku to Vōrizu," 53.

referred to and thought of each other as sisters, and the feeling was "close like a family" (*hitokazoku no yō na shitashisa*).[160] Communal meals took place three times daily, while Bible study, worship, and Sunday school took place on Sundays.[161]

Yamagata Masaaki notes the 1933 kindergarten, missionary residence and dormitory "were covered with Vories' distinctive Spanish tiled roofing and stucco walls. The approach included a pond," and

> the facade of the new building was symmetrically designed with [a] ... stone entryway in the center. On both sides of the wall there were ... decorative arch windows with shallow balconies. On top of the building were small Spanish tile eaves. The Spanish style was also observed in the interior; the cafeteria, small chapel and auditorium. The classic style … was found in the pillars, the festoon on the frieze and in the principal's office. Vories' greatest efforts went into the main entrance. Here, under a stone arch were romanesque-like iron doors, on which the school symbol, the maple leaf, was carved in delicate openwork. The interior [was] filled with Arabesque decorations.[162]

These buildings, Yamagata notes, were "the last of Vories' Spanish mission style buildings."[163] Bazaars were held in 1933 "to celebrate the completion of the new school building," during which *The Japan Advertiser* newspaper reported "[s]hort programs will be given by the pupils, and moving pictures, including some films of Canadian scenery, kindly lent by the Canadian National Railways, will be shown," demonstrating a further link and example of exchange between Canada and Tōyō Eiwa.[164]

---

[160] Imamura Suzuyo, "Watashi no Tamatebako," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 31.

[161] Yamagata, "Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin no Kenchiku to Vōrizu," 54.

[162] Yamagata, "William Merrel Vories and the Architecture of Toyo Eiwa," 47.

[163] Yamagata, "William Merrel Vories and the Architecture of Toyo Eiwa," 47.

[164] "Social and General," *The Japan Advertiser,* 25 May, 1933, 5.

What did students think about these buildings? 1984 Tōyō Eiwa graduate Matsunami Tomoko described the "maze-like" first (ground) floor of this building.[165] 1957 graduate Kiguchi Keiko wrote of the stained-glass windows which let in "soft light" into the small chapel, "a place fitting for worship."[166] Uemura Fumiko who entered Tōyō Eiwa in 1933 stated, "when I was a first year student the new school building was built, and soon after entering I was very lucky to be able to move there;" Uemura wrote that "even now I can't forget" the cherry blossom-lined walk.[167] 1945 graduate Yano Keiko described the school as "warm," that it "looked like a Canadian mission school" (*Kanada misshon skūru rashī*), and that it made her think of Tōyō Eiwa's school motto, 'reverence and service.'[168] Takano Mitsuko who attended Tōyō Eiwa from 1938-1942 described parts of the building as having an "indescribable atmosphere," and the warm and calm feeling Takano felt in the building "was an expression of Vories' zeal toward missions, and thoughtful consideration. Those thoughts were embedded in the school's design."[169] The physical spaces students interacted with appear to have been significant to them and were evidently an aspect of their schooling which remained intellectually with them. While these quotes are nostalgic as memories of a positive experience may likely be, they show the physical school buildings left an impression strong enough to be



Figure 3: A view of Tōyō Eiwa's 1933 school buildings. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 2000.017P/3690. [Auditorium, Toyo Eiwa Jogakko], [ca. 1933].

[165] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha*, 43.
[166] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha*, 43.
[167] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha*, 110.
[168] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha*, 118.
[169] Takano, "Takano Mitsukosan no Ohanashi," 253.

remembered decades later.

The chapel was made the center of Vories' 1933 building. This brought religious practice concretely into the school. "The idea of building a chapel as the center, indeed heart of the school and using it as a school auditorium ... is profoundly suggestive," argues Masanobu Fukamachi.[170] Indeed, the chapel, and thus Christian worship, represented the intellectual and physical center of the schools. 1938 graduate Ichikawa Fukuko wrote that they had morning worship in the small chapel. This reportedly created a personal connection to religious practice: "Students took turns chairing [worship] and playing the organ. When it was your turn your heart would race, but I think that short time instilled deep faith within us." [171] These examples from Tōyō Eiwa thus reveal the significance of physical worship spaces within Eiwa school culture and embedded Christian religiosity.

Kaneko Setsuko's quote above on space teaching suggests these physical spaces played a role in teaching and the construction of school culture as well. The chapel as the physical representation of Christ was central in this physical landscape. As chapter three will explain, in 1939, the three Eiwa schools received the Japanese imperial portrait (*goshinei*), although government inquiries on the lack of installation had come as early as 1935.[172] On installing the portrait, Tōyō Eiwa primary school student Gotō Midori reportedly stated: "We were a school that still had not received a goshinei. I am proud because our school has received one."[173] A.

---

[170] Masanobu Fukamachi, "Footprints of Japan's Mission Schools and Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, ed., *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha 1933-1993: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Kōsha no Kiroku [Our School Toriizaka 1933-1993: Records of the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin School Building]* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Dōsōkai, 1994), 103.

[171] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha*, 132.

[172] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 322-323. This also took place after male Japanese Christians became Eiwa school principals from 1938. This role was taken on by Ono Naoichi at Tōyō Eiwa, Murota Tamotsu at Shizuoka Eiwa, and Amemiya Keisaku at Yamanashi Eiwa.

[173] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 323-324.

Hamish Ion argues "[n]o other school observance took priority over the imperial portrait. The symbolism of the portrait showed that nationalism took priority over Christianity."[174] As the following chapter will explore further, the *goshinei* was indeed an extremely important structure in imperial Japan, and evidently, between 1935 and 1939 its acceptance, installation, and the importance of the imperial nationalism it symbolized became essential for the Eiwa schools to recognize on an institutional level.

It is also useful to note, however, that the existence of one did not negate the significance or reverence of the other on a personal and intellectual level, and again the theme of coexistence is useful to conceptualize these two structures. For example, Takaaki Haraguchi has explored H. Richard Niebuhr's *Christ in Culture* concepts and notes Niebuhr's theory of 'Christ and culture in paradox' in which Christ exists in the spiritual realm, while culture exists in the earthly realm, can theoretically conceptualize such coexistence of imperial Japanese and Christian teachings at mission/Christian schools.[175] We can also consider *where* the *goshinei* or *hoanko*/*hōanden* (a cabinet/building to house the portrait) was installed. For example, Ōkuma Ayako explained Tōyō Eiwa's *goshinei* was installed in a partitioned area of the auditorium; a curtain covered it most of the time, except during ceremonies.[176] In contrast, although not a comment on how strongly each structure was revered, as the *goshinei* was treated and guarded

[174] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 125.

[175] I consulted Helmut Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952). Takaaki Haraguchi, "David B. Schneder's Idea of Christian Education and its Implementation in Face of the Nationalistic Education in Modern Japan," in *Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea: Historical Studies*, eds. Yuko Watanabe, Scott W. Sunquist, Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Tze Ming Ng and Chong Ku Paek (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2009), 89-98. Haraguchi explores the case of Tohoku Gakuin.

[176] Ōkuma Ayako, "Ōkuma Ayakosan no Ohanashi," in *Senjika no Joshi Gakuseitachi: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku ni Manada 60nin no Taiken [Girl Students in Wartime: The Experiences of 60 People who Studied at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku]*, ed. Horie Yūko (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2012), 611-612.

as essentially a sacred object, the chapel was a constant physically tangible and visible expression of Christ and Christian religiosity at the schools in this period as well.

The coexistence of these trends and objects/structures can also be conceptualized by considering the differing notions of nationalism and national feeling which Taeko Shibahara has explored in relation to "national feminist consciousness" in interwar Japan, through referring to "what Raymond Williams called a "national feeling" compatible with internationalism." [177] Shibahara explains "[n]ational feeling was a sense of pride and identification with cherished tradition, as opposed to nationalism with its exclusive, xenophobic connotations."[178] This distinction can also help conceptualize statements utilizing nationalistic language written by individuals of schools which also practiced international and peace-oriented education in the 1930s. For example, if we examine Tōyō Eiwa student Gotō Midori's comment above on being proud that her school had received a *goshinei*, it could be considered one of national feeling reflecting pride in national traditions.[179] This distinction allows for the intention behind statements seemingly nationalist in nature to be conceptualized as perhaps connected to national feeling instead. If so, this can further illuminate how nationalistic teachings and writings could coexist with international learning and knowledge building, transnational communication, and peace-related education practiced at the Eiwa schools in this period. Such a conceptualization could be one way the coexistence of these trends was intellectually possible.

A similar constructed version of the West to that revealed at Tōyō Eiwa was evident at

[177] See Taeko Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement before World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), 58, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4v5b. Shibahara quotes and cites Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 213-214.

[178] Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement*, 58.

[179] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 323-324.

Shizuoka Eiwa as well. Shizuoka Eiwa students reported they were exposed to Western food, literature, and customs through their dormitory lives. According to the Shizuoka Eiwa *Hyaku Nenshi*, Sugiyama Ukie recalled students read books such as *Quo Vadis* (by Henryk Sienkiewicz) and *The Scarlet Letter* (by Nathaniel Hawthorne). Students also encountered the wider world through food. For example, the *Hyaku Nenshi* also explains curry rice was at first unpopular, and the first student who enjoyed the meal was reportedly called a 'modern girl' (*modan gāru*), suggesting these encounters with food culture were viewed by some as linked with newness, modernity, and perhaps something foreign.[180] The volume further notes on Sundays, students had Bible class, and some assisted with Sunday school activities, so Christian education also brought Shizuoka Eiwa boarding students into the wider religious community.[181]

As for their physical school buildings, in 1921, missionary Olivia Lindsay wrote:

> To let you have a glimpse into our school life in Shizuoka, it will be necessary to ask you to draw a mental picture of our surroundings. Fronting a narrow street which leads directly to the outer moat is a two-store frame structure, painted a blue-grey. This is really composed of two buildings connected by an overhead bridge. The older one of the two is a combination of foreign house, waiting room, office, teachers' room, a class-room and Japanese dining-room, with dormitory upstairs; while the other has five small class-rooms, and an assembly-room on the ground floor, also with dormitory above. At the rear of the former is a Kindergarten Building, which has a large sewing room upstairs. In one corner of the garden toward the street, is ... the Library which was erected four years ago–our graduates contributing half expenses–to commemorate both the Coronation of the Emperor and the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of our High School. Across the street is our Primary School[.] ... Adjoining the main building is the Gymnasium or Assembly Hall.[182]

As Tōyō Eiwa later did, Shizuoka Eiwa, too, requested Vories & Company to design their new

[180] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 528. This source cites the Shizuoka Eiwa publication *Shizuhata*, No. 7.

[181] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 528.

[182] O. C. Lindsay, "Correspondence from the Field: School Life, Shizuoka, Japan," *The Missionary Outlook* 41, no. 9, 10 (September, October 1921): 192.

school building.[183] Construction took place in three stages: in 1924 and 1926, in 1937, and in 1939.[184] The building had a red roof, "the Vories Spanish emblem," and at the main entrance 'SHIZUOKA EIWA JOGAKKO' was engraved in large, upper-case letters.[185]



Figure 4. A Shizuoka Eiwa classroom. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 2000.017P/3416. Science room: Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakko, [193-?].

Olivia Lindsay wrote in 1925 that in Shizuoka Eiwa's dormitory, "about one-third of our one hundred and sixty pupils–besides from twelve to fifteen teachers of the various departments–are accommodated," and that it "affords an excellent sphere for the practise of co-operative virtues."[186] Students and teachers thus cohabitated within the dormitory; we will see below that camps were another place this occurred. The Shizuoka Eiwa 1927 *Dōsōkai Kaihō* further described "the magnificence of the auditorium[/chapel, *kōdō*]" within this building.[187] "As the fruit of the love of God, the love of humans, ... this new school house is truly a temple of God," Shizuoka Eiwa student Suganuma Takako stated at the completion ceremony in 1926, demonstrating the centrality of Christianity to her idea of spatial construction at Shizuoka Eiwa.[188] Suganuma also addressed the connection of women in Canada to this project: "To those of the Canadian mission for building this beautiful schoolhouse, our heartfelt thanks. Especially even those young

[183] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 484.
[184] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 486.
[185] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 489, 488.
[186] Olivia C. Lindsay, "Our Shizuoka School," *The Missionary Outlook* 45, no. 4 (April 1925): 86.
[187] "Jogakkō Kōsha Shinchiku Kiji," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, Shinchiku Kinen ed., no. 31 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1927), 18.
[188] Suganuma Takako, "Shaji," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, Shinchiku Kinen ed., no. 31 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1927), 22-23. Takako (隆子) can also be read, for example, as Ryūko, and Suganuma (菅沼) as Sugenuma.

women of the mission like us, some saving their pocket money, others working and donating, ... the depth and nobility of that international love for humanity ... is truly moving."[189] This was a network which essentially connected not only Japanese students, teachers, and Canadian missionaries, but Canadian women in Canada itself. As Shizuoka Eiwa valedictorian Keiko Yamamoto stated in 1939: "We are filled with gratitude, as we think of the privilege that has been ours of receiving an [e]ducation in this Christian school, founded for us, as an expression of the love of Christ in the hearts of the women of Canada."[190] The Shizuoka Eiwa Vories' building was destroyed in the Pacific War.[191]

Shortly after completing the Kwansei Gakuin school building, William M. Vories' company also designed Yamanashi Eiwa's chapel and construction was completed in 1924, although this building, too, was destroyed in the war.[192] Ōnuki Kimiko wrote in 1934 on dormitory life at Yamanashi Eiwa: "A special characteristic of Christian schools is in that training in boarding. Even after graduating students say the power to live strongly developed during that time. In reality besides studying, living under the same roof, weaving religious education into our lives."[193] Ōnuki expressed the importance of dormitory life at Christian schools such as Yamanashi Eiwa, although the boarding of students ended in 1934 at Yamanashi Eiwa as classrooms were needed, and local transit had improved.[194] As well as sharing an identity as Christian girls' school (and specifically Eiwa) students, these young women also shared the experience of studying, living, and praying in buildings constructed by Vories &

---

[189] Suganuma, "Shaji," 22.

[190] Keiko Yamamoto, "Valedictory," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuhata: Dōsōkaihō [Shizuhata: Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 43 (Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1939), 50. In this English address, Yamamoto wrote her name starting with her first name.

[191] Yamagata, "Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin no Kenchiku to Vōrizu," 47-48.

[192] Yamagata, "Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin no Kenchiku to Vōrizu," 47-48.

[193] Ōnuki Kimiko, "Musubi wo Toku ni Atari," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 44.

[194] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 196.

Company. Unlike Kwansei and Meiji Gakuin (but like Kobe Jogakuin), these were spaces for girls' education. In addition, cultural and dormitory experiences combined with formal curricular education to create a women's educational environment where the West and Japan mixed, and where Christianity was central.

Another physically tangible aspect of the Eiwa student experience and identity which tied individuals together, and symbolized when one became a member, was school uniforms. "Although clothing may be one of the surface facets of schooling, in certain circumstances it becomes intrinsically linked to the pupils' own self-appraisals of identity," Jon Swain argues.[195] The Eiwa uniforms potentially contributed to the creation of a sense of collective identity within the Eiwa schools, furthering the symbolic and tangible connection constructed between Japan and Canada. For example, during Japan's Taishō period, the CGIT was using sailor uniforms consisting of a white shirt and navy-blue skirt.[196] Missionary Olivia Lindsay used this as a model for the Shizuoka Eiwa school uniform.[197] Yamanashi Eiwa moved to adopt sailor style uniforms by 1928, and the summer uniform at both schools remained in the sailor style.[198] For students, school uniforms symbolized their membership in the school community, a connection to their peers, and were a concrete method of distinguishing themselves from students of other schools. As 1937 Shizuoka Eiwa graduate Muramatsu Kurako wrote: "I remember that the first time we put on the stylish Eiwa school uniform everyone ... being full of pride."[199]

It is also worthwhile to note that place-based education was not limited to that which took

[195] Swain, "The Right Stuff," 53.
[196] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 472, 474.
[197] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 476.
[198] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 478. As of the time of publication of this volume (1990).
[199] Muramatsu Kurako, "Kinō to Kyō," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuhata: Dōsōkaihō [Shizuhata: Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 43 (Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1939), 85.

place within the school institutions themselves. For example, Takano Mitsuko noted on Tōyō Eiwa's location in Roppongi, Tokyo: "In those days there were some embassies, and so it was an area of many foreigners. For that reason there were many stores for foreigners, so I feel it was a bit of a unique area."[200] The area immediately surrounding schools, then, may also have impacted the construction of the physical school educational environment within. In this example, an internationalized environment inside Tōyō Eiwa was complimented by aspects of the physical space outside it as well.

Another aspect of the school lifestyle and an educational avenue which took place outside of school proper was the (summer) youth camp, popular in the interwar period in Protestant circles. Sybil R. Courtice wrote in 1940: "As practical training in Christian life and service there are the summer camps, now exceedingly popular in government as well as Christian schools."[201] Eiwa school summer camps were opportunities for the formation of group cohesion and Christian learning through informal place-based education. Meryl Nadel and Susan Scher explain "the camp as an entity was influenced by the development of innovative ideas and theories in education, the social sciences, community, group work, and social work."[202] Eiwa summer camps added outdoor physical recreation and social activities to religious education to enhance the learning, socializing, and skill-building process for youth. "Most organized camps, located in the natural environment, offer a preeminent opportunity for informal and formal place-based education," note Nadel and Scher.[203] Such was the case for these Eiwa historic outdoor camps as well. Nadel and Scher argue for camps "physical space is important, but so,

[200] Takano, "Takano Mitsukosan no Ohanashi," 255.
[201] Courtice, "Sixty Years Educational Work in Japan," 6.
[202] Meryl Nadel and Susan Scher, *Not just Play: Summer Camp and the Profession of Social Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 18, DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780190496548.001.0001.
[203] Nadel and Scher, "Community, Group, Group Work," 19.

too, are the social and emotional group and community bonds."[204] Indeed, camp was another physical space where education took place. The experience of attending may also have contributed to fostering collective identity and experience among Eiwa students as they took part in activities within a wider peer community. As will be evident in chapter four's discussion of YWCA (*Seinenkai*) camps, this took place on a national scale as well.

Descriptions of Eiwa school camps reveal Christian education, social skills, exercise, aspects of international encounters and learning, and group cohesion similar to the dormitory lifestyle described above. Tōyō Eiwa summer camps were held at Lake Nojiri in Nagano.[205] Yamanashi Eiwa summer camps took place at Lake Yamanaka near Mount Fuji, and Shizuoka Eiwa camps were held in Jitogata, Shizuoka.[206] Christian education was one part of these camps. WMS missionary Isabel Govenlock wrote at the July 1936 Shizuoka Eiwa camp that "[m]any of the girls attending, found through the quiet Morning Watch or the Evening Vesper Service, a deeper meaning to prayer and a clearer vision of Christ's way of life. We hope that these new visions will be actually translated into daily life."[207] International encounters also took place. For example, at the Tōyō Eiwa camp in August 1935, teacher Maruyama Tamiko wrote participants visited what she termed *Gaijinmura* (literally 'Foreigner Village').[208] This was likely the Lake Nojiri *Kokusaimura* (International Village), a lakeside resort "founded by

[204] Nadel and Scher, "Community, Group, Group Work," 20.

[205] See, for example, Maruyama Tamiko, "Senkyūhyakugonen Kaki Kyanpu Nisuite," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 135.

[206] See, for example, Tsunoda Kimiko, "Yamanaka Kyanpu," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1935), 35-36, Isabel Govenlock, "Dear Members of the Alumnae Association," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Kaihō [Report/Bulletin]*, no. 40 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1936), 35-36.

[207] Govenlock, "Dear Members of the Alumnae Association," 35-36.

[208] Maruyama, "Senkyūhyakugonen Kaki Kyanpu Nisuite," 136.

missionaries from the United [States] and Canada in 1921."[209]

This more informal, place-based method of education appears to have also contributed to the development of intergenerational, group, and peer closeness. For example, Tsunoda Kimiko of Yamanashi Eiwa wrote that there were no distinctions between younger and older students, and that teachers and students came together in communal living.[210] In 1937, Endō Aiko, also of Yamanashi Eiwa, wrote very similarly: "The most important parts" of camp were "admiring God through nature, and coming to know the appreciation of praying and living together. There is no distinction between older and younger students, and students and teachers united and lived together."[211]

Camp was thus a method of place-based education which was an extension of the official school institutions. Through these camps, activities which centered on the development of skills and religiosity within young women in groups such as the YWCA and CGIT, as we will see in chapter four, were recreated in Japan for Eiwa and other student engagement as well. It is striking these camps took place in the 1930s for individuals of the Eiwa schools, as organizers appear to have embedded aspects of Eiwa school culture in activities practiced and the meaning applied to them. At a time when the state sought to remove foreign influences from the classroom, and within schools Christianity was viewed as a potential threat to the state, Eiwa teachers and students engaged in place-based learning where religious, personal, and social training *left* the classroom.[212] However, the quotes above suggest it still exhibited aspects of Eiwa school culture and learning which was prized *within* the classroom as well.

---

[209] Minoru Matsutani, "Foreigners Fear for Haven: Planned Waste Site Near Rural Getaway Worries Longtime Vacationers," *The Japan Times*, last modified 22 Aug, 2008, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2008/08/22/national/foreigners-fear-for-haven#.Xh3LKS10et8.

[210] Tsunoda, "Yamanaka Kyanpu," 35.

[211] Endō Aiko, "Yamanaka Kyanpu Hōkoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1937), 23.

[212] See, for example, Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 333, Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 31.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed aspects of an Eiwa school culture in the interwar period, and especially 1930s. It examined the construction of intellectual and physical spaces within the three schools, by analyzing and deciphering space. In doing so, it explored how symbolic and tangible transcultural spaces were created, within which Western missionary women and Japanese students and educators interacted at school and in dormitories. Within these spaces, students encountered education intellectually, physically, and socially through peer relationships and encounters with educators and school/dormitory staff. As will be evident in the following chapter, essentially, Eiwa actors created spaces where international education, communication across national borders, and discussions of peace were practiced and encouraged throughout the 1930s. Key aspects of Eiwa school culture included (1) Christianity, the chapel, and Christian service activities, (2) Western customs, learning, environment including English, and international and imperial education, (3) the facilitation of women's education, mobility, and connectivity across nations, (4) instruction encouraging individualized education and critical thinking visible also in period educational discourses, and (5) the incorporation of state curriculum and ideology which, in certain ways, coexisted with actively practiced transnational activities, international education, and religious teachings in the 1930s. As the following chapter reveals, there was evidently a naturalized environment created *inside* the Eiwa schools in the 1930s that in some ways did not align with what was considered the norm *outside*. Thus, this chapter delved into what this environment constituted and how it was constructed. For students and alumnae, a flexible identity and worldview was potentially created through an educational experience which incorporated aspects of the West (*Ei*) and Japan (*Wa*).

From the late 1930s, student mobilization, curricular changes, and acceptance of imperial objects were issues necessary for Christian schools to navigate to ensure their survival. Adaptation to nationalism and changes to Christian educational institutions in the 1930s took place, in part, through innovative school culture and actions. Eiwa actors created and developed transcultural and transnational spaces within an imperial nation, within which Western missionaries and Japanese students and educators lived and interacted. This fusion culminated in the creation of spaces and a school culture which fulfilled necessary state mandates for education, and yet was evidently not completely shaped by official policy, and in some ways potentially tempered these teachings. This Christian women-centered environment ultimately contributed to the intellectual development of students, alumnae, and educators. Thus, it is a base from which to explore 1930s student compositions on peace and international friendship, and school YWCA international activities in the late 1930s in the following two chapters.

Chapter 3: Promoting International Understanding through Women and Youth: Voices of Eiwa Actors in 1930s Japan

3.1 Introduction

The Tōyō Eiwa, Shizuoka Eiwa, and Yamanashi Eiwa girls' schools were situated in a network within which multiple generations of women participated in activities and programs to promote international understanding between people of different nations in the turbulent 1930s. Within these spaces, intellectual networking and school culture (explored in chapters one and two) contributed to the creation of an educational environment in which writings and assignments on peace and international learning could be practiced, and such activities could (and were encouraged to) take place, were considered valuable, and worth the commitment taken to institute them. This chapter outlines how peace and international education were practiced and discussed in writing through analyzing voices and school activities, and how these findings contrast with institutional reactions to 1930s nationalism. It argues these activities emphasized the role of women and youth, and thus gender and age, in international exchange, communication, and learning.

These women, and the network and spaces they operated within, add a significant new dimension to the historiography of the Eiwa schools in the 1930s which focuses largely on the Canadian mission and institutional adaptations to nationalism, and of interwar Japanese international education which looks to prominent male actors in an officially organized movement. Moving the focus from male educators to include adult and young women, and from prominent state institutions to Christian girls' schools within a transnational network uncovers international education and intertwined peace education throughout the 1930s. These women

practiced education, network building, and communication between nations through the turbulent 1930s. Concrete examples of how education and school culture were received, interpreted, and utilized, students and alumnae wrote on peace, war, and current issues while navigating and conceptualizing the period they lived through.

Nationalism and resulting state pressure resulted in changes at, and challenges for, Christian schools in this period in such areas as curriculum, school names, and religious teachings. However, exploring what was alternatively being practiced and tangibly created in these spaces reveals initiatives for international learning and understanding through women and youth in the 1930s to temper trends they saw in society, institutionalized structures, and education. Other intellectual narratives situating these findings included period discussions on youth, education, and women's perceived roles in peace work. Peace education, communication, and international learning were tied into and manifested as international education activities at the Eiwa schools.[1] Eiwa students conceptualized peace through Christianity, individual responsibility and potential, and the importance of building international knowledge and understanding. Nationalization was one role schools played in this period.[2] Thus, it is significant most of the compositions explored in this chapter were written in response to school assignments and published in school print forums. Strikingly, these activities instead encouraged students to think transnationally and to recognize, communicate (in English), exchange with, and identify with a wider transnational community.

Scholars have explored how imperial nationalism and state pressures impacted the Eiwa

[1] As will be explored later, another school where peace education was tied into international education was Keisen Jogakuen, according to Takeuchi Hisaaki, "Senzen Senchū Nihon ni Okeru 'Heiwa to Kyōiku' : Kawai Michi no Shisō Keisei ni Sokushite/Thoughts of 'Peace and Education' in Prewar Japan : The Formation of the Thoughts of Michi Kawai," *Tokyo Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu Kiyō* 30, (March 1991): 43-52, https://doi.org/10.15083/00029768.

[2] Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 31.

schools, such as by necessitating limits on English education and religious activities.[3] A. Hamish Ion writes of an "intense phase of pressure to develop educational policy in conformity with Japanese national polity and in support of the Japanese national spirit" at the Eiwa schools from 1936.[4] Further, Noriko Ishii explains that in 1937,

> the Ministry of Education compiled and distributed the "Principles of National Polity" (*kokutai no hongi*) to all schools nationwide. The government's purpose was to pressure schools to spread the idea that the emperor held sovereign power and the emperor system constituted the core of national polity (*kokutai*) or Japanese national identity. Such steps manifested increasing governmental regulation of academic freedom.[5]

However, interestingly, Hans Martin Krämer argues that although "[e]ducation in the 1930s and 1940s is often assumed to have been marked by discrimination, inequality, and hostility to reform," in fact "[i]t would be misleading … to see education in this period as permeated solely by ultranationalism."[6]

Indeed, while these trends significantly impacted the experience of the Eiwa schools in the 1930s, within these schools, international education and peace activities coexisted with these changes and challenges. As chapter two noted, Mark E. Lincicome has explored Japan's

---

[3] On the Eiwa schools, see, for example, A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3050225, and Patricia Sippel, "Surviving Japanese Militarism: Canadian Educators at a Christian Girls' School," *Ajia Bunka Kenkyū* 38, (2012): 31-45, http://id.nii.ac.jp/1130/00002835/. See also Takaaki Haraguchi, "David B. Schneder's Idea of Christian Education and its Implementation in Face of the Nationalistic Education in Modern Japan," in *Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea: Historical Studies*, eds. Yuko Watanabe, Scott W. Sunquist, Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Tze Ming Ng and Chong Ku Paek (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2009), 89-98 for a discussion of Tohoku Gakuin.

[4] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 124.

[5] Noriko Ishii, "Difficult Conversations Across Religions, Race and Empires: American Women Missionaries and Japanese Christian Women during the 1930s and 1940s," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 24, (2017): 379, DOI: 10.1163/18765610-02404004.

[6] Hans Martin Krämer, "The Prewar Roots of "Equality of Opportunity": Japanese Educational Ideals in the Twentieth Century," *Monumenta Nipponica* 61, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 522, 523, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25066465.

organized international education movement which ceased after the 1931 Manchurian Incident.[7] This study reveals spaces and individuals through which international education was actively practiced throughout the 1930s by Eiwa women and youth. Student intellectual output and records of school activities illuminate phenomenon which occurred within the Eiwa schools and the wider network. Thus, this study includes mission school students as participants in this work for, and conceptualization of, international understanding. In doing so, it explores not only the role adults envisioned and encouraged for youth, but also how young people conceptualized this period in their own words. Sabine Frühstück has examined how children were viewed as representing peace, innocence, and future friendship after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War.[8] Koresawa Hiroaki has explored young women ambassadors sent to Manchuria in 1932 when "[t]hrough a so-called "child diplomacy" of children and young women, the state tried to advance mutual understanding between Japan and Manchuria."[9] This thesis reveals a non-diplomatic encounter through which an intergenerational network of women instituted and engaged in activities focused on international learning and understanding within a physical and intellectual transnational community.

Eiwa students' words facilitate a deeper understanding of their agency, experiences, connectivity to wider society, and how they conceptualized and interpreted the education they received, and how they navigated this period. They also demonstrate how young women took part in this effort for international understanding by discussing issues and communicating with

[7] Mark E. Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (May 1999): 339, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2659400.

[8] Sabine Frühstück, *Playing War: Children and the Paradoxes of Modern Militarism in Japan* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 107.

[9] Koresawa Hiroaki and Emily B. Simpson (translator), "Children and the Founding of Manchukuo: The Young Girl Ambassadors as Promoters of Friendship," in *Child's Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, eds. Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 122, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w8h25q.11.

other young women across national borders. Further, they reveal the significance of the education practiced within these schools. Mona Gleason asks: "What precisely qualifies as an expression of children's agency or of children's voices – which are not of course always spoken or written?"[10] One area through which Eiwa student voices are revealed is in the context of their education; through essays, reports, and speech transcripts found in school publications.[11] While methodological issues related to utilizing these sources will be discussed later, these sources shed light on interpretations and results of Eiwa education through the words of period actors, including students. While this thesis focuses on the 1930s, examples from the 1910s and 1920s conceptualize how this main period of analysis developed.

This chapter thus reveals spaces where, and methods through which international learning and peace education were actively practiced in 1930s Japan by adult and young women of these mission schools. It analyzes the type of peace and international understanding these actors envisioned, and how this related to their worldviews. Students conceptualized and put into words their ideas on peace and international understanding. Operating within these spaces, Eiwa educators actively chose activities and certain aspects of curriculum to institute, visitors to invite and welcome, international women's organizations to manifest for student participation, the kind of connections to be built, and methods of communication across nations to be practiced. They appear to have chosen consciously, based on how they envisioned their network, members, schools, and education impacting the world of the future. Their efforts influenced the construction of their schools' education, environment, and network growth. As such, the intellectual landscape actors created through these phenomena deepens our understanding of

[10] Mona Gleason, "Avoiding the agency trap: caveats for historians of children, youth, and education," *History of Education* 45, no. 4 (2016): 457, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2016.1177121.

[11] This chapter utilizes Alumnae Association Reports (*Dōsō*(*kai*) *Kaihō*) of the three Eiwa schools, and Tōyō Eiwa's *Kaede*.

education and intellectual life in this period.

3.2 Nationalism, Christianity, and Education at Christian Schools in 1930s Japan

Imperial nationalism played a key role in the historical context of the 1930s. Studies on nationalism, Mark E. Lincicome explains, "portray the first two decades of the Meiji period, between 1868 and 1890, as the era when a modern national consciousness merged with a revivified nativist identity to form an "emperor-centered nationalism" that was institutionalized and propagated by the state, chiefly through a newly established compulsory, centralized school system."[12] However, Lincicome argues such an interpretation "reifies nationalism, education, and the state, and treats the relationships among them as static and unchanging. As a result, it tends to overlook, downplay, or dismiss evidence of challenges to the status quo."[13] Indeed, this study deepens our understanding of education and nationalism by elucidating how aspects of international education coexisted with nationalism in a dynamic intellectual and educational landscape. While it does not argue all Eiwa actors resisted nationalism nor the later war effort, and personal experiences and opinions would likely have varied greatly, it reveals *how* and *why* international and peace education were practiced by women within this intellectual environment.

This thesis utilizes the period voices of largely little-known Eiwa students, teachers, and alumnae. "In Japan, women do not have any voice in political affairs, but they have always had other means of influence. [Womanhood] is a strong force for international peace," Kawai Michi reportedly stated in a 1935 talk in California.[14] While the Japanese students and women explored in this study, too, would have lacked official political power, they voiced their opinions

[12] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 338.
[13] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 339.
[14] "Japanese Woman Educator Pleads for Understanding," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 25 Feb, 1935, 4.

in school activities and assignments, and in their school's internal intellectual forum. Their roles in the period intellectual landscape have been largely missed by studies which focus on missionaries and high-level school staff, or high-profile male Japanese educators in prominent, state-level institutions, and those which focus on institutional history and state curriculum. Further, previous mission school studies have focused on changes and challenges necessary to overcome to survive war time. Education took place through both extra-curricular activities and curricular learning. By including students, teachers, alumnae, and *extra*-curricular activities, a dynamic landscape of 1930s intellectual life emerges which reveals how actors experienced and navigated this period, and worked to widen their network, and increase communication and international knowledge in the face of these challenges.

According to Yukiko Koshiro, during war the Japanese media "updated their readers with relatively accurate information on political dynamics in Europe and Asia. This is contrary to the conventional image of a wartime Japanese public kept in the dark and fed only government propaganda."[15] The compositions in this chapter also demonstrate some Eiwa students were aware of international and domestic issues. Shizuoka Eiwa student Tashiro Yuriko stated in 1927 she felt the education at Shizuoka Eiwa "has given us knowledge that has helped us to understand something of the world in which we live," suggesting what Tashiro learned at school helped her and her peers understand and conceptualize wider issues impacting their lives.[16] Delving into what was taught and practiced at school, as well as including their own words, sheds light on how students conceptualized and navigated this period.

---

[15] Yukiko Koshiro, "Eurasian Eclipse: Japan's End Game in World War II," *The American Historical Review* 109, no. 2 (2004): 430, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/530338.

[16] Tashiro Yuriko, "Valedictory," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, Shinchiku Kinen ed., no. 31 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1927), 34.

As schools functioned as "important sites of nationalization" in the pre-WWII period in Japan, it was necessary for the Eiwa schools to adapt to imperialism, nationalism, and state pressures. Religion was significant to the state due to its ability to "extend its reach and influence into the most intimate and private spaces of its subjects' lives," explains Emily Anderson.[17] Further, "focusing on Christian efforts to assert an alternative vision for their nation can unveil how religion served as a critical and ambivalent site for determining the definition of an ideal imperial subject."[18] While teaching young Japanese imperial subjects, Anderson argues "schools became the principal sites through which Christians were relegated to the position of potential subversives who could undermine the integrity of the Japanese state."[19] As school activities would, in part, have reflected the worldview and goals of the wider community, they can further reveal how actors concretely worked to achieve their visions for Japan and their wider transnational network.

The 1930s presented significant challenges to Japanese Christian schools. After the Manchurian incident of 1931, "the Japanese empire began its long but definite path toward total war, and this drastically transformed the rules that governed the world in which … all Japanese subjects, lived."[20] Benjamin Uchiyama recognizes "a virulent xenophobic ideology" from the early 1930s which "restrict[ed] cultural activities."[21] Indeed, the Japanese state did not "accept criticism" about its version of "the correctness of the aim of the war," and it used the mass media to push this.[22] The Eiwa schools were visited by military personnel in the 1930s, students

[17] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 31, 19.
[18] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 16.
[19] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 31.
[20] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 213.
[21] Benjamin Uchiyama, *Japan's Carnival War: Mass Culture on the Home Front, 1937–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 12, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1017/9781316899823.
[22] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi* (Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin, 1969), 206.

attended military talks and activities, and were eventually mobilized for the war effort through such activities as farming, factory work, and sewing.[23] School publications discussed the war effort, and as chapter two explored, curricular subjects such as civics taught students about citizenship, political and social life, cooperation, and public service.[24]

Under State Shintō or *Kokka Shintō*, Shintō shrine visits as well, deemed a "suprareligious" action according to A. Hamish Ion, became mandatory.[25] Shizuoka Eiwa students visited the *shōkonsha* (shrine for spirits of the war dead), students at Yamanashi Eiwa visited Kōfu's Takeda Shrine, and Tōyō Eiwa students Meiji Shrine in Tokyo.[26] By 1940, the Ministry of Education called for all 'foreign' school names, or names with 'Eiwa' (*Ei* meaning English/England, *Wa* meaning Japan) in them to be changed. Shizuoka Eiwa changed its name to Seiryō Kōtō Jogakkō that year.[27] Tōyō Eiwa changed its name's *Ei* character to one with the same pronunciation but meaning eternity, and Yamanashi Eiwa, to *Ei* meaning glory.[28] Further, "[i]nternational tensions increased official antipathy for foreign morals, and there were efforts

[23] See, for example, Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi* (Shizuoka: Gakkō Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, 1990), 506-507. A 1932 army tank military exercise field trip for Shizuoka Eiwa students is one activity example. See "Kaisō Ichinen: Nishi no naka yori," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 36 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1932), 29. Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi* (Tokyo: Gakkō Hōjin Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984), 327-328, 362-369.

[24] For example, the 1939 issue of Tōyō Eiwa's *Kaede* publication included compositions on "The current time of crisis and girls' preparedness," and "Soldiers." See Watanabe Hirono, "Hijōjikyoku to Josei no Kakugo," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 9 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1939), 22-24, and Wada Seiko, "Heitaisan," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 9 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1939), 26-28, Frances Gertrude Hamilton, Notebook, Undated, Source ID 1201822325, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan, n.p. [35] While the notebook does not have page numbers, I have provided numbers for reference.

[25] Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 5. On State Shintō, see Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[26] "Gakkō Tayori," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai/Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Kaihō/Dōsōkaihō [Report/Bulletin/Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 42 (Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 15, Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 292, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 346.

[27] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 620.

[28] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 621.

to uproot from the Japanese language imported words such as *mama* and *papa*" as "the state launched a drive to purify the language, which had been permeated with English and other Western language expressions for decades."[29]

Emily Anderson explains that with mobilization for total war, "[t]he same logic that drove the new censorship regulations intruded into spaces of education, and the state renewed its efforts to impose patriotic and militaristic curricula, now even in Christian schools that thus far had managed to avoid such pressure."[30] A key educational imperial object was the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education or *Kyōiku Chokugo*, "a text that came to be revered as holy writ."[31] Helen Hardacre explains it "became the pillar of prewar Japan's ethics and morality. Its supercharged symbolic value exceeded by far the prestige and authority of anything but the emperor himself."[32]

The *goshinei* or imperial portrait, and cabinets or buildings to house the portrait (*hoanko* or *hoanden* respectively) were installed in schools, the latter of which L. Halliday Piel terms the "campus shrine."[33] Noriko Ishii notes "the act of receiving the gift of Imperial Portraits in a fireproof repository at the educational institutions became a symbolic sign to demonstrate the loyalty of the school to the government."[34] These portraits were first distributed in 1882.[35] After a 1935 inquiry from the Ministry of Education on why they had not yet installed an imperial portrait, in 1938 the three Eiwa schools decided acceptance was necessary; this occurred in

[29] Gregory James Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 139, Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, 3rd ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 217.

[30] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 214.

[31] Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*, 108.

[32] Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*, 122.

[33] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 641-644, L. Halliday Piel, "The School Diary in Wartime Japan: Cultivating morale and self-discipline," *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no. 4 (July 2019): 1005, DOI: 10.1017/S0026749X17000439.

[34] Ishii, "Difficult Conversations Across Religions, Race and Empires," 380.

[35] Hardacre, *Shintō and the State*, 108.

1939. Tōyō Eiwa installed a *hōanko* which staff monitored day and night.[36] Yamanashi Eiwa constructed a *hoanden*.[37] The *goshinei* was expected to be treated with the utmost respect and caution to ensure its safety, and students "were required to bow reverently before the enclosed portraits and rescript every morning when they came to school and again when they left to return home."[38] The Yamanashi Eiwa *Hachijū Nenshi* (Eighty Year History) argues following the Manchurian Incident, Japanese state education was to "rear 'loyal subjects' who would defend Japan's national polity [*kokutai*] in time of crisis."[39] Limiting English instruction, in line with censorship on English words noted above, was also considered necessary in this period.[40]

However, even in the 1930s, the Eiwa schools were spaces of cultural interaction, international education, transnational communication, and network building across national boundaries. This suggests an internal intellectual environment that, although following necessary curricular standards, differed from teachings in and the experience of government high schools.[41] For example, in 1932, a student who had transferred to Shizuoka Eiwa from a public school stated Shizuoka Eiwa's teachers should not stand at the same level as the Imperial Rescript on Education during ceremonies, because the Rescript was the words of the emperor.[42] This shows Shizuoka Eiwa school practices varied in some ways from what this student had experienced outside the institution. It was also reported that some newly appointed Tōyō Eiwa

---

[36] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 322-323.

[37] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 284.

[38] Mark Lincicome, "In the Shadow of the Asia-Pacific War: Rewriting the History of Education and Childhood in Modern Japan," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 7, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 488, DOI: 10.1353/hcy.2014.0045.

[39] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 238.

[40] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 640.

[41] As chapter two noted, English and Bible study were two areas of difference between Christian and government school curriculum.

[42] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin 80 Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hachijū Nenshi: 1887-1967 [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Eighty Year History: 1887-1967]* (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, 1971), 247. I discussed this student's views in my 2016 Kyoto Prefectural University master's thesis: '*God and Patriotism: Mission School Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakkō in Pacific War-era Japan*.'

teachers, "just like social conditions at that time emphasized ultranationalism, and it was felt this was different from the mission school atmosphere up until then. The characteristic brightness and calm warmness and other good points of [Tōyō] Eiwa were being lost, and the school was changing to an uneasy state."[43] Thus, in the early 1940s, the environment of Tōyō Eiwa reportedly changed as new teachers began to work at the school.[44] This suggests some tension and variance between what had been institutionalized prior to the early 1940s, including in individuals, and changes to the schools from outside.

Emily Anderson argues "[a]s the Japanese empire increasingly demanded that its subjects express their loyalty through narrowly prescribed State Shintō and the emperor-centered ideology it buttressed, other forms of belief … posed a significant challenge." [45] The international reach of the Eiwa network was outlined in chapter one. Indeed, a "challenge that Christians posed to the state … lay in their link to an international community and allegiance to an alternative set of values and beliefs."[46] Especially in periods of conflict, "[t]heir allegiance to a foreign god prevented them from possessing undivided loyalty, which was vital to the nation's survival."[47] The Eiwa schools and Eiwa actors were linked to international figures and organizations. According to Fred Ainsworth, even as late as 1938, Shizuoka Eiwa "reported that one-fifth of the graduates have either set up Christian homes or are engaged in some kind of Christian work," despite Christianity's perceived challenge to the state in this period.[48]

Supranational Christian allegiance was discussed in Christian periodicals. *The Christian Advocate* wrote in 1920: "A Christian man knows that in the realm of conscience he is

[43] Mori Nobuko, Memoir, Contributed to the *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, Undated, Source ID 1201600051, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan, 1, 4.
[44] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 361.
[45] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 16.
[46] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 19.
[47] Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism*, 60.
[48] Fred Ainsworth, "The 1938 Japan Mission Council," *The New Outlook* 14, no. 15 (15 Apr, 1938): 364.

accountable to a tribunal which transcends the state. He acknowledges laws ... eternal in the mind of God."[49] Later, "[t]he Church is a divine institution, super-class, super-national," and "[m]embers of the Church profess their loyalty to God in Jesus Christ, and maintain that such loyalty must take precedence over any other," *The United Church Observer* argued in September and October of 1939.[50] Further, Lillian E. Westill wrote in November of 1939: "Our loyalty to God and Christ's teaching comes first."[51] Such sentiments reveal why there may have been concern over the possible primacy of Christian beliefs over state interests. They also suggest why Eiwa actors sought to connect women across national boundaries using Christianity as a point of commonality and connection, despite national and even racial differences.

Other aspects which impacted Eiwa school life were social expectations for women and state regulations on women's education. The Japanese government released the "Regulations for the Opening of Girls' Schools" in 1871, "according to which girls between eight and fifteen years old who could afford it would study in *jogakkō* [girls' schools] five hours a day," as part of such "sweeping changes relating to women's learning."[52] According to the 1872 *Gakusei* or Fundamental Code of Education, "the newly organized system aimed to abolish, at least nominally, educational inequalities, openly decreeing that education was for everybody, women

[49] "Fraternal Message from Canadian Methodism: Address Delivered to the General Conference by Dr. T. Albert Moore, Fraternal Delegate from the Methodist Church of Canada," *The Christian Advocate* 95, no. 22 (27 May, 1920): 725.

[50] "The Church in a State at War," *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 15 (1 Oct, 1939): 4, "The Church in a State at War," *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 14 (15 Sept, 1939): 4.

[51] Lillian E. Westill, "The Church and War: Our First Loyalty Is To God," *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 18 (15 Nov, 1939): 16.

[52] Mara Patessio, *Women and Public Life in Early Meiji Japan: The Development of the Feminist Movement* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 41, https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.9340032, Garrett L. Washington, "Christianity and "True Education": Yasui Tetsu's Contribution to Women's Education in Imperial Japan," in *Christianity and the Modern Woman in East Asia*, ed. Garrett L. Washington (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 138, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9789004369108.

included."[53] Six years of education was compulsory by 1910.[54] Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings explain "the family was an essential building block of the national structure and ... the management of the household was increasingly in women's hands."[55] Women were expected to create large families, and during war-time to join "government-sponsored patriotic associations" and take part in "food rationing and fire drills."[56] The commitment of the women in this study to their work is striking given social expectations. As chapter one noted, WMS missionary Frances Gertrude Hamilton argued concrete action was necessary to address current social issues.[57] Rather than intellectually idealizing peace and international friendship, many of these actors spent their lives engaged in women's education and Christian work, promoting international education, studying in foreign countries, building this network, and attempting to support and ensure its interconnected future through school and alumnae activities.

Some leaders of the official Japanese international education movement (*kokusai kyōiku undō*, occurring approximately between the Russo-Japanese War and the 1931 Manchurian Incident), took part in the 'new education' movements chapter two explored which "raised their own challenges to state-controlled education."[58] Mark E. Lincicome has analyzed the movement through actors in "the field of education: … teachers, administrators, officials, journalists."[59] These included Noguchi Entarō, educator and director of the International

[53] Patessio, *Women and Public Life in Early Meiji Japan*, 40.

[54] Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 157, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02398.

[55] Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women," 171.

[56] Yoshiko Miyake, "Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work Under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 271-272, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02398.

[57] F. G. Hamilton, "Dear Friends:–," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō/Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsokai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1931), 76.

[58] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 339. 'New education' or *shinkyōiku* was explored in chapter two.

[59] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 340.

Education Society of Japan, Izumi Tetsu (1873-1943), a Christian instructor at Meiji University and imperial university in Seoul, Shimonaka Yasaburō (1878-1961), a primary school teacher and head of Japan's first teachers union, and Sawayanagi Masatarō, a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University who served as principal of the First Higher School and vice-minister of education among other high-profile posts.[60] As noted above, Lincicome explains Japan's official international education movement ceased after 1931. However, what if the lens is shifted from men to women, from prominent state institutions to Christian girls' schools, and from an official national organization to activities of individual schools, and lesser-known historical actors? The Eiwa school experience challenges our existing understanding of international education in 1930s Japan. Eiwa actors practiced international education and peace activities in the 1930s through curricular learning, extra-curricular group activities, and mutual exchange across the East-West divide, focusing on women and youth and their role in an envisioned future through Christianity, commonalities, understanding, and interconnection.

3.3 Conceptualizing Period Intellectual Trends: Women, Youth, and Peace Education

The intellectual landscape of the 1930s also included calls for international peace, and an emphasis on women, youth, and (peace) education. This further contextualizes the environment in which Eiwa actors were operating. It contributes to an understanding of how actors in this study saw themselves and the role of their gender more broadly in this narrative, and why certain activities were instituted. For some individuals, the call for peace was gendered, with an emphasis on women's responsibility to work for peace within institutionalized state structures which had allowed war to occur. Christianity and the education of young people featured

[60] See Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 346, 347, 349, and 352 respectively.

prominently as well. This section explores these trends, and Eiwa school activities related to peace and international learning, forms of education which were in fact intertwined and worked toward connected goals. Kawai Michi's Keisen Jogakuen girls' school will serve as another example of peace education through international learning.

There was an established intellectual landscape in Japan within which these actors were operating. Sho Konishi argues "[t]he *Hisen undō*, or what I have translated as the "Nonwar Movement," emerged in the critique of the [Russo-Japanese] war. The movement is viewed today as a watershed moment for antimilitarism and has served as an inspirational model for peace movements in Japan ever since."[61] Further, the *Heimin Shinbun* (Commoner's News) newspaper had been founded in 1903.[62] Konishi explains the newspaper's "criticism of the war was for many women readers the first time they had encountered a women's position on political and international events. As a result, Japanese women's identification with the politics of gender was heavily shaped by the position of the newspaper on international relations."[63] The magazine *Sekai Fujin* (Women of the World) was also founded in 1907 by Japanese feminist pioneers covering, for example, "news of suffrage and peace movements of women in other countries."[64] The period around the Russo-Japanese War thus saw Japanese women's gendered identification with international developments through print which turned a critical eye to conflict.

Some discussions of peace distinguished between masculine and feminine roles. Taeko Shibahara explains "activism for world peace emerged as an urgent and critical international

[61] Sho Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 143, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9781684175314.
[62] Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 133.
[63] Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity*, 164.
[64] Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 133.

women's rights issue between the world wars."[65] The Western women's rights movement viewed women as having a responsibility "to create a humanitarian civilization beyond national boundaries," problematizing "masculine consciousness as the common root of obstructions to peace and equality."[66] According to Harriet Hyman Alonso, "[t]he need to develop a separate women's culture has been part of the feminist peace movement ... designed to differentiate it from the masculine."[67] Further emphasizing such a distinction between the masculine and feminine and their perceived differing roles and responsibilities, "feminist peace activists," Alonso explains, "questioned the wisdom and the intensions of the male power structure," believing women to be "naturally peaceful."[68] In this way, "[w]orld peace has been interpreted through women's eyes, in women's images, and with women's needs in mind."[69]

Periodicals discussed Christianity within this narrative. Clotilda L. McDowell wrote in 1917 on The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches:

> We urge our members, because they are Christian women, to give sympathetic attention to this new movement. ... There can be no permanent friendship between nations apart from Jesus Christ[.] ... Love like His for all mankind must be the foundation of any real and lasting peace. … The World Alliance brings the call to all Christian women to unite their efforts to help in bringing about such a feeling of friendship between nations that war and bloodshed will be impossible in the years to come.[70]

In a WWII example, Marion Catto wrote in 1940 on the perceived power and potential of women across national boundaries to utilize their voices to actively work for peace:

---

[65] Taeko Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement before World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), 58, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4v5b.

[66] Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement*, 9, 59.

[67] Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 261.

[68] Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue*, 55.

[69] Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue*, 261.

[70] Clotilda L. McDowell, "The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches," *Woman's Missionary Friend* 49, no. 3 (March 1917): 93.

> But how can we build peace? That must be left for statesmen, full of international wisdom. Of course it's for statesmen, but it's for women too. And I'll whisper you the secret. Propaganda. Propaganda for a just, enduring peace. You know, one woman vocal is a fearsome thing. Multiply that by ten. Multiply it by a hundred. Multiply it by a thousand. When a thousand women are spreading that propaganda among a thousand other women, do you know how many that makes? And I don't mean just among Canadian women. ... It's international.[71]

In 1939, *The United Church Observer* periodical wrote: "A few things stand out crystal clear in the gloom of the present tragic situation. One is that war settles nothing. … In the second place, we as Christians, … must not lose sight of the fact that the Church … cannot be identified with any narrow nationalism. In Christ all distinctions of race, colour[,] or kind disappear. All are sons and daughters of the one Heavenly Father."[72] The view that Christianity was supranational, transcended such boundaries, and was necessary for peace likely impacted the views, movement, and development of the Eiwa actors this thesis explores. Robert A. Wright argues such was the case for church leaders: "At the heart of the vision of a Christian international order that gripped the imaginations of Canadian church leaders in the 1920s and 1930s was the belief that Christ alone embodied the ideals of brotherhood, peace, and justice, and that the implementation of these ideals ... was impossible without God's special guidance."[73] And as Abigail Green argues, "religious organisations were key players in some of the most dynamic arenas of internationalist activity, such as refugee relief and the peace movement, and many of the leading figures associated with internationalism were spurred on,

[71] Marion Catto, "Of Interest To Women: Peace With Justice: For Women Only," *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 21 (1 Jan, 1940): 22.

[72] "The Church and War," *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 13 (1 Sept, 1939): 4.

[73] Robert A. Wright, *World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 4, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3330978.

above all, by their religious commitments."[74] It will be evident later in this chapter that religion featured prominently in some of these actor's conceptualizations of peace.

Japanese women's peace organizations were formed in this period. The Women's Peace Association or *Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai*, the Japan section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was founded in 1921 by "Japanese and American Christian women, or those with a Christian background," including Kawai Michi.[75] Women of the WILPF Japan section "[entertained] foreign visitors, … [promoted] friendship with women in China," and "promoted peace and international education in schools by advising the government to use textbooks that did not include militaristic and nationalistic language."[76] The International Friendship section of the YWCA and the Peace Section of the WCTU (Women's Christian Temperance Union or *Kyōfūkai*) were also active in Japan.[77]

The actors in this study were thus operating within an intellectual landscape stemming from developments during the Russo-Japanese War and following World War I, and women's and Christian organizations in Japan and the West. Taeko Shibahara notes on the women's peace movement involving such groups as the WILPF: "It was thought that while men, as citizens of nations, worked within the framework of national interests, women, excluded from the decision-making process in national politics and thereby excluded from full citizenship, identified themselves as citizens of the world."[78] Some actors discussed war as a creation of the male state-level power structure, and believed they, as women and Christians, were responsible

---

[74] Abigail Green, "Religious Internationalisms," in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 17, DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.003.

[75] Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement*, 60.

[76] Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement*, 74-75.

[77] Michi Kawai and Ochimi Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America* (Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934), 175-176, https://hdl.handle.net/2144/600. Chapter one explored WCTU peace work.

[78] Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement*, 59.

to work for peace. For example, the views of Tsuda Umeko (1864-1929), who Linda Johnson explains was the "founder of one of the first private institutions of higher education for women in Japan, leader in English-language instruction in Japan, author, and first president of the Tokyo YWCA," with "a network of ... contacts in the United States and Great Britain" was touched on by Mary Nitobe (1857-1938).[79] Nitobe wrote Tsuda "believed from the first that Japanese women should assume responsibility for the problems of their country and that a special task fell upon those who called themselves Christians. She believed in the cooperation of the Japanese with people from other countries."[80]

Kawai Michi and Kubushiro Ochimi wrote on an article in *The Christian Graphic* periodical on a 1931 International Prayer Day conference entitled 'Christian Women Builders of Peace: Men Make War, Women Must End War.' Kawai began the event by stating women must be "redeeming sacrifices" for their nations.[81] Kubushiro argued in her address, "[i]t is at least clear that the three hundred thousand Christians in Japan ought to speak out clearly against war. We must all be ready to sacrifice ourselves[.] … We can no longer leave this matter to a few leaders. We must each one of us agonize in prayer until the really Christian solution is given."[82] President of the Christian Women's Federation, Tomi Furuta (who presided over the event) continued: "If the nation has lost its soul, we who are its mothers must enable Japan to rediscover its soul, through honest, humble, loving and united prayer."[83] To these women,

---

[79] Linda Johnson, "Tsuda Umeko and a transnational network supporting women's higher education in Japan during the Victorian era," *American Educational History Journal* 37, no. 2 (2010): 473, 474, *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/scholarly-journals/165odle-umeko-transnational-network-supporting/docview/867849500/se-2?accountid=13042.

[80] Mary Nitobe, "Reminiscences of the Tokyo Y.W.C.A," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 1 Mar, 1931, 4.

[81] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 173. Kawai and Kubushiro did not record details of *The Christian Graphic* issue/article they quoted.

[82] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 173-174.

[83] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 171, 174. Kawai and Kubushiro note on page 11 of *Japanese Women Speak* that Tomi Furuta studied at Aoyama School in Tokyo and in the United States and took part in Methodist evangelistic work.

Christianity and women's work were necessary to realize peace in Japan through prayer and Christians speaking out against war. This event was part of International Prayer Day. "The Women's International Prayer Day," Kawai and Kubushiro explained, "was inaugurated in March, 1930. The fourth annual meeting, on March 3, 1933, at the Union Church in Tokyo, was the occasion for consolidating a united will to peace among the one hundred and seventy women who attended. These represented Japan, Canada, England and the United States, and almost all of the Protestant denominations in Yokohama and Tokyo."[84]

A distinction was also drawn by some actors between the Japanese state and Japanese people. In 1921, *The Missionary Review of the World* periodical claimed: "The Japanese Christians … deny that Japan is a militaristic nation, since the people as a whole desire only peace and friendly relationship with other nations."[85] Separating individuals and state-level relationships, Kawai and Kubushiro wrote in 1934: "We may have good friends among other nationalities, but it is almost impossible for us as a nation to be good friends with other nations. This is the state of mind of the majority of our people; but there is also … a strong current of world ideas, world co-operation, world outlook, world peace, flowing mightily and rapidly in the midst of the nation."[86] Finally, "our desire was to keep up our Christian fellowship whatever might happen in the political world," Kawai wrote in 1950.[87] Although these statements generalized and were subjective, actors wrote of personal responsibility and considered their actions as separate from those of the state and politics. This was also a reality for Japanese women lacking political rights at the time.

---

[84] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 26. This geographical conceptualization linked Japan with the (Christian) West through transnational religious practice.

[85] "Editorial Comment: Missions and Peace in Japan," *The Missionary Review of the World* 44, no. 1 (January 1921): 4.

[86] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak,* 167.

[87] Michi Kawai, *Sliding Doors* (Tokyo: Keisen Jogakuen, 1950), 9.

Gender featured in this distinction as well. In 1922, Moriya Azuma of the Japan WCTU argued women in Japan were "peace loving … in contrast to the widely perceived notion" that "Japan is a state of militarist men."[88] An interesting take on the potential of women's voices came from Tagawa Daikichiro, president of Meiji Gakuin. When commenting on a 1933 girls' peace essay contest, Tagawa "said that things which men were not free to say were expressed by these girls," describing a gendered difference between who felt able to discuss peace in this period.[89] This view may also help explain why the female actors in this study were able and felt compelled and responsible to discuss peace and institute activities focused on international learning in a tense and nationalistic period. They likely recognized an opportunity, importance, and responsibility in their gender, and consequently instituted methods of working for their personal and wider community goals through their careers and social activities.

Eiwa students also discussed women's perceived role and responsibility. In 1931, Shizuoka Eiwa student Yukie Takagi stated: "[Today] many around us are sinking in seas of distress and suffering[.] To such, we want to stretch out a helping hand and show forth [something] of Christ's love and sympathy. We feel we must do our parts in the work, that [today], *women* must undertake … the reconstruction of social and public life and [lift] our beloved land to a higher place of righteousness." [emphasis added][90] Connections can thus be drawn between the intellectual output of students and Japanese women in the wider Christian community. Some of these women, such as Moriya Azuma, Kawai Michi, and Kubushiro

[88] Moriya Azuma, "Heiwa no Tabi Ni Shitagōte [Attended on a Peace Pilgrimage]," *Fujin Shinpō [Woman's Herald],* no. 293, Feb, 1922, 20, quoted in and translated by Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement*, 72.

[89] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak,* 179.

[90] Yukie Takagi, "Valedictory Address," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 36 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1932), 34. I discussed this student's essay (and Uemura Yasue's which follows) in my 2016 master's thesis. In this English address, Takagi wrote her name starting with her first name.

Ochimi had visited the Eiwa schools and engaged in collective activities, revealing interconnected historical experiences and intellectual connectivity across age groups. Including students creates an intergenerational discussion. Although young people lacked power in the public arena, they used their voices to intellectually conceptualize and navigate this period.

Another point of convergence was in terminology utilized to describe and write about one's historical experience. For example, in 1933, Yamanashi Eiwa students had a talk on '*hijōji*', and as we will see below, a Yamanashi Eiwa student's 1938 speech was entitled 'Women in/of an Extraordinary Time/A Time of Crisis' (*Hijōjika no Josei).* Sharalyn Orbaugh has referred to *hijōji* as "a euphemistic way of referring to the war."[91] Kawai and Kubushiro wrote in 1934 that Japan was "thrown into a turmoil of political, economic, military and international entanglement. The word [*hijōji*], meaning "an extraordinary period" is on everyone's lips."[92]

Gregory J. Kazsa explains "[t]he economic and international crises of the 1930s afflicted many countries, stimulating political radicalism in society and prompting radical reactions from existing elites."[93] Two key events for Japan were the 1931 Manchurian Incident, and the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War.[94] This period also inspired feelings of responsibility to aid society. In her 1933 valedictory speech, Shizuoka Eiwa student Yasue Uemura wrote:

> There are many difficulties in this world today[;] economic depression, mental confusion, political unrest and many [social] problems. These are taxing the minds

[91] "Kōnai Kiji," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 8, Sharalyn Orbaugh, *Propaganda Performed: Kamishibai in Japan's Fifteen-Year War* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=4526175.

[92] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 5.

[93] Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan*, 157-158.

[94] See, for example, Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.00123, S. C. M. Paine, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895: Perceptions, Power and Primacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511550188.

> of the greatest statesmen to find a solution. But we feel that in order to heal the world's distress ... we [must] each take up our cross and love our neighbour as [ourselves] as Christ took the sins of the world upon Himself. Thus only by building up the kingdom of God will all mankind be saved. ... Although our situations in life may be different[,] our purpose is one to [endeavour] to give service of love to those about us and shed light in the darkness.[95]

As chapter one and two explored, service was a central aspect of Eiwa school activities. This culture of service may have inspired Uemura's sentiments. Kawai and Kubushiro's words from 1934 are similar: "Christians in Japan stand in a position to show the nation a clear and definite path of duty according to the principles by which Christ would have them led under such conditions. ... And the Christians, not only of Japan, but all over the world, have a heavy responsibility on their shoulders to offer a Christian solution to this problem."[96]

Education was considered significant and powerful in the effort for peace. Women's potential in this was related to ascribed and perhaps self-identified roles including raising and teaching young people. Edith Scamman wrote in 1918: "Christian women who believe that the spirit of Christian brotherhood is the only real solution to the grave problems which are ... confronting the whole world, must see to it that this spirit is instilled into the minds and hearts of the children."[97] Indeed, as Akira Iriye noted on cultural internationalism in the 1920s: "It was widely recognized that ultimately internationalism must be built upon the education of more cosmopolitan, less narrowly nationalistic, individuals in all countries," and "the internationalists believed that … education, the right kind of education at all levels, was of critical importance."[98]

---

[95] Yasue Uemura, "Veledictory [sic] Address," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 37 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1933), 50. In this English address, Uemura wrote her name starting with her first name.

[96] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 39.

[97] Edith Scamman, "Woman's Home Mission Bulletin [Section Ed. O.R. Judd]: Interests among Children," *The Missionary Review of the World* 41, no. 3 (March 1918): 223.

[98] Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 72.

The New Outlook periodical outlined a 1925 example of peace education:

> To find a substitute for war and to make peace more glorious than war is the object of a proposal by Miss Katherine D. Blake, principal of one of the largest public schools in New York and chairman of the committee on education of the United States' section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Miss Blake believes that the ultimate success of the movement for world peace lies chiefly in the school room, for it is there that the youth of the world must be educated away from the old theory that the recourse to war in the settlement of disputes between nations is justifiable. … We are facing a new world, and there is a better way for settling international disputes[.] ... And to this end we would put away the symbols of war and everything that savors of militarism and train our boys, and girls as well, to be good citizens in a great federation of the world.[99]

This article allocated children roles as *world* citizens and agency in the effort for peace through non-violent means, and it recognized the importance of teachers conducting relevant training.

The 1930s appears to have been perceived as a period of increased importance for peace education through Christian schools in Japan. "Findings" of the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the Federation of Christian Missions (FCM) in the summer of 1932 in Karuizawa which were "to be taken ... as advisory actions on the part of this delegated body and a formal registry of missionary opinion" illustrate this.[100] The "Findings on "The Message of the Missionary to the Present Age" F.C.M. Annual Meeting, 1932" requested attendees to vote on "findings" including: 1) "We would especially emphasize the responsibility of all Christians for *new energy in peace education* and deeper sense of responsibility for trying to understand our environments, in order that we may better interpret men to other men in the light of Christ's teachings; and that his followers must follow him by loving their brothers as himself;" 2) "We

[99] "Editorial: The Peace Movement in the Schools," *The New Outlook* 1, no. 17 (30 Sept, 1925): 3.

[100] UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-5, Findings Adopted by the Federation of Christian Missions, n.p. While a page number was not recorded on this page, this appears to be page 385. This document also appears to have been part of *The Japan Christian Quarterly*, October 1932.

believe that Christians should be more outspoken against that type of nationalism which results in the fostering of loyalties which prevent creation of the consciousness of the solidarity of the human race;" and 3) "In keeping with these ideals we condemn every form of racial discrimination, recognizing that God hath made of one blood all equally entitled to sharing in all the gifts of God." [emphasis added][101]

And, as the "Findings on "The New Missionary Movement and the Home Church" F.C.M. Annual Meeting, 1932" stated: "We plead for *a new boldness* in condemning war, intense nationalism, ... and all such evils as are hindering the full development of the personality of all men, women, and children." [emphasis added][102] Such appeals for 'a new boldness,' and perhaps these findings themselves, may have impacted the views of the WMS missionaries and Japanese Eiwa actors involved in WMS work. This may also help explain why the 1930s saw a significant number of activities meant to connect young women across national boundaries and encourage the growth of international knowledge at the Eiwa schools and among Eiwa actors.

The perceived importance of youth was discussed in the 1930s by Japanese actors as well. "God lives and works, and if we educate the young aright, a different Japan will develop," a Mrs. Sakamoto said in a 1933 address for the World's Day of Prayer for Women in Tokyo.[103] "If women really wish world peace, they must plant the seeds of peace in the hearts of little children. We are young yet, but we ourselves should be ... continually sowing seeds of peace wherever we can," wrote a student from Kawai Michi's Keisen Jogakuen school in a prize-winning essay for Goodwill Day in 1933.[104] Further, in a 1935 address to the WILPF, the

[101] UCCA, Findings Adopted by the Federation of Christian Missions, 389.
[102] UCCA, Findings Adopted by the Federation of Christian Missions, 387.
[103] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 175.
[104] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 192-194. 'Goodwill Day' may have been referring to 'World Goodwill Day,' which chapter one explored.

WILPF Japan section stated: "[I]t seems … the real hope of peace must be in the youth of the world. If there can be raised up a generation of young people who will overstep the bounds of nationalism to form an international movement so firmly bound by ties of friendship that it can stand against the threats and hatreds of the older generations, then indeed may we hope for world peace."[105] In August of 1937, Managing Director of the International Women and Children's Society Tetsutaro Hasegawa wrote in *The Japan Times & Mail*: "A good understanding of customs and civilizations of the various nations of the world is essential to the cultivation of international friendship and universal peace. And to facilitate the matter we must implant the idea in women and children of every nation, because firstly the buds implanted in childhood will flourish as children grow," and because "women are playing an important role in bringing up the peaceful character of children."[106] Significant responsibility was placed on youth and those who were in general expected to rear and teach young people in the effort to develop a world structure which would address what this community saw as lacking in established institutions.

After a period of traveling around the world visiting educational institutions, among other activities, WMS missionary Frances Gertrude Hamilton wrote in 1940 after "attending young people's retreats in various countries, visiting colleges, speaking individually with students," Hamilton felt "no matter where in the world, young people are earnestly and ardently searching for truth, justice, and peace."[107] Hamilton continued: "Meeting youth from many countries and

[105] Letter from Gauntlett Tsune to WILPF, November 21, 1935, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers, 1915–1978, Reel 79, Frames 1986-1987, quoted in Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement*, 79.

[106] Tetsutaro Hasegawa, "World Friendship Through Women And Children," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 4 Aug, 1937, 5. Hasegawa noted this society was established in 1934. In this English article, Hasegawa wrote his name starting with his first name.

[107] F. G. Hamilton, "Sekai wo Mawarite," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 10 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1940), 3. This address was published in Japanese.

recalling the youth in Japan, I thought that the hopes of humanity rest solely on their shoulders. … To accept this challenge is the privilege and responsibility of today's young people."[108] Hamilton, too, emphasized the importance of youth education. It is possible the view that young people had a responsibility to work for peace influenced the pre-WWII curricular structure of Tōyō Eiwa which, according to chapter two's examination of a notebook compiled by Hamilton, appears to have included international learning in courses such as history and geography to counter narrow nationalism and create "internationally minded" students.[109]

Young people were viewed as important in the effort to create future peace by other groups as well. Sabine Frühstück explains print material on the First Sino-Japanese War depicted friendly scenes between children and Japanese soldiers which "seemed to suggest it was important to envision a time where peace would emerge, and that the task of creating that peace was assigned to children."[110] Frühstück argues between the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, the child was conceptualized as embodying "innocence and peace."[111] Children's "assumed innocence endowed them with moral authority, one untainted by adult society, politics, and war. That authority could make peace possible. … In short, children were given a triple message: they needed to be friends, they were the future, and they signified peace."[112] Kristine Alexander also notes that in writing on the Girl Guides in 1934, Robert Baden-Powell "stress[ed] the importance of creating personal ties between young people from different racial categories across national and colonial boundaries," and also "link[ed] children and youth with futurity and hope."[113] Young people were therefore important symbols and

[108] Hamilton, "Sekai wo Mawarite," 3.
[109] Hamilton, Notebook, n.p. [13, 17]
[110] Frühstück, *Playing War*, 132.
[111] Frühstück, *Playing War*, 107.
[112] Frühstück, *Playing War*, 132.
[113] Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 5.

targets for various groups based on their perceived role for future goals.

How did the actors in this study conceptualize *heiwa*/peace? Some students discussed it on a personal level and recognized the potential of the individual to start 'ripples' of peace. Indeed, according to Tuba Cengelci Kose and Omur Gurdogan Bayir, "[p]eace is not only a cultural element for societies but also a value for individuals."[114] For example, Yamanashi Eiwa student Serizawa Yasuko wrote in 1931: "The key to keep peace between friends forever is a selfless spirit," and "we need to connect all friendship issues to our relationship with God."[115] Considering peace as a concept between individuals as well as related to religion was a way students could concretely conceptualize and experience this abstract concept in daily life. Interactions between Western missionaries and Japanese students in school life is another example of this. However, as will be evident later from Eiwa student writings, peace was also considered as a concept relevant to nation-states and people of different countries as well.

Student discussed peace which transcended national borders, within personal relationships, and through communication, understanding, nonviolence, knowledge building, Christianity, personal/individual responsibility and power, tolerance, and love for others. These themes connect to the concept of positive peace. William C. Gay explains: "Within the field of Peace Studies the distinction between "positive peace" and "negative peace" is made very frequently. In brief, negative peace is defined as the mere absence of war, while positive peace is defined as also entailing the presence of justice."[116] Gay further contends that "hope and care"

[114] Tuba Cengelci Kose and Omur Gurdogan Bayir, "Perception of Peace in Students' Drawings," *Eurasian Journal of Educational Research* 65, (2016): 183, DOI: 10.14689/ejer.2016.65.11.

[115] Serizawa Yasuko, "Kami wo Chūshin to suru Yūjō," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1931), 85.

[116] William C. Gay, "Editorial Forward," in *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace Education, Nonviolence, and Social Change*, ed. Andrew Fitz-Gibbon (New York: Brill Rodopi, 2010), xv, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9789042029927.

and "nonviolent approaches," are two "major themes or approaches to the pursuit of positive peace."[117] Nonviolence was discussed by a Yamanashi Eiwa student whose essay be explored in the following section. Hope and care were symbolized through the institution of activities which in 1930s Japan would have required significant commitment and effort, and indeed hope in the success of one's endeavors.

Methods of achieving *heiwa* within the networking of this group and 1930s activities explored in this study suggest peace which was not only an absence of war. Conflict would ideally cease or be prevented, but that would occur through action. Actors in this study envisioned peace based on and achieved through Christianity, communication across state borders (specifically through women and youth, and in English), mutual exchange, and international learning. As we have seen, students were encouraged to communicate with youth of other nations, especially the West, and international educational mobility was facilitated for Eiwa alumnae to foster international understanding and personal experience. Narrow nationalism was also targeted through curriculum. And as will be evident in chapter four, YWCA activities facilitated communication across national boundaries. International learning was central: as Yamanashi Eiwa student Kitano Tomoko wrote after attending an 'international evening' at the 1933 YWCA summer retreat in Gotemba, Shizuoka: "I came to know that for international peace, one must know" other countries "well."[118] Through these activities, women worked for peace and international understanding through their careers and in their education. Key to this envisioned peace was identification with, and recognition and understanding of, a wide transnational community to counter narrow nationalism.

[117] Gay, "Editorial Forward," xv. Gay explains these themes are discussed by authors in the volume.
[118] Kitano Tomoko, in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 32.

Akira Iriye explains cultural internationalist activities occurred through, for example, "link[ing] countries and peoples through the exchange of ideas and persons."[119] Iriye argues cultural internationalists of the 1920s "agreed that the key to peace lay in cross-national understanding," and believed this "had to be built solidly upon active cooperation of cultural elites."[120] Rather than cultural elites, this study examines an intergenerational network of largely little-known historical actors who engaged in activities to facilitate cultural understanding and international learning between Japan and the West in the 1930s. According to Irina Gigova, within cultural internationalism in Eastern Europe, the Bulgarian section of the International PEN (originally Society for Poets, Essayists and Novelists) "exemplified the efforts of individuals and non-state actors to redefine international relations—long the realm of elite men—to their particular needs."[121] The group's activities "began to weave Bulgarian authors within broader European intellectual networks."[122] The non-state/non-diplomatic Eiwa network also engaged in intellectual, educational, religious, and professional network building across nations through Japanese and Western adult and young women.

Kawai Michi's conception of peace also included themes of personal relationships, communication, and cultural understanding. Educated at mission schools in Japan and Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, United States, Kawai was a Christian educator, proponent of international and peace education, and had been heavily involved in the formation of the Japan YWCA. Kawai wrote in 1950: "We glibly use the terms "international peace" or "international friendship[,"] but these are not easy matters. Patience, sympathy, and respect for one another,

[119] Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, 3.
[120] Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, 60.
[121] Irina Gigova, "The Bulgarian PEN Club: A Study in Interwar Cultural Internationalism," *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 34, no. 3 (August 2020): 688, 686, DOI: 10.1177/0888325419877681.
[122] Gigova, "The Bulgarian PEN Club," 693.

and a common standard of guidance must unite to make the foundation for friendship. Only on such friendship can a lasting, durable peace be constructed."[123] Kawai broke down the complex ideas of international peace into terms one could practice in daily life such as patience, respect, and friendship. According to Takeuchi Hisaaki, Kawai believed war occurred due to misperceptions and hatred, so it was necessary to become close to and to know others, to appreciate differences and view them with interest, and to love God and your neighbours, regardless of their ethnicity.[124]

Takeuchi Hisaaki explores how Kawai Michi was a proponent of peace education in the pre-WWII period.[125] This study reveals another example of peace and international education in the pre-WWII period, similarly with Christian women as agents. Takeuchi argues Kawai had the view she could "further international friendship through [her] students."[126] Takeuchi also summarizes Kawai's educational philosophy as "education for peace through international understanding based on Christian faith." [127] Kawai supervised the school's Bible and international courses; the latter used newspapers, photographs, books, and objects, and conducted exchange with foreigners. Students also published reports on peace in the school's *Keisen* magazine.[128] A 1931 *The Japan Times & Mail* article wrote as Kawai believed "the peace of the world can only come by the education of the child to a knowledge and understanding of the world," at Keisen Jogakuen "special emphasis is put on international education—that girls know what the League of Nations means; they are learning to know other countries, not as geographical places but as nations of people; they will correspond with girls in

[123] Kawai, *Sliding Doors*, 196.
[124] Takeuchi, "Senzen Senchū Nihon ni Okeru 'Heiwa to Kyōiku'," 48-49.
[125] Takeuchi, "Senzen Senchū Nihon ni Okeru 'Heiwa to Kyōiku'," 43-52.
[126] Takeuchi, "Senzen Senchū Nihon ni Okeru 'Heiwa to Kyōiku'," 50.
[127] Takeuchi, "Senzen Senchū Nihon ni Okeru 'Heiwa to Kyōiku'," abstract, 43.
[128] Takeuchi, "Senzen Senchū Nihon ni Okeru 'Heiwa to Kyōiku'," 50.

other countries, and finally they will learn what contribution Japan can make to the world."[129] Peace and international issues were discussed by Eiwa students as well. Students encountered foreign visitors, international learning was intertwined with peace education, and as will be evident below, students learned about the League of Nations.

The practice of international education and peace activities at the Eiwa schools and Keisen Jogakuen is striking given 1930s Japanese society and education was becoming increasingly nationalistic, and the official international education movement had ceased. These activities potentially impacted the ideas, connections, and development of students and alumnae. Monisha Bajaj and Belinda Chiu argue "peace education seeks to achieve human rights for all by transforming students into agents of change for greater equity and social justice."[130] Further, Joseph Rayle contends "[e]ducation is potentially a useful vector for creating a culture of peace."[131] One "key aspect of the ecological approach to peace education," Rayle explains, "is that it allows instructors to help students understand in a direct and salient manner how they connect to, and have a stake in, a culture of peace."[132] Peace education can thus involve students in social responsibility and the culture of peace by presenting a common community goal and recognizing the potential power of the individual in a much larger effort.

School activities would have been consciously instituted to address certain aims. Joseph Rayle explains: "We often conceive of peace as the absence of something such as violence or

[129] E. DE G., "Benefit Performance of Blue Bird To Be Given by New Theater Actors To Aid Miss Kawai's Girls' School," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 24 Jan, 1931, 1, 8.

[130] Monisha Bajaj and Belinda Chiu, "Education for Sustainable Development as Peace Education," *Peace & Change* 34, no. 4 (2009): 443, quoted in Merav Moshe Grodofsky, "Community-based human rights advocacy practice and peace education," *International Social Work* 55, no. 5 (September 2012): 741, DOI: 10.1177/0020872812448078.

[131] Joseph Rayle, "Peace Education: A Systemic Framework," in *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace Education, Nonviolence, and Social Change*, ed. Andrew Fitz-Gibbon (New York: Brill Rodopi, 2010), 61, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9789042029927.

[132] Rayle, "Peace Education," 62.

war, but not as an emergent property of a social and cultural system that adopts behaviors and beliefs that make peace possible."[133] Therefore, this study explores curricular education, school culture, group activities, and network building, as these factors potentially influenced, informed, or developed Eiwa actors' views on issues, and their physical and intellectual connections to the wider world. International learning in Eiwa school activities and curricular subjects was intertwined with religious activities related to peace, which linked the effort for peace with individual and collective religious practice. Christian service work aimed to raise social consciousness and responsibility in students. Activities promoting transnational communication and international learning such as correspondence with students in Wales, New Zealand, and Canada through the YWCA required commitment.[134] Exploring the potential impact and reach of such activities suggests why actors considered such efforts worthwhile.

As noted, students explored peace and international issues through the League of Nations. Chapter one explored WCTU disarmament activism. Andrew Webster notes "[d]isarmament was the great uniting issue of the interwar peace movements, and the League of Nations was their new public stage."[135] Japan joined the League in 1920 before fully withdrawing and cutting all ties by 1938. Thomas W. Burkman explains

> [b]efore conflict arose between Japan and the world body over the Manchurian Incident, the League was a centerpiece of Japan's sincere policy to maintain accommodation with the powers and to function cooperatively in institutions for international order. League involvement inspired many Japanese ... to believe that Japan could achieve its national aspiration to be a regional power without confrontation with other leading states, and that a global mechanism for the peaceful

[133] Rayle, "Peace Education," 65.

[134] "Message of peace and friendship," *T.E. Nyūsu [T.E. News]*, Undated, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan, n.p., "Seinenkai Kakubu no Koe: Seigekibu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 160. See chapter four for further discussion of the YWCA.

[135] Andrew Webster, "The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism," in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 145, DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.008.

settlement of international disputes could succeed.[136]

Although a state-level organization, Burkman explains that non-state individuals were also inspired by the League as the "advent of the League of Nations after World War I encouraged the rise of internationalist movements among the Japanese public."[137]

In the early 1920s, Japanese actors petitioned the League "to establish an international education council … to promote international cooperation and friendship that would not only support the League's own stated goal of furthering international cooperation, but would encourage all nations to substitute peace education for education that glorified militarism and imperialism."[138] In this case too, peace education was equated with international education. Some Japanese viewed the League of Nations as a fitting organization to institute it. While these petitions were unsuccessful, support for them led to the 1922 founding of the International Education Society of Japan "to promote humanitarianism[,] … mutual understanding, and friendship among peoples of all nations, and ultimately, to bring about genuine world peace."[139] Sawayanagi Masatarō also argued at a speech in Toronto, Canada that Japan was "developing a spirit of world citizenship by teaching its children the meaning of the League of Nations and what it stands for."[140] While the League did not adopt these petitions, there remains evidence that Japanese educators linked the League with work for peace, international education, and

[136] Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), xi, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824863036.

[137] Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations*, xiii.

[138] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 345. Lincicome cites Yamazaki Yuji, "Dai ichiji taisengo ni okeri 'kokusai kyōiku undo' no seiritsu to tenkai: Taishōki kyōiku kaizō undō no kokusaishugiteki sokumen [Tokyo: Aoyama Gakuin Daigaku Kyōiku Gakkai]," *Kyōiku Kenkyū* 30, (1986): 79-80.

[139] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 346.

[140] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement," 355-356. Lincicome cites Sawayanagi Masatarō, in *Proceedings of the Second Biennial Conference* (Augusta: The World Federation of Education Associations, 1927), 15-17.

cultural understanding.

This may help explain why Yamanashi Eiwa included the League in school activities. On 9 November 1931, student Nakazawa Chiyoko recited 'War and Peace,' a radio address from League literature. Yamanashi Eiwa students also appear to have had an assignment to express the organization orally by describing a poster based on it. On 10 November, a fifth-year student explained about her League poster, and student Serizawa Yasuko discussed the poster she had received on 12 November.[141] Holding these activities around *Heiwa Kinenbi*, Armistice Day or the anniversary of the end of WWI, suggests Yamanashi Eiwa educators linked the League with peace and conflict resolution.

These activities took place before Japan officially severed ties with the League, but after significant frustrations on the Japanese side had surfaced. According to Andrew Gordon, at the 1919 Versailles peace conference following WWI, as "one of the victorious allies," Japanese delegates "eagerly called for the principle of racial equality to be made part of the founding covenant of the League of Nations. The American president, Woodrow Wilson, and the other allied leaders ... refused to include the racial equality clause. These decisions … fuelled strong Japanese anger at the hypocrisy of the Western governments."[142] Despite such frustrations, it appears Japanese educators including those of Yamanashi Eiwa still felt the League had the potential to contribute to their goals of peace, linked it with international education, likely as an example of nation-state level conflict resolution, and thus included it in students' education. Further, Liang Pan argues "[i]n pre-Second World War Japan, the names of organisations like the Japan Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) or the Women's Association for

[141] "Kōnai Nisshi," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1932), 15. Serizawa also wrote a 1931 essay on peaceful friendship discussed above.

[142] Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 174.

Peace [appeared] on public statements … echoing the League of Nations' appeals for peace and reconciliation."[143] These were both organizations the Eiwa schools had connections to.

Other activities concretely related to teaching students about and building an awareness of peace included observing *Heiwa Kinenbi*, praying for peace, and talks about disarmament and peace. In November of 1931, Yamanashi Eiwa's *Kōyūkai* observed the 'week of peace,' had a prayer meeting for peace (*heiwa no tame*), a talk about disarmament, and on peace in 1932.[144] *Heiwa Kinenbi* was observed in 1933, and the topic of the school's morning prayer meeting on 13 January 1935 was world peace.[145] These activities connected peace to the school's religious activities, and observing *Heiwa Kinenbi* solidified Armistice Day and the cessation of conflict it symbolized as important to their community. At Shizuoka Eiwa, in June of 1933 the school had a lecture from a representative of the Methodist Church mission department on international friendship, linking Methodist organizations with efforts for world peace through school activities.[146]

Tōyō Eiwa also had peace-related activities in the 1930s which brought individuals from, and school voices *into* society. In 1935, a student named Miura wrote they had a service for *Heiwa Kinenbi* and "prayed for world peace."[147] In the 1935-1936 school year, students had a

---

[143] Liang Pan, "National Internationalism in Japan and China," in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 189, DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.009.

[144] "Kōnai Nisshi," Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō* (1932), 14, 15, "Kōyūkai Ippan Jikō," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1933), 4.

[145] "Kōyūkai Kōji," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 5, Horiuchi Fumiko, "Kōyūkai Nisshi," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1935), 4.

[146] Aiba Shō, "Kaisō Ichinen," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 37 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1933), 46. Aiba (相場) can also be read, for example, as Sōba, and Shō (生) as Sei and Taka.

[147] Miura, "Watakushidomo no Hibi," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 49.

talk by Tsune Gauntlett titled 'About peace' (*Heiwa nitsuite*) for a meeting of the *Shūyōbu* (literally meaning a department for training or cultivation of the mind).[148] On 11 November 1935 (*Heiwa Kinenbi*), attendees reflected on peace following worship.[149] Tetsutaro Hasegawa wrote of the work of the International Women and Children's Society in 1937, noting that "[i]n June, we sent Miss Yukiko Isobe, a member, to the United States. She handed a message and gifts of the Society to President Roosevelt, presented a message of Mayor Ushizuka of Tokyo ... and also delivered messages from ... Toyo Eiwa Girls' School," among others, "to girls' schools throughout the nation."[150] Hasegawa explained Isobe gave lectures and radio addresses to "give American girls some knowledge of Japanese civilization and customs."[151] The inclusion of Tōyō Eiwa in this exchange connected the school and its individuals to organizations taking part in international mobility and knowledge building. In this case, the knowledge and communication exchange flowed from Japan to the West.

The 1930s thus saw not only intensifying nationalism and changes to daily life at Japanese Christian schools, but also an intellectual landscape which discussed and called for international peace. Japanese state regulations impacted schools and curriculum. The actors in this study who discussed, practiced, and instituted transnational engagement, communication, and peace and international education activities did so within this landscape of changes and challenges. These alternative social, intellectual, and educational trends set the stage for analyzing resulting

[148] Tsujiguchi Umeno, "Henshū Kōenbu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai 20 Shūnen Kinenshi Section]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 190. Tsujiguchi (辻口) can also be read as Tsujikuchi. On Tsune Gauntlett, see "Gauntlett, Tuneko, 1873-1954," National Diet Library: Web NDL Authorities, accessed 6 Oct, 2019, https://id.ndl.go.jp/auth/ndlna/00440634. Gauntlett was also explored in chapters one and four.

[149] "Showa Jyūnen Kōnai Kōji," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 133.

[150] Hasegawa, "World Friendship through Women and Children," 5.

[151] Hasegawa, "World Friendship through Women and Children," 5.

written intellectual output in the following section. Significant considering the role of (imperial) nationalism in schools, Eiwa students discussed international friendship, peace, and nonviolence through school activities and responding to intellectual prompts, and had their words published in school publications. Students' words illuminate how they conceptualized and experienced this period. Uncovered by shifting the focus from institutions to individual voices, how these actors conceptualized this period reveals impacts of Eiwa education.

3.4 Eiwa Student and Alumnae Intellectual Output: Results of International and Peace Education in Writing

Students received and interpreted the education taught within these institutions. Eiwa students and alumnae produced compositions in the 1930s which contain surprising content given wider social trends. The Japanese state had enacted the Peace Preservation Law in 1925 to control the intellectual landscape of wider society: as Gregory J. Kasza explains, ""[t]hought control" became a major government slogan in the late 1920s."[152] While "press laws were applied against extremists primarily to control the spread of ideas," strikingly, "[c]ivil opposition to state control was evident throughout 1868–1945."[153] Operating within an intellectual and educational landscape that diverged in some ways from the ideology of the state and government schools, actors discussed peace, nonviolence, and international friendship, and instituted related activities throughout the 1930s. Within these spaces and network, an environment was created which attempted to counteract social trends through adult and young women. Eiwa students did not have power in the public sphere, but they conceptualized and navigated this period intellectually and physically through words and community participation.

[152] Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan*, 41.
[153] Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan*, 40, 266.

This study utilizes the voices of female mission school students, alumnae, and teachers in period school sources. Bringing students into the mission discourse creates an intergenerational narrative and sheds light on school education through its receivers and interpreters. "Previous studies have largely privileged the perspective of Western missionary women[.] … To capture the dynamic interplay between the indigenous and the foreign … it is crucial to amplify the voices of local people so that their experiences form part of the narrative," argue Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly.[154] Aaron William Moore engages with sources created by Japanese children in war time, noting "[c]hildren understood war in their own terms."[155] Eiwa student writings show authors aware of some domestic and international issues. Indeed, "[t]eenagers, at least in part due to a presentiment of their future roles in the labor force, were far more capable of, and interested in, understanding the social, political, and economic structures that adults constructed, and finding a place within them," than children.[156] While L. Halliday Piel has explored Japanese young people's diary writing in the 1930s and 1940s, a period in which children were considered *shokokumin* or "little nationals," Eiwa students were also encouraged to think and communicate transnationally, and identify and engage with a wider community beyond Japan.[157]

Using school publications presents methodological considerations. While Mary Jo

[154] Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly, "Paradoxes of Domesticity: Missionary Encounters in the Making of Christian Homes in Asia and the Pacific," in Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly, *Divine Domesticities: Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2014), 6, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13wwvck.

[155] Aaron William Moore, "From Individual Child to War Youth: The Construction of Collective Experience among Evacuated Japanese Children during World War II," *Japanese Studies* 36, no. 3 (2016): 357, DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2016.1253434.

[156] Aaron William Moore, "Reversing the Gaze, the Construction of "Adulthood" in the Wartime Diaries of Japanese Children and Youth," in *Child's Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, eds. Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 155, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w8h25q.12.

[157] Halliday Piel, "The School Diary in Wartime Japan," 1005.

Maynes explains "[h]istorians have trouble conceptualizing children and youth as historical actors because so few of the sources speak directly from their experiences," this section explores writings penned by students and an alumna.[158] However, according to Robin P. Chapdelaine, "[e]ven when scholars do have access to children's historical voices, the matter of interpretation is challenging."[159] Indeed, Peter Cave and Aaron Moore further argue one "serious methodological [problem]" is "the extent of adult influence over young people's life-writing."[160] While Eiwa student compositions were likely impacted by the influence of family, teachers, life experience, and peers, and may have been chosen for publication based on the intended audience, we can analyze the vocabulary used, topics discussed, and the publication forum as an internal intellectual network within which ideas could be spread and shared. "Articulation of childhood experience … is influenced by the way people have learned to write (notably in educational institutions), as well as by the institutions that encourage their life writing," argue Cave and Moore.[161] Thus, topics discussed, and terminology used allow us to consider how these young women 'learned to write.' L. Halliday Piel argues "if taken collectively as reflecting a cluster of influences—individual temperament, peer group, parents, teachers, school policies, mass media, and state propaganda—school diaries still provide a window to the evolving shape of education during the war."[162] Similarly, Eiwa student compositions shed light on their lived historical experiences in a turbulent time.

This section examines a selection of writings from the period of 1933 to 1940, written by

[158] Mary Jo Maynes, "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 117, DOI: 10.1353/hcy.2008.0001.

[159] Robin P. Chapdelaine, "Little Voices: The Importance and Limitations of Children's Histories," *The American Historical Review* 125, no. 4 (October 2020): 1297, https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/rhaa377.

[160] Peter Cave and Aaron William Moore, "Historical Interrogations of Japanese Children amid Disaster and War, 1920–1945," *Japanese Studies* 36, no. 3 (2016): 290, DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2016.1253003.

[161] Cave and Moore, "Historical Interrogations," 296.

[162] Halliday Piel, "The School Diary in Wartime Japan," 1006.

students of the three Eiwa schools and one Tōyō Eiwa alumna to determine common themes, suggest what kind of peace authors were envisioning, and how they felt it could be achieved. It will first explore two Tōyō Eiwa student essays from a 1936 WILPF Japan section essay contest. This activity encouraged students to conceptualize international relations at a time of state-level tensions and connected them intellectually to an international women's peace organization. The WILPF had been formed in 1915 to work for disarmament and end war.[163] Glenda Sluga explains women "responded to the accumulating horrors of the war by establishing their own new international feminist associations in support of a future international government," including the WILPF "which continues to have a reputation for conjoining feminism with pacifist and internationalist objectives."[164] According to Catherine Foster, "[e]merging as it did from the women's movement, [the] WILPF signaled the beginning of a mass peace movement that has grown and persisted throughout most of the twentieth century."[165] It was open to women globally, and as Andrew Webster argues, "was one of most distinctive and influential of the transnational peace groups."[166]

Essay contest participants (fourth- and fifth-year students) were asked to address the question: *Watashi wa genka no Nisshin (Nichibei) kankei wo ikaga ni miruka* or 'How do I view current Japan-China (Japan-United States) relations?' Two Tōyō Eiwa students won first and second and third place, and received an honorable mention writing on Japan-United States

[163] Catherine Foster, *Women for all Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1989), 7.

[164] Glenda Sluga, "Women, Feminisms and Twentieth-Century Internationalisms," in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 64, DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.005.

[165] Foster, *Women for all Seasons*, 17.

[166] Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue*, 83, Webster, "The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism," 147.

relations, and one student an honorable mention writing on Japan-China relations.[167] This section explores brief excerpts from the two winning essays on Japan-United States relations, and logistics of the award ceremony to analyze some suggestions students presented which connect to themes in this thesis, and how to contextualize this event itself within the wider intellectual network. Fifth year student Iida Masako won first place. Iida argued: "We must discard all animosity, mutually eliminate the basis of our misunderstandings," and "mutually make good our lack of knowledge. In other words, it is definitely important to understand and talk with each other."[168] Iida also included religious statements: "In Christ there is no East nor West!" and "in God's love there are no nations or boundaries, the world is a family."[169] Iida thus discussed Christianity's perceived potential to overcome national boundaries, and peace based on understanding, knowledge, communication, and mutual effort.

Fifth year student Kusuyama Fumiko won second place in the contest. Kusuyama wrote: "In order to make closer Japan-United States relations, I want us to really study the good points of American culture from the heart."[170] Kusuyama suggested sending letters to their "American friends" to help them understand Japan's current state "to deepen Japan-United States goodwill by the hands of girls. If we carry out this method not only for the two countries of Japan and America but for the sake of whole world, if we devote ourselves to world goodwill, this world will definitely be a pleasant to live in and enjoyable Kingdom of God."[171] Again,

[167] "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai Tōsen Ronbun: Kirisutokyō Shinbun Shosai no Kiji Bassui," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 7 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1937), 14.

[168] Iida Masako, "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai Tōsen Ronbun: Watashi wa Genka no Nichibei Kankei wo dō Miruka," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 7 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1937), 7.

[169] Iida, "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai Tōsen Ronbun," 8.

[170] Kusuyama Fumiko, "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai Tōsen Ronbun: Watashi wa Genka no Nichibei Kankei wo dō miruka," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 7 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1937), 13.

[171] Kusuyama, "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai Tōsen Ronbun," 13.

communication, the role of young women, and Christianity were key themes. Kusuyama's suggestion of exchanging letters concretely connects to what students actually practiced, such as sending letters to Canadian students through YWCA activities which chapter four explores. In considering international relations, these students thought transnationally and suggested communicating with geographically distanced individuals through personal channels.

These two essays and the award presentation ceremony were reported on in the *Kirisutokyō Shinbun* (Christian Newspaper) and reprinted in Tōyō Eiwa's 1937 issue of *Kaede*.[172] Such reporting connected the event, Tōyō Eiwa, and the student participants intellectually with a wider Christian readership through the *Kirisutokyō Shinbun*. The article began by asserting "peace work starts with women" (*heiwa undō wa mazu fujin kara*); this belief may explain why the organization requested young women to write on this topic.[173] It stated the prize winners were notified on 11 November (*Heiwa Kinenbi*). Presentations took place on 14 November with Tsune Gauntlett at the Tokyo YWCA.[174] The holding of this contest by the Japan WILPF Japan section, the YWCA presentation location, and Gauntlett's attendance shows this event was instituted by and connected to international women's organizations involved in peace and international work. Through this event, Eiwa students connected to concrete activities and ideas of the wider Christian women's community in domestic and transnational contexts.

Although student writings published in school publications included the war effort in the 1930s, peace was also discussed and conceptualized in this period.[175] Yamanashi Eiwa student

[172] "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai Tōsen Ronbun," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 7 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1937), 14.

[173] "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai Tōsen Ronbun," 14.

[174] "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai Tōsen Ronbun," 14.

[175] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 205. For example, a 1938 Yamanashi Eiwa student speech contest included titles: 'Women in an Extraordinary Time' (*Hijōjika no*

Ichikawa Yōko's essay entitled '*Heiwa nitsuite'* (Regarding/About Peace) was published in the school's 1933 *Dōsōkaihō*. "Sadly a certain portion of people are interested in war, there are many people not thinking at all about peace. I too am not at all interested in war, but I have not thought really deeply regarding peace," Ichikawa stated.[176] Ichikawa wrote on the development of consciousness about war and peace in society, and that she, too, had begun to think about peace, perhaps as a result of writing this essay or other school activities. Written two years after the 1931 Manchurian Incident, current issues between Japan and China may also have pushed her to think about peace: "Aren't today's people thinking more about winning war than peace? ... Peace is an eternal issue, war is temporary. ... I like heroes of peace more than heroes of war. ... Let's also become a small force in building the foundation of peace," Ichikawa stated.[177] This essay addressed personal responsibility in the effort for peace, and the building of knowledge and awareness within oneself and wider society.

Yamanashi Eiwa held an essay contest in the 1934-1935 school year on *heiwa* (peace). Three student responses were published in the school's 1935 *Dōsōkaihō*, and student Yamazaki Sugako's essay was reprinted in the Yamanashi Eiwa *Hachijū Nenshi*.[178] Yamazaki began by stating, "the condition of a universe without war is when there is no war between countries, when there is no fighting between people," and "when humanity is absolutely obedient toward God of heaven and earth, this can be called peace. If that's the case, to what extent is peace

---

Josei), 'Protection of the Home Front' (*Jūgo no Mamori*), 'Economizing Consumption' (*Shōhi Setsuyaku*), and 'The Second Sino-Japanese War and Our Preparedness' (*Shinajihen to Warera no Kakugo*).

[176] Ichikawa Yōko, "Heiwa nitsuite," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1933), 40.

[177] Ichikawa, "Heiwa nitsuite," 40.

[178] Yamazaki Sugako, "Heiwa," in Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 206-211. Originally published in Yamazaki Sugako, "Heiwa," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1935), 49-53.

being carried out in today's human world?"[179] Yamazaki's essay did not only describe peace as an absence of war, however. She discussed various theories on and her opinions of peace, and current issues. "People are becoming numb to justice and are just fighting a desperate battle. Humans appear strong but are surprisingly weak. Most people are controlled by their circumstances," Yamazaki argued, noting also that the world civilization (*bunmei*) had hurt people.[180] "Following the development of that civilization, knowledge has also progressed and by the workings of our brains, conflict increases. For what purpose at all do people continue doing that shameful thing? Even now we must go on living in a terrifying atmosphere where war seems about to occur," she wrote.[181] "Everyone looks at others with a skeptical eye. I read somewhere that the world is now on the verge of crisis. In that it said "today's Europe is unquestionably in a period of trepidation. Now even if there isn't conflict between various countries, many hearts are ready for that to come, and are covertly preparing.""[182] Yamazaki also argued battles for survival and excesses of narrow patriotism between nations were reasons why war occurred.[183]

Yamazaki then argued strikingly against war and violence/the use of force (*bōryoku*): "War in the past was between warrior and warrior, today's war is war between citizen and citizen. And … today's war is war of the brain. The idea of using weapons and using vicious methods to conquer this world is wrong," she wrote.[184] "Humans are not made to take pleasure from using violence. As they are made for other purposes, only pursuing pleasure inconsistent with peace" means one "must live with an empty heart."[185] Yamazaki then asked: "Don't you

[179] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 206.
[180] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 207.
[181] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 207.
[182] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 207.
[183] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 207.
[184] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 208.
[185] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 208.

think it is regrettable that humanity uses half of its power for things like war? Why are people so indifferent to the happiness of peace, and must increasingly ready themselves for war? … Can we not regard the world of God … as a world of peace?"[186] Yamazaki wrote also of peace that comes when praying for the happiness of your loved ones, neighbours, and the world.[187] Discussing Woodrow Wilson, Immanuel Kant, Mahatma Gandhi, and Leo Tolstoy also showed her awareness of various prominent international figures and their views on peace.[188] "The gospel of Jesus is the gospel of peace," Yamazaki wrote, again bringing Christianity into the discussion, and quoted Matthew 5:9: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God."[189] "The core of the hearts of those who wish to bring about peace is … praise, the strength of the feeling of thanks, and amenability to God," Yamazaki stated on what she saw as the necessity of Christianity to foster peace and referring to the place of an individual in this effort.[190]

Finally, Yamazaki concluded: "When love of humanity expands more" and "transcends the boundaries of countries, … ugly conflicts will be eliminated."[191] Yamazaki utilized the word *jinrui* meaning humanity/human race/humankind, and love which transcended national boundaries (*kokkyō wo koeta*) and thus included a wider human race.[192] This terminology suggests Yamazaki was thinking beyond national borders when conceptualizing peace. The significance of Yamazaki's essay, and that Yamanashi Eiwa requested essays on peace, is related to the topics and time period. The Yamanashi Eiwa *Hachijū Nenshi* explains that at present, students "can freely take up the issue of 'war and peace,' but in those days (Showa 10s

[186] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 208.
[187] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 208-209.
[188] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 209-210.
[189] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 210.
[190] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 210.
[191] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 210.
[192] Yamazaki, "Heiwa," *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 210.

[the period of Showa year 10 to 20 was 1935 to 1945]) that was not a simple thing. Just for that this essay is very important. In those days, rather essays … glorifying war … were released one after another by renowned thinkers."[193] Yamazaki's essay contrasted with wider period intellectual output. By examining the European situation and consulting various views on war and peace, Yamazaki spoke against war without criticizing Japan, although whether this was a strategic decision or not is unclear.

Whether referring to the situation in Europe or Japan, it is significant that this essay which touched on nonviolence was written for a 1935 essay contest on the topic of peace, as the 1931 Manchurian incident and subsequent Japanese invasion of Northeast China began approximately four years prior. Domestically, Angela Coutts notes "[c]ensorship legislation in Japan had been in force as early as 1875; the 1909 Press Law (*Shinbunshi hō*), together with the 1893 Publication Law (*Shuppan hō*), remained the basis of laws concerning the media until the end of World War II."[194] Further, "[i]n addition to specific censorship laws, all creative enterprises were subject to the strictures of the infamous 1925 Peace Preservation Law," and in wider mass media, "[i]mmediately after the China Incident [7 July 1937], the Home Ministry used prepublication warnings to … stop publication of articles indicating Japan was at fault."[195] The essays on peace and nonviolence examined in this section are thus significant given 1930s print restrictions and wider social and intellectual trends.

Two additional contest essays by students Ogawa Kyōko and Fukasawa Mitsuko were published in the 1935 Yamanashi Eiwa *Dōsōkaihō*.[196] Ogawa began by asking: "Where is peace

---

[193] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi*, 211.

[194] Angela Coutts, "Imagining Radical Women in Interwar Japan: Leftist and Feminist Perspectives," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 37, no. 2 (January 2012): 328, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/661713.

[195] Coutts, "Imagining Radical Women," 330, Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan*, 168.

[196] Ogawa Kyōko, in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1935), 53-54, Fukasawa

hiding? Why will it not show itself before us? Everyone in the world is seeking it, wearily waiting for its appearance. Where is it? ... We are ... seeking it in faraway places, calling its name."[197] Ogawa continued: "We ... neglect what is at our feet. We don't realize that we are hindering peace."[198] Ogawa argued each person must get rid of the weapons, perhaps meaning hatred or prejudice, kept within themselves. Then, "we will begin to receive that shining light [of peace]. But people who will do that are very few in number. ... One thing we can't forget is the humble peace held within the small heart in a small person; this possesses great power in the world, and it is one part of world peace."[199] Likening peace to rings held within one's heart and alluding to the power possible when people join together in a cause, Ogawa asked if we were to connect those rings to those of others, "what would be possible?"[200] Finally, like Yamazaki, Ogawa quoted Matthew 5:9, suggesting this was a Bible verse which resonated with these students and perhaps aligned with their conceptualization of peace.[201] Ogawa utilized symbolism referring to the hearts of individuals, and emphasized action. Ogawa recognized individuals had the responsibility to recognize their own prejudices which could be utilized as weapons and hinder understanding. However, cooperation with others could strengthen individual power in this effort.

Student Fukasawa Mitsuko's essay was also published. It began: "At present the world ... is on the verge of crisis. It is made to look like peace from the outside, but" in reality, "many elements of ugly conflicts are being conceived. In other words, it is armed peace."[202] Fukasawa

---

Mitsuko, in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1935), 54-55.

[197] Ogawa, 53.
[198] Ogawa, 53.
[199] Ogawa, 53.
[200] Ogawa, 54.
[201] Ogawa, 54.
[202] Fukasawa, 54.

recognized there were different types of peace and argued armed peace (*busō no heiwa*) was not actually peace, as in reality, inwardly there was conflict. Fukasawa continued "people of the world often speak of the word peace and think it's only necessary for international relations."[203] "Of course it is necessary to also hope for peace between countries," Fukasawa wrote, but first "it is essential to create the source of ripples of peace around ourselves. For that, we must become people holding true peace at all times in our hearts."[204] Fukasawa, too, considered peace in personal and international frameworks. Fukasawa argued if each young person going into society would aim to "become a small source of a wave of peace," then "the coming of peace to not only our country but the world will not only be a daydream;" so, "to realize Christ's peace, even if we are weak, I want us to commit all of our ability to God."[205] Fukasawa and Ōgawa both wrote on what they perceived to be the importance of Christianity in 'Christ's peace' (*Kirisuto no heiwa*) and personal responsibility in the larger effort to realize world peace. They envisioned peace starting on an individual level through concrete effort and action which could increase from this initial source to have wider and more powerful effects.

In a 1937 address, Shizuoka Eiwa student Ishimaru Tsuyuko stated for world peace, it was necessary to work for the coming of/to bring the kingdom of God to earth. What kind of actions did she think were applicable in this effort? Ishimaru noted although women's "true nature" was not to work in the field of politics or foreign relations (as the Japanese state did not allow women roles in political life at this time, this was indeed a reality), wives and mothers could rear children and encourage Christ's love in the day-to-day lives of men who *did* have

[203] Fukasawa, 54.
[204] Fukasawa, 55.
[205] Fukasawa, 55.

power.[206] This may be how Ishimaru thought 'God's kingdom' could be brought to the world. Although Japanese women did not have political power, Ishimaru felt women's role was to support and bring Christianity into the lives of those who held power. While some Eiwa graduates were active in public life outside the home such as through YWCA, teaching, and church work, for alumnae who became homemakers, Ishimaru outlines how she felt they could contribute to bringing about peace through Christianity.

Finally, in 1940, Yamanashi Eiwa alumna Kunugi Yoshiko touched on international friendship. First explored in chapter one, Kunugi had studied at the Tōyō Eiwa Kindergarten Teacher Training Department, in the United States, visited Canada between 1932 and 1935, and attended Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT) camps.[207] Kunugi wrote in a July of 1940 letter:

> Since I know through personal experience that it is possible for people of different countries to enjoy wholesome friendships I am puzzled in these dark days of conflict why there has grown so much hatred, discord and strife between nations. ... All that is happening seems quite apart from the good and worthwhile experiences that have come to me through the associations with other nationalities and races of people. ... [W]e must keep the spirit of Jesus ever before us at the center of all our activities. ... As the problems of countries seem to grow more tangled I think that we as individuals must try ... harder[.] ... We certainly are being taught now that the true civilization that shall last is the one that is built on brotherly love and that only on this foundation will all people enjoy peaceful living.[208]

"I say all of this," wrote Kunugi, "because ... I have been ... a recipient of the fruit of the labor

[206] Ishimaru Tsuyuko, "Tōji," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 41 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937), 40. Tsuyuko (露子) can also be read, for example, as Akiko and Ruko. I discussed Ishimaru in my 2016 master's thesis.

[207] UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence, 83.058C, 73-13, Kunugi Yoshiko to Friends in Canada, 1940 July 8, n.p. Although a page number was not recorded, this appears to be page one. "Kaiin Shōsoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 22, Kunugi, Dear Friends in Canada:-, 8 Jul 1940, n.p. The CGIT was explored in chapter two and will be looked at further in chapter four.

[208] Kunugi, Dear Friends in Canada:-, 8 Jul 1940, n.p.

of those who have been willing to sacrifice self for the sake of others."[209] Although not from a school publication like the above examples, Kunugi's letter is striking. She recognized national tensions, but having studied and traveled internationally, felt friendship across national boundaries was possible. Kunugi was a tangible individual example of development from education within and participation in the Eiwa network.

What themes are evident in these examples? Ichikawa Yōko discussed personal responsibility, building an awareness of peace, and intellectual trends and current issues in society. Yamazaki Sugako wrote on the international situation, nonviolence, the necessity of Christianity, and love which transcended national boundaries, while Ogawa Kyōko discussed individual responsibility and communal effort for peace. Fukasawa Mitsuko touched on the international situation, nation-state and individual-level peace, and the role of Christianity. Ishimaru Tsuyuko described the necessity of Christianity and a role women could play in peace work, and Kunugi Yoshiko wrote on the world situation, Christianity, individual responsibility, and international friendship. Common themes include: 1) Awareness and discussion of international issues, 2) Recognition of the role of the individual and personal responsibility, and 3) The importance and centrality of Christianity in realizing peace. These writings are concrete examples of student and graduate intellectual output which were impacted by the education received at the Eiwa schools and involvement with this network. They show students were aware of some domestic and international issues, and discussed peace in terms of positive peace, nonviolence, and individual responsibility as a key starting point.

As argued above, the form of peace and methods of achieving it demonstrated in the writings, network building, and activities of this community which this thesis explores relate to

[209] Kunugi, Dear Friends in Canada:-, 8 Jul 1940, 2.

peace through active communication, Christianity, and the building of international knowledge within a transnational network of women. However, students could interpret these teachings in different ways. For example, in writing on Japan-China relations for the 1936 WILPF Japan section essay contest discussed above, Tōyō Eiwa student Wakao Saeko argued Japan's actions in Manchuria were for peace in Asia, but also curiously, that as militaristic plots and threats could not make peace, understanding between countries and harmony between people were important to improve relations between Japan and China.[210] And in a report on the 1938 World Conference of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts in Adelboden, Switzerland, Tōyō Eiwa student attendee Fujimura Kieko wrote the *Nisshi Jihen*, the conflict between Japan and China in the Second Sino-Japanese War, was for peace in Asia.[211]

Although peace was still the goal for these students (Fujimura wrote of a "warm camaraderie of girls beyond national borders" at the conference, and that she was "full of the will to pray for world peace through compromise and love,") war as a method of achieving peace contrasts with Yamazaki's argument above for nonviolence.[212] Fukasawa Mitsuko, too, argued that armed peace was not true peace. Further, Akira Iriye has described "an internationalism of a different sort, one that aspires to a more peaceful and stable world order through transnational efforts" rather than state-level military alliances or security treaties.[213] Evidently, within these educational spaces, ideas were taught which aligned with a community worldview. However, likely dependent on such aspects as knowledge of current events and how

[210] See Wakao Saeko, "Watashi wa Genka no Nisshin Kankei wo Ikaga ni miru ka," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1936), 61.

[211] Fujimura Kieko, "Ryokō Kaban no naka kara," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō/Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsokai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Sakai Hiro, Shōwa Jūsannen Tsuiroku ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 29-31.

[212] Fujimura, "Ryokō Kaban no naka kara," 30-31.

[213] Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, 3.

they were conceptualized, consumed media, personal experiences, home life, and opinions and circumstances of family and peers, how students interpreted these teachings and approaches to peace could vary. It is clear, however, that through the 1930s these assignments and activities encouraged students to consider relations between countries and people, what constituted peace and how it could be achieved, and what their individual role could be in this effort.

While it is unlikely students were indifferent to state, social, and intellectual narratives as the Pacific War intensified and changes to daily life such as mobilization took place, at the Eiwa schools in the 1930s these aspects existed simultaneously with peace-related activities, international learning, and a Christian educational environment. The fact that international learning was practiced throughout the 1930s despite the cessation of the official international education movement suggests commitment from Eiwa actors to a form of education which became more difficult but was still important within their worldview. Peace appears to have been intertwined with international education because these actors felt an increase in international knowledge, communication, mutual learning and exchange, and recognition of one's place in a transnational community could potentially increase understanding and hinder conflict. Student intellectual output was in part a result of the school culture, education, activities, and mobility practiced within these schools and network. The examples explored above from the three Eiwa schools show similarities in how young women wrote about current issues and their vision of what solutions could entail. This education exposed students to a community worldview which encouraged them to learn and think about peace, and to voice their opinions. Their words thus illuminate a dynamic picture of intellectual life and the practice of international and peace education in 1930s Japan through an intergenerational network of women.

3.5 Conclusion

Participation in activities for peace and international understanding in times of tension and conflict was not without significant challenges. Eventually, "the only public activities women were allowed to take up were those aimed at supporting the war effort."[214] The WILPF Japan section's peace work was put off in 1940 and not restarted until 1947.[215] In light of restrictions and changes which came with the intensification of the Pacific War, what occurred within the Eiwa schools and network in the 1930s is significant for our understanding of period intellectual life. Women and youth became key agents in these activities which encouraged and facilitated international understanding, communication, learning, and mobility. These actors practiced international education and communication later than has previously been examined through prominent male educators of state institutions in Japan's official international education movement. Eiwa educators instituted activities designed to teach students about organizations working for international conflict resolution, and to facilitate communication and international knowledge building. Eiwa students wrote about their ideas on how to achieve peace and what their role could be. In instituting and taking part in the activities this thesis outlines, adult and young women promoted international understanding *through* women and youth.

The historiography of Christian schools in this period has focused on changes in curriculum, mobilization, and the introduction of imperial objects. While these factors significantly impacted how the Eiwa schools and actors experienced the 1930s, looking further inward reveals student writings and school activities in a simultaneous diverging intellectual

[214] Mari Yamamoto, *Grassroots Pacifism in Post-War Japan: The Rebirth of a Nation* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 128, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=200691.

[215] Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement*, 80.

narrative which encouraged transnational communication, international learning, and peace education. As nationalism impacted school curriculum and daily life, and Christianity was perceived as a potential challenge to the imperial Japanese state, the creation of these writings and the practice of such activities encouraging students to think transnationally in 1930s Japan is significant. Eiwa actors discussed internationalism, peace education, the role of women and youth, and gendered and Christian conceptions of peace. These writings are concrete examples of intellectual output impacted by this education and how it was interpreted and conceptualized.

Despite, and to address an increasingly tense domestic and international situation and social and educational changes in 1930s Japan, this intergenerational network of women engaged in activities which promoted international understanding. They discussed and conceptualized peace, and educators instituted concrete activities to teach students about, and to engage them with the wider world. In doing so, their historical experiences diverged from parts of wider society and state structures through constructing and engaging with this network. They engaged in international education and communication across national borders through women and youth in a period of history when such connections and activities were challenging to practice and continue. Although these women's efforts did not lead to peace on a nation-state level and would have become increasingly more difficult as the Pacific War intensified, they are significant. This study reveals an alternative version of the narrative of 1930s Japanese education and intellectual life, and the experience of youth. Using the Eiwa schools as a lens, women's transnational engagement through international and peace education and striking resulting intellectual output is uncovered within these spaces throughout the 1930s. A final example of international education and mobility practiced within the Eiwa network through adult and young women in the 1930s – YWCA (*Seinenkai*) activities – will be explored in the

following final chapter.

Chapter 4: Connecting Women Across Generations, Institutions, and Nations: The YWCA (*Seinenkai*) and the Eiwa Schools

4.1 Introduction

An intergenerational network of Eiwa actors utilized YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association, *Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai* or *Seinenkai*) membership and activities to further international learning, communication, mutual exchange, and experiences within their network in the 1930s. We have seen how international education and women's Christian engagement were highlights of period Eiwa school culture, and that they were connected to the potential actors saw in their network (and in themselves) for building an interconnected and peaceful world of the future. These aspects were also key ingredients in YWCA activities. The YWCA was utilized to network, construct a sense of collective identity, and build intellectual and physical connections between Eiwa actors and peers throughout Japan and in the wider world, even into the late 1930s. Student and alumnae voices and experiences further illuminate how within these spaces, international education and peace activities were undertaken through Christian women and youth as key actors. Rather than depending on state policy or diplomacy to undertake such engagement, these women acted based on what they saw as lacking, and what they wished to build, in the wider intellectual landscape of the 1930s through communication, mobility, and mutual exchange. Just as students discussed peace and international learning through writing as seen in the previous chapter, youth played a role and had a voice in YWCA activities and appear to have believed they could contribute to international understanding through these.

YWCA membership encouraged and was actively utilized to build international knowledge in students and facilitate physical and intellectual connections between Eiwa actors

and the wider world. As such, it served as a vehicle for committed transnational engagement and international learning in which the targets and agents were, as opposed to powerful men within state power structures, an intergenerational network of non-diplomatic Christian women. As this chapter elucidates, this engagement was visible in student involvement in school activities. These included participation in world prayer events, mutual exchange, communication, and learning across national boundaries at school, attendance at nation-wide girls' student summer retreats (attended also by adult YWCA members), and alumnae physical mobility and exchange. This chapter reveals how these activities could foster a sense of membership to a transnational community through group activity. It shows how Eiwa students concretely contributed to and engaged with school development, while transcending national and East-West divisions.

Our understanding of 1930s education is widened by elucidating how the YWCA was utilized to practice international education, exchange, and transnational communication in the 1930s. As such, this chapter builds on chapter three's discussion of the practice of international and peace education at the Eiwa schools in the 1930s through female actors. It also further shows how, as this thesis has outlined, international learning and connections to a wider transnational network were constructed purposely through a network of women and youth. These actors saw value in encouraging network members to reach outside their schools and country to counter narrow nationalism and what was seen as lacking in institutionalized educational and world structures in a challenging period of history. YWCA groups were instituted at the Eiwa schools for Christian engagement, but as this chapter will argue, they also facilitated transnational engagement and international learning, and sustained alumnae involvement facilitated international mobility.

The organization also connected Christian women and youth as teachers and students. Although the name 'Young Women's Christian Association' connotes youth engagement, alumnae and educators also took part in school *Seinenkai* and wider YWCA community activities. As will be discussed later, Yamanashi Eiwa alumna Enomoto Aiko, who studied and taught within the Eiwa schools and engaged with the YWCA in Japan, is an individual example of such development. The activities this chapter analyzes suggest despite, or indeed due to the challenges of the time, YWCA membership and participation was valued and utilized by period actors likely because of the connections and knowledge it could construct, facilitate, and support within its multiple generations of female members which did not rely solely on state-level policy or relations, and thus could transcend such boundaries to adapt how this community saw fit.

Harald Fischer-Tiné et al. note that recent studies of the YWCA/YMCA suggest the movement "should be regarded as the harbinger of a new form of a global civil society."[1] A civil society, Karen Garner explains, "refers to "the people" who associate with one another in voluntary societies, religious groups, and churches, social movements, workers' unions, and other independently organized citizens' groups."[2] The three Eiwa schools serve as a lens to analyze how the YWCA connected multiple generations of women in Japan and the wider world, physically and intellectually across national borders, through school activities. Ann Taylor Allen has argued "[t]he history of women's movements is still most often written in national contexts, and transnational ties, when mentioned at all, are often included as a sideline. Connections across national boundaries, however, were often of central rather than marginal

[1] Harald Fischer-Tiné, Stefan Huebner, and Ian Tyrrell, "The Rise and Growth of a Global "Moral Empire": The YMCA and YWCA during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Spreading Protestant Modernity: Global Perspectives on the Social Work of the YMCA and YWCA, 1889–1970,* eds. Harald Fischer-Tiné, Stefan Huebner, and Ian Tyrrell (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2021), 2, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824886462.

[2] Karen Garner, *Women and Gender in International History: Theory and Practice* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 99, DOI: 10.5040/9781474205917.

importance to the survival and success of women's endeavors."[3] A transnational historical approach allows for an analysis of the activities and mobility of these non-state women who physically and intellectually transcended state boundaries through non-diplomatic channels in a time of state-level tension and conflict. They did so because they saw value in their actions, and through supranational Christianity and connecting women across state boundaries, felt their efforts could potentially alter institutionalized narratives, education, and world structures.

Eiwa actors practiced international education in the school context through the YWCA. As this chapter will discuss, students moved to create International Departments for the building of international knowledge in the late 1930s following a YWCA summer retreat. In doing so, these young women endeavored to contribute to international learning (and thus, they felt, individual worldviews) by exposing their peers to information about other countries through study, encounters with objects, and communication. As learning about other countries was central to these *international* activities, recognition of the nation and learning about differing customs, traditions, or lifestyles was key. In practice, *transnational* aspects of YWCA activities also existed, such as global prayer events which aimed to connect people intellectually across national boundaries through simultaneous religious practice. In this case, intellectual connection with other geographically separated Christian people, especially women, through simultaneous and shared religious practice and intention was central. Rather than emphasizing differences, these activities united participants through simultaneous action and commonalities – such as Christianity and gender. While school activities would have varied, the international world delineated through the activities explored in this study focused on the Christian West. They

[3] Ann Taylor Allen, *The Transatlantic Kindergarten: Education and Women's Movements in Germany and the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 193, DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190274412.001.0001.

included communication with Canada and other countries of the British Empire. This suggests the Christian West represented a key international geographic and intellectual area Eiwa students were exposed to and learned about.

Age and gender also impacted which individuals were targets of these activities. For example, students learned about (and communicated with) young women, similar to World Goodwill Day activities outlined in chapter one. These were young people of Christian and Western nations (such as Canada), and potentially individuals of other nations which had a YWCA organization. As chapter three explored, these spaces and networks were utilized by women who saw an opportunity and potentially an urgent need to work for peace and international understanding on their own terms and in their own vision, through their careers and education. Some actors argued they and their peers had a responsibility to do so because of their gender and religion. Thus, in the 1930s, women and female youth instituted and took part in programs to further international knowledge and communication *through* women and youth. From 1941, as with other women's organizations and schools, the Japan YWCA had to participate in activities to support the war effort.[4] However, this does not negate the significance of these 1930s activities. These women evidently saw value and purpose in their efforts. They had access to a religious, professional, and educational network which transcended their schools to reach into Japanese society, religious institutions, and the wider world. This network constructed, connected, and supported a wide community in which women, both Western and Japanese, and adult and youth, played tangible and significant roles within its intellectual life.

Scholarly works on Japanese women's history in this period have included analyses of

[4] See, for example, Noriko Ishii, "Difficult Conversations Across Religions, Race and Empires: American Women Missionaries and Japanese Christian Women during the 1930s and 1940s," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 24, (2017): 394, DOI: 10.1163/18765610-02404004.

women's rights activism and the feminist movement.[5] Fiona Paisley has explored activities of the Pan-Pacific women's network for "cross-cultural exchange and interracial harmony" which "set about providing a new cross-cultural foundation for world politics."[6] This study reveals women's efforts to connect adult and young Japanese and Western women through the framework of women's education and mobility, rather than in diplomatic spaces or through political endeavors. As such, international understanding and exchange were central to these activities, but they were not practiced through state channels. This chapter also contributes to the history of childhood by revealing how youth took part in YWCA activities facilitating transnational engagement, mutual exchange, and knowledge building. In doing so, it brings the voices and experiences of youth into this area of women's history as well.

Amanda L. Izzo has explored the role of Kawai Michi in the development and indigenization of the Japan YWCA.[7] Harald Fischer-Tiné et al. explain "recent studies … have pointed to the need to study the role of Y institutions not only as centers of dissemination for a Western/Christian civilizing mission rhetoric, but also as strategically important hubs for transnational contacts and networking of non-Western elites."[8] Rather than elites of the national YWCA, this chapter analyzes largely little-known individuals who participated in transnational cultural encounters and engagement within these spaces. Using Japanese school publications to

[5] See, for example, Taeko Shibahara, *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement before World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4v5b, Mara Patessio, *Women and Public Life in Early Meiji Japan: The Development of the Feminist Movement* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 41, https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.9340032, and Taeko Shibahara, "Not Only for the Welfare of the Nation but for the World and Humanity: The Interwar Suffrage Movement in Japan," *Journal of Women's History* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 62-88, DOI: 10.1353/jowh.2012.0014.

[6] Fiona Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race Politics in the Women's Pan-Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 1, 2, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824862657.

[7] Amanda L. Izzo, "'By Love, Serve One Another': Foreign Mission and the Challenge of World Fellowship in the YWCAs of Japan and Turkey," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 24, (2017): 347-372, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26549220.

[8] Fischer-Tiné, Huebner, and Tyrrell, "The Rise and Growth of a Global "Moral Empire,"" 7.

analyze this encounter brings the voices of youth into women's history, the history of education and childhood, and of the YWCA, revealing activities which took place within schools, while also interacting with the national YWCA. Nakamoto Kahoru has conducted a study on young women's social education (*shakai kyōiku*) in the 1920s and 1930s through the Tokyo YWCA and utilizes the Japan YWCA's *Meiji no Joshi* and *Joshi Seinenkai* magazines, and the Tokyo YWCA *Chi no Shio* magazine.[9] This chapter uses the three Eiwa school *Dōsō(kai) Kaihō* and Tōyō Eiwa's *Kaede* and *Kōyūkaishi* publications.[10] Produced by schools rather than the national YWCA, these sources illuminate the role the organization and involved individuals played in school YWCA groups through student and alumnae voices and experiences. Eiwa women and youth who generally did not have power in public, political arenas served as agents in instituting and practicing transnational and Christian engagement through YWCA activities. These efforts encouraged international learning, communication, and mutual exchange between multiple generations of women across structured national, and thus racial boundaries.

4.2 The Formation of the Japan YWCA and the *Seinenkai* at the Eiwa Schools

Chapter one outlined how individuals of the Eiwa schools constructed a network of people, educational institutions, and Christian women's groups connecting Japan to the wider world. The Eiwa mission schools began as spaces for evangelization which connected Japan to Canada. Transnational organizations such as the YWCA and WCTU (Woman's Christian Temperance Union) were created as school groups which enabled student participation, leadership, the

[9] Nakamoto Kahoru, "YWCA ni yoru Joshi Seinen Kyōiku no Kenkyū *—1920~30 Nendai no Tokyo YWCA no Jigyō Wo Chūshin Ni—* [The Study of Young Girls' Education through the YWCA —With a Focus on the Tokyo YWCA's 1920-30s Projects—]" (PhD diss., Tōyō University, 2018), 4, http://id.nii.ac.jp/1060/00010069/.

[10] In addition to these school sources, this chapter also utilizes *The Japan Times & Mail* and *The Japan Advertiser* newspapers to explore period YWCA activities, and those connected to the Eiwa schools.

development of skills related to the organization's work, and activities which connected students to their wider communities. This chapter explores the YWCA through the development, activities, and individual voices of these three schools. Thus, the focus of the organization is narrowed to individual institutions and students, while demonstrating wider connectivity and significance. An exploration of the YWCAs creation and manifestation as *Seinenkai* school groups will be followed by a focus on 1930s activities. The Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT) will further contextualize the formation of the Eiwa YWCA groups. As the *Missionary Review of the World* periodical explained in 1921, "[a]lthough the Young Women's Christian Association has not been established in Japan more than twenty years, its constructive work shows far-reaching results. ... Twenty-nine student Associations, chiefly in connection with mission schools, are actively at work."[11] The Tōyō Eiwa, Shizuoka Eiwa, and Yamanashi Eiwa schools constituted three such mission school associations.

Religious training and engagement were important to the YWCA. According to the 1936 YWCA Girls' High School Department Member Handbook, the purpose of the YWCA was for young women "to remember God, learn Christ's teachings, keep a truly pure heart, ... study well in school, in the home as well to always learn with an open heart[/mind], [and] at the same time to endeavor to become a healthy woman," as well as to serve, and inform one's friends about such habits and spirituality.[12] The YWCA also connected women of multiple generations. For example, Mary Nitobe, who was active in the Japan YWCA, "a pioneer in internationalism and cross-cultural relations between the United States in Japan," and wife of Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933), wrote in 1931 on the YWCA's development and how it connected Japanese women

[11] "News from Many Lands: Y.W.C.A. Activities," *The Missionary Review of the World* 44, no. 5 (May 1921): 415-416.

[12] "Y.W.C.A. Jogakubu: Jogakubu Kaiin Hand Book," Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai Nihon Dōmei Jogakubu, 1936, Source ID 1201701713, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan, 3.

across schools, denominations, and nationalities, including non-Christians:

> It was difficult in those first days to bring the girls of different schools together. Each thought of her own school and nothing … about any other. It was "waga gakko" [our school] and nothing else. I think it is not too much to claim for the Y.W.C.A. that it has made a real contribution to the intercollegiate spirit of Japan. ... From the beginning the Y.W.C.A. has been nothing if not international in outlook and practice. Its beginnings were made when a body of women in Japan asked the World's Y.W.C.A. to help organize the Y.W.C.A. here. Japanese and foreigners worked side by side for a bigger idea than nationality namely, an international sisterhood which should stand for the highest ideals of womanhood, physically, intellectually and spiritually.[13]

Nitobe touched on points important to this chapter. 'Intercollegiate spirit' was evident in the collective identity and experience potentially fostered through YWCA retreats, during which students from different girls' schools discussed their school, its *Seinenkai*, and other topics with students from across Japan. 'International outlook' was also represented in Eiwa school *Seinenkai* activities which facilitated international learning and exchange, and in the YWCA retreat activities which included international encounters for learning about lifestyles in and customs of other countries. As Noriko Ishii argues, "the Japan YWCA had joined various international ecumenical networks, including the World YWCA and the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) and their interactions fostered an international outlook among students."[14] Further, YWCA participation facilitated Eiwa alumnae mobility and interaction with global Christian women. In this way, they essentially worked "side by side for a bigger idea than nationality."[15]

---

[13] George M. Oshiro, "Mary P. E. Nitobe and Japan," *Quaker History* 86, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 11, 14, 3-4, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41947357, Mary Nitobe, "Reminiscences of the Tokyo Y.W.C.A," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 1 Mar, 1931, 6. Nitobe Inazō gave a speech at Yamanashi Eiwa in 1930. See Nitobe Inazō, "Wa wo Motte Tōtosu," in Hirose Yasoji, ed., *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1930), 82-85.

[14] Ishii, "Difficult Conversations Across Religions, Race and Empires," 390-391.

[15] Nitobe, "Reminiscences of the Tokyo Y.W.C.A.," 6.

Karen Garner explains the YWCA was founded "in evangelical Protestant church denominations in England in the mid-1850s" for the purpose of addressing "a perceived void in spirituality and to instill Christian values among the working classes."[16] The YWCA "organizational model" spread to other Western countries where national groups were formed.[17] Anna V. Rice explained "[a]fter the Geneva Conference in 1902, the Associations in North America had taken up vigorously the task of helping to lay the foundations of Y.W.C.A. work in Japan and China."[18] It was introduced to Japan in 1905. A key figure in its establishment in Japan was Canadian Presbyterian Caroline Macdonald who had "established an unofficial link with the United Church [of Canada]."[19] Macdonald was active in the University of Toronto YWCA, of which she became president. She also became a student representative of Canada's national YWCA executive committee.[20] Margaret Prang has argued "[t]he YWCA actively promoted the higher education of women and attached great importance to its student work."[21]

Macdonald sailed from Vancouver in 1904 and arrived in Yokohama on 12 December 1904.[22] The National Committee of the YWCA of Japan was formed in 1905; Macdonald was appointed National Secretary.[23] A Tokyo association was formed following this. The majority of the first board were Japanese women and teachers, including Yajima Kajiko, Japan WCTU

---

[16] Karen Garner, "Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction: The World YWCA Visitation to Occupied Japan, 1947," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (June 2005): 193, *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20068612.

[17] Garner, "Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction," 193.

[18] Anna V. Rice, *A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association* (New York: The Woman's Press, 1947), 100.

[19] Michi Kawai and Ochimi Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America* (Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934), 105, https://hdl.handle.net/2144/600, Howard Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1923-1973: Part II* (Toronto: The Division of World Outreach, United Church of Canada, 1981), 333.

[20] Margaret Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself: Caroline Macdonald of Japan* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 11, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412133.

[21] Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself*, 12. We will see Eiwa students, too, held leadership roles in their *Seinenkai*.

[22] Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself*, 34-35.

[23] Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself*, 39.

founder, activist, and educator, and Kawai Michi who had recently graduated from Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania.[24] The Japan YWCA affiliated with the World's YWCA in 1906.[25] As of 1906, there were eight associations in the Japan YWCA with five-hundred members.[26] Kawai visited various YWCA groups in Canada in 1911, and became the first Japanese General Secretary of the Japan YWCA in 1916.[27]

Some Eiwa WMS missionaries had engaged in YWCA work before their time in Japan. For example, Katherine Martha Greenbank was involved with the YWCA while attending the University of Manitoba, and Frances Gertrude Hamilton worked as a YWCA secretary.[28] Enomoto Aiko is an example of an Eiwa alumna who navigated this network, engaging in educational opportunities and professional work in girls' education and the YWCA. Enomoto wrote her "eyes were opened" to the YWCA while at Yamanashi Eiwa, and she had participated in the Japan YWCA and Tokyo YWCA while attending Tokyo Woman's Christian University.[29] Nomura Michiko was an alumna of Tōyō Eiwa, where she was baptized. After graduating, Nomura taught at Shizuoka Eiwa.[30] Nomura was active in the Japan YWCA and lead the movement to establish a YWCA in Yokohama.[31]

Eiwa YWCA school groups were formed in place of older school societies. Tōyō Eiwa's Kings' Daughters Society (*Ōjokai*) and Temperance Society (*Kyōfukai*) were dissolved and the

---

[24] Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself*, 40.
[25] Rice, *A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association*, 284.
[26] Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself*, 45-46.
[27] Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself*, 78, Izzo, "'By Love, Serve One Another'," 355.
[28] Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi* (Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin, 1969), 191, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi* (Tokyo: Gakkō Hōjin Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984), 261.
[29] Enomoto Aiko, "YWCA kara Uketamono [Things [I] Received from the YWCA]," in *Budō no Eda: Kōfu YWCA Yonjū Shūnen Kinenshi*, ed. Kōfu YWCA Kinenshi Henshū Iinkai (Shōwa-chō: Kōfu YWCA, 1990). Cited in *Shu wa Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]* (Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014), 97. Original page numbers were not provided.
[30] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 155.
[31] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 155-156.

Seinenkai formed in 1915.[32] The first *Seinenkai* of the three Eiwa schools, its inaugural ceremony was held on 4 March 1915. Kawai Michi and Moriya Azuma of the Japan WCTU attended.[33] Moriya referred to opening the YWCA in emotional language, as feeling like "a mother giving away a daughter into marriage," suggesting the founding of a new student group was an emotional event, perhaps connoting pride, and hope, amid uncertainty as the organization was still early in its life.[34] This wording connotes an image of senior YWCA women welcoming, or indeed sending off, new members like mothers rearing daughters into independence, symbolizing this community as a family of women. The intergenerational aspect of the YWCA was also evident in its student and adult members. The Tōyō Eiwa *Hyaku Nenshi* notes by 1925, the Tōyō Eiwa *Seinenkai* had one hundred thirty-two members.[35] Kawai also visited Tōyō Eiwa in 1931 to give a religious lecture.[36] The event was reported on in *Kaede*'s *Seinenkai* section, so was likely connected with the group's activities. This shows sustained involvement with Kawai, likely both as a prominent Christian figure, and in recognition of her contribution to the Japan YWCA.

In 1934, Tōyō Eiwa commemorated the twentieth anniversary of its *Seinenkai* together with the fiftieth anniversary of the school's founding. A commemorative account of the previous twenty years' activities was published in 1934's *Kaede*. Principal Hamilton explained the "Seinenkai was still very young and was just a continuation of the Ōjokai" when she had arrived in Japan (in 1917).[37] Significantly, Hamilton also claimed the "Seinenkai is the heart of this

[32] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 693.
[33] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 289.
[34] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 289-290.
[35] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 295.
[36] "Seinenkai Nijū Nenshi," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinenshi Section]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 32.
[37] F. G. Hamilton, "Seinenkai Nijūshunen wo Mukauru ni Saishite," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinenshi Section]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu

school. One can feel out the health of the school by the ebb and flow of the Seinenkai."[38] This reveals the importance Hamilton placed on the YWCA within the institution, likely in school activities and student engagement. Hamilton contrasted the association's role shortly after its founding to its development into an important presence by 1934. Alumnae and students also submitted compositions to this issue of *Kaede*. Addressing current members, Ishikawa Shizuko of the *Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai Nihon Dōmei Gakuseibu* (The National Committee of the YWCA of Japan College Division) wrote of remembering the efforts of the founders of school YWCAs and Kawai Michi with gratitude.[39]

In 1917, three of Shizuoka Eiwa's student associations including the *Ōjokai* and two other societies were dissolved and a *Seinenkai* formed.[40] Kawai Michi visited the school at that time to take part in the YWCA's formation.[41] The school's *Seinenkai* became part of the *Kōyūkai* organization in 1936: "The newly organized 'Koyu Kwai' takes the place of the former Young Women's Christian Association," wrote missionary Isabel Govenlock.[42] The YWCA took on the work of the *Kōyūkai*'s religious department (*shūkyōbu*).[43] Thus, Govenlock wrote "through it we will still maintain our connection with the work of the world Y.W.C.A. Through this new

---

Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 1. This address was published in Japanese.

[38] Hamilton, "Seinenkai Nijūshunen wo Mukauru ni Saishite," 1.

[39] Ishikawa Shizuko, "Shukuji," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinenshi Section]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 3. As of 1936, the *Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai Nihon Dōmei* included city (Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe) and school (twenty-five high school (*jogakubu*) and thirteen college (*gakuseibu*)) YWCAs. "Y.W.C.A. Jogakubu: Jogakubu Kaiin Hand Book," 4-5.

[40] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi* (Shizuoka: Gakkō Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, 1990), 541.

[41] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 542.

[42] Isabel Govenlock, "Senseigata no Gokansō to Otayori," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Kaihō [Report/Bulletin]*, no. 40 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1936), 35. On the *Kōyūkai*, see Ichiyama Masami, "Kyūsei Chūgakkō no Kōyūkai ni Okeru Seito Jichi no Sokumen : Kōyūkai Kisoku no Bunseki wo Chūshin ni/The Aspect of Self-Government by Students in Junior High School in Prewar Japan : From the Analysis of the Rules of Koyukai," *Tokyo Daigaku Daigakuin Kyōikugaku Kenkyūka Kiyō* 43, (2004): 1-13, https://doi.org/10.15083/00031427.

[43] "Kōyūkai Hōkoku," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Kaihō [Report/Bulletin]*, no. 40 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1936), 33.

type of organization, with its wide spread interests and activities, we hope to engage the active participation of every student in the school, and that more opportunity will be given for the exercise of [initiative], the development of latent abilities, and growth in leadership."[44]

Sustained engagement with the YWCA even after a change in school groups demonstrates the continued importance of the organization, its global network of women, and work to these schools. Therefore, this chapter includes in its analysis *Kōyūkai* activities which were related to the YWCA. Further, according to Isabel Govenlock, active participation, leadership, and development of students' abilities were encouraged through participation in these groups. Annie E. MacLean of Yamanashi Eiwa wrote in 1925: "The Y.W.C.A. is now entirely in the hands of the girls themselves, a teacher acting only as adviser."[45] And in 1934, Frances Gertrude Hamilton explained students took on leadership roles within the *Seinenkai*.[46] This suggests it was not only a construction of teachers, as students also played a role in the running and development of a group which was evidently a significant part of their school.

Before the *Seinenkai*, Yamanashi Eiwa also had an *Ōjokai* formed shortly after the school's founding.[47] Gwen R. P. Norman noted Yamanashi Eiwa formed a YWCA in the period of 1920-1921, and "in its second year, it took a larger place in the school, developing individual independence and leadership." [48] The *Seinenkai* consisted of older students.[49] Younger students could join the *Shōnen Kinshugun* (known as the 'Loyal Temperance Legion,' the WCTU branch

[44] Govenlock, "Dear Members of the Alumnae Association," 35.
[45] Annie E. MacLean, "Latest Tidings from Our Mission Fields: Japanese School Girls Preparing for Service," *The Missionary Outlook* 45, no. 6 (June 1925): 142.
[46] Hamilton, "Seinenkai Nijūshunen wo Mukauru ni Saishite," 1.
[47] Amemiya Keisaku, ed., Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi* (Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1940), 52. The 'King' in "King's Daughters Society" referred to God.
[48] Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1923-1973: Part I* (Toronto: The Division of World Outreach, United Church of Canada, 1981), 266.
[49] "Seinenkai Kiji," in Hirose Yasoji, ed., *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]* (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1930), 98.

for children) which was explored in chapter one. It was considered the *Seinenkai* 'junior department,' demonstrating links between the WCTU and YWCA for age-based student work and engagement at Yamanashi Eiwa in this period.[50] The Yamanashi Eiwa 1930 *Dōsōkaihō* noted both groups had positions such as president, secretary, and treasurer, providing younger and older students the opportunity to take on leadership roles, and that participation was frequent, as students met weekly.[51] Like Shizuoka Eiwa, the Yamanashi Eiwa (*Joshi*) *Seinenkai* and *Shonen Kinshugun* groups merged to form the *Kōyūkai* in 1930.[52]

The three Eiwa schools changed the structure and make-up of their school societies when they formed a *Seinenkai*. The Yamanashi Eiwa *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi* (a commemorative publication for the school's fifty-year anniversary) explains the school first sent representatives to the YWCA summer retreat in 1912. It reported representatives continued to be sent, and the YWCA was formed with "a new stimulus received from outside."[53] This suggests the impetus for change came from YWCA retreat participation and wider outside influences. Hamilton's 1934 comment above demonstrates that at first, there may not have been significant alteration within the societies after formation. However, that appeared to change as the *Seinenkai* developed. The Yamanashi Eiwa *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi* also described the *Seinenkai* as a society through which "all the world's youth become one and joined hands."[54] And, that in working actively to create the new group, student *Ōjokai* members worked "according to the tide of a new age."[55] The YWCA was evidently viewed as a new product of its time in which young women from around the world could take part in collective experiences, and ideally build

[50] "Seinenkai Kiji," 98-99.
[51] "Seinenkai Kiji," 99.
[52] Amemiya Keisaku, *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi*, 55.
[53] Amemiya Keisaku, *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi*, 53.
[54] Amemiya Keisaku, *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi*, 53.
[55] Amemiya Keisaku, *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi*, 53.

connections through transnational Christian engagement. It appears the organization was viewed as part of the trends of a new global age and thus, it took the place of an older school society.

According to Leila J. Rupp, "[i]f we recognize that all ties among groups of people are constructed, not "natural," then we can contemplate ways that different transnational actors ... can design means to facilitate the creation of a variety of collective identities."[56] By forming school YWCA groups, participating students, educators, and alumnae likely began to view themselves as part of the Japan and wider World's YWCA organization. Indeed, a 1936 YWCA Girls' High School Division Member Handbook shows print materials created for student members included information about the Japan and World's YWCA and emphasized the connection of girls' high school YWCA groups to the wider organization.[57]

Period YWCA activities included mutual exchange which transcended nations. For example, *The Japan Times & Mail* wrote in 1927 that within the YWCA Girls' Department, "[t]here are contacts with other nationalities and races through personal friendships and the exchange of letters and pictures and the sharing of common interests and ideals."[58] Eiwa student participation in exchange and the sharing and receiving of physical goods like letters, scrapbooks, and pictures will be explored below. This shows this network, and indeed the wider YWCA, considered personal, and importantly *mutual*, correspondence across national boundaries and between the East and West worthwhile and effective in the effort to connect young people by encouraging them to learn about their peers around the world, to recognize

[56] Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 226, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=6388557.

[57] See "Y.W.C.A. Jogakubu: Jogakubu Kaiin Hand Book," Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai Nihon Dōmei Jogakubu, 1936, Source ID 1201701713, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan.

[58] "Y.W.C.A. Plays Important Part In Life of Japanese Girls: Activities Described of Tokyo Branch Which Today Dedicates Cornerstone of New Building," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 4 Dec, 1927, 6.

commonalities, and to teach their peers about their lives, school, and customs.

The activities engaged in, and ideas discussed through *Seinenkai* participation can be further investigated by exploring student research. For example, the 1930 Yamanashi Eiwa *Dōsōkaihō* reported as part of YWCA activities, students researched women's education, social problems and projects, and various aspects of service.[59] Chapter two explored the role of service within Eiwa school culture, and chapter one noted how service was also central to the ethos behind WCTU work. *Seinenkai* (and later *Kōyūkai*) activities appear to have been a place where service, along with women's and social issues, were studied at Yamanashi Eiwa as well.

The CGIT (Canadian Girls in Training) evidently played a role in the development of the Eiwa school YWCAs, and potentially in the formation of a collective experience between young women in Canada and Japan. Shizuoka Eiwa's *Seinenkai* was reportedly influenced by Principal Olivia Lindsay's CGIT activities in Canada.[60] Thus, this group can help us understand the early formation and design of the Eiwa school YWCAs (although, as it was created the same year as Tōyō Eiwa's *Seinenkai*, it was likely not influential in the initial founding there). The CGIT began in 1915.[61] Viewing girls' work as most successful when engaged in within a small group of "self-governing ... girls" and a leader ensuring members' responsibility, the original goal of the CGIT "was to create a Christian education program that would meet the needs of girls 12-17 years of age in every part of Canada."[62] The CGIT was formed by leaders from the Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian denominations, and from the YMCA and YWCA.[63] It "became, after its establishment in 1915, the core of feminine youth work within the Protestant

[59] "Seinenkai Kiji," 99.
[60] Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 541.
[61] Molly Hewitt, *Sixty Years of CGIT: 1915-75* (Toronto: The National CGIT Committee, 1975), 2. I accessed a photocopy of this information at the Shizuoka Eiwa Gakuin Daigaku archives.
[62] Hewitt, *Sixty Years of CGIT*, 2-3.
[63] Hewitt, *Sixty Years of CGIT*, 2.

churches of Canada," as "the founders of the CGIT turned their attention to the spiritual and social environment of the adolescent girl."[64] Already existing Sunday school classes became the CGIT groups.[65] In 1926, Winifred Thomas estimated at least twenty thousand of thirty-three thousand CGIT members were from the United Church.[66] By March of 1934, there were thirty-nine thousand seven-hundred CGIT members.[67]

The CGIT was connected to the Canadian YWCA (which may help explain why it later served as a basis for the formation of the Shizuoka Eiwa *Seinenkai*). For example, in 1921, Kathleen Mc Arthur described a pageant at Tōyō Eiwa, "its chief value being in the development throughout of the underlying principle of the four-fold life in accordance with the Canadian Girls in Training programme. This idea we hope to apply to the activities of our school [YWCA]. We believe it has a great and useful place in our various organizations for girls here."[68] Mc Arthur was referring to the CGIT 'four-fold life' which focused on developing girls' skills in physical, social, intellectual, and religious areas.[69] Una Saunders, the General Secretary of the Dominion Council of the YWCA, served as the chairman of the CGIT Advisory Committee, and the YWCA provided financial support for its first five years of operation.[70]

---

[64] Gabrielle Blais, "The Complete Feminine Personality Female Adolescence in the Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT), 1915-1955" (MA diss., University of Ottawa, 1986), 7, *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/dissertations-theses/complete-feminine-personality-female-adolescence/docview/303576835/se-2?accountid=13042.

[65] Frances Russell, *The CGIT Manual ... for Leaders* (N.p.: Canadian Council of Churches, 1964), 179. I accessed a photocopy of this information at the Shizuoka Eiwa Gakuin Daigaku archives.

[66] Winifred Thomas, "Woman's Work Through the Year: Plans and Preparations for Larger Service," *The New Outlook* 2, no. 23 (9 June, 1926): 5.

[67] Evelyn Craw, "C.G.I.T. 'Twenty Years A-Growing'," *The New Outlook* 11, no. 6 (6 Feb, 1935): 149.

[68] Kathleen Mc Arthur, "Latest Tidings from Our Mission Fields: Gymnasium and Assembly Hall Much Needed," *The Missionary Outlook* 41, no. 11 (November 1921): 226.

[69] Hewitt, *Sixty Years of CGIT*, 3.

[70] Russell, *The CGIT manual ... for leaders*, 176.



Figure 5. 'Japanese Girls in Training' or JGIT members. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 2000.017P/3051. J.G.I.T. in the school garden, [193-?]

By 1936, Japan (where the group was called the JGIT, the 'Japanese Girls in Training') and other countries such as China, Bermuda, and Trinidad were using CGIT material.[71] The spread of CGIT materials to these countries is striking. As part of the Dominion of Canada's Protestant girls' religious and social youth culture, the CGIT spread to countries, except for Japan, with a connection to the British Empire. Evelyn Craw wrote in 1935 that "[t]eachers and nurses who are serving as missionaries in" Japan, among other areas, "have carried the "girls in training" plan with them," and that "Japan has pioneered in camp work and last summer marked the third year for a "J.G.I.T." camp."[72] Although Japan was not part of the British Empire like, for example, Canada and Trinidad, Canadian missionaries evidently brought aspects of their training and Protestant youth culture with them. In this way, ideas and methods of youth engagement were transferred through non-diplomatic channels, in schools and by educators. As evident by the group gathering shown in Figure 5, although further information regarding this photograph including the location was not provided, the JGIT evidently had a physical connection to the WMS schools, as well as intellectually through its role in the institution's *Seinenkai* development and missionary educational methods.

As will be evident later in this chapter, Eiwa students were able to discover how and what kind of YWCA work was being conducted at other institutions through, for example, summer retreats attended by students from other Japanese girls' schools. This was the case for Methodist camps as well: Evelyn Craw noted in *The New Outlook* in 1933 that girls aged fifteen to

[71] Russell, *The CGIT manual ... for leaders*, 180.
[72] Craw, "C.G.I.T. 'Twenty Years A-Growing'," 149.

seventeen years of age attended camps "from a number of different places and thus they make new friends and discover what other Church groups are doing." [73] Such intellectual exchange reportedly also occurred among CGIT members through literature. Regarding CGIT publication *The Torch*'s readership, the magazine wrote in 1927: "In reading what has been written by other girls of other denominations, from other provinces; learning what they are thinking and how they are carrying out the programme, Canadian Girls In Training cannot fail to realize that they are members, not of a local and provincial organization, but members of a movement that embraces the whole Dominion [of Canada]."[74]

Thus, the CGIT played a role in the formation, organization, and activities of some of the Eiwa school *Seinenkai* groups. These school YWCA societies were formed from previously existing groups reportedly due to current world trends, and to encourage the connection of young women outside their schools and across national borders through Christian engagement and, as we will see, mutual exchange and communication. By engaging in YWCA activities, Eiwa actors participated in, and contributed to, the work of an intergenerational group of women which transcended nations. The following sections will explore what forms this participation took in the 1930s, and the significance of these activities.

4.3 Collective Group Experience and YWCA Summer Retreats

YWCA activities aimed to foster a sense of collective identity and experience through event purposes and active member participation. These activities included the World's YWCA Week of Prayer on a global scale, and YWCA camps and summer retreats on a domestic scale.

[73] Evelyn Craw, "The Camp Adventure," *The New Outlook* 9, no. 24 (14 June, 1933): 458.
[74] "Canadians All," *The Torch: The Girls' Own Number* 3, no. 5 (May-June 1927), n.p. Found in Molly Hewitt, *Sixty Years of CGIT*, 7.

On global prayer events, *The New Outlook* wrote regarding the 1931 Women's World Day of Prayer: "The observance of this day throughout Canada has become more and more general during these past ten years. Thousands of women look forward to the power of these services, *united as we are with all others of the Christian group in all lands*, through the medium of our one programme." [emphasis added][75] This event was observed at the Eiwa schools as well. For example, on 14 February 1932, Yamanashi Eiwa students observed the Women's World Day of Prayer, chaired by student Nakazawa Chiyoko.[76]

In a similar way, prayer events encouraged the participation of Christian (women) from around the world, including those of the Eiwa schools, to take part in the temporally simultaneous religious practice. The practice had been adopted in Japan from early in the YWCA's history: Clarissa Hale Spencer who would become General Secretary of the World's (YWCA) Committee wrote regarding her visits to Japan and China in 1907 that the World's Week of Prayer was being observed.[77] In November of 1922, the Tōyō Eiwa *Seinenkai* participated in the World's YWCA Week of Prayer, holding prayer meetings twice a day. This continued yearly, as, according to the Tōyō Eiwa *Hyaku Nenshi*, the school began to view their *Seinenkai* as connected to the wider Japan and World's YWCAs.[78] This suggests participation in such a collective religious event contributed to the development of, or was a result of, a growing connection to the Japan and wider World's YWCAs. Yamanashi Eiwa observed the World's YWCA Week of Prayer in, for example, November of 1932 to 1935.[79] A Tōyō Eiwa

[75] "The Women's World Day of Prayer: Friday, February 12, 1932," *The New Outlook* 8, no. 5 (3 Feb, 1932): 106.

[76] "Kōnai Nisshi," in Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1932), 17.

[77] Rice, *A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association*, 95-96, 101.

[78] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 296.

[79] "Kōyūkai Ippan Jikō," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1933), 4, "Kōnai Kiji," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose

report on this event in November of 1927 wrote the purpose of taking part (praying) "for the same purpose" together with members of the world's YWCAs was for international friendship/goodwill (*kokusai shinzen*), suggesting prayer was considered a connecting experience which could transcend borders.[80] The school also observed this event in November of 1936 and 1937.[81] The World Week of Prayer from 12 to 18 November 1939 focused on peace, as participants "prayed for world peace to come as soon as possible."[82]

Barry A. Garst et. al have argued "[t]raditions and rituals foster group cohesion and community building."[83] Prayer was one 'ritual' or 'tradition' Eiwa students shared within their school experience, as well as with other Christians around the world. Although baptism was not mandatory as we saw in this study's introduction, the above discussion shows prayer/worship took place. Taking part in a religious activity at school at roughly the same time as women around the world widened the sphere of these young women's activity involvement to a scale which transcended national boundaries, and potentially created a sense of connection intellectually and religiously to the wider world. According to Terrence E. Deal and Kent D. Peterson, "[m]ission and purpose shape and reflect what the school hopes to accomplish."[84] In

---

Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 8, "Kōyūkai Nisshi," Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1935), 4, and "Kōyūkai Nisshi," in [Missing author], *[Missing Title] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1936), 4.

[80] "Seinenkai Hōkoku," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1929), 19.

[81] Katayama Tsuruko, "Seinenkai Hōkoku," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 7 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1937), 210 and "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Honnendo Shoshūkai," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 8 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1938), 147.

[82] "Seinenkai Hōkoku," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 10 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1940), 104.

[83] Barry A. Garst et al., "Youth development and the camp experience," *New Directions for Youth Development* no. 130 (Summer 2011): 78, DOI: 10.1002/yd.398.

[84] Terrence E. Deal and Kent D. Peterson, *Shaping School Culture*, 3rd ed (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2016), 70, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=4605622.

encouraging participation in transnational global and especially women's prayer events, members of the Eiwa schools likely hoped to foster a sense of student connection with women globally and encourage Christian religious practice. Through their participation, students concretely and actively took on such engagement with this network.

As noted above, YWCA student members learned about the wider YWCA organization. Tangible connections were created between Tōyō Eiwa and the wider Japan and World's YWCAs. "There was a lot of connection with the [YWCA] headquarters," explained Tsugawa Michiko in 1934.[85] Tsugawa outlined an example of participation in activities at the *Heiwa Hakurankai* or Tokyo Peace Exposition, held in Ueno Park in Tokyo in 1922, "the largest Japanese exposition to date" which included a "peace tower" and "peace bell."[86] The YWCA constructed a rest area/pavilion at the exhibition.[87] Tsugawa explained Tōyō Eiwa sent twenty students, including herself, to sing as entertainment.[88] In this case, Tōyō Eiwa students participated in an event organized by the wider YWCA which took them physically outside their school to participate in YWCA activities within their community in a location constructed to memorialize and symbolize peace.

Widening the scale further, Ōhori Shigeko wrote in 1934 that twenty years prior, Tōyō Eiwa's *Ōjokai* (King's Daughters Society) connected with the international YWCA.[89] Ōhori

[85] Tsugawa Michiko, "Seinenkai Kakochō Yori," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinenshi Section]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 18.

[86] Tsugawa, "Seinenkai Kakochō Yori," 18. On the Tokyo Peace Exposition, see Frederick R. Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1017/CBO9781139794794. Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan*, 42, 144.

[87] Tsugawa, "Seinenkai Kakochō," 18.

[88] Tsugawa, "Seinenkai Kakochō," 18.

[89] Ōhori Shigeko, "Omoide no Issetsu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinenshi Section]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 15.

conceptualized Tōyō Eiwa's *Seinenkai* as being part of a wider, international association. She explains it was when the *Ōjokai* became the *Seinenkai* that it entered this wider organization. Ōhori also wrote about praying "with fellows around the world" during the annual World's YWCA Week of Prayer.[90] Ōhori stated she had visited the New York City YWCA cafeteria when in the United States. She wrote about working for the same goal as others, and that before God, ethnic/racial national boundaries (*jinrui kokkyō*) were transcended.[91] As such, Ōhori referenced the collective experience of the World's YWCA Week of Prayer, and religious practice for a common goal which she felt transcended the boundaries of countries and races.

The Eiwa school YWCA groups also appear to have been in touch with branches of the YWCA at other Christian schools. For example, Iai Jogakkō's YWCA sent a congratulatory message to Tōyō Eiwa for the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Tōyō Eiwa *Seinenkai* in 1934.[92] The American Methodist Episcopalian Church founded Iai Jogakkō in 1874 in Hakodate, Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost main island.[93] This demonstrates connection and intellectual exchange between Tōyō Eiwa and other mission schools in Japan (and more specifically in the case of Iai, schools with Methodist backgrounds) through the association of their *Seinenkai* groups. In addition, in 1922, *The Japan Advertiser* reported the Tokyo YWCA held an athletic meet for girls' students in Tokyo at the Ochanomizu Jogakkō girls' school; students from Tōyō Eiwa and other girls' schools participated.[94]

---

[90] Ōhori, "Omoide no Issetsu," 16.
[91] Ōhori, "Omoide no Issetsu," 16.
[92] Iai Jogakkō Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai, "Shukuji," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinenshi Section]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 7.
[93] "Rekishi Enkaku [History]," *Gakkō Hōjin Iai Gakuin*, accessed 7 Mar, 2020, http://www.iaijoshi-h.ed.jp/main/about/history.html.
[94] "Girls of Tokyo Schools Hold Athletic Meet Under Y.W.C.A.: Two Thousand See Contest at Ochanomizu—Cup Presented to Dai Ichi Gakko by Association President," *The Japan Advertiser,* 28 May, 1922, 16.

Students also engaged and communicated with girls of other schools through camps and YWCA retreats. Camps were a key part of Christian religious education for young people. Writing in 1922 on summer schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *The Christian Advocate* periodical stated "[m]any of our colleges and universities … during the summer months … are scenes of bustling activity. ... These developments point to a larger sphere of usefulness for our schools[.] … The latest and most significant development of the summer school idea is to be found in the Summer Schools of Religious Education."[95] Summer school students used textbooks, attended lectures, participated in Bible study, and in recreational activities.[96] Further, "[o]ne of the special incentives" for girls of the CGIT "was the chance to be one of the chosen representatives from their various areas to a provincially sponsored camp council. Girls from small and large, rural and urban communities interchanged ideas[.] ... Together they considered ways in which CGIT and their own lives could be strengthened and enriched by fellowship, Bible study, prayer and outreach."[97] Youth camps could encourage the development of social and practical skills, peer fellowship, and Christian engagement. Through such exchange, unique points of one's own school may have been discovered and shared, contributing to the creation of a school community ethos and identity.

The summer conference was a YWCA tradition as well. Thirty-five young women attended the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) summer conference held in Japan in 1905. In 1906, a YWCA conference was held with one hundred-sixty girls "from twenty-six mission and government schools, most of them Christians."[98] According to Margaret Prang, the event was planned by Caroline Macdonald and Kawai Michi, and was based on conferences

[95] "A New Movement in Liberal Education," *The Christian Advocate* 97, no. 20 (18 May, 1922): 631.
[96] "Summer School of Missions," *The Christian Advocate* 97, no. 23 (8 June, 1922): 716.
[97] Hewitt, *Sixty Years of CGIT*, 8.
[98] Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself*, 44.

held in North America. Activities included Bible study and internationalism, through discussions of student work in other areas which "revealed the priorities of the planners for the education of young women in Japan."[99] In addition to personal skills and social development, religious training was also key to these camps and conferences. "Of its many diverse lines of service, the Y.W.C.A.'s yearly summer conferences and camps are perhaps the greatest factor in the direct evangelism of girls of every class," and "[t]hey are the power house that sends out strong religious impulses to individual girls and to schools," wrote Kawai and Kubushiro Ochimi.[100] They explained the YWCA "hold[s] summer camps at Gotemba and Nojiri [Nagano], and many other localities, and gather[s] hundreds of girls from all the colleges and mission schools throughout Japan. These summer camps provide recreation, spiritual fellowship and mental uplift."[101] The Nojiri (Nagano) camp was founded in 1931 by Canadian missionary Emma Kaufman of the Tokyo YWCA, "for training young women in mind and body, and leadership training through outdoor education."[102]

Camps/retreats provided Eiwa students an opportunity to interact with students from other girls' schools, and learn about the YWCA and other topics including, as will be evident, customs of other countries, peace, and women's issues. Period Eiwa school publications refer to these camps/conferences as *shūyōkai* or 'retreats;' *shūyō* means character building, training, or self-improvement. Gwen R. P. Norman argued that sending Tōyō Eiwa King's Daughters' Society delegates to the 1914 YWCA summer conference "brought the girls into contact with Christian girls outside their school and broadened their view of Christian responsibility."[103] The Gotemba

[99] Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself*, 44.
[100] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 27. Chapter two touched on religious training in Eiwa camps.
[101] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 105-106.
[102] "Kyanpu Camp: Nojiri Kyanpu," *Tokyo YWCA: The Young Women's Christian Association of Tokyo*, accessed 18 Sept, 2021, https://www.tokyo.ywca.or.jp/child/camp/our_camp/.
[103] Gwen R. P. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973: Part I*, 266.

retreats also appear to have played a role in solidifying one's identity as a YWCA member. As Tōyō Eiwa student Wakao Saeko wrote in 1938: "By being able to attend this retreat, I was able to become distinctly self-aware as a YWCA member. I think likely if [I] hadn't had this opportunity, my life now and my attitude toward the Seinenkai would be very different."[104]

1930s Gotemba retreat activities included international learning and peace activities. These topics are striking given the wider Japanese social and intellectual trends in this period which this study has outlined. The previous mentioned first YWCA camp at Lake Nojiri in 1931 was held at the Lake Nojiri 'International Village' (previously mentioned in chapter two).[105] Yamanashi Eiwa student Kitano Tomoko described an 'international evening' which was held at the 1933 Gotemba retreat. Kitano notes they had a talk on Western girls' students, learned about German girls' and American education, and heard from people who had returned from England, America, and China who were studying at Keisen Jogakuen, Kawai Michi's Tokyo school. Kitano explained at the international evening, "I was able to learn many things about other countries;" and as chapter three noted, Kitano stated importantly: "I came to know that for international peace, one must know" other countries "well." [106] Students then split into groups. In the author's group, they discussed the *Seinenkai* activities at their schools. They also discussed world peace, including "as students, first knowing a lot about other countries, second, having foreign friends and understanding each other, third, getting close to those who come to Japan and learning from them, fourth, knowing more by reading."[107] Shizuoka Eiwa student

[104] Wakao Saeko, "Jogakusei Jidai," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Muraoka Hanako, Shōwa Jūni-sannen Senkyūhyakusanjūnana-hachinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 152.

[105] Tokyo YWCA 100 Shūnen Kinin Iinkai, ed., "Nenpyō Tokyo YWCA no 100 Nen [100 Year Chronology of the Tokyo YWCA]," Zaidan Hōjin Tokyo Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai, accessed 10 Mar, 2020, 12, https://www.tokyo.ywca.or.jp/about/ywca100th.pdf.

[106] Kitano Tomoko, in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934), 32.

[107] Kitano, 33.

delegates Kawae Toyoko and Suzuki Mitsue also reported on this international evening, noting topics included British hymns and French songs, the current state of girls' school students around the world, and Ukrainian Cossack (Hopak) dancing.[108] Activities at these 1930s Gotemba retreats thus included international learning and peace, and Kitano described the perceived importance of creating knowledge and understanding methods for fostering international peace. This aligns with period views regarding methods for achieving peace and school activities connected to peace which chapter three discussed.

Yatabe Reiko described the 1935 YWCA Gotemba summer retreat which took place from 23 to 31 July. Approximately two-hundred student representatives from twenty-three schools and three city YWCAs attended.[109] Participants took part in Bible study and split into discussion groups. Yatabe's group discussed 'love and service,' and during these discussions, the group was to speak "freely" and "honestly" about their thoughts, while a teacher lead.[110] This year, the camp had a new activity which was termed 'YWCA time,' during which they considered how to improve the YWCA, and Tsune Gauntlett also gave a talk.[111] Yatabe reported participants expressed their opinions on what they would like to see happen within their own school's *Seinenkai*.[112] This suggests free thinking and problem solving were aspects valued in choosing retreat activities. It also demonstrates that through these events, girls' school students interacted with women of the Japan YWCA and other students. Such discussions also

[108] Kawae Toyoko and Suzuki Mitsue, "Gotemba Shūyōkai no Kansō," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 37 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1933), 57-58. Toyoko (豊子) can also be read, for example, as Atsuko, Suzuki (鈴木) as Susuki, and Mitsue (光枝) as Terue.

[109] Yatabe Reiko, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Seikatsu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 157.

[110] Yatabe, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Seikatsu," 158.

[111] "Gauntlett, Tuneko, 1873-1954," National Diet Library: Web NDL Authorities, accessed 6 Oct, 2019, https://id.ndl.go.jp/auth/ndlna/00440634.

[112] Yatabe, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Seikatsu," 158-159. Gauntlett was discussed in chapters one and three.

encouraged them to consider the situation of their own school's YWCA as well, which may have impacted personal and organizational development. This idea of development through knowledge of other institutional activities will be explored further below, through the example of YWCA International Departments.

The 1936 Gotemba YWCA retreat was held from 23 to 30 July.[113] Miyagawa Tomoe of Yamanashi Eiwa noted approximately one hundred-seventy students attended, including six representatives of Yamanashi Eiwa.[114] Katayama Tsuruko of Tōyō Eiwa explained all attendees were "in harmony, thought together, prayed together, and played together."[115] This quote illuminates Katayama's impression of the collective experience created through attending this retreat, as well as reflecting the 'central idea' (*chūshin shisō*) of the retreat itself: 'cooperation through Christ.' On this point, Katayama further explained that when attendees gathered in the cafeteria to eat dinner for the first time, it felt like they were a family.[116] Katayama described a feeling of connection to fellow attendees which may have stemmed from shared Christian practice, retreat attendance, and activity participation.

Katayama and her fellow Tōyō Eiwa delegates also interacted with students from other schools on a social, educational, and religious level. Such exchange occurred through conversation that was, in part, on the topic of the retreat. Katayama explained Tōyō Eiwa students talked with Joshi Gakuin students "about a life of cooperation through Christ."[117] Katayama's description echoed the retreat theme. Also, during what Katayama termed "Y.W

[113] Katayama Tsuruko, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Shūyōkai," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 7 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1937), 206.
[114] Miyagawa Tomoe, "Gotemba Shūyōkai Hōkoku," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin] [Kōyūkaishi Section]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1937), 26.
[115] Katayama, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Shūyōkai," 206.
[116] Katayama, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Shūyōkai," 206.
[117] Katayama, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Shūyōkai," 207. Joshi Gakuin is a girls' school in Tokyo.

time," (as noted above, this was reportedly a new addition to the 1935 camp), she wrote they heard about the *Seinenkai* of other schools, and as they were representing their own school's group, they felt a strong sense of responsibility.[118] In this way, students served as representatives of their schools in group discussions and intellectual exchange.

Eiwa student reports reveal these camps for Japanese girls' school students were an opportunity for training, intellectual and social exchange, and included topics of peace, internationalism, and women's issues. Katayama explained students had a talk on 'Influences on women's home, country, society, and world,' showing women's issues were touched upon at these camps.[119] Further, the 1937 Gotemba YWCA retreat was held between 23 and 30 July with approximately two hundred representatives from twenty-five schools in attendance.[120] Shizuoka Eiwa student Katō Yachiyo reported at this retreat, they had a talk on 'Women and the current state of affairs' by Dr. Kōra Tomiko (1896-1993).[121] Later a politician, Kōra was involved in women's and peace movements.[122] Tōyō Eiwa student Hanai Matsuko explained at this 1937 retreat, during 'YWCA time' they heard about other school's *Seinenkai* groups, and had lectures on YWCAs of the world, the international situation, and the role of women.[123] While students did not provide specific content of these talks, the themes discussed illuminate the significance of what took place at these 1930s retreats. Discussion of the West in 1933, a talk from peace-worker Tsune Gauntlett in 1935, and one by peace and women's movement-involved Dr. Kōra Tomi in 1937 are striking given wider nationalistic and militaristic 1930s

[118] Katayama, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Shūyōkai," 207.
[119] Katayama, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Shūyōkai," 207.
[120] Hanai Matsuko, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Seikatsu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 8 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1938), 140.
[121] Katō Yachiyo, "Gotemba Shūyōkai no Kansō," in Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai/Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Kaihō/Dōsōkaihō [Report/Bulletin/Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 42 (Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 20.
[122] "Kōra Tomi," Kotobank, accessed 16 Jan, 2019, https://kotobank.jp/word/高良%20とみ-1644619.
[123] Hanai, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Seikatsu," 141.

social and intellectual trends. These activities suggest retreat organizers wished to expose students to peace issues and individuals engaged in peace work. YWCA Gotemba retreat activities thus presented students an opportunity to learn about international ideas and customs throughout the 1930s. These events also brought Japanese youth together. In a similar way, global prayer events, Tōyō Eiwa participation in activities of the National Headquarters of the YWCA, and communication through the YWCA of other Japanese girls' schools connected Eiwa students with their peers within the wider community in Japan and around the world.

4.4 The YWCA, Transnational Connections, and Peace Activities

The YWCA connected multiple generations of Christian women. It transcended national boundaries and created a transnational community. Margaret Prang described the YWCA as having "a female culture that in considerable degree transcended national distinctions."[124] And, as Kawai Michi and Kubushiro Ochimi recognized in 1934, the YWCA "serves as a connecting link between this country [Japan] and others." [125] The Japan YWCA's initial formation in 1905 took place around the end of the Russo-Japanese War. As chapter one noted, Sho Konishi explains this period saw significant public interest in the practice of "the international auxiliary language Esperanto," the formation of the Nonwar Movement, and its "distinctive role in inspiring a burgeoning women's movement."[126] This era thus saw an interest in communication and connection building across national boundaries, peace movements, and women's issues in Japan. The Eiwa school YWCA groups were then formed between 1915 and 1920-1921. In

[124] Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself*, 294.
[125] Kawai and Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak*, 176.
[126] Sho Konishi, *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 258, 164, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9781684175314.

writing on the interwar years, Andrew Arsan et. al explain recent scholars have examined "the inception of an aspirational and imagined global community above and beyond the imperial or national state" on the concept of a global civil society.[127] Arsan et. al note members of the YWCA, among other organizations, "drew strength from the mere knowledge of belonging to broader, global, networks of association."[128] This chapter explores how YWCA activities contributed to and were actively *utilized* to further international knowledge, communication, and exchange with individuals in the wider world for Eiwa students and alumnae. Intertwined with this learning, peace-related activities took place within the Eiwa schools, and in the wider Japan YWCAs.

Activities of the wider Tokyo and Japan YWCAs in the 1920s and 1930s show how, where, and through which actors such activities took place. For example, a social was held in March of 1923 at the YWCA where *The Japan Times & Mail* reported "[i]t is expected that Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, the noted worker in the cause of world peace, will be present and address the meeting on the subject "Christ and World Chaos.""[129] At the annual meeting of the Kyoto YWCA in February of 1929, the newspaper reported a Mrs. Y. Yuasa of Osaka spoke on "The international Y.W.C.A.," and a Mrs. S. Komai of Kyoto on "The Peace Movement of the world."[130] On 23 October, it reported Dr. Tomi Wada Kohara (likely referring to Dr. Kōra Tomi) spoke at the YWCA on "Woman and the Peace Movement."[131] As chapter three explored, the 1930s appears to have been perceived as a time of urgency to connect people across nations

[127] Andrew Arsan et al., "Editorial – the roots of global civil society and the interwar moment," *Journal of Global History* 7, no. 2 (July 2012): 159, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022812000010.
[128] Arsan et al., "Editorial," 161.
[129] "Local and General," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 17 March, 1923, 8. This may have been the Tokyo YWCA.
[130] "Personals and Local Items," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 16 Feb, 1929, 3.
[131] "Social and Personal Notes," *The Japan Times & Mail,* 22 Oct, 1933, 6. This may have been the Tokyo YWCA.

to address a worsening world situation. Through the YWCA as well, in 1934, the Tokyo YWCA established the *Kokusai Yūkōbu* (International Friendship Department), and in 1935, a convention was held for high school girls' students of the Tokyo YWCA entitled *Kirisutokyō Gakusei to Heiwa* (Christian Students and Peace) with four-hundred attendees.[132]

Themes of peace and international learning were also found in 1920s and 1930s Eiwa school YWCA activities and writings about the organization. For example, on 6 July 1933, the Shizuoka Eiwa *Seinenkai* reported on a presentation session on 'world friendship' (*sekai yūai*) which featured student presentations on the customs of foreign countries. Students reported on Greece, Siam, China, Manchuria, and Holland.[133] Further, one of the themes of this school year's Shizuoka Eiwa YWCA meetings was 'On/About Peace' (*Heiwa Nitsuite*).[134] Tōyō Eiwa's *Kaede* refers to a lecture at the school in November of 1933 where a Miss Mills (*Mirusu*) of the World's YWCA gave a talk on 'Internationalism and Christianity.'[135] This was Marianne Mills, the Secretary for Education and Assistant for General Administration of the World's YWCA from 1926.[136] The word peace was also used to describe *Seinenkai* activities: "May the YWCA be loved by people and love people, and as a messenger of peace, leave strong footprints," Ishikawa Shizuko wrote in 1934.[137] In the 1935-1936 school year, as part of the *Seinenkai Shigotobu* (Work Department), Tōyō Eiwa student(s) made dolls for *Heiwa Kinenbi*,

[132] Tokyo YWCA 100 Shūnen Kinin Iinkai, "Nenpyō Tokyo YWCA no 100 Nen," 14.

[133] "Seinenkai Hōkoku," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 37 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1933), 54.

[134] "Seinenkai Hōkoku," Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkai Kaihō* (1933), 55.

[135] "Seinenkai 20 Nenshi: Kiji," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu, *Kaede [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinenshi Section]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934), 33.

[136] Rice, *A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association*, n.p. This is found on the second page of the "List of Illustrations" section before the Introduction on page 1.

[137] Ishikawa, "Shukuji," 4. My thanks to Mina Horikami for sharing thoughts on translating this passage.

the anniversary of the end of World War I.[138] These actors evidently linked the work of the YWCA with peace and international learning. This may have been due to the transnational network of Christian women the YWCA constructed and represented. As seen in chapter three, the formation and recognition of, and communication within a transnational community appears to have been central to these actors' conceptualization of peace, and how it could be achieved. Christian women and young people were viewed as key players in this work for peace and transnational engagement. As the YWCA was, and is, a global Christian women's group, it aligned with and facilitated the transnational connectivity this network envisioned and practiced.

Not only did students in Japan learn about the West, these groups also encouraged mutual exchange and learning between girls in different countries, such as Canada. For example, in 1932, the Tōyō Eiwa *Seinenkai* religious department (*shūkyōbu*) received a scrapbook from a Canadian high school and resolved to send something in return.[139] The following year, this department decided to send various Japanese products in return as a Christmas present, stating: "Please pray that this small messenger of international friendship will ride the waves and arrive safely in [Canada]."[140] In the 1935-1936 school year, "for the purpose of international friendship," the Tōyō Eiwa *Seinenkai* put drawings showing Japanese customs together into a scrapbook to be sent to "our friends in Canada."[141] As further "international friendship work," students collected photographs of Tōyō Eiwa, and wrote letters and English language

[138] "Seinenkai Kakubu no Koe: Shigotobu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 160.

[139] Toriumi Michiko, "Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kirisutokyō Seinenkai Kakubu Hōkoku: Shūkyōbu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kōyūkaishi [Kōyūkai Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 3 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1932), 38. See also "Shohōkoku: Kirisutokyō Seinenkai: Shūkyōbu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kōyūkaishi [Kōyūkai Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 4 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1933), 70.

[140] "Shohōkoku: Kirisutokyō Seinenkai: Shūkyōbu," 70.

[141] "Seinenkai Kakubu no Koe: Seigekibu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 160.

compositions to send to Canada.[142] English was a language for mutual exchange to share knowledge and build friendship between young women across nations. Such exchange was still taking place as late as 1940: Tōyō Eiwa's *Kaede* noted on 24 April 1940, "today in response to presents from Canadian girls' students," the *Seinenkai* "decided to plan a gift of thanks."[143]

An example of a student's letter to a young woman in Canada was published in the 1930 edition of Tōyō Eiwa's *Kōyūkaishi* publication. Student Miyo Fukui wrote in an English-language letter addressed 'Dear Canadian Girl' about Tōyō Eiwa's school motto, the timeline of their school year, the school trip she had taken to Kyoto, Nara, and Lake Biwa, Japan, and a school concert. While this source did not state the letter was written as part of YWCA activities (although, as the *Kōyūkaishi* publication also included a report on YWCA activities, it may have been), it is an example of what students included in their letters.[144] A key focus of Eiwa education was the interaction of Japanese and Western women. Again, in the case of such student letters, this exchange was mutual, as Japanese high school students not only learned about the West and the English language, but used that language to teach Canadian girls about themselves, their lives, schools, and Japan through intellectual and letter/object exchange. Eiwa students connected themselves to the wider world which, through these activities specifically, was represented by an intellectual connection to Canada. In sending letters to Canada as part of 'international friendship work,' the country symbolized a foreign nation of peers for students to connect with and relate to through drawings, photographs, and the English language.

In the late 1930s, YWCA summer retreat activities reportedly encouraged international

---

[142] "Seinenkai Kakubu no Koe: Seisho Kenkyūbu," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko, no. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936), 161.

[143] "Seinenkai Hōkoku," Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede* (1940), 102.

[144] Miyo Fukui, "Dear Canadian Girl,-" in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, *Kōyūkaishi [Kōyūkai Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Tsuruki Fumiko (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1930), 56-57. In this English letter, Fukui wrote her name starting with her first name.

interest among Eiwa students that was, in turn, tangibly brought back into their schools in concrete actions. In the 1937-1938 school year, Yamanashi Eiwa students who served as delegates to the YWCA (likely summer of 1937, as will be discussed below) Gotemba retreat reportedly returned with what student Horikawa Sumie termed an *omiyage* or souvenir from the event: the idea of forming a *Kokusaibu*, or International Department; as Horikawa stated in 1938: "An International Department has been newly established in our school."[145] Although by this time Yamanashi Eiwa's *Seinenkai* had merged into the *Kōyūkai*, Horikawa states the inspiration for this development came from the retreat, and the YWCA was connected to the activities the department planned to undertake.[146] The *Kokusaibu* was established with ten students from first to fifth year, Horikawa Sumie as chairperson, and missionary Ethel Gwendolyn Suttie (1892-1974) as leader.[147] Although a teacher was set as leader of this group, Horikawa's role as chairperson shows students held leadership positions as well.

According to Horikawa, the purpose of the *Kokusaibu* was to "exchange with foreign girls' students, and as we build true friendships, learn as much as possible about the lifestyles of foreign girls' students as well as that country's conditions, manners, and customs."[148] They also planned to put articles from newspapers and magazines about international news on a bulletin board.[149] Horikawa continued to write that with the support of a teacher, "we were informed of the addresses of the Y.W.C.A[.] of various countries, and in the near future, plan to exchange dolls, photographs, manners, and customs and so forth, with various countries."[150] Department

[145] Horikawa Sumie, "Zappō: Kokusaibu Dayori," in Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, ed. Hirose Yasoji (Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938), 162.

[146] As mentioned above, although Yamanashi Eiwa no longer had a YWCA at this time, the *Kōyūkai* reportedly took on the work of the YWCA at Shizuoka Eiwa and was formed from the *Seinenkai* and *Shonen Kinshubu* at Yamanashi Eiwa. Further, we will see below this department's activities included the YWCA.

[147] Horikawa, "Zappō: Kokusaibu Dayori," 162.

[148] Horikawa, "Zappō," 162.

[149] Horikawa, "Zappō," 162-163.

[150] Horikawa, "Zappō," 163.

members hoped to create a "world peace globe" (*heiwa chikyugi*) to "understand at a glance each country's land and sea transportation, famous products and scenic spots and historic sites, and the customs of the world and various countries, and symbolize international friendship," and to set up an International Department Room (*Kokusaibu Shitsu*) for the school's fiftieth anniversary [1939] so everyone could see "many new things."[151] According to Horikawa's report, student representatives to the Gotemba conference brought back the idea to form an International Department to their school, which would "symbolize international friendship."[152]

With which countries would the exchange Horikawa refers to take place? Anna V. Rice compiled a history of the World's YWCA in 1947 that listed countries which had YWCA groups and may shed light on this question. National YWCA Associations ('Active Members') of Australia, Canada, China, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Iceland, India, Burma, and Ceylon, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Malaya, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States of America had been formed prior to Horikawa's 1938 report (and were active as of 1947).[153] Further, according to Rice, YWCA work had been organized in Algeria, Madagascar, Morocco, and Tunisia through France, Argentina, Austria (until 1938 and from 1932 to 1938 aligned with the German Association), the Bahama Islands, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Guiana, Bulgaria (until 1944), Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Greece, Grenada, Kenya, Malaya, Malta, Mexico, Newfoundland through Canada, Nigeria, Palestine, Philippine Islands, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Surinam, Syria and Lebanon, and Uruguay as either 'Corresponding Members' or 'Pioneer Associations.'

[151] Horikawa, "Zappō," 163.
[152] Horikawa, "Zappō," 162.
[153] Rice, *A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association*, 285. These countries and those of the footnote below are listed as Rice referred to them. Estonia had not been functioning from 1940 but was active at the time of Horikawa's 1938 report.

Finland had withdrawn in 1928, Latvia ceased functioning from 1936, South Africa had withdrawn in 1931. There were also Associations "not yet recognized as Pioneer Associations, in the Gold Coast, Iraq, Liberia, Peru, Puerto Rico, and Siam."[154]

Therefore, Yamanashi Eiwa's International Department may have intended to contact some of these countries to conduct exchange. However, Horikawa did not specify with which countries, nor logistics, such as through which language(s) this communication would take place. In the case that the *Kokusaibu*'s plans were confined to National Associations, target countries would likely have included those in Oceania, North America, Europe, and countries connected to the British Empire which would align with geographical and international conceptualizations of school activities explored elsewhere in this study. Overall, this activity was intended to build connections with the wider world through the YWCA and international learning. As such, this was extra-curricular education which did not align with period state ideology which separated Japan and the Western world, but instead encouraged student-led communication and exchange with foreign countries, including in the West.

In 1938, Tōyō Eiwa student Yamaguchi Suzuko also wrote about her plans to form an International Department or *Kokusaibu* in April of the following year. Yamaguchi appears to have heard about activities of the YWCA in other institutions, as she mentioned the work of International Departments in other schools in the 1938 issue of *Kaede*:

> Our Seinenkai ... plays a big role [in girls' education]. ... It seems the Seinenkai International Department holds a very important position in all of the work of the Seinenkai of other schools. In our Seinenkai also, I want to form this department and make the work of the Seinenkai even more meaningful. So what kind of work will the International Department do? ... Ultimately the main purpose will be to turn our

[154] Rice, *A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association*, 286-287. Chile, Estonia (until 1940), Indonesia, and Romania (*sic* Roumania) affiliated with the World's YWCA in 1938, so may not have been considered at the time Horikawa composed this report, depending on which type of YWCA organizations the group was intending to contact.

> eyes to the wide world, to seek [to also turn] our friends to the wide world. For that purpose, we will study the family life, life at girls' schools, and children's lives and so forth in foreign countries. We will research new products, customs, and such of various countries. ... Where are Japanese products exported to and from where and what kind of items are imported? Which prominent people of the world come to Japan to study, and to study what? To research these things will also be the work of the International Department. In addition, we will exchange letters with foreign friends, hold small gatherings with foreigners in Japan, ... and work toward friendship with other countries by joining hearts together.[155]

The formation of this department was discussed in a *Seinenkai* board meeting on 13 October 1937, and in a lecture by a Miss "*Rō"* on 25 October; this was likely Mildred Roe, "[a]n American YWCA secretary ... who had worked with the Japanese YWCA during the 1930s."[156] These developments show even in the late 1930s, Eiwa students were interested in developing international ideas, knowledge, and communication through *Seinenkai* and related activities at their schools, and in encouraging international knowledge within their peers. In this case, these developments appear to have been connected to such aspects as the influence of similar work being done at other schools, and attendance at Gotemba YWCA retreats.

According to these student reports, the 'international' was conceptualized as current conditions, news, transportation, products, places, and customs of other countries, and the lives of children, girls, and families in other countries, and also Japan's relation to the international through which foreigners came to Japan, and what products and items were being exported from Japan and to where. The purpose of studying these topics was reportedly to encourage communication and knowledge, and thus international friendship. Geographically, although the

[155] Yamaguchi Suzuko, "Seinenkai Hokoku: Kakubu Kaihōkoku: Kokusaibu ni Tsuite," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 8 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1938), 144.

[156] "Seinenkai Hokoku: Honnendo Shoshūkai," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 8 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1938), 146, Garner, "Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction," 206.

descriptions of these departments did not state which countries would be researched and contacted, the YWCA could be a connector, perhaps not only with Canada and the West, but potentially with other countries where the YWCA was active. Chapter two explored a notebook WMS missionary Frances Gertrude Hamilton composed in the pre-WWII period that suggests in addition to the Christian West, students at Tōyō Eiwa were taught the geography of Asia, Europe, Africa, the Americas, and Oceania, the history of China and Europe, and the relationship of Japan with other nations "to show the importance of world citizenship."[157] In connecting with female students around the world and learning about the lifestyles of young people in foreign countries, age and gender surfaced as key connecting points as these young women studied about their global peers. In this way, young Japanese women became active participants in this transnational exchange and international education through the YWCA.

Before analyzing these developments and discussing relationships between them, a note on dating may be helpful. As Yamanashi Eiwa's 1938 *Dōsōkaihō* was published in September of 1938, the Gotemba retreat Horikawa mentions could have taken place in the summer of 1937, or the summer of 1938, directly before publication. However, it is perhaps unlikely that a school club could be organized and formed between the end of July (the 1937 retreat took place from 23 to 30 July) and publication in September.[158] So, it is likely the retreat Horikawa referred to took place in the summer of 1937. Toyo Eiwa's 1938 issue of *Kaede*, meanwhile, was published in March of 1938. Therefore, if the development of Tōyō Eiwa's International Department was also sparked by participation in a Gotemba retreat, it would have likely taken place in the summer of 1937 as well. However, neither resource stated the date these departments were

[157] Frances Gertrude Hamilton, Notebook, Undated, Source ID 1201822325, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan, n.p. [17, 14-15] While the notebook does not have page numbers, I have provided numbers for reference.

[158] Hanai, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Gotemba no Seikatsu," 140.

formed or expected to be formed, except for discussions on the topic at Tōyō Eiwa which are recorded to have taken place in October of 1937. As such, the relationship between these developments could have used the other school, as well as the 1937 Gotemba retreat, as inspiration. These events may also have been unrelated, however as the names of both departments are identical, and Yamaguchi commented on the work being undertaken in other schools, it is likely these developments were related.

According to Nakamoto Koharu, the 'central idea' of the 1937 Gotemba retreat was *Kirisutokyō to Shidōsha* or 'Christianity and Leaders.'[159] If Horikawa, Yamaguchi, and/or other delegates indeed attended this 1937 retreat, activities at this event may have encouraged students to be leaders. This emphasis on leadership may have resulted in students taking action to create international departments at their schools for the benefit of their peers and to encourage international understanding in a tense period. This could have been the *omiyage* or souvenir that Horikawa Sumie referred to above. Overall, it is significant these developments likely took place, and these records were certainly published, after the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War in early July of 1937. They were also published after the start of the Movement for Total National Spiritual Mobilization of 1937-1940, "a movement for cooperation in the war effort" which included a focus on thrift and savings, and that "aimed to imbue all citizens with a sense of pride in Japanese culture."[160] While some departmental activities included learning about how Japan connected to the wider world, they also reached intellectually outward, focusing on building knowledge of, and communicating with people of other countries. These developments

[159] Nakamoto, "YWCA ni yoru Joshi Seinen Kyōiku no Kenkyū," 252.

[160] Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Grassroots Fascism: The War Experience of the Japanese People*, trans. Ethan Mark (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 46-47, https://doi.org/10.7312/yosh16584, Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "National identity and minorities," in *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Japanese Culture*, ed. Sandra Buckley (London: Routledge, 2001), 346, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.4324/9780203996348.

thus occurred amid nationalistic intellectual and social trends in a time of war.

The role of women and children/youth in internationalism in this period also helps to conceptualize the significance of this discussion. Leila J. Rupp notes women within international women's organizations such as the WILPF "recognized that they could foster internationalism through such avenues as the socialization of children and education in the history, culture, and languages of other nations."[161] With this in mind, how we can conceptualize the agency of Eiwa students in creating these departments? Rupp explains these women recognized the importance of children and education in cultivating internationalism, and perhaps the same can be said for the adults running the Gotemba retreats and teaching at the Eiwa schools. As Mary Jo Maynes argues, "much of the history of girls, and by extension, of children and youth more generally is actually the history of the ways in which adults tried to shape or characterize the young or remember their own or others' youths."[162] Indeed, it is unclear what the concrete impetus was for Gotemba retreat delegates Horikawa Sumie and Yamaguchi Suzuko to decide to create International Departments at their schools. It does appear, however, that participation in this retreat may have influenced this development. If so, what can be said about the agency of these students? Is this case study also an example of adults shaping youth? It can perhaps interact both with discussions on the agency of youth, and the history of adult's interactions with them, as through these activities youth and adults engaged with YWCA activities and each other. Maynes further explains that

> there is the concept of the individual inherent in hegemonic understandings of the ideal-typical historical or social actor. That actor is posited as everything a child, especially a girl child, is not supposed to be: autonomous, driven by the imperatives

[161] Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 226.

[162] Mary Jo Maynes, "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 117, DOI: 10.1353/hcy.2008.0001.

> of rational choice, aware of how the world works. Thinking about girls as historical agents goes right to the heart of the contradictions in modern conceptualizations of individual agency as epitomized by rational choice models. ... Thinking about girls in history ... presents in a more extreme form the feminist problem of thinking about how women's everyday activities embody historical agency. The world would not be as it is without them. They have an ongoing history. And yet the usual ways of talking about change over time generally do not take them into account.[163]

Indeed, as Peter Cave and Aaron William Moore explain, adults were not the only influence on students' lives. Children influenced each other too.[164] Thus, it is useful to consider the agency and interaction of students and their peers. We saw above that Frances Gertrude Hamilton explained Tōyō Eiwa students took on leadership roles within their *Seinenkai*, and Annie MacLean noted similarly of Yamanashi Eiwa students. Further, Horikawa Sumie became chairperson of the *Kokusaibu*. Student leadership roles within Eiwa school YWCA groups suggest Horikawa, and perhaps other student delegates, took the initiative to form this department at their school. And regarding peers, Yamaguchi wrote the International Department had an important role in the work of the *Seinenkai* departments of other schools, which appears to have influenced her desire to start this department.[165] Therefore, it may have been the influence of Gotemba retreat activities, talks given by adults at the retreat, or perhaps knowledge of the work being done gathered from peers of other schools, among other possible reasons, which encouraged Yamaguchi, Horikawa, and potentially other students to move to start

[163] Maynes, "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis," 116.

[164] Peter Cave and Aaron William Moore, "Historical Interrogations of Japanese Children Amid Disaster and War, 1920–1945," *Japanese Studies* 36, no. 3 (2016): 287-298, DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2016.1253003.

[165] The 1936 YWCA Girls' School Department Member Handbook listed, in addition to the three Canadian Eiwa schools, Kwassui Jogakkō, Fukuoka Jogakkō, Kyūshū Jogakuin, Baikō Jogakuin, Hiroshima Jogakuin, Poole Kōtō Jogakkō, Wilmina Jogakkō, Dōshisha Jogakkō, Kōbe Jogakuin, Kinjō Jogakkō, Kyōai Jogakkō, Yokohama Eiwa Jogakkō, Soshin Jogakkō, Ferris Waei Jogakkō, Kyōritsu Jogakkō, Joshi Seigakuin, Joshi Gakuin, Hokuriku Jogakkō, Iai Jogakkō, Hirosaki Jogakkō, Miyagi Jogakkō, and Shōkei Jogakkō. It is possible Yamaguchi and other delegates met students from these schools at the Gotemba YWCA retreats, and possibly heard from them about their school's International Department(s). See "Y.W.C.A. Jogakubu: Jogakubu Kaiin Hand Book," 15.

International Departments. In doing so, from positions lacking power in the public sphere, students used their voices and actions to build knowledge and connections which transcended nations. These Japanese school sources reveal the voices and contributions of these youth.

What became of these departments as the Pacific War intensified?[166] At Tōyō Eiwa, the *Kokusaibu* is not mentioned in the 1939 issue of *Kaede* which reported on other *Seinenkai* department activities. It reported on the Service, Music, Bible Study, and Recreation Departments, so it is likely just these four *Seinenkai* departments were active at this time.[167] In contrast, the previous 1938 issue of *Kaede* included reports on eight departments, including the *Kokusaibu*.[168] As Yamaguchi wrote the International Department would be formed the following year, it is not clear if her efforts led to the department being officially founded. If it was not established, or its activities ceased shortly after its founding, it appears it was not the only Tōyō Eiwa *Seinenkai* department for which that was the case in the 1938-1939 school year.

Even if these International Departments did not continue, their brief existence and plans to create them in the late 1930s are significant when considering wider social trends in Japan, especially after the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. They provide an example of concrete student efforts to engage in international learning and communication across nations, and to extend such activities to their peers. As conflict intensified on the nation-state level, at these retreats and the Eiwa schools, in the late 1930s there were still discussions on and activities related to international ideas, and the perceived importance and significance of such connections. Students expressed their desire to create International Departments within their school's wider

[166] As I did not have access to the 1939 Yamanashi Eiwa *Dōsōkaihō* to confirm if the group continued into that year, this section looks at the case of Tōyō Eiwa.

[167] "Seinenkai Hōkoku," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 9 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1939), 85-89.

[168] "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Kakubu Kai Hōkoku," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Mizuno Fumiko, no. 8 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1938), 141-144.

Seinenkai or *Kōyūkai* umbrella to share these ideas with their peers. As such, these developments suggest students saw value in creating spaces within their schools to learn and teach about, and communicate with, people in the wider world even in the late 1930s.

The intensification of the war impacted the YWCA. In November of 1940, the Tokyo YWCA *Kokusai Kōyūbu* (International Friendship Department) which, as noted had been established in 1934, was abolished.[169] And according to Noriko Ishii,

> by April 1941, the government dissolved women's college YWCAs across Japan, reorganizing them into war patriotic associations and renamed the Japan YWCA student department. In addition, to adhere to the Religious Organizations Law, Japan YMCA and Japan YWCA also became part of the United Church of Christ in Japan, and the government gradually mobilized the whole organization into the war effort.[170]

The Tōyō Eiwa *Hyaku Nenshi* notes "the traditional activities of the *Kōyūkai* and Seinenkai were reformed from 1941. From April of that year movement to reform the Kōyūkai to adapt to the current situation occurred among the teachers."[171] This suggests these group's activities were perceived as not geared satisfactorily toward or suitable for the war effort before this. Tōyō Eiwa's participation in the YWCA camps at Gotemba stopped in 1941.[172] With this in mind, let us turn once more to Hamilton's 1934 quote: "One can feel out the health of the school by the ebb and flow of the Seinenkai."[173] Changes were indeed evident in the school's situation based on these alterations to the *Seinenkai* and related activities.

Despite such changes, some continuity in the Christian religious ethos of the YWCA is evident between periods. In contrast to Christianity being viewed as a challenge to the Japanese

[169] Tokyo YWCA 100 Shūnen Kinin Iinkai, "Nenpyō Tokyo YWCA no 100 Nen," 16.
[170] Ishii, "Difficult Conversations Across Religions, Race and Empires," 395.
[171] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 338.
[172] Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, 345.
[173] Hamilton, "Seinenkai Nijūshunen wo Mukauru ni Saishite," 1.

state at this time due to its supranational nature, as late as April of 1941, the Tōyō Eiwa *Seinenkai* adopted an overtly Christian motto: *Warera wa Kami to tomo ni hataraku mono nari* or 'We work together with God.'[174] This appears to have been a previous Gotemba retreat motto: "I think the words of the motto of the Gotemba retreat I went to in my fourth year 'We work together with God' [*Warera wa Kami to tomo ni hataraku mono nari*] will strengthen me always throughout my life," wrote Shizuoka Eiwa alumna Tanaka Akiko in 1939.[175] It must of course be noted that the YWCA, as with other women's and Christian groups, were not able to impede war. On the individual level, however, participation in YWCA activities and retreats connected Eiwa actors with their peers in Japan and around the world and promoted international knowledge into the late 1930s. As Leila J. Rupp has stated:

> Raising internationalist consciousness in a nationalist age was no mean feat, even among those committed to the idea that their condition as women bound them together across the borders of their countries. ... Just because women joined transnational organizations did not mean that they forsook loyalty to their countries. … What is important is that they committed themselves to internationalism despite the pervasive imprint of nationalism.[176]

One such effort will be explored in the following final section.

4.5 The YWCA and the 1939 World Conference of Christian Youth in Amsterdam

Andrew Arsan et al. explain that "[t]hroughout the long nineteenth century, surging international trade, fuelled by the rapid circulation of labour, capital, and commodities,

---

[174] Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 19, "Seinenkai Hōkoku: Shōwa Jūgo Nendo," in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu, *Kaede*, ed. Okabe Shūzō, no. 11 (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1941), 75.

[175] Tanaka Akiko, "Kankai," in Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, *Shizuhata: Dōsōkaihō [Shizuhata: Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, no. 43 (Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1939), 83. Akiko (明子) can also be read, for example, as Meiko, Haruko, and Sayako.

[176] Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 137.

facilitated the creation of new connections and dependences spanning the world."[177] And, "[b]y the turn of the century, women's rights activists and peace campaigners, anarchists and Marxists, abolitionists and religious revivalists had all created movements that ran across, and sometimes undercut, borders. ... They established associations, committees, and leagues, and congregated at international conferences and assemblies."[178] One such association which moved through national borders was the YWCA. Leila J. Rupp explains that women in international women's organizations "shared not only a desire to gather across national borders but also an interest in their status as women in both national and global arenas."[179] When representing the association at international conferences, women involved with the YWCA intellectually and physically transcended these boundaries, including in times of tension and conflict. The 1939 Amsterdam World Conference of Christian Youth from 24 July to 2 August 1939 was one such international conference. Taking place approximately one month before the outbreak of World War II on 1 September 1939, it was attended by twenty-nine Japanese representatives, eleven of which were YWCA members.[180]

This conference will be examined through period articles, and a collection of Enomoto Aiko's writings and addresses given at Enomoto's memorial compiled and self-published by her niece, Enomoto Fumiko.[181] This source will be read as a record of Enomoto Aiko and Ōtsuki Yuka's activities and writings, especially regarding the conference, focusing on experiences, language, and ideas expressed. These records illuminate some of what was discussed and practiced at this conference, as well as how the experience may have resonated with period

[177] Arsan et al., "Editorial," 158.
[178] Arsan et al., "Editorial," 158.
[179] Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 130.
[180] Tokyo YWCA 100 Shūnen Kinin Iinkai, "Nenpyō Tokyo YWCA no 100 Nen," 17.
[181] *Shu wa Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]* (Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014).

women involved in the work of the YWCA in Japan. In her professional life, Enomoto Aiko engaged with women's education and international mobility. As such, her words demonstrate how a Christian woman educated within the Eiwa schools and whose professional life was tied to these schools and the wider network conceptualized this period.

Enomoto Aiko was born on 23 November 1910 in Karuizawa, Nagano, and baptized the following year at Karuizawa Church. Enomoto graduated from Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō in 1928, from Tokyo Woman's Christian University's English department in 1932, and she worked at Shizuoka Eiwa teaching English and Bible studies. She also studied religious education in Canada from 1939 at the United Church Training School and Emmanuel College in Toronto, graduating in 1941. Returning to Japan, in 1942 Enomoto became an English teacher at Yamanashi Eiwa.[182] Enomoto then took on various positions, including that of principal, within such institutions as Yamanashi Eiwa, Tōyō Eiwa, Fukuoka Jogakuin, Seinan Jogakuin, Shizuoka Eiwa, and positions within the Tokyo Woman's Christian University and Yamanashi Eiwa Alumnae Associations.[183] While Enomoto is an exceptional case of professional and international mobility, Enomoto's engagement with the YWCA reveals the kind of mobility a sustained presence in this network and active engagement with these Christian women's organizations, such as the YWCA, could facilitate.

The office of the World's Student Christian Federation in Geneva, Switzerland released a statement on conference plans which was published in the *Christian Education* periodical in June of 1939. The statement listed other international Christian conferences which had taken place between 1937 and 1939, including the 1937 Twenty-first World Conference of the

[182] "Enomoto Aiko Ryakunenpyō," in *Shu wa Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]* (Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014), 118.
[183] "Enomoto Aiko Ryakunenpyō," 118-119.

World's Alliance of YMCAs in Mysore, India, the 1938 General Committee Meeting of the World's Student Christian Federation in Japan, and the 1938 World's Council Meeting of the World's YWCA in China. It further stated "[t]he decision to hold a World Conference of Christian Youth has arisen out of a deep sense of need."[184] It continued: "The theme in a word is everywhere one–the Universal Christian Community and its witness in the world. ... For whom is the present age more perplexing than for youth? Are they not the greatest victims of the tensions of our disordered world? Who is more concerned than they with the shaping of the society of tomorrow?"[185] As such, it went on to explain that

> [t]he Conference will gather representative young members and leaders of the youth work of the Churches and of all national and international Christian youth movements. It aims at confronting youth with the results of the world gatherings of the Christian Churches and the Christian youth movements in the years 1937 and 1938. Its purpose is to mobilize youth to witness to the reality of the Christian Community as the God-given supranational body to which has been entrusted the message of the victory of Jesus Christ over the world's spiritual, political and social confusion. … To this end it will bring together fifteen hundred delegates from most of the lands and Churches of the world.[186]

Half the delegates were to come from "the Churches," and half "from the three world Christian youth movements" (the YWCA, YMCA, and World Student Christian Federation), from eighteen to thirty-five years old.[187]

Director of Young People's Work in the International Council of Religious Education Ivan M. Gould stated in the 15 July 1939 issue of the *United Church Observer* periodical that the purpose of this conference was to bring together "young people from the four corners of the

[184] "World Conference of Christian Youth," *Christian Education* 22, no. 5 (June 1939): 336, *JSTOR,* http://www.jstor.org/stable/41167453.
[185] "World Conference of Christian Youth," 337.
[186] "World Conference of Christian Youth," 337.
[187] "World Conference of Christian Youth," 339.

earth in order to talk over matters vital to Christianity. ... [T]hese young people would represent vast differences of theological creed and training. Their presence at a conference, however, would bear witness to the universality of Christianity and to the fact that barriers of nationalism and economic rivalries can be surmounted."[188] Gould further explained the theme of the conference was "Christus Victor–A World Conference of Christian Youth on the Task of the Christian Community in the Modern World."[189] According to Gould, the purpose of this conference was to gather Christian youth from various denominations and nationalities to work toward understanding through Christianity. We have seen elsewhere in this thesis that youth were a target of many groups and activities to foster communication and ensure future peace in line with the group's goals.

Ōtsuki Yuka (1910-2007) was the head (*danchō*) of the female Japanese delegates to the conference.[190] Her records, as described below by Enomoto Fumiko and Saitō Yasuyo, further illuminate what was discussed at this conference. Saitō Yasuyo stated that according to Ōtsuki, one reason this conference was organized was as "the situation of the world becomes increasingly grave, … no matter what kind of troubles we have, if we don't hold on to chances for Christian youth to gather like this, it will be very difficult for the Christians of the world to join hands again."[191] Thus, according to Saitō, Ōtsuki wrote that she felt this kind of gathering was important to ensure the future of Christian fellowship. The Amsterdam conference was

[188] Ivan M. Gould, "From East and West Youth Greets Youth: The World Youth Conference," *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 10 (15 July, 1939): 10.

[189] Gould, "From East and West Youth Greets Youth," 10.

[190] The National Diet Library records Ōtsuki as involved with the Tokyo YMCA (likely referring to the larger YM/YWCA group), and Ōtsuki is also mentioned in the records of the Tokyo YWCA. See "Ōtsuki, Yuka, 1910-2007," National Diet Library: Web NDL Authorities, accessed 13 Oct, 2019, https://id.ndl.go.jp/auth/ndlna/01124496, and Tokyo YWCA 100 Shūnen Kinin Iinkai, "Nenpyō Tokyo YWCA no 100 Nen," 31.

[191] Saitō Yasuyo, "Enomoto Aiko Sensei wo Shinobu," in *Shu wa Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]* (Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014), 9.

reportedly attended by twenty-nine Japanese delegates. The female participants consisted of five women from Churches, five from the YWCA, three from student YWCAs, and Hikari Shizue of the Japan YWCA as leader.[192] Chairman of the national Student YWCA Council Takeda (Cho) Kiyoko was another delegate, Noriko Ishii explains.[193] Activities reportedly included prayer, Bible study, lectures, and discussion/study groups.[194]

According to Enomoto Fumiko's reading of an album Enomoto reports was compiled by Ōtsuki Yuka and entitled 'Attending the World Conference of Christian Youth' (*Sekai Kirisutokyō Seinenkaigi ni Shussekishite*), this conference had been planned for several years, in a time when Christians were asking 'What should Christians do now for world peace' (*Sekai heiwa no tame ni Kirisutosha ga ima nani wo nasubeki ka*).[195] According to Enomoto Fumiko, the study groups were as follows: 1) The true character and mission of the Church, 2) The world according to various countries, 3) Education, 4) Nation and politics, 5) Economic systems, 6) Marriage and family life, and 7) Racial issues; Ōtsuki joined the 'The world according to various countries' group. Enomoto Fumiko reports Ōtsuki wrote:

> I understood from experience that this world is not a world seen on a map, but in reality it is a world created like this by various living people. I learned that the history, culture, and values of each country are unbelievably diverse. Although my group was a group which discussed in English, even within that English there were many kinds. ... There are many races, beliefs, and even characters of people, and I had to recognize here the fact that the clashing of ideas becomes a cause of conflict.[196]

Ōtsuki reportedly further explained she was taught prayer must be used to improve the current

[192] Saitō, "Enomoto Aiko Sensei wo Shinobu," 10.
[193] Ishii, "Difficult Conversations Across Religions, Race and Empires," 391, 392.
[194] Saitō, "Enomoto Aiko Sensei wo Shinobu," 10.
[195] Enomoto Fumiko, "Sekai Kirisutokyō Seinenkaigi no Kiroku wo Yonde," in *Shu wa Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]* (Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014), 115, 116.
[196] Enomoto, "Sekai Kirisutokyō Seinenkaigi no Kiroku wo Yonde," 116.

situation, and "we must not forget the belief and hope that Christ will be victorious."[197] Enomoto's reading of Ōtsuki's album suggests conference attendance and discussion participation had the potential to reinforce ideas of a diverse wider world, of an individual being one of and surrounded by many types of people, and the belief that Christian practice was necessary to overcome conflict. This aligns with the conference goals: connecting Christian young people to ensure future fellowship across national and denominational boundaries.

According to Saitō Yasuyo, Enomoto Aiko was the subhead (*fukudanchō*) of the female Japanese delegates.[198] Enomoto wrote it took over forty days to reach Naples. They called at ports in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Saigon, among other places.[199] They stopped at YWCA Halls in China,[200] and spent two nights in Berlin.[201] As the Second Sino-Japanese War had begun in 1937, "it appears the Japanese delegates were in tough position even at the conference," explained Takatsuki Miyoko.[202] However, Enomoto reportedly wrote her experience was completely different from England and the United States being presented as the enemy in Japan at this time, as her heart was filled with the foundation of the Bible that "even if countries differ, all people of the world are brothers and sisters."[203] As noted, one month after the end of this conference, WWII began. Saitō Yasuyo, one of many to deliver an address at Enomoto Aiko's July of 2008 memorial service stated, "I can imagine how much of a risky journey this was. I am deeply moved to know that Enomoto sensei [teacher] attended this kind

[197] Enomoto, "Sekai Kirisutokyō Seinenkaigi no Kiroku wo Yonde," 116.
[198] Saitō, "Enomoto Aiko Sensei wo Shinobu," 9.
[199] Enomoto, "YWCA kara Uketamono," 97.
[200] Enomoto, "YWCA kara Uketamono," 97-98.
[201] Enomoto, "YWCA kara Uketamono," 98.
[202] Takatsuki Miyoko, "Shinobu kai ni Shussekisaseteitadaite," in *Shu wa Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]* (Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014), 11.
[203] Enomoto, "YWCA kara Uketamono," 98.

of international conference and studied abroad in this kind of period."[204] The participation of Enomoto and all delegates in this international conference so close to the outbreak of World War II is striking. Through participation in this international conference, and study abroad to Canada which chapter one explored, Enomoto Aiko serves as an individual example of how aspects of Eiwa school culture like international knowledge, exchange, and English and Christian education were utilized by alumnae in their professional and educational lives, even in turbulent times which challenged the continuation and undertaking of such activities.

The YWCA was an organization which, in addition to, and in combination with religious engagement, facilitated international intellectual and physical exchange for Christian women. One form this took was conference participation, such as the 1939 World Conference of Christian Youth. Further, in bringing international knowledge and learning into their schools even in the late 1930s, students were also part of this history. Membership in the YWCA had the potential to and was *utilized* to connect adult and young women intellectually and physically, by transcending national boundaries. YWCA engagement aligns with this study's analysis of Eiwa network activities which took on a particular urgency in the 1930s to counter narrow nationalism, facilitate communication, and build international knowledge in adult and young women. YWCA activities also reveal a deeper history of Eiwa students and alumnae, showing how these women moved between nations through non-state channels, actively developed their schools, and enabled themselves and their peers to engage with the wider world; both to learn from it, and to teach their global peers about themselves. As Leila J. Rupp has argued, "the dynamic and contentious process of forging bonds between women from different, even sometimes from warring, countries has consequences for … our understanding of history."[205]

[204] Saitō, "Enomoto Aiko Sensei wo Shinobu," 10.
[205] Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 229.

As such, individual experiences, voices, and contributions of Eiwa actors add to the historiography of Japanese girls' mission schools, their connection to the YWCA, and women's intellectual exchange and mobility in the 1930s.

4.6 Conclusion

1930s Japanese school sources reveal voices hitherto absent from the historiography which show Eiwa students and alumnae instituted and took part in international activities, and the construction of international learning and communication between adult and young women through the YWCA. Reportedly stemming in part from participation in a YWCA Gotemba summer retreat, student interest in the international resulted in action to create *Kokusaibu* or International Departments within the schools despite intensifying nationalism within Japanese society itself. In doing so, female high school students became active agents in work for international learning and communication. In manifesting YWCA groups and activities within the Eiwa schools, these institutions became physical spaces for young women's leadership, intellectual development, and exchange. The adult and young women taking part, meanwhile, became agents in practicing transnational engagement through communication, knowledge building, and mobility. In this way, students moved beyond nationalist education and ideology to connect to the wider world, build international knowledge, and practice communication to forge friendship across the East-West divide, rather than to understand the enemy. Alumnae with sustained YWCA engagement were able and chose to attend international religious conferences in which the YWCA was involved. The connections of this physical and intellectual community ultimately transcended national borders in times of tension and conflict. Intergenerational groups of women were agents in transcending these boundaries by actively

engaging with the wider world through their careers and education. Thus, the YWCA and its related activities played a role in, and was utilized to, connect Eiwa students and alumnae to the wider world and with their transnational counterparts throughout the 1930s.

The YWCA can be conceptualized as one of many organizations "in which individuals and groups across the world felt a sense of kinship, on the basis of occupation or religion or gender or politics or age ... with others who did not share the same nationality."[206] Leila J. Rupp argues "if the creation of such international ties has not yet shaken a world system based on national identity, that does not mean that the creation of alternative bonds is unimportant."[207] Indeed, this exploration of YWCA activities in the 1930s reveals an alternative narrative of engagement with intellectual, social, and educational life in this period. Regardless of the YWCA or other organization's inability to hinder war, the actions these women took and the contribution they believed they and their network could make was significant. As members of an intergenerational transnational religious women's organization, girls' school students and alumnae were also part of the creation of these alternative ties which transcended nations. Connections were formed by students with peers within their schools, in other Japanese girls' schools, and around the world. Such participation impacted the formation of the culture, ethos, and intellectual development of the Eiwa schools in tangible ways.

This encounter adds to our understanding of the youth experience of 1930s Japan, as well as women's mobility, and the YWCA as a connector of women in this period. The YWCA was utilized by multiple generations of women to actively facilitate international learning, communication, mutual exchange, and mobility into the late 1930s through a non-diplomatic Christian network, and through educational institutions and channels. These women saw value

[206] Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 228.
[207] Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 228.

and potential in the activities and organization of the YWCA, and in their own potential contributions. Ultimately, Eiwa actors practiced international learning and communication throughout the 1930s through such activities as World Goodwill Day participation, international educational mobility, the inclusion of international knowledge in curricular education, peace-related activities and prayer events, student letter and object exchange, and YWCA activities. This community's movements, networking, and activities challenged broader 1930s social, intellectual, and educational trends. Its adult and young female members endeavored to connect themselves and their peers intellectually and physically to the wider world to counteract social and intellectual trends, and work to build their envisioned world of the future through Christianity, education, and Japanese and Western women and youth.

Conclusion

Research Summary

This thesis used three girls' mission schools as a lens to reveal wide Christian women's networking, education, and engagement which transcended nations pursued by women and youth (in particular, Eiwa school students, educators, and alumnae) in 1930s Japan. The experiences and voices of these female actors illuminated activities and engagement with the wider world and intellectual life generally not visible in public or state records, or recognized in the historiography of women's internationalism or Japan-Canada/West encounters. Actors connected the Tōyō Eiwa, Shizuoka Eiwa, and Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō girls' mission schools to their local communities, the Canadian WMS, prominent Japanese Christian women, and (Christian) women's associations including the YWCA, WCTU, and the WILPF Japan section. Even amid intensifying nationalism which challenged Christian schools and international networks, coexisting with state curricular aims, the 1930s education, environment, and culture of the Eiwa schools included international learning, encounters, and communication which appear to have taken on a particular urgency in this period. The historiography is missing a key dynamic element of intellectual engagement without the female actors this study explores. Their actions reveal a network of Christian women intellectually and physically transcending and moving across the East-West divide in the pre-WWII period to foster education, communication, and knowledge building which aligned with their vision for the world, and how they envisioned limiting misperceptions and creating international understanding between fellow humans.

Within a historiography focusing largely on the Canadian missionary and institutional reactions to 1930s imperial nationalism and militarism which has not included the experiences of students and little-known educators and alumnae, I explored how an intergenerational

network of Eiwa actors engaged with the culture, activities, and development of their schools. These women took part in physical mobility and intellectual exchange which transcended national and ideological boundaries. Examining Eiwa school curriculum, groups, activities, visitors, events, and alumnae movement revealed a new understanding of 1930s Japanese intellectual and educational life. These historical actors practiced international education, mutual exchange, communication, and physical mobility between nations in a period in which current events, social trends, and state ideology challenged the practice of such phenomena, ultimately surviving the Pacific War to operate into the present day. Their actions and voices show how relations between individuals of Japan and Canada/the West were forged through adult and young women's activities outside state-level diplomacy, policy, and ideology which separated Japan and the West.

This study explored 1930s Japanese intellectual and educational life through the voices and experiences of Eiwa students, educators, alumnae, and missionaries. This framework illuminated the network formed around these mission schools, connections to international women's organizations, and student, staff, and alumnae involvement in their schools and wider physical and intellectual communities. This analysis of the 1920s and 1930s revealed and conceptualized surprising activities, voices, and movement given a key existing understanding of the 1930s as a period of war and state ideological propagation, militarism, imperialism, and nationalism. Indeed, the historiography of the Eiwa schools reveals these institutions saw military and government involvement, student mobilization, curriculum alteration, name changes, and the installation of imperial objects. However, these spaces and the wider network also facilitated transnational cultural, professional, and educational exchange, student and graduate mobility, and communication through English – in this case, not a language for

understanding the 'enemy' but for mutual exchange between the East and West. These connections and ideas were revealed through a transnational historical approach which focused on the movement and communication of an intergenerational group of women through non-governmental channels and informal methods. In a period in which the Japanese state was practicing imperialism outside Japan, most of the transnational activities explored in this study took place *within* Japan. They reached intellectually outward, across national borders, from spaces in which individuals committed themselves to international learning and communication with peers across continents while being physically located in Japan.

While imperial nationalism impacted school education and daily life, and Christianity was viewed as a potential threat to the imperial Japanese state in the turbulent 1930s, these findings demonstrate the Eiwa schools were also spaces within which multiple generations of women discussed peace and international friendship. They practiced activities reaching across institutional and national boundaries to address what they saw as lacking in institutionalized education and world structures. Studies which focus on missionaries and institutional reactions to nationalism have missed the engagement with intellectual and education life these adult and young women demonstrated. This examination thus reveals new knowledge on twentieth-century Canada-Japan connectivity and the Canadian mission by bringing in student voices and school sources, women's internationalism by including multiple generations of actors and moving beyond organizational and diplomatic/political histories, and the youth experience of 1930s Japan by utilizing students voices to reveal their contributions to engagement with the wider world, in the school setting and beyond.

New Knowledge and Contributions

This study's sources, historical actors, and methodology enabled it to seek out narratives which differ from the existing historiography, adding new dimensions to our understanding of 1930s Japanese education, Canada-Japan encounters, women's internationalism involving Japan, and adult and young women's involvement in transnational engagement in 1930s Japan, including the role of youth. It utilized a transnational historical approach by analyzing non-diplomatic/governmental and largely non-elite, little-known individuals, and transnational women's and educational network channels rather than state or political activities. It revealed intellectual exchange and communication which transcended East-West national and thus essentially racial boundaries, and curriculum, school activities, and mobility which did not necessarily align with period state ideology and social trends. In fact, these activities appeared to have been, in part, instituted to try to counter these trends with a sense of urgency, and a committed belief that such efforts were meaningful and could alter institutionalized structures which had enabled conflict to occur.

Moving the focus from the Canadian missionary, school principals, and prominent male Japanese Christians and intellectuals, this study focused on largely little-known female Japanese actors which it considered as women and youth, in addition to their roles in the school setting (students, teachers, and alumnae). Thus far largely unutilized student voices shed new light on the effect school culture and activities had on learning, development, and intellectual conceptualizations of current events. They also show how, in not consigning the forging of relations between countries solely to the male power structure, students saw themselves playing an important role in creating international friendship as women, and through Christianity, understanding, and knowledge. They also showcase the intergenerational nature of school activities and development, and groups the Eiwa schools were connected to which included

adults and young people.

This study thus expands on the historiography of mission schools by including the receivers and interpreters of school education, which help tell the story of these schools. Student writings in period school publications reveal part of the youth experience of, and how some young women conceptualized the 1930s. They illuminate how students demonstrated agency in engaging in and contributing to international education at school after the cessation of the official Japanese international education movement organization. Their words also reveal how these young women interacted with intellectual and physical school spaces, and the meaning ascribed to them. Highlighting the intergenerational nature of the Eiwa schools also shed light on student, teacher, and alumnae involvement in YWCA, WCTU, church, and other organizations and work which reached outside their institutions. This approach conceptualized the Eiwa school communities as the construction and engagement of adult and young Japanese women, in addition to the contributions of missionaries, policy makers, and school owners.

In addition to period church and mission periodicals, newspapers, scholarly works, and self-published Eiwa school history books, period school publications were key to exploring these institutions and related individuals in a new light. These resources illuminate the voices of actors whose contributions to school life and network development have been largely overlooked. In addition, exploring the WCTU and YWCA through sources not compiled by the national organizations illuminated how these groups developed at mission schools, what kind of learning and engagement was instituted for and undertaken by students, how students contributed to the development of these school groups, and intellectual and transnational connections formed through participation in them. They also revealed school activities and student, educator, and alumnae compositions striking in their discussion and tangible practice

of transnational connections and peace within the wider nationalistic educational and intellectual landscape of 1930s Japan. Actors evidently viewed these activities as valuable and important to record. Women, in general lacking voices and power in the public and political spheres, nonetheless worked to connect people across the East and West who likely would not have had the opportunity for such exchange through state channels.

This study also explored the intellectual and physical makeup of, and spatial construction at the Eiwa schools. The intellectual environment of these spaces reportedly included curriculum which included international teachings in the 1930s, which, while adhering to necessary curricular aims, also encouraged students to think outside Japan and across national boundaries. This curriculum aligned with period extra-curricular activities which included international education and communication with individuals in the West through English. This complicates the understanding of 1930s Japan in which nationalism and *Kokutai* altered the content of education, necessitated the adoption of imperial objects, and eventually impacted such established structures as the teaching of the English language, Western customs and ideas, and Christianity. Evidently, Eiwa school actors encouraged students to think transnationally, learn about different countries, and recognize the value of communication with individuals in the wider world. Bringing in Eiwa students as historical actors also revealed how they voiced their opinions on, memories of, and engagement with physical school buildings. This in turn enabled this study to examine the role these spaces played in student learning through their voices, and the meaning they applied to these buildings and experiences within.

This study also looked progressively outward from the Eiwa schools to examine them as part of a wide physical and intellectual network transcending nations. It revealed connections to such organizations as the WCTU, YWCA, the Japan section of the WILPF, educational

institutions in Canada, students in Canada, Wales, and New Zealand, and religious and educational institutions and women's associations throughout Japan. Rather than state sanctioned international mobility and exchange channels found in the postwar period, student, alumnae, mission, and wider community activities forged many of these connections. They were revealed through school publications, rather than organizational or public histories. These sources also showed how the YWCA was utilized to practice international education, exchange, and mobility at the Eiwa schools and for Eiwa actors, even after 1937, a period of great change and challenges when physical and spiritual mobilization for the war effort intensified. Amid this narrative, students took tangible steps to share international knowledge with their peers to attempt to change perceptions, increase knowledge, and alter intellectual narratives. Rather than looking inward, they saw learning from the wider world as important for friendship and the future of the world. They took it upon themselves to undertake this work when wider state, educational, and world structures were seen as lacking in this effort. Thus, this study contributes new knowledge to our understanding of the intergenerational nature, and physical and intellectual networking of mission schools, 1930s girls' education, the YWCA, and mission school student, teacher, and alumnae contributions to transnational engagement in 1930s Japan.

Potential for Future Research

This study's findings present possibilities for further expanding our understanding of 1930s Japanese education, the international mobility, activities, and network building of period Japanese women and youth, and the potential connectivity of the 1920s and 1930s activities this thesis explored to the development of intellectual life and education in post-war Japan. By shifting our gaze to how female students, alumnae, and educators engaged with the wider world,

this exploration of the Canadian Eiwa schools elucidates *how* and *why* international education was practiced in 1930s Japan by revealing the activities of women and young people outside (although sometimes necessarily interacting with) state activities and ideology. By expanding the focus to other schools and adult and young female actors, potential connectivity between periods and the significance of such education in Japan may be further illuminated.

Continued exploration of student writings and school activities of Christian (or non-religiously affiliated schools) could illuminate in more detail how and why female Japanese actors involved with these schools worked to connect themselves, their peers, and students to the wider world in the 1930s through non-diplomatic activities and non-state channels. Which organizations and individuals did actors of Japanese schools' form connections with during this period, and how did such networking affect the trajectory of these institutions, and actors themselves, in the 1930s and 1940s? What kind of travel, study abroad, and/or international professional mobility did Japanese (Christian) women engage in during the 1920s and 1930s, and how did this mobility affect their personal, educational, and professional pathways? This study shows Japanese women and youth connected with Christian/mission schools engaged with this period in dynamic ways. By connecting and educating women and building their network, they endeavored to construct the world of the future as they envisioned it, although in general lacking power and voices in the political arena and their contributions not recorded in public records. Further research on the period actions and movements of women and youth can create scholarship which more fully recognizes their contributions to, and engagement with, Japanese intellectual life and education in the 1920s, 1930s, and beyond.

The story of these schools certainly did not cease with the Second World War. The three Canadian Eiwa schools, and indeed other Japanese schools with mission/Christian connections

survived the turbulent Pacific War and continue to operate into the present day. Continued research on the postwar period may illuminate connections to such intergenerational women's activism, study abroad, and international education programs as this study explored. Amid or following rebuilding efforts after WWII, what kind of intellectual culture did individuals of Christian schools work to construct in the immediate postwar period? Rather than actors of the American occupation, how were Japanese (Eiwa) actors, and in particular women, involved in shaping school culture and activities in this period? Were there intellectual connections between women's activism or international education in the postwar period, and such ideas formed and acted upon in the 1920s and 1930s as this thesis explored? This study of the Eiwa girls' mission schools in 1920s and 1930s Japan thus presents potential for further research on pre-WWII Japanese (international) education, the contributions of women and youth to transnational network building, education, mutual exchange, and communication outside state-level activities, and tangible connectivity to educational developments and women's engagement in intellectual life in postwar Japan.

List of Illustrations

The figures utilized in this thesis are from the collections of the United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. Citations are provided below.

Figure 1: Enomoto Aiko. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 2000.017P/3035. Aiko Enomoto, [before Jan 10, 1955].

Figure 2: Katherine Greenbank. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 76.001P/2308. Katherine Greenbank, n.d.

Figure 3: A view of Tōyō Eiwa's 1933 school buildings. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 2000.017P/3690. [Auditorium, Toyo Eiwa Jogakko], [ca. 1933].

Figure 4: A Shizuoka Eiwa classroom. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 2000.017P/3416. Science room: Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakko, [193-?].

Figure 5: 'Japanese Girls in Training' or JGIT members. United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Canada. 2000.017P/3051. J.G.I.T. in the school garden, [193-?]

Bibliography

English

English

A. Primary Sources

1. Archival Material

- **United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA), Toronto, Canada**

First Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada 1925-1926. Toronto: The Armac Press Limited, 1926.

Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1924-1925. Toronto: The Ryerson Press Wesley Buildings, 1925.

UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, Minutes and general papers.

UCCA, Woman's Missionary Society fonds, F505, Series 8 RECORDS RELATING TO OVERSEAS MISSIONS: JAPAN, WMS Executive Secretary correspondence.

2. Printed

- **Periodicals (Hathitrust)**

"A New Movement in Liberal Education." *The Christian Advocate* 97, no. 20 (18 May, 1922): 631.

"Editorial Comment: Missions and Peace in Japan." *The Missionary Review of the World* 44, no. 1 (January 1921): 3-4.

"Fraternal Message from Canadian Methodism: Address Delivered to the General Conference by Dr. T. Albert Moore, Fraternal Delegate from the Methodist Church of Canada." *The Christian Advocate* 95, no. 22 (27 May, 1920): 724-725.

McDowell, Clotilda L. "The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches." *Woman's Missionary Friend* 49, no. 3 (March 1917): 93.

"News from Many Lands: Y.W.C.A. Activities." *The Missionary Review of the World* 44, no. 5 (May 1921): 415-416.

Reischauer, Rev. A. K. "Woman's Christian College, Tokyo." *The Missionary Review of the World* 43, no. 9 (September 1920): 786-789.

Scamman, Edith. “Woman’s Home Mission Bulletin [Section Ed. O.R. Judd]: Interests among Children.” *The Missionary Review of the World* 41, no. 3 (March 1918): 223.

“Summer School of Missions.” *The Christian Advocate* 97, no. 23 (8 June, 1922): 716.

- **Periodicals (Print)**

Atlantic School of Theology Library, Halifax, Canada

Ainsworth, Fred. “The 1938 Japan Mission Council.” *The New Outlook* 14, no. 15 (15 Apr, 1938): 364.

Albright, L. S. “The Japan Mission Council: Facing Great Tasks in a Fine Spirit.” *The New Outlook* 8, no. 13 (30 Mar, 1932): 309.

Catto, Marion. “Of Interest To Women: Peace With Justice: For Women Only.” *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 21 (1 Jan, 1940): 22.

“The Church and War.” *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 13 (1 Sept, 1939): 4.

“The Church in a State at War.” *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 15 (1 Oct, 1939): 4.

“The Church in a State at War.” *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 14 (15 Sept, 1939): 4.

Courtice, Sybil R. “Sixty Years Educational Work in Japan.” *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 3 (1 Apr, 1940): 6.

Craw, Evelyn. “C.G.I.T. ‘Twenty Years A-Growing’.” *The New Outlook* 11, no. 6 (6 Feb, 1935): 149.

Craw, Evelyn. “The Camp Adventure.” *The New Outlook* 9, no. 24 (14 June, 1933): 458.

Enomoto, Aiko. “What Christianity Means to Me.” *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 3 (1 Apr, 1940): 18.

“Girls In Training Developing Church Leaders: Miss Betty Ross Tells of Work With Teen-Age Girls.” *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 11 (1 Aug, 1940): 11.

Gould, Ivan M. “From East and West Youth Greets Youth: The World Youth Conference.” *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 10 (15 July, 1939): 10.

“United Church School Convocation.” *The United Church Observer* 3, no. 7 (1 June, 1941): 3.

Westill, Lillian E. “The Church and War: Our First Loyalty Is To God.” *The United Church Observer* 1, no. 18 (15 Nov, 1939): 16.

"W.M.S. Missionaries Return to Foreign Fields." *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 16 (15 Oct, 1940): 29.

"WMS Scholarship Students." *The United Church Observer* 2, no. 8 (15 June, 1940): 6.

"The Women's World Day of Prayer: Friday, February 12, 1932." *The New Outlook* 8, no. 5 (3 Feb, 1932): 106.

"World Convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union: To be held in Toronto, June 3-9, 1931." *The New Outlook* 7, no. 21 (27 May, 1931): 494.

"World Convention on Temperance: W.C.T.U. Officers Elected." *The New Outlook* 7, no. 24 (17 June, 1931): 558.

"The World for a Day: World Goodwill Day." *The New Outlook* 7, no. 17 (29 Apr, 1931): 391.

"The World for a Week: "Warera no Graph"." *The New Outlook* 8, no. 29 (20 July, 1932): 679.

Dalhousie University Killam Memorial Library Special Collections, Halifax, Canada

"Editorial: The Peace Movement in the Schools." *The New Outlook* 1, no. 17 (30 Sept, 1925): 3.

Thomas, Winifred. "Woman's Work Through the Year: Plans and Preparations for Larger Service." *The New Outlook* 2, no. 23 (9 June, 1926): 5, 31.

United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA), Toronto, Canada

Beatty, Rose. "Field Secretaries' Reports: Japan." *The Missionary Outlook* 41, no. 11 (November 1921): 223.

Clark, Lola M. "Latest Tidings from our Mission Fields: The Girls' School in Kofu." *The Missionary Outlook* 43, no. 9 (September 1923): 214.

"Hisako Koike San." *The Missionary Outlook* 44, no. 11 (November 1924): 257.

"Latest Tidings from our Mission Fields: Japan." *The Missionary Outlook* 44, no. 11 (November 1924): 262.

Lindsay, O. C. "Correspondence from the Field: School Life, Shizuoka, Japan." *The Missionary Outlook* 41, no. 9, 10 (September, October 1921): 192.

Lindsay, Olivia C. "Our Shizuoka School." *The Missionary Outlook* 45, no. 4 (April 1925):

86.

MacFarlane, E. S. “Field Secretaries’ Reports: Japan.” *The Missionary Outlook* 42, no. 11 (November 1922): 514-515.

MacLean, Annie E. “Latest Tidings from Our Mission Fields: Japanese School Girls Preparing for Service.” *The Missionary Outlook* 45, no. 6 (June 1925): 142.

Mc Arthur, Kathleen. “Latest Tidings from Our Mission Fields: Gymnasium and Assembly Hall Much Needed.” *The Missionary Outlook* 41, no. 11 (November 1921): 226.

Tweedie, E. Gertrude. “Correspondence from the Fields: All One in Heart.” *The Missionary Outlook* 41, no. 2 (February 1921): 39.

- **The Japan Times Archives Online (Japan Times, Ltd.)**

“A.A.U.W. Meeting.” *The Japan Times & Mail,* 26 Apr, 1935.

“Church Meeting First Since the Big Shake-Down.” *The Japan Times & Mail,* 28 Jan, 1924.

Clement, Ernest W. “Educational Trends in Japan.” *Japan Times & Mail,* 16 Mar, 1930.

“Coming Events.” *The Japan Times & Mail,* 1 May, 1919.

Crane, Esther. “Tokyo Society Notes.” *The Japan Advertiser,* 12 Jan, 1936.

“Drive Now Planned for Girls’ School: Toyo Eiwa Jo Gakko Needs Money to Provide New Building and Land: Was Founded in 1884: Under Canadian Mission It Has Developed Many New Departments.” *The Japan Advertiser,* 23 Mar, 1929.

E. DE G. “Benefit Performance of Blue Bird To Be Given by New Theater Actors To Aid Miss Kawai’s Girls’ School.” *Japan Times & Mail,* 24 Jan, 1931.

“Eight Fair Young Speakers at Toyo Eiwa Jogakko Put John Barleycorn in His Place.” *The Japan Times & Mail,* 7 Jul, 1928.

“General and Local.” *The Japan Times & Mail,* 24 Sept, 1920.

“Girls of Tokyo Schools Hold Athletic Meet Under Y.W.C.A.: Two Thousand See Contest at Ochanomizu—Cup Presented to Dai Ichi Gakko by Association President.” *The Japan Advertiser,* 28 May, 1922.

Hasegawa, Tetsutaro. “World Friendship Through Women And Children.” *The Japan Times & Mail,* 4 Aug, 1937, 5.

“Japan To Grant Right To Vote, Woman States.” *The Japan Times & Mail,* 19 Feb, 1923.

"Japanese Girls Greet Those Of Wales On Radio." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 21 May, 1935.

"Japanese Woman Educator Pleads for Understanding." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 25 Feb, 1935.

"Local and General." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 17 March, 1923.

"Michi Kawai, Noted Christian Leader, Traces Modern Trend Of Education in This Country." *Japan Times & Mail,* 4 Feb, 1931.

"Nippon Day by Day: Festival For Precious Stones This Fall---Sight-Seeing Flights Over Tokyo For Five Yen---30 Whales Caught By Wakayama Fishermen: Five Girls with Scouts On Manchoukuo Tour." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 16 Aug, 1936.

"Nippon Day by Day: Girls' School Presents Comforts to Sailors." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 28 Sept, 1937.

Nitobe, Mary. "Reminiscences of the Tokyo Y.W.C.A." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 1 Mar, 1931.

"People and Events." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 13 Feb, 1922.

"Personals and Local Items." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 16 Feb, 1929.

Rengo Service. "Women and Lord Cecil Have Field Day at Disarmament Conference Amid Enthusiasm." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 9 Feb, 1932.

"Social and General." *The Japan Advertiser,* 25 May, 1933.

"Social and General." *The Japan Advertiser*, 18 May, 1935.

"Social and General." *The Japan Advertiser*, 8 Nov, 1927.

"Social and General." *The Japan Advertiser*, 27 Mar, 1935.

"Social and General." *The Japan Advertiser*, 23 Jan, 1923.

"Social and General." *The Japan Advertiser*, 27 Oct, 1922.

"Social and Personal Notes." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 22 Oct, 1933.

"Temperance Workers to Meet on Thursday." *The Japan Advertiser,* 16 Feb, 1926.

"Tokyo and Yokohama Women Hear Lecture By Mrs. Kubushiro." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 12 Nov, 1927.

"Tokyo Society Notes." *The Japan Advertiser,* 27 Sept, 1936.

"Toyo Eiwa Building to be Begun Today: Ceremony of Laying of Cornerstone to be Conducted by Tokyo Missionary School: To Complete Program: Canadian Organization Secures Funds After Long Period of Planning and Campaign." *The Japan Advertiser,* 21 Sept, 1932.

"W.C.T.U. Meets Today." *The Japan Advertiser,* 10 May, 1923.

"Y.W.C.A. Plans for Yearly Conference: This Year Delegates Will Be In Two Groups, With Programme To Fit Each." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 16 Apr, 1921.

"Y.W.C.A. Plays Important Part In Life of Japanese Girls: Activities Described of Tokyo Branch Which Today Dedicates Cornerstone of New Building." *The Japan Times & Mail,* 4 Dec, 1927.

B. Secondary Material

1. Books and Articles

Alexander, Kristine. *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017.

Allen, Ann Taylor. *The Transatlantic Kindergarten: Education and Women's Movements in Germany and the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190274412.001.0001.

Anderson, Emily. *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.

Andrews, Fannie Fern. "The Historical Basis of World Goodwill Day." *The Journal of Education* 107, no. 20 (14 May, 1928): 587. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/42836540.

Arsan, Andrew, Su Lin Lewis, and Anne-Isabelle Richard. "Editorial – the roots of global civil society and the interwar moment." *Journal of Global History* 7, no. 2 (July 2012): 157-165. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022812000010.

Bajaj, Monisha, and Belinda Chiu. "Education for Sustainable Development as Peace Education." *Peace & Change* 34, no. 4 (2009): 441-455. Cited in Moshe Grodofsky, Merav. "Community-based human rights advocacy practice and peace education." *International Social Work* 55, no. 5 (September 2012): 740-753. DOI: 10.1177/0020872812448078.

Barclay, Katie. "Space and Place." In *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, edited by

Susan Broomhall, 20-23. New York: Routledge, 2017. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.4324/9781315441368.

Blain, Keisha N., and Tiffany M. Gill. "Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism." In *To Turn the Whole World Over: Black Women and Internationalism*, edited by Keisha N. Blain and Tiffany M. Gill, 1-12. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019. DOI: 10.5622/illinois/9780252042317.001.0001.

Bordin, Ruth. *Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981. Quoted in Sheehan, Nancy M. "The WCTU and Educational Strategies on the Canadian Prairie." *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1984): 101-119. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/367995.

Bryce, Benjamin. "Citizens of Empire: Education and Teacher Exchanges in Canada and the Commonwealth, 1910–40." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45, no. 4 (2017): 607-629. DOI: 10.1080/03086534.2017.1294238.

Buckner, Phillip, ed. *Canada and the British Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199563746.001.0001

Burke, Catherine, Peter Cunningham, and Ian Grosvenor. "'Putting education in its place': space, place and materialities in the history of education." *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 677-680. DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514526.

Burkman, Thomas W. *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824863036.

Burton, Margaret E. *The Education of Women in Japan*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1914.

"Canadians All." *The Torch: The Girls' Own Number* 3, no. 5 (May-June 1927), n.p. Found in Hewitt, Molly. *Sixty Years of CGIT: 1915-75*. Toronto: The National CGIT Committee, 1975. 7. [Accessed at Shizuoka Eiwa Gakuin Daigaku Archives.]

Cave, Peter, and Aaron William Moore. "Historical Interrogations of Japanese Children amid Disaster and War, 1920–1945." *Japanese Studies* 36, no. 3 (2016): 287-298. DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2016.1253003.

Cengelci Kose, Tuba, and Omur Gurdogan Bayir. "Perception of Peace in Students' Drawings." *Eurasian Journal of Educational Research* 65, (2016): 181-198. DOI: 10.14689/ejer.2016.65.11.

Chapdelaine, Robin P. "Little Voices: The Importance and Limitations of Children's Histories." *The American Historical Review* 125, no. 4 (October 2020): 1296-1299. https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/rhaa377.

Choi, Hyaeweol and Margaret Jolly. “Paradoxes of Domesticity: Missionary Encounters in the Making of Christian Homes in Asia and the Pacific.” In *Divine Domesticities: Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific*, edited by Hyaeweol Choi and Margaret Jolly, 1-25. Canberra: ANU Press, 2014. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13wwvck,

Clark, Alison. “‘In-between’ spaces in postwar primary schools: a micro-study of a ‘welfare room’ (1977–1993).” *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 767-778. DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514297.

Cook, Sharon A. ““Sowing Seed for the Master”: The Ontario WCTU and Evangelical Feminism 1874-1930.” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 175-194. *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/scholarly-journals/sowing-seed-master-ontario-wctu-evangelical/docview/1300017644/se-2?accountid=13042.

Coox, Alvin D. “High Command and Field Army: The Kwantung Army and the Nomonhan Incident, 1939.” *Military Affairs* 33, no. 2 (October 1969): 302-312. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/scholarly-journals/high-command-field-army-kwantung-nomonhan/docview/1296640809/se-2?accountid=13042.

Coutts, Angela. “Imagining Radical Women in Interwar Japan: Leftist and Feminist Perspectives.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 37, no. 2 (January 2012): 325-355. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/661713.

Deal, Terrence E., and Kent D. Peterson. *Shaping School Culture*. 3rd ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2016. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=4605622.

Dickinson, Frederick R. *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1017/CBO9781139794794.

Donaghy, Greg, and Patricia E. Roy, eds. *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.

Dorn Lublin, Elizabeth. *Reforming Japan: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412659.

Duke, Benjamin C. *Japan’s Militant Teachers: A History of the Left-Wing Teachers’ Movement*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1973. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv9zck04.

Fischer-Tiné, Harald, Stefan Huebner, and Ian Tyrrell. “The Rise and Growth of a Global “Moral Empire”: The YMCA and YWCA during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.” In *Spreading Protestant Modernity: Global Perspectives on the Social Work of*

the YMCA and YWCA, 1889–1970, edited by Harald Fischer-Tiné, Stefan Huebner and Ian Tyrrell, 1-35. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2021. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824886462.

Fitz-Gibbon, Andrew, ed. *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace Education, Nonviolence, and Social Change*. New York: Brill Rodopi, 2010. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9789042029927.

Foster, Catherine. *Women for all Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Frühstück, Sabine. *Playing War: Children and the Paradoxes of Modern Militarism in Japan*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.

Fujitani, Takashi, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama. "Introduction." In *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, edited by Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White and Lisa Yoneyama, 1-29. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1215/9780822381051-001.

Galtung, Johan. "Cultural Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 3 (1999): 291-305. And Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167-191. In Sagkal, Ali Serdar, Abbas Turnuklu, and Tarik Totan. "Kisilerarasi Baris Için Empati: Baris Egitiminin Empati Becerilerine Etkileri [Empathy for Interpersonal Peace: Effects of Peace Education on Empathy Skills." *Kuram Ve Uygulamada Egitim Bilimleri* 12, no. 2 (2012): 1447-1460. Cited in Cengelci Kose, Tuba, and Omur Gurdogan Bayir. "Perception of Peace in Students' Drawings." *Eurasian Journal of Educational Research* 65, (2016): 181-198. DOI: 10.14689/ejer.2016.65.11.

Garner, Karen. "Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction: The World YWCA Visitation to Occupied Japan, 1947." *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (June 2005): 191-227. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20068612.

Garner, Karen. *Women and Gender in International History: Theory and Practice*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. DOI: 10.5040/9781474205917.

Garst, Barry A., Laurie P. Browne, and M. Deborah Bialeschki. "Youth development and the camp experience." *New Directions for Youth Development* no. 130 (Summer 2011): 73-87. DOI: 10.1002/yd.398.

Gauntlett, Saiko. "Edward Gauntlett (1868-1956), English Teacher, Explorer and Missionary." In *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Vol. VI*, edited by Hugh Cortazzi. Vol 6, 299-306. Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental, 2007. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/ej.9781905246335.1-448.212.

Gay, William C. "Editorial Forward." In *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace Education, Nonviolence, and Social Change*, edited by Andrew Fitz-Gibbon, xv-xvi. New York: Brill

Rodopi, 2010. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9789042029927.

Gigova, Irina. "The Bulgarian PEN Club: A Study in Interwar Cultural Internationalism." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 34, no. 3 (August 2020): 685-711. DOI: 10.1177/0888325419877681.

Gill, John L. "Alumni Programs: Principles and Practice." In *Excellence in Advancement: Applications for Higher Education and Nonprofit Organizations*, edited by William W. Tromble, 241-280. Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen Publishers, 1998. Cited in Newman, Melissa D., and Joseph M. Petrosko. "Predictors of Alumni Association Membership." *Research in Higher Education* 52, no. 7 (2011): 738-759. JSTOR, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41483814.

Gleason, Mona. "Avoiding the agency trap: caveats for historians of children, youth, and education." *History of Education* 45, no. 4 (2016): 446-459. DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2016.1177121.

Goodman, Joyce. "Gender, cosmopolitanism, and transnational space and time: Kasuya Yoshi and girls' secondary education." *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 683-699. DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2015.1076066.

Green, Abigail. "Religious Internationalisms." In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 17-37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.003.

Hahn, Daniel. "Children's Encyclopaedia, The." *Oxford Reference: The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*. Oxford University Press. 2015. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780199695140.001.0001/acref-9780199695140-e-636.

Hardacre, Helen. *Shinto and the State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Hewitt, Molly. *Sixty Years of CGIT: 1915-75*. Toronto: The National CGIT Committee, 1975. [Accessed at Shizuoka Eiwa Gakuin Daigaku Archives.]

Hotta, Eri. *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. *EBSCOhost*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2713/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=252548&site=ehost-live.

Howes, John F. *Japan's Modern Prophet: Uchimura Kanzō, 1861-1930*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412107.

Ifert Johnson, Danette. "Relationships between College Experiences and Alumni Participation in the Community." *The Review of Higher Education* 27, no. 2 (Winter 2004): 169-185.

Project MUSE, DOI: 10.1353/rhe.2003.006.

Ion, A. Hamish. *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=685687.

Ion, A. Hamish. *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3050225.

Ion, Hamish. "Soul Searchers and Soft Power: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, 1873-1951." In *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Greg Donaghy and Patricia E. Roy, 10-28. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.

Iriye, Akira. "Foreword." In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, xiii-xiv. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.

Ishii, Noriko. "Difficult Conversations Across Religions, Race and Empires: American Women Missionaries and Japanese Christian Women during the 1930s and 1940s." *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 24, (2017): 373-401. DOI: 10.1163/18765610-02404004.

Izzo, Amanda L. "'By Love, Serve One Another': Foreign Mission and the Challenge of World Fellowship in the YWCAs of Japan and Turkey." *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 24, (2017): 347-372. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26549220.

Jasper, James M., and Aidan McGarry. "Introduction." In *The Identity Dilemma: Social Movements and Collective Identity*, edited by Aidan McGarry and James M. Jasper, 1-17. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=2055011.

Johnson, Linda. "Tsuda Umeko and a transnational network supporting women's higher education in Japan during the Victorian era." *American Educational History Journal* 37, no. 2 (2010): 473-491. *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/scholarly-journals/279odle-umeko-transnational-network-supporting/docview/867849500/se-2?accountid=13042.

Jones, Stephanie, Jaye Johnson Thiel, Denise Dávila, Elizabeth Pittard, James F. Woglom, Xiaodi Zhou, Taryrn Brown, and Marianne Snow. "Childhood Geographies and Spatial Justice: Making Sense of Place and Space-Making as Political Acts in Education." *American Educational Research Journal* 53, no. 4 (August 2016): 1126-1158. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24751625.

Jonsson, Inge. “Swedenborg, Emanuel.” Oxford Reference: Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment. Oxford University Press. 2005. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780195104301.001.0001/acref-9780195104301-e-697.

Kawai, Michi, and Ochimi Kubushiro. *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America*. Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934. https://hdl.handle.net/2144/600.

Kawai, Michi. *My Lantern*. Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1939.

Kawai, Michi. *Sliding Doors*. Tokyo: Keisen Jogakuen, 1950.

Kawamura, Satofumi. “The National Polity and the formation of the modern national subject in Japan.” *Japan Forum* 26, no. 1 (2014): 25-45. DOI: 10.1080/09555803.2013.802367.

Keenleyside, Hugh Ll., and A. F. Thomas. *History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1937.

Konishi, Sho. *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9781684175314.

Konishi, Sho. “The Absence of Portsmouth in an Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Imagination of Peace.” In *The Treaty of Portsmouth and its Legacies*, edited by Steven Ericson and Allen Hockley, 98-105. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2008.

Koresawa, Hiroaki, and Emily B. Simpson (translator). “Children and the Founding of Manchukuo: The Young Girl Ambassadors as Promoters of Friendship.” In *Child’s Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, edited by Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall, 121-137. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w8h25q.11.

Koshiro, Yukiko. “Eurasian Eclipse: Japan’s End Game in World War II.” *The American Historical Review* 109, no. 2 (2004): 417-444. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/530338.

Kozlovsky, Roy. “The architecture of *educare*: motion and emotion in postwar educational spaces.” *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 695-712. DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514295.

Krämer, Hans Martin. “The Prewar Roots of “Equality of Opportunity”: Japanese Educational Ideals in the Twentieth Century.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 61, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 521-549.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/25066465.

Kulba, Tracy, and Victoria Lamont. "The periodical press and western woman's suffrage movements in Canada and the United States: A comparative study." *Women's Studies International Forum* 29, (May-June 2006): 265-278. DOI: 10.1016/j.wsif.2006.04.005.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992. Cited in Goodman, Joyce. "Gender, cosmopolitanism, and transnational space and time: Kasuya Yoshi and girls' secondary education." *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 683-699. DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2015.1076066.

Letter from Gauntlett Tsune to WILPF, November 21, 1935, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers, 1915–1978, Reel 79, Frames 1986-1987. Quoted in Shibahara, Taeko. *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement before World War II*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4v5b.

Lincicome, Mark E. "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (May 1999): 338-360. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2659400.

Lincicome, Mark. "In the Shadow of the Asia-Pacific War: Rewriting the History of Education and Childhood in Modern Japan." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 7, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 485-508. DOI: 10.1353/hcy.2014.0045.

Livingstone, David N. "Keeping knowledge in site." *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 779-785. DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514299.

Lynhiavu, Tou Chu Dou. "Canada's Window on Asia: The Establishment of the Tokyo Legation in 1928-1931." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996/1997): 97-123. *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/scholarly-journals/canadas-window- on-asia-establishment-tokyo/docview/203509359/se-2?accountid=13042.

Mackie, Vera. "In Search of Innocence: Feminist Historians Debate the Legacy of Wartime Japan." *Australian Feminist Studies* 20, no. 47 (July 2005): 207-217. DOI: 10.1080/08164640500090376.

Mackie, Vera. *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1017/CBO9780511470196.

Maynes, Mary Jo. "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 114-124. DOI: 10.1353/hcy.2008.0001.

McCammon, Holly J., Karen E. Campbell, Ellen M. Granberg and Christine Mowery. "How

Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866 to 1919." *American Sociological Review* 66, no. 1 (February 2001): 49-70. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2657393.

Meehan, John D. *The Dominion and the Rising Sun: Canada Encounters Japan, 1929-41*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412058.

Meehan, John D. "Pacific Beginnings: Canada and Japan between the Wars, 1929-41." In *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Greg Donaghy and Patricia E. Roy, 80-100. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.

Mehl, Margaret. "Lessons from history? Obara Kuniyoshi (1877–1987), new education and the role of Japan's educational traditions." *History of Education* 38, no. 4 (July 2009): 525-543. DOI: 10.1080/00467600801994164.

Miyake, Yoshiko. "Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work Under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s." In *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, 267-295. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02398.

Molony, Barbara. "Crossing Boundaries: Transnational Feminisms in Twentieth-Century Japan." In *Women's Movements in Asia: Feminisms and Transnational Activism*, edited by Mina Roces and Louise Edwards, 90-109. London, New York: Routledge, 2010. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=537871.

Moore, Aaron William. "From Individual Child to War Youth: The Construction of Collective Experience among Evacuated Japanese Children during World War II." *Japanese Studies* 36, no. 3 (2016): 339-360. DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2016.1253434.

Moore, Aaron William. "Reversing the Gaze, the Construction of "Adulthood" in the Wartime Diaries of Japanese Children and Youth." In *Child's Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, edited by Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall, 141-159. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w8h25q.12.

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. "National identity and minorities." In *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Japanese Culture*, edited by Sandra Buckley, 344-347. London: Routledge, 2001. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.4324/9780203996348

Moshe Grodofsky, Merav. "Community-based human rights advocacy practice and peace education." *International Social Work* 55, no. 5 (September 2012): 740-753. DOI: 10.1177/0020872812448078.

Muir, Elizabeth Gillian, and Marilyn Färdig Whiteley. "Introduction: Putting Together the Puzzle of Canadian Women's Christian Work." In *Changing Roles of Women within the*

Christian Church in Canada, edited by Elizabeth Gillian Muir and Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, 3-16. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.06737.

Nadel, Meryl, and Susan Scher. *Not just Play: Summer Camp and the Profession of Social Work*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780190496548.001.0001.

Newman, Melissa D., and Joseph M. Petrosko. "Predictors of Alumni Association Membership." *Research in Higher Education* 52, no. 7 (November 2011): 738-759. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41483814.

Niebuhr, Helmut Richard. *Christ and Culture*. London: Faber and Faber, 1952.

Nishida, Yukiyo. "A chrysanthemum in the garden: a Christian kindergarten in the Empire of Japan." *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 3 (2015): 280-297. DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2014.992919.

Nolte, Sharon H., and Sally Ann Hastings. "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910." In *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, 151-174. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02398.

Norman, Gwen R. P., and Howard Norman. *One Hundred Years in Japan 1873-1973 Part I and Part II*. Toronto: The Division of World Outreach, United Church of Canada, 1981.

Ogawa, Manako. "The "White Ribbon League of Nations" Meets Japan: The Trans-Pacific Activism of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1906–1930." *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 1 (January 2007): 21-50. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24916019.

Ohara, Mayumi and John Buchanan. *English Language Teaching during Japan's Post-War Occupation: Politics and Pedagogy*. London: Routledge, 2018. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.4324/9781315157726.

Orbaugh, Sharalyn. "Play, Education, Or Indoctrination? Kamishibai in 1930s Japan." *Mechademia* 11, no. 1 (Fall 2018): 65-91. *Project MUSE*, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/725971.

Orbaugh, Sharalyn. *Propaganda Performed: Kamishibai in Japan's Fifteen-Year War*. Leiden: Brill, 2015. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=4526175.

Oshiro, George M. "Mary P. E. Nitobe and Japan." *Quaker History* 86, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 1-15. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41947357.

Oshiro, George M. "Nitobe Inazō and the Sapporo Band: Reflections on the Dawn of Protestant Christianity in Early Meiji Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34, no.

1 (2007): 99-126. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/30234177.

Ozawa, Tomoko. "Michi Kawai, Japanese Emigrants and Nisei." *The Tsuda Review* 60, (November 2015): 85-112. http://id.nii.ac.jp/1234/00000073.

Paine, S. C. M. *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895: Perceptions, Power and Primacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511550188.

Paisley, Fiona. *Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race Politics in the Women's Pan-Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824862657.

Pan, Liang. "National Internationalism in Japan and China." In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 170-190. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.009.

Patessio, Mara. "Western Women Missionaries and their Japanese Female Charges, 1870–1890." *Women's History Review* 16, no. 1 (February 2007): 59-77. DOI: 10.1080/09612020601048787.

Patessio, Mara. *Women and Public Life in Early Meiji Japan: The Development of the Feminist Movement*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011. https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.9340032.

Peattie, Mark R. "The Nan'Yō: Japan in the South Pacific, 1885-1945." In *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, edited by Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, 172-210. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780691213873.

Piel, L. Halliday. "Outdoor Play in Wartime Japan." In *Child's Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, edited by Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall, 160-180. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w8h25q.13.

Piel, L. Halliday. "The School Diary in Wartime Japan: Cultivating morale and self-discipline." *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no. 4 (July 2019): 1004-1037. DOI: 10.1017/S0026749X17000439.

Prang, Margaret. *A Heart at Leisure from Itself: Caroline Macdonald of Japan*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3412133.

Rambo, Lewis R. *Understanding Religious Conversion*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2116/stable/j.ctt1bhkp2k.

Rapley, Ian. “Sekaigo: Esperanto, international language, and the transnational dimension to Japan’s linguistic modernity.” *Japan Forum* 32, no. 4 (2020): 511-530. DOI: 10.1080/09555803.2019.1594342.

Rayle, Joseph. “Peace Education: A Systemic Framework.” In *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace Education, Nonviolence, and Social Change*, edited by Andrew Fitz-Gibbon, 59-65. New York: Brill Rodopi, 2010. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9789042029927.

Rißler, Georg, Andrea Bossen, and Nina Blasse. “School as Space: Spatial Alterations, Teaching, Social Motives, and Practices.” *Studia Paedagogica* 19, no. 4 (2014): 145-160. DOI: 10.5817/SP2014-4-7.

Rodd, Laurel Rasplica. “Yosano Akiko and the Taishō Debate Over the “New Woman”.” In *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein, 175-198. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02398.

Rupp, Leila J. *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women’s Movement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=6388557.

Russell, Frances. *The CGIT Manual ... for Leaders*. N.p.: Canadian Council of Churches, 1964.

Saeki, Chizuru. “Helen Keller’s Civil Diplomacy in Japan in 1937 and 1948.” *Japan Review* 27, (2017): 201-220. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23849575.

Saint, Andrew. “Battersea: education in a London parish since 1750.” *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2010): 681-693. DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2010.514296.

Sato, Chizu. “Education for international understanding in Japan: Japanese self-identification and the discourse of internationalization after the Second World War.” *Intercultural Education* 15, no. 2 (June 2004): 209-219. DOI: 10.1080/1467598042000225050.

Semple, Neil. *The Lord’s Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3331187.

Shamoon, Deborah M. *Passionate Friendship: The Aesthetics of Girl’s Culture in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1515/9780824861117.

Sheehan, Nancy M. “The WCTU and Educational Strategies on the Canadian Prairie.” *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 101-119. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/367995.

Shibahara, Taeko. ""The Private League of Nations": The Pan-Pacific Women's Conference and Japanese Feminists in 1928." *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 41, (2011): 3-24. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/42772312.

Shibahara, Taeko. "Not Only for the Welfare of the Nation but for the World and Humanity: The Interwar Suffrage Movement in Japan." *Journal of Women's History* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 62-88. DOI: 10.1353/jowh.2012.0014.

Shibahara, Taeko. *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement before World War II*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4v5b.

Sippel, Patricia G. "Surviving Japanese Militarism: Canadian Educators at a Christian Girls' School." *Ajia Bunka Kenkyū* 38, (2012): 31-45. http://id.nii.ac.jp/1130/00002835/.

Sippel, Patricia. "Toyo Eiwa Jogakko as a Site of International Exchange: The Experiences of Three Canadian Methodist Women." *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Kiyō* 7, (2011): 1-20. http://id.nii.ac.jp/1093/00000354.

Skinner, Alice B. "Swedenborg's Influence: The Power of Three Selected Ideas." In *Scribe of Heaven: Swedenborg's Life, Work, and Impact*, edited by Jonathon S. Rose, Stuart Shotwell, and Mary Lou Bertucci, 339-372. West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation, 2005. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3409063.

Sluga, Glenda, and Patricia Clavin. "Rethinking the History of Internationalism." In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 3-14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.002.

Sluga, Glenda. "Women, Feminisms and Twentieth-Century Internationalisms." In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 61-84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.005.

Smith, Kerry. *A Time of Crisis: Japan, the Great Depression, and Rural Revitalization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9781684173419.

Smith, Martyn David. *Mass Media, Consumerism and National Identity in Postwar Japan*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. DOI: 10.5040/9781350030800.

Standish, Paul. "The Educational is Political." *Educational Studies in Japan: International Yearbook* 13, (March 2019): 5-22. https://doi.org/10.7571/esjkyoiku.13.5.

Steele, M. William. *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. *ProQuest Ebook Central*,

https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=180917.

Swain, Jon. “The Right Stuff: Fashioning an identity through clothing in a junior school.” *Gender and Education* 14, no. 1 (2002): 53-69. DOI: 10.1080/09540250120098889.

Tomida, Hiroko. “The Controversy Over the Protection of Motherhood and its Impact upon the Japanese Women’s Movement.” *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 3, no. 4 (2004): 243–271. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23615651.

Tsurumi, E. Patricia. “Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks: Old Values for a New Society?” *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 2 (1974): 247-261. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/311639.

Uchiyama, Akiko. “*Akage no An* in Japanese girl culture: Muraoka Hanako’s translation of *Anne of Green Gables*.” *Japan Forum* 26, no. 2 (2014): 209-223. DOI: 10.1080/09555803.2014.900513.

Uchiyama, Benjamin. *Japan’s Carnival War: Mass Culture on the Home Front, 1937–1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1017/9781316899823.

Uno, Kathleen S. “Maternalism in Modern Japan.” *Journal of Women’s History* 5, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 126-130. https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2010.0143.

Valentine, Gill. “Boundary Crossings: Transitions from Childhood to Adulthood.” *Children’s Geographies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 37-52. DOI: 10.1080/14733280302186.

Vipond, Mary. “United Church of Canada.” Oxford Reference: The Oxford Companion to Canadian History. Oxford University Press. 2004. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780195415599.001.0001/acref-9780195415599-e-1590.

Ward, Max M. *Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1215/9781478002741.

Ward, Max. “Crisis ideology and the articulation of fascism in interwar Japan: the 1938 Thought-War Symposium.” *Japan Forum* 26, no. 4 (2014): 462-485. DOI: 10.1080/09555803.2014.924545.

Washington, Garrett L. “Christianity and “True Education”: Yasui Tetsu’s Contribution to Women’s Education in Imperial Japan.” In *Christianity and the Modern Woman in East Asia*, edited by Garrett L. Washington, 134-162. Leiden: Brill, 2018. https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1163/9789004369108.

Webster, Andrew. "The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism." In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 139-169. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. DOI: 10.1017/9781107477568.008.

Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983. Quoted and cited in Shibahara, Taeko. *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement before World War II*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4v5b.

Wilson, Sandra. *Nation and Nationalism in Japan*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002.

"World Conference of Christian Youth." *Christian Education* 22, no. 5 (June 1939): 336-342. *JSTOR,* http://www.jstor.org/stable/41167453.

Wright, Robert A. *World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=3330978.

Yamamoto, Mari. *Grassroots Pacifism in Post-War Japan: The Rebirth of a Nation*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=200691.

Yasutake, Rumi. "Men, Women, and Temperance in Meiji Japan: Engendering WCTU Activism from a Transnational Perspective." *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 17, (2006): 91-111. http://www.jaas.gr.jp/jjas/PDF/2006/No.17-091.pdf.

Yoshiaki, Yoshimi. *Grassroots Fascism: The War Experience of the Japanese People*. Translated by Ethan Mark. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015. https://doi.org/10.7312/yosh16584.

Young, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.00123.

- **Hathitrust**

Alonso, Harriet Hyman. *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993.

"Andrews, Fannie Fern." In *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada 1914-1915*, edited by John William Leonard, 50. New York: The American Commonwealth Co., 1914.

Flemming, Leslie A. "Introduction: Studying Women Missionaries in Asia." In *Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia*, edited by Leslie A. Flemming,

1-10. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.

Gagan, Rosemary R. *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 1992.

Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Haraguchi, Takaaki. "David B. Schneder's Idea of Christian Education and its Implementation in Face of the Nationalistic Education in Modern Japan." In *Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea: Historical Studies*, edited by Yuko Watanabe, Scott W. Sunquist, Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Tze Ming Ng and Chong Ku Paek, 89-98. Frankfurt: Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2009.

Havens, Thomas R. H. *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1986.

Iriye, Akira. *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

Johnson, Gregory A. "Canada and the Far East during the 1930s." In *Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, edited by John Schultz and Kimitada Miwa, 111-125. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Kasza, Gregory James. *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Kohiyama, Rui. "Women's Education and Mission Schools and the Emergence of the Modern Family in Meiji Japan." In *Christian Mission and Education in Modern China, Japan, and Korea: Historical Studies*, edited by Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Peter Tze Ming Ng, Chong Ku Paek and Scott W. Sunquist, 99-114. Frankfurt: Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2009.

Lincicome, Mark. *Imperial Subjects as Global Citizens: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Education in Japan*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009.

Rice, Anna V. *A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association*. New York: The Woman's Press, 1947.

Rice, Eber H. "Sir Herbert Marler and the Canadian Legation in Tokyo." In *Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, edited by John Schultz and Kimitada Miwa, 75-84. Toronto, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Schultz, John, and Kimitada Miwa, eds. *Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*. Toronto, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Tibble, J. W., and Anne Tibble. *Helen Keller*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1958.

Yamazaki, Tomoko. *The Story of Yamada Waka: From Prostitute to Feminist Pioneer*. Translated by Ann Kostant and Wakako Hironaka. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985.

2. Theses

Arnold, Gertrude Lee. "Friend Raisers and Fund Raisers: Alumni Relations and Development in Large, Public Universities." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2003. *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/dissertations-theses/friend-raisers-fund-alumni-relations-development/docview/305326725/se-2?accountid=13042

Blais, Gabrielle. "The Complete Feminine Personality Female Adolescence in the Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT), 1915-1955." MA diss., University of Ottawa, 1986. *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/dissertations-theses/complete-feminine-personality-female-adolescence/docview/303576835/se-2?accountid=13042.

Mochizuki, Chikako. "Working for Equality: Activism and Advocacy by Blind Intellectuals in Japan, 1912-1995." PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2013. *ProQuest*, https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2090/dissertations-theses/working-equality-activism-advocacy-blind/docview/1499243905/se-2?accountid=13042.

3. Websites

Allen, Richard. "Social Gospel." The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada. Last modified 4 Mar, 2015. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/article/social-gospel.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Reader's Digest." Encyclopaedia Britannica. Accessed 5 Jul, 2021. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Readers-Digest.

Matsutani, Minoru. "Foreigners Fear for Haven: Planned Waste Site Near Rural Getaway Worries Longtime Vacationers." *The Japan Times*. Last modified 22 Aug, 2008. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2008/08/22/national/foreigners-fear-for-haven#.Xh3LKS10et8.

Sheehan, Nancy M. "Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Canada." The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada. Last modified 12 Oct, 2016. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/womans-christian-temperance-union.

Swedenborg Foundation. "The Lord." Accessed 1 Nov, 2020. https://swedenborg.com/emanuel-swedenborg/explore/lord/>.

Swedenborg Foundation. "Usefulness." Accessed 1 Nov, 2020. https://swedenborg.com/emanuel-swedenborg/explore/use/>.

Toyo Eiwa Jogakuin. “History.” Accessed 28 Sept, 2020. https://www.toyoeiwa.ac.jp/english/history/index.html.

Williams-Hogan, Jane. “Helen Keller’s Spiritual Sight.” Swedenborg Foundation. Accessed 14 Apr, 2020. https://swedenborg.com/scholars-helen-kellers-spiritual-sight/.

WorldCat. “Eigo Seinen = the Rising Generation.” Accessed 22 Aug, 2021. https://www.worldcat.org/title/eigo-seinen-the-rising-generation/oclc/266222834.

Japanese

A. Primary Sources

1. Archival Material

- **From the collection of and courtesy of Fukasawa Mieko (Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shiryōshitsu), Kōfu, Japan**

Hirose, Yasoji, ed. *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1930.

[Missing author]. *[Missing Title]*, edited by Hirose Yasoji. Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1936.

Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Hirose Yasoji. Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1932.

Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Hirose Yasoji. Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1931.

Mukōyama, Kiyo, ed. *Monbu Daijin Shitei Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Minister of Education Designated Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1920.

Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Hirose Yasoji. Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1937.

Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Hirose Yasoji. Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1935.

Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Hirose Yasoji. Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934.

Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Hirose Yasoji. Kōfu: Shiritsu Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1933.

Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Hirose Yasoji. Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938.

Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō. *Sōritsu Gojūnen Kinenshi [Fifty-Year Founding Anniversary Commemorative Publication]*, edited by Amemiya Keisaku. Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Jogakkō, 1940.

- **Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, Shizuoka Eiwa Gakuin Daigaku Archives, Shizuoka, Japan**

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. No. 37. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1933.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. No. 34. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō, 1930.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. No. 33. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1929.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. No. 32, Gotaiten Kinen ed. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1928.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. No. 36. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1932.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Shizuhata: Dōsōkaihō [Shizuhata: Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. No. 43. Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1939.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Shizuhata: Dōsōkaishi [Shizuhata: Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. Kigen Nisenroppyakunen Kinen Dōsōkaishi ed. No. 44. Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1940.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Kaihō [Report/Bulletin]*. No. 40. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1936.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Kaihō [Report/Bulletin]*. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1919.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. Shinchiku Kinen ed. No. 31. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1927.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. No. 30. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1926.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1923.

Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Dōsōkaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. No. 41. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1937.

Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai/Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō. *Kaihō/Dōsōkaihō [Report/Bulletin/Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*. No. 42. Shizuoka: Zaidan Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938.

- **Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Shiryōshitsu (Archives), Tokyo, Japan**

Frances Gertrude Hamilton, Notebook, Undated. Source ID 1201822325, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan.

"Message of peace and friendship," *T.E. Nyūsu [T.E. News]*, Undated. Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan.

Mori Nobuko, Memoir, Contributed to the *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi*, Undated. Source ID 1201600051, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Sakai Hiro. Shōwa Jūsannen Tsuiroku ed. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Muraoka Hanako. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1931.

Tōyō Eiwa Jōgakkō. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Muraoka Hanako. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1933.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Muraoka Hanako. Shōwa Jūni-sannen Senkyūhyakusanjūnana-hachinen ed. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1938.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Muraoka Hanako. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1936.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Dōsōkai Kaihō [Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Muraoka Hanako. Senkyūhyakusanjūyonen Shōwa Kyūnen ed. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jōgakkō Dōsōkai, 1935.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Muraoka Hanako. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1929.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai. *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Kaihō [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Alumnae Association Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Muraoka Hanako. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, 1929.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai. *Kōyūkaishi [Kōyūkai Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Tsuruki Fumiko. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1930.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu. *Kaede*, edited by Mizuno Fumiko. No. 7. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1937.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu. *Kaede*, edited by Mizuno Fumiko. No. 8. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1938.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu. *Kaede*, edited by Mizuno Fumiko. No. 9. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1939.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu. *Kaede*, edited by Mizuno Fumiko. No. 10. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1940.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu. *Kaede*, edited by Okabe Shūzō. No. 11. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1941.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu. *Kaede*, edited by Tsuruki Fumiko. No. 6. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1936.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu. *Kōyūkaishi [Kōyūkai Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Tsuruki Fumiko. No. 2. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1931.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu. *Kōyūkaishi [Kōyūkai Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Tsuruki Fumiko. No. 3. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1932.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Bungeibu. *Kōyūkaishi [Kōyūkai Report/Bulletin]*, edited by Tsuruki Fumiko. No. 4. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1933.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai Henshūbu. *Kaede*, edited by Tsuruki Fumiko. Sōritsu Gojū Shūnen Seinenkai Nijū Shūnen Kinen ed. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Kōyūkai, 1934.

"Y.W.C.A. Jogakubu: Jogakubu Kaiin Hand Book," Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai Nihon Dōmei Jogakubu, 1936. Source ID 1201701713, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Archives, Tokyo, Japan.

B. Secondary Material

1. Books and Articles

Enomoto, Aiko. “YWCA kara Uketamono [Things [I] Received from the YWCA].” In *Budō no Eda: Kōfu YWCA Yonjū Shūnen Kinenshi*, edited by Kōfu YWCA Kinenshi Henshū Iinkai. Shōwa-chō: Kōfu YWCA, 1990. Found in *Shu ha Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]*. Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014.

Funaki, Terumi. “Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Ni Okeru Eigokyōiku [English Education at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin in the Meiji Period].” *Takachiho Ronsō* 52, no. 4 (2018): 31-55. http://id.nii.ac.jp/1303/00000111.

Horie, Yūko. “Hajimeni.” In *Senjika no Joshi Gakuseitachi: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku ni Manada 60nin no Taiken [Girl Students in Wartime: The Experiences of 60 People who Studied at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku]*, edited by Horie Yūko, iii-vii. Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2012.

Ichiyama, Masami. “Kyūsei Chūgakkō no Kōyūkai ni Okeru Seito Jichi no Sokumen : Kōyūkai Kisoku no Bunseki wo Chūshin ni/The Aspect of Self-Government by Students in Junior High School in Prewar Japan : From the Analysis of the Rules of Koyukai.” *Tokyo Daigaku Daigakuin Kyōikugaku Kenkyūka Kiyō* 43, (2004): 1-13. https://doi.org/10.15083/00031427.

Moriya, Azuma. “Heiwa no Tabi Ni Shitagōte [Attended on a Peace Pilgrimage].” *Fujin Shinpō [Woman’s Herald],* no. 293, Feb, 1922, 12-21. Quoted in and translated by Shibahara, Taeko. *Japanese Women and the Transnational Feminist Movement before World War II*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4v5b.

Noguchi Entarō. “Kokusai Kyōiku Kaigi Oyobi Sono Mokuteki.” In *Kokusai Kyōiku no Riron Oyobi Jissai*. Tokyo: Kokusai Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1923. Cited in and translated by Lincicome, Mark E. “Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (May 1999): 338-360. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2659400.

Ōkuma, Ayako. “Ōkuma Ayakosan no Ohanashi.” In *Senjika no Joshi Gakuseitachi: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku ni Manada 60nin no Taiken [Girl Students in Wartime: The Experiences of 60 People who Studied at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku]*, edited by Horie Yūko, 611-630. Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2012.

Sawayanagi, Masatarō. In *Proceedings of the Second Biennial Conference*, 15-17. Augusta: The World Federation of Education Associations, 1927. Cited in and translated by Lincicome, Mark E. “Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (May 1999): 338-360. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2659400.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin 80 Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hachijū Nenshi: 1887-1967 [Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Eighty Year History: 1887-1967]*. Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, 1971.

Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Shizuoka Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi [Shizuoka Jogakuin One Hundred Year History]*. Shizuoka: Gakkō Hōjin Shizuoka Eiwa Jogakuin, 1990.

Sippel, Patricia. "Kinpakusuru Kokusaijiseika no Kōtesu Shoran (1925-1941) wo Yomu [Reading Courtice's Correspondence in a Tense International Situation (1925-1941)]". In *Shiryōshitsu Dayori: Kanada Gōdōkyōkai Ākaibuzu Yori* 89, (November 2017): 1-7. https://www.toyoeiwa.ac.jp/archives/publications/pdf/shiryo89.pdf. Accessed 19 Sept 2021. [Translated by Godo, Natsuko.]

Shu ha Waga Bokusha: Enomoto Aiko Tsuitō Bunshū [The Lord is My Shepherd: Enomoto Aiko Memorial Anthology]. Kōfu: Enomoto Fumiko, 2014.

Takano, Mitsuko. "Takano Mitsukosan no Ohanashi." In *Senjika no Joshi Gakuseitachi: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku ni Manada 60nin no Taiken [Girl Students in Wartime: The Experiences of 60 People who Studied at Tokyo Joshi Daigaku]*, edited by Horie Yūko, 252-267. Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 2012.

Takeuchi, Hisaaki. "Senzen Senchū Nihon ni Okeru 'Heiwa to Kyōiku' : Kawai Michi no Shisō Keisei ni Sokushite/Thoughts of 'Peace and Education' in Prewar Japan : The Formation of the Thoughts of Michi Kawai." *Tokyo Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu Kiyō* 30, (March 1991): 43-52. https://doi.org/10.15083/00029768.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin. *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Nanajū Nenshi*, edited by Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Nanajū Nenshi Hensan Iinkai. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1965. Quoted in Funaki, Terumi. "Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Ni Okeru Eigokyōiku [English Education at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin in the Meiji Period]." *Takachiho Ronsō* 52, no. 4 (2018): 31-55. http://id.nii.ac.jp/1303/00000111.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Chūkōbu Kenchiku Chōsa Iinkai, ed. *Toriizaka Waga Manabisha 1933-1993: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Kōsha no Kiroku [Our School Toriizaka 1933-1993: Records of the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin School Building]*. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Dōsōkai, 1994.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Gojū Nenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Gojū Nenshi [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Fifty Year History]*. Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934. Quoted in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, ed. *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin One Hundred Year History]*. Tokyo: Gakkō Hōjin Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, ed. *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyaku Nenshi [Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin One Hundred Year History]*. Tokyo: Gakkō Hōjin Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984.

Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Tōkōkai. *Tōkō Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Sōritsu Hyakushūnen Kinen [Tōkō Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin One Hundred Year found Anniversary Commemorative Publication]*,

edited by Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Tōkōkai Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Tōkōkai, 1984. Quoted in Funaki, Terumi. “Meijiki no Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Ni Okeru Eigokyōiku [English Education at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin in the Meiji Period].” *Takachiho Ronsō* 52, no. 4 (2018): 31-55. http://id.nii.ac.jp/1303/00000111.

Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijū Nenshi [Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Eighty Year History]*. Kōfu: Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin, 1969.

Yamazaki, Yuji. “Dai ichiji taisengo ni okeri ‘kokusai kyōiku undo’ no seiritsu to tenkai: Taishōki kyōiku kaizō undō no kokusaishugiteki sokumen [Tokyo: Aoyama Gakuin Daigaku Kyōiku Gakkai].” *Kyōiku Kenkyū* 30, (1986): 79-80. Cited in and translated by Lincicome, Mark E. “Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (May 1999): 338-360. *JSTOR*, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2659400.

2. Theses

Nakamoto, Kahoru. “YWCA ni yoru Joshi Seinen Kyōiku no Kenkyū —*1920~30 Nendai no Tokyo YWCA no Jigyō Wo Chūshin Ni*—. [The Study of Young Girls’ Education through the YWCA —With a Focus on the Tokyo YWCA’s 1920-30s Projects—]” PhD diss., Tōyō University, 2018. http://id.nii.ac.jp/1060/00010069/.

3. Websites

Baika Kindergarten. “Baika Yōchien: Baika Yōchien no Enkaku [Baika Kindergarten: History of Baika Kindergarten].” Accessed 28 Sept, 2020. http://www.baikayouchien.com.

CiNii. “Dōwa Kenkyū.” Accessed 5 Jul, 2021. https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN1006896X.

CiNii. “Kaizō.” Accessed 6 Oct, 2019. https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00365120.

CiNii. “Kinshu no Nihon.” Accessed 6 Oct, 2019. https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00064372.

CiNii. “Kirisutokyō Kyōiku.” Accessed 8 Oct, 2019. https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00125295.

CiNii. “Nihon Kirisutokyō Shinbun.” Accessed 19 Jul, 2021. https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00064598.

CiNii. “Rekishi to Shumi.” Accessed 5 Jul, 2021. https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00376047.

CiNii. “Shūkyō Kyōiku.” Accessed 8 Oct, 2019. https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/AN00112034.

Gakkō Hōjin Iai Gakuin. “Rekishi Enkaku [History].” Accessed 7 Mar, 2020. http://www.iaijoshi-h.ed.jp/main/about/history.html.

Heian Jogakuin Chūgakkō・Kōtōgakkō. “Gakkō no Enkaku [History of the School].” Accessed 19 Apr, 2020. http://www.jh.heian.ac.jp/school_profile/gakkouno_enkaku.

Kotobank. “Kōra Tomi.” Accessed 16 Jan, 2019. https://kotobank.jp/word/高良%20とみ-1644619.

Library of Congress. “The Japan Advertiser.” Accessed 5 Jul, 2021. https://www.loc.gov/item/sn94049903/.

National Diet Library. “Sekai to Warera 10(8).” Accessed 6 Oct, 2019. https://iss.ndl.go.jp/books/R100000039-I000376524-00.

National Diet Library: Web NDL Authorities. “Gauntlett, Tuneko, 1873-1954.” Accessed 6 Oct, 2019. https://id.ndl.go.jp/auth/ndlna/00440634.

National Diet Library: Web NDL Authorities. “Ōtsuki, Yuka, 1910-2007.” Accessed 13 Oct, 2019. https://id.ndl.go.jp/auth/ndlna/01124496.

Tokyo YWCA 100 Shūnen Kinin Iinkai, ed. “Nenpyō Tokyo YWCA no 100 Nen [100 Year Chronology of the Tokyo YWCA].” Zaidan Hōjin Tokyo Kirisutokyō Joshi Seinenkai. Accessed 10 Mar, 2020. https://www.tokyo.ywca.or.jp/about/ywca100th.pdf.

Tokyo YWCA: The Young Women’s Christian Association of Tokyo. “Kyanpu Camp: Nojiri Kyanpu.” Accessed 18 Sept, 2021. https://www.tokyo.ywca.or.jp/child/camp/our_camp/