THE LIFE AND IDEAS OF NARUSE JINZŌ UP TO THE TIME OF THE FOUNDING

OF NIHON JOSHI DAIGAKKŌ (1901)

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NARUSE JINZÔ

President of Nihon Joshi Daisakkō
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The illustrations are taken from Naruse Jinzo Chosakushu volumes one and two (which was published as this thesis was nearing completion), with the exception of that entitled "The Delsarte Method of Physical Education, as practised at Nihon Joshi Daigakko around 1904-05".

This expressive photograph was brought to my attention by Dr. David Huish of Monash University. That it should have appeared in a work entitled The Russo-Japanese War fully illustrated (Note) is significant.

Note - This appeared in vol.2(5), Nov. 1904. There were three volumes of this work published in Tokyo, by the Kinkodoshosei Kabushiki Kaisha, from April 1904 to September 1905.
CHAPTER I : THE LIFE OF NARUSE JINZŌ

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 ushered in a period of revolutionary social and political change, during which the traditional bases of the social order were questioned and often adapted in an effort to find a social order and a system of values valid for a Japan which was contending with the military, economic and intellectual might of the Western powers, at a time when they were embarking on a period of unparalleled world splendour. The samurai, the élite of the old society, were deprived of their assured hereditary status as a class and often excluded by their former loyalties to the shogunate or ancestral han (Feudal domains) from participation in politics at a high level. Many of them found the changes too rapid and severe and disappeared into the mass of the common people. Others of this class devoted their talents and enthusiasm, paradoxically given scope by their being uprooted from their assured social position, to the service of Japan. This group of socially active, alert and intelligent former samurai in fact played a leading role in all areas of national life, not least in the search for a consensus of values which would enable the nation to take its place among the Powers and would ensure social order within the nation. Their common educational background, grounded in Confucian ethics, gave them a base from which to approach the new ideas from the West and a foundation for their attempts to conserve what was of value in traditional society, while at the same time adapting themselves to a changed world.

Naruse Jinzō, who was born into the samurai class before the Restoration, was a man whose life reflected the searching of men of that period for new ideals and new forms of service to fulfil traditional ideals. When Naruse died in 1919 he was secure in his beliefs and position. He had achieved public and Imperial recognition for his services to education, especially to women's education, and had established
a lasting memorial to his beliefs in the form of Nihon Joshi Daigakko\(^{(1)}\) (Japan Women's University). He had seen, and contributed to, the growth in Japan's stature to the point where she could take her place among the so-called civilized nations of the world. And he had come to believe that there were ethical values, derived from elements of traditional Confucian thought in Japan, which in conjunction with nineteenth century Protestant Christian values were vital to Japan as a modern nation and were universally valid. His career, from his birth as the son of an obscure han bureaucrat through to his emergence as one of the leading educators of his time and the founder of lasting institutions, reflects the opportunities and conflicts faced by the uprooted samurai and their dual role as conservators and innovators.

In endeavouring to trace the events of Naruse's life and to determine his ideas at different stages of his life, I have taken as a basic framework the timeline provided by the compilers in volume one of Naruse's collected works.\(^{(2)}\) This has been fleshed out, in different ways, by three other sources. The first, Naruse Sensei Den \(^{(3)}\) (A Biography of Naruse Sensei), written by a committee from Nihon Joshi Daigakko and published in 1928, gives a fairly detailed account of his life without a great deal of interpretation, an approach which is more than compensated for in my second source, an article written by Aso Shozo, who was a friend and supporter of Naruse and became President of the university on Naruse's

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\(^{(1)}\) The name was changed to Nihon Joshi Daigaku after the war, in accordance with its elevation to recognised university status. I will use the term daigakko, with its connotations of "not quite a university", throughout, as this was part of its name during the period under consideration. When referring to it, I will usually use the term "university" as this was invariably how Naruse described it in English sources.

\(^{(2)}\) Naruse Jinzo Chōsakushū Tokyo, Dai Nihon Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha, 1974. This will be referred to hereafter as Chōsakushū. The only volume available at the time of writing was volume one, dealing with the period up to the founding of the university. The timeline is on pp.633-647.

\(^{(3)}\) Naruse Sensei Den Tokyo, Ōfūkai Shuppanbu, 1928.
death. This article, "Aikokuyūsei no Reiteki Kyōiku shōsha Naruse Jinzō Kun Shōden" (A Short Biography of Naruse Jinzō, an Educator Inspired with the Spirit of Patriotism and Concern for the World), which appeared in the respected journal Kyōiku (Education) in 1934, reveals the closeness of Aso's friendship with Naruse and offers many valuable insights into possible reasons for Naruse's beliefs and actions. Aso's friendship and his agreement with and admiration for Naruse led him to emphasise Naruse's uniqueness and to cast him in a rather heroic mould, a tendency which is seen most clearly in his treatment of Naruse's youth. Naruse's own work, A Modern Paul in Japan, published in America in 1893, contains some remembrances of his early life in Chōshū han and gives earlier, and slightly less heroic, versions of some of the incidents to which Aso refers. This work, whose main purpose was to laud Naruse's friend and mentor, Paul Sawayama, incidentally reveals that Naruse's early training was similar to that of most boys of his class before the Restoration.

These works emphasize the importance to Naruse of the legacy of ideals and character training left him by his parents. Naruse himself clearly viewed the strong inculcation of what he later saw as "the principle of bushido" as highly significant in forming his character and temperament and in guiding the direction of his life in later years.

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(4) This article appeared in two parts in Kyōiku, vol.2(4), pp.147-170 and vol.2(5), pp.83-101. I have to some extent been guided by the information Aso provides for Naruse's thoughts and emotions but have used it for matters of fact and dates only as confirmation of other sources as it appears to be rather unreliable in these matters.

(5) Naruse Jinzō A Modern Paul in Japan: an Account of the Life of the Reverend Paul Sawayama. First published Boston, 1893. It is reprinted in Chōsakushū vol.1, pp.560-632. and page numbers cited here refer to this edition. It should be noted that the numbering goes in Japanese fashion, from right to left, while the text runs in Western style. It will be cited hereafter as A Modern Paul.

(6) See chapter three for a discussion of Naruse Kozaemon's "bushidō" and of the effects of his ideals on Naruse.
Born in 1858, Naruse Jinzō was the second child of his family, having an older sister, Hisako who was born in 1855, and a younger brother, Bunkichi born in 1861. This brother became the adopted son of a family named Takeshita and died in November 1874, just before the death of Jinzō's father. Although his sister was still alive in Tokyo in 1934, there does not seem to have been a very close relationship between Jinzō and her. Naruse's mother died in 1865 when he was seven years old and, after his father's death in 1874, it is clear that he had no really close family ties.

Naruse Jinzō's father, Naruse Kozaemon, belonged to that stratum of the samurai class which was most affected by the changes in its status after the Restoration. Although a minor bureaucrat in one of the han that had taken the lead in fomenting the Meiji Restoration, he found himself after 1868 in much the same position as many of the samurai who had supported the Bakufu and had no place in the officialdom of the new regime. His position as private secretary to the Mori family (daimyo of Chōshū), apparently a fairly insignificant post, and his age, forty-eight, at the time of the great changes made it most unlikely that he would find in the new order those opportunities which were open to younger members of his class. His actual income is unknown but it seems that up to 1868 at least his family was comfortably off; Naruse Jinzō implies that early in his childhood his family lived in quite a large house and kept several servants. After the Restoration he seems to have declined into a situation of genteel poverty and in 1872, no longer employed in the han bureaucracy, he opened a private academy (gakujuku) in Yuda, near Yamaguchi City where, with the assistance of Naruse Jinzō, he taught until his death in 1874.

(7) Aso op cit vol.2(4), p.149.
Before the Restoration, Naruse Kozaemon had dutifully fulfilled his tasks in the bureaucracy, remaining largely uninvolved in the factional struggles with the han. Aso regards him as a political conservative, saying that "being conservative, he excelled in the virtue of preservation and was not involved in those progressive movements of enterprising, strenuous and constructive reform [of the period]." (9) The compilers of Naruse Sensei Den are more definite and state that he inclined toward that faction which supported the union of Court and Bakufu (kōbugattai) (10) but his lack of active involvement is indicated by his continuing to hold his position in the bureaucracy throughout the changes in fortune of the various factions in the han. (11) Certainly there was no tradition of active participation in politics for Naruse Jinzō to look back upon. Rather, the legacy left him by his father was a matter of disposition or character, a strongly developed sense of right and wrong which had been inculcated by the example of Naruse Kozaemon's own character, whose chief feature could be said to have been its moral righteousness.

Naruse Jinzō saw the early death of his mother in 1865 as the greatest blow to his youthful happiness and in later years dated his religious searchings from this time. (12) His extreme youth makes this

(9) Aso op cit Part 1, p.150.
(10) Naruse Sensei Den, pp.4-5
(11) The Kōbugattai faction gained influence briefly in 1861-62 when its chief spokesman, Naqai Uta, brought Chōshū to the forefront in national politics as a mediator between the Court and Bakufu. The rise of the Sonnō jōi (revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians) movement in Chōshū and inter-han rivalry at a national level resulted in the defeat of this group in mid-1862. (Craig, A. Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration Camb.Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1961, pp.170-185. The seat of government changed during this period with the fortunes of the various factions, moving between Hagi and Yamaguchi. (Craig ibid pp.242-245.) Naruse Kozaemon maintained his family in Yoshiki, near Yamaguchi City, and followed the daimyō to Hagi and back to Yamaguchi, without any break in his employment.
rather unlikely, but it is certain that he was greatly affected by the loss of the person who showed him most affection within the family; his family relationships he summed up by saying: "while of course I did love my father and did respect my mother, yet it seems a much more natural statement of the case to say that I respected by father, but loved my mother." (13) His mother's successor, the daughter of a merchant family (his mother came from a samurai family), did not treat him kindly and may well have provided him with the motivation for his strong feelings about the importance of the mother's role within the family and the pernicious influence of ignorant and ill-tempered women, examples of which formed a large part of his first work, Onna no Tsutome (The Duties of Women) which was published in 1881. Aso sees the founding of Nihon Joshi Daigakkō as a memorial to Naruse's dead mother and, while I believe this to be a considerably overemphasising of this aspect of his motivation, it seems that Naruse's memory of his mother was an important element in the formation of his ideals of conduct for women.

Jinzo's formal education appears to have been fairly normal for one of his class. He entered a han school, the Kenchōkan, (14) in 1863 at the age of five, which may have been a little younger than was usual, (15) and is reported to have preferred practice of the military arts to the practice of writing Chinese characters, not an unusual state of affairs one would have thought. From the age of ten, in 1868, until approximately 1873 he studied Chinese literature with a private teacher, but it is not clear whether he still attended the Kenchōkan. Dore has noted that

(13) ibid p.622.

(14) This was a preparatory school, leading usually to attendance at the han school in Hagi, the Meirinkan. The Kenchōkan later evolved into the Yoshiki Shōgakkō (Yoshiki Elementary School). (From Naruse Sensei Den p.26.).

(15) Dore, R.P. Education in Tokugawa Japan London, Bantledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p.97 suggests that the common age for entry to the han schools was eight to ten years by the Japanese reckoning, that is between the ages of six and eight and a half (approx.), but this did vary with different han.
students within han schools were often considered to be the pupils of a particular teacher, although they might in fact be taught by other teachers as well. (16) Naruse mentions that he was much influenced at that time by the examples of foreign history and arithmetic which were being introduced into the textbooks, (17) but this does not necessarily argue for his continuing to be attached to the school. From the age of thirteen, when he certainly had left the Kenchōkan, he seems to have reformed and to have thrown himself into his studies with great enthusiasm, taking "self-directed learning, self-control and self-cultivation" as his ideals. He learnt Chinese literature still, but also studied "physics, geography, science, plants and animals and English" (18) by himself and presumably taught these to the students in the school which his father opened in 1872, when Naruse was fourteen. His younger brother was adopted out into the Takeshita family in 1873 and the family appears to have been impoverished by this time. (19)

With the death of his father in December 1874, Naruse Jinzō was thrown very much on his own resources, but continued to display the desire to learn which had become evident in his early adolescence. From December 1874 until May 1875 he tried to study science by taking a job as a pharmacist's assistant at a hospital but, becoming dissatisfied with the menial nature of the work and the limited opportunities for study, he left and, in May 1875, entered the newly-established normal school in Yamaguchi City as a second term student, his choice doubtless being influenced by his experience as an assistant in his father's school as well as by the widespread feeling that teaching was an honourable occupation for a

(16) ibid pp.73-74.
(18) Aso op. cit Part 1, p.154.
(19) Harootunian, H.D. "The Economic Rehabilitation of the Samurai in the Early Meiji Period" in Journal of Asian Studies vol.19, 1959-60, p.440, reports that contemporary estimates put the number of samurai who were impoverished within the first few years after the Restoration as seven or eight out of every ten, so that the fate of Naruse's father is by no means unusual.
samurai. (20) He did well in examinations and, although he resented the rules and restrictions of the school to the extent that he considered leaving, he stayed on and graduated in July 1876, having completed the one-year training course for elementary school teachers. Naruse taught in two elementary schools near Yamaguchi City until March 1877, when he left his native han for the first time and travelled to Kobe.

The decision to leave his native province was a definite break in Naruse's life, and the ease with which this was accomplished indicates his lack of family ties. He never returned to Chōshū for any extended period and seems to have had no other personal ties with the region, although in later years the fact that he had been a Chōshū samurai provided him with many contacts and was instrumental in enabling him to raise a good deal of financial support for his projects. The immediate cause of his decision to leave was his discussions with Paul Sawayama who had returned briefly to Yoshiki, near Yamaguchi City, which was his native town, in the autumn of 1876. Sawayama, one of the most outstanding of the early samurai converts to Christianity, had just spent several years studying theology in America and returned to Japan with a burning desire to convert the nation to Christianity. (21)

Naruse reports that his conversion to Christianity was the result of a single night's intense discussion with Sawayama (22) and that it induced a "feeling of transformation in (his) life". (23) Naruse's immediate acceptance of this may have been the result of his being alone and rather

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(20) Passin, H. Society and Education in Japan New York, Teachers' College, Columbia University, (1965), pp.76-77 notes the large proportion of samurai among teachers in the early and middle Meiji period.


(22) ibid pp.620-619 and Aso op cit Part 1, p.155.

at a loss (24) but, whatever the causes of his conversion, he accepted
Christianity wholeheartedly and threw himself with enthusiasm into the
practice of his new faith, studying the Bible every day (presumably only
those portions so far translated into Japanese; the New Testament was not
fully translated until 1880), abstaining from alcohol and keeping the
Sabbath. The ethical practices of Christianity were obviously immediately
attractive to Naruse. There seems to be much in common between Naruse's
immediate reactions and the subsequent direction of his Christian enthusiasm
and the experience of many of the samurai contemporaries. Ebina Danjō, for
example, whose active search for values to replace those shaken by the
collapse of feudal relationships led to an enthusiastic acceptance of
Christianity, with God apparently taking the place, to some extent, of the
feudal lord, seems to have been given a great "singleheartedness" of purpose
by his Christian beliefs, as was Naruse, which drove him on to devote his
life to the service of God and the nation. (25) For Ebina, as it was later
to prove for Naruse, the advancement of Christianity and that of the nation
became inextricably linked and of paramount importance in his life.

After his conversion Naruse followed Sawayama to Kobe and then to
Osaka, both places being under the particular influence of the
Congregational church at that time. (26) It seems that Naruse felt

(24) As an instance of this interpretation, Bansho, E. "Joshikyōiku no
Senku: Naruse Jinzō" in Nyūei ji vol.3(5), 1951, p.35 specifically ties
Naruse's turning to Christianity to his being deprived of mother love.

Period" in Harvard University. East Asian Research Center. Papers on Japan
vol.2. 1963, pp. 1-56. Ebina's family background - the early death of his
loving mother, and his being left to face a stern father an an aloof
stepmother - is also strikingly similar to Naruse's.

(26) Although there was considerable sentiment among both missionaries and
Japanese that the Protestant churches in Japan should not fall prey to the
divisions of the church in the West, in fact, there were generally recognised
"spheres of influence" of different churches from the beginning. The formation
of two separate bodies in 1885 - the Kumiai Ryōkai, on the Congregational
model, in the Osaka-Kobe area and the Kyōkai, on the Presbyterian model, in
Tokyo-Yokohama, simply formalised the existing situation. (Caldarola, C.
Non-church Christianity in Japan California, Ph.D., 1972, pp.49-52).
that it was his mission to perform some great task for Japan, but that its actual form was then unclear to him. Aso reports that Naruse's initial impetus toward seeing the reform of the women of Japan as this great task came from his horror at the behaviour of certain women at his inn in Kobe, an account which was later accepted as "the official version" of Naruse's motivation. (27) However, it seems more likely that by 1877 Naruse would have come to realise that the "woman problem" was one of many facing Japan and that he only gradually, and largely because of his custom of looking at problems in moral terms, came to believe that a reform in women's behaviour and position was vital to the advance of Japan. This point of view was certainly given impetus by his involvement in teaching at a girls' school under Sawayama's guidance, but it was not until at least the late 1880's that Naruse decided to devote himself primarily to women's education, although his opinions on the importance of women were formed by 1881.

Naruse's life from 1877 to 1882 centred on Osaka. In November 1877 he was baptised into the Naniwa church, whose Pastor was Sawayama, and through this became involved in the establishment of an independent girls' school, Baika Jogakko, in Osaka, which was the product of cooperation between the Naniwa and Umemoto churches which were both Congregational. In church affairs both Sawayama and Naruse were much influenced by the views of an American missionary, H.H. Leavitt, on such matters as the need for financial independence of the Japanese churches. (28) Sawayama made a speech to the Second Conference of Protestant Missionaries in 1883, supporting Leavitt's ideas and urging that no financial assistance

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(28) This will be dealt with in more detail in chapter 3.
be given by foreign missions to Japanese churches. (29) It is clear that Naruse supported this stand. (30) 

After the opening of Baika Jogakko in January 1878, Naruse was employed as a teacher. His contribution was noted by Verbeck, who refers to the "faith and self-sacrificing labors of Mr. Naruse, who was several years the Japanese teacher in the school". (31) The school did not accept financial aid from the missions, but the question of independence apparently caused some tension between the Japanese and Americans involved in teaching there. Naruse married Hattori Masue, the daughter of a samurai family of Fukui han in 1879. (32) She had been a student at the school. Although they suffered considerably financial hardship at this time, Naruse's feelings on the matter of independence were so strong that he retired briefly at one time when there was talk of the school's accepting

(29) There is considerable confusion about the date of this speech. Naruse says that it was made at the "Interdenominational Missionary Conference in Osaka in May, 1881" (A Modern Paul p.581) and his dating is accepted by Speer, R.E. Studies of Missionary Leadership Philad., Westminster Press, 1914, pp.119-120. Otis Cary, on the other hand, says that it was given at the 1883 General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries in Japan, which was held in Osaka in April of that year, to an evening session of Japanese and foreign believers. (Cary, O. A History of Christianity in Japan New York, P.H. Ravel, 1909, vol.2, p.165). Naruse's account is rendered suspect by there having been no large missionary conference in Osaka at any time during 1881 (Neither Cary nor Verbeck, F. History of Protestant Missions in Japan (Yokohama, R. Meliklojohn, 1883) mentions such an event), while doubt is thrown on Cary's version by his mentioning that Sawayama's mentor, H.H. Leavitt, gave a speech, on the same subject, at the 1883 Conference. Leavitt, however, had left Japan in April, 1881, and there is no record of his having returned. (Cary himself notes that date of his departure on p.128!) Frank Cary, in his History of Christianity in Japan, 1859-1908 Tokyo Kyō Bun Kwan, 1959, p.208, does not mention Leavitt and says that Sawayama gave his speech at the 1883 Conference, but that Japanese participants were not listed as members of the Conference, which could have been a source of the confusion. It is possible that Sawayama may have read a speech by Leavitt and given another of his own, but I have been unable to resolve this problem in the absence of the full proceedings of the Conference. It is certain, however, that at the time of the 1883 Conference Sawayama made a major speech on the question of self-support, and that the speech reported in A Modern Paul corresponds to his stand on the question.


(32) They were divorced in 1898 and Masue died in September 1900. (Chōsakushū pp.636 and 640.) They had no children.
foreign aid. In August 1883 he withdrew completely from the school in order to devote himself to preaching and, after some months working as a member of the Home Mission Society (founded by Sawayama and Niijima Jo) he was ordained in January 1884 as Pastor to a group of Christians at Koriyama in Nara prefecture. (33)

Naruse had used this five year period in Osaka to delve more deeply into the nature of Christian belief. He also reflected on the nature of women and the task of educating them for their proper role in a changing Japanese society, dealing with these problems in his first book, published in December 1881. (34) This short work, Onna no Tsutomé (The Duties of Women), may have been published primarily for the small Christian community in Osaka, as many of the examples of women's conduct that he uses are taken from the Bible and he assumes some, though not a deep, knowledge of Christianity as well as access to a Bible. Onna no Tsutomé is of interest, not merely as a first expression of later influential views on women, but also because it reveals the extent to which Western examples of conduct and material superiority were taken to heart by some Japanese, especially those in very close contact with Westerners. It shows Naruse's passionate commitment to the advancement of Japan, both morally and materially, and the extent to which this was a rationale of his advocacy of an improvement in the position of women.

After Naruse's transfer to Koriyama he concentrated on church work and threw himself enthusiastically into preaching, doing a good deal of travelling outside Koriyama itself. He also established a night school and a young people's club but felt that it was not a suitable place in which to establish a girls' school. This was primarily a period when he intensified his spiritual fervour and deepened his understanding of the

(33) His ordination is reported in the Missionary Herald vol.80, April 1884, p.144.
(34) Onna no Tsutomé is reprinted in Chōsakushū pp.1-28 and page numbers cited will refer to this edition.
Bible. His diary of this period is concerned almost exclusively with his thoughts on Christianity, the nature of his relationship with God, and how best to communicate the truths of Christianity to his fellow Japanese. (35) He seems to have been quite well known in Congregational circles at this time and Aso contrasts the "spiritual richness" for which he was famed, to his material poverty. (36)

Naruse left Kōriyama in September 1886 to take charge of a church of about twenty people in Niigata. The remarkable growth of the Protestant churches in the 1880's in general throughout Japan, a period sometimes referred to as the great "Christian boom", (37) occurred also in Niigata and, under Naruse's guidance, the church grew rapidly, its membership increasing to over two hundred by mid-1888. A new main church was built and branch churches established. Naruse demonstrated his continuing concern for women's education by establishing, in November 1886, a girls' school, Niigata Jogakko (Niigata Girls' School), and became its headmaster. He apparently faced some official opposition in Niigata, but obtained help from several local notables and the school, initially established in rented buildings with twenty-five pupils, expanded quickly until, by 1888, it had sixty pupils, its own land and new buildings. As with Baika Jogakko, the school gladly accepted the teaching services of foreign missionaries but refused financial aid from abroad, relying instead on the contributions of local believers and of some influential local figures who were not Christians.

Five months after the establishment of the girls' school, a boys' school, the Hokuetsu Gakkan, was established by a group of Christians

(35) Naruse's diary began after he left Baika Jogakko in August 1882 and was continued intermittently to January 1886. This is reprinted in Chōsakushū pp.271-481.
(37) For example in Caldarola op cit p.34.
and others in Niigata. The group, one of whose leaders was Naruse, wanted the school to have a strong Christian moral tone, but did not want it to be used primarily as a tool for evangelism, as often happened in schools associated with the missionaries. The teaching services of missionaries were, accordingly, welcomed but it seems to have been made clear that they were not to evangelise within the school.

From July 1888, one of the teachers was Uchimura Kanzō, who had been employed after his return from America on the condition that he was not to deal with church or missionary matters. (38) He had strong views on the independence of the Japanese on religious matters and converted one of the founders of the school to his ideas. Conflict arose when Uchimura invited a Nichiren priest to address the school as part of the teaching of ethics, and called for the removal of the missionaries from their teaching posts. The founders of the school sided with the missionaries and Uchimura resigned in December 1888. (39) It seems that Naruse supported the actions of the founders. It is reported that Uchimura described one of the founders (unnamed) as "sly as a fox" and "a typical Chōshū samurai" because he at first refused to take a firm stand on the issue and then sided with the missionaries. (40) The coincidence of Naruse's being a former Chōshū samurai and a founder of the school, as well as his being later aided by the main missionary protagonist in this incident, Dr. H. Scudder, leads one to suspect that Uchimura was referring here to Naruse. In 1893, after Naruse had left, a combination of increased local opposition and indifference among former supporters led to the closing of both schools.

(38) Miwa, Kimitada Crossroads of Patriotism in Imperial Japan: Shiga Shigetada, Uchimura Kanzō, Nitobe Inazō Princeton, Ph.D., 1967, p.191. Ebina Danjō was the person who persuaded him to work for the school.


(40) Miwa op cit p.192.
Naruse Jina and his wife,
Masue, at the time
of their marriage
in 1879.

As a
student in
America. Aged 33.
In 1890 Naruse took another major decision as to the direction of his life and resolved to go to America to delve further into Christianity and Western ideas about women's education. He left the Niigata congregation and the schools in November 1890 and sailed for America in December, leaving behind his wife and Sawayama's daughter who had been placed in Naruse's care after Sawayama's death in 1887, in the charge of a friend who was a member of the Naniwa church. Although Naruse was very poor, his friends, American and Japanese, supported both him and his wife while he was in America. The arrangements for his study in America were made by Dr. Scudder (of the Hokuetsu Gakkan) and on his arrival Naruse was warmly welcomed. He stayed with the Rev. H.H. Leavitt, who had been Sawayama's and Naruse's friend and adviser in Osaka and had returned to America in 1881 to take up a Pastorate in North Andover, Massachusetts. In January 1891 Naruse entered Andover Theological Seminary.

Given Naruse's strong views on Japanese independence and his deep personal pride as a samurai, his willingness to accept so much financial aid from American missionaries seems to indicate some hypocrisy on his part. However, while in America, Naruse still retained a deep dislike of imposing on his friends and was ashamed of being indebted to them, so his belief in independence does seem to have persisted. Some resolution of this apparent conflict may be found in Naruse's belief that he had some great task to perform for Japan. In his diary of 1882 he noted that he felt that it was permissible to use foreign gifts of money for evangelism, in some cases, because its devotion to a "higher cause" justified it. The same reasoning may well have guided him in this case. It is clear that those Japanese and foreigners who knew Naruse through the Christian

(41) Aso op cit Part 1, p.165. Naruse left Leavitt's home in the middle of 1891 because he felt that he was imposing on the family. After becoming ill, he returned and apparently spent the rest of his time at Andover there.

(42) Diary, Aug. 22nd, 1882 in Chōsakushū p.275.
movement were impressed with his intelligence and fervour to the extent that they were prepared to support him, and that this trust in him and his own unshakeable belief in the righteousness of his cause could have made the acceptance of such support easier.

Naruse's main field of study at Andover was sociology and he was much influenced by the Congregational minister who taught the subject. Dr. William Tucker, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and a lecturer in Pastoral Theology, seems to have embodied the best traditions of New England Protestantism of that age and did much to bring Naruse's religious and social views into line with the more advanced ideas then current in New England. (43)

Naruse embarked on a programme of determined study and made a point of calling on well-known men to hear their opinions on religion and education and of visiting famous schools in the area. As part of his presentation of the problems of Christianity in Japan, he gave many talks to the New England faithful and published, with the help and encouragement of the Rev. Carl Patton, (44) a life of Paul Sawayama, written in English. This work, A Modern Paul in Japan, appeared in September 1893 and achieved some fame in American church circles. (45)

In order to further his investigations of women's education, Naruse left Andover in June 1892 and enrolled in the Pedagogy Department of the newly-established Clark University. He found himself in agreement with the President of the University, G. Stanley Hall, (46) in his ideas about the nature of Woman and about the process of social evolution, and

(43) This will be discussed more fully in chapter 3.
(44) Patton had been a great friend of Sawayama and became a close friend of Naruse. After serving as Pastor of several Congregational churches in New England he became Professor of Homiletics and Practical Theology at Chicago Theological Seminary.
(45) Aso op. cit. Part 1, p.166.
(46) Hall was a well-known figure in the educational world and was the founder of several reputable psychology journals, including the American Journal of Psychology. His influence on Naruse will be discussed in chapter 3.
was also guided by Hall in his programme of visiting colleges and educators.

Naruse's exposure to this society, which was in most respects unlike that of Japan and whose expression of religious feeling was very much tied up with its own particular forms and mores, occurred when he was a mature man (Naruse was thirty-two when he left Japan and thirty-five when he returned) and when, one would think, his outlook had been formed by an essentially Japanese environment. His early strict upbringing as a samurai made his initial adjustment to Christianity and to the behaviour of American missionaries a relatively easy matter. The reception accorded him in America seems to have brought home to him the realisation of the great differences between Japan and the West, especially in regard to the position of women, without making him feel inferior in any fundamental way. He was treated in America as an honoured guest, unlike, for example, Uchimura Kanzō, (47) and his exposure to American society, despite its relative lateness, seems to have caused him no emotional agonies.

Naruse emerged from his American experience with a great deal of confidence in his religious beliefs, which had changed considerably during his time in America, and in his plans for the development of women's education, which had not changed in essence but had been crystallised by what he saw in America. Aso suggests that his religious and educational plans were part of a wider belief in the development of Japanese society as a step in the development of civilization and unity in the world, (48) an interpretation that is supported by Naruse's later writings. The development of women's education was seen by Naruse as a vital step in the development of Japan as well as a step in the inevitable evolution of nations towards unity.

Naruse left America in December 1893 and returned first to Kyoto

(47) Miwa op. cit pp.117-119.

where he discussed his plans with Aso, who was teaching at the Doshisha (founded by Niijima Jō in 1875), and then went to Osaka where, in March 1894, he became head of Baika Jogakkō, remaining in that position until mid-1896. In February 1896 he published Joshi Kyoiku (Women's Education) which was the product of his studies in America and was aimed at a much wider audience than had been Onna no Tsutome. This work was immediately and widely influential, and its publication marked the beginning of the gathering of support for the establishment of an institution of higher learning for women in Japan.

By mid-1896 the project had gained the support of many Osaka notables as well as several national figures, who included Itō Hirobumi, Ōkuma Shigenobu and Prince Saionji. The very valuable aid of the House of Mitsui was gained, apparently partly because of a family link with one of Naruse's strongest supporters in Osaka, Mrs. Hirooka Asako. Naruse's position as a former Choshū samurai helped him in establishing relationships with influential and wealthy people and made possible the financing of this women's "university". A clear appeal to the national interest, which had been apparent as early as 1881 in Onna no Tsutome, and Naruse'a advocacy of a new Japanese education for women enlisted the support of many for whom any change in the role of Japanese women would normally have had little appeal. The forcefulness of Christian nationalism allied to a particular social cause, as seen earlier with Niijima Jō and the foundation of Doshisha, is very striking here.

Following the first meetings of the sponsors, in Tokyo under the chairmanship of Prince Konoe Atsumaro in March 1897 and in Osaka under Count Ōkuma's guidance in May of the same year, the early efforts of the university's supporters were concentrated on fund-raising and publicity.

To this end Naruse accepted many speaking engagements from educational associations and published a short work, Joshi Kyōiku Dan (Discussion of "Women's Education"), which elaborated on some of his proposals in Joshi Kyōiku. In the midst of all this activity Naruse and his wife were divorced. (50)

In May 1900 it was decided, for financial and national reasons, to locate the university in Tokyo, rather than in Osaka as had been originally planned, and the first buildings were constructed on 5520 tsubo of land donated by the Mitsui family at Mejiro, a suburb of Tokyo. These buildings included a large dormitory, as one of the features of the university was to be the group life centred on the dormitories which were expected to foster a family-like atmosphere in which morality could be cultivated and the feminine arts flourish, an idea derived from the practice of the American women's colleges of the period.

The Nihon Joshi Daigakkō (Japan Women's "University") opened in April 1901 with 510 students. There were 288 students in the attached Girls' High School and, of those in the university proper, the largest concentration was in the departments of Home Economics (84) and Japanese Literature (91) with the rest in the English language and English Language Preparatory Departments. The approval of the highest level of society was made apparent in September of this year when the Empress took the unprecedented step of donating two thousand yen to the school, the first school that was specifically connected with Christian ideals to receive such encouragement.

After this the institution grew in student population, though there were some fluctuations in this, and in the facilities provided.

(50) I have inquired about possible reasons for this. Mrs. Kan Shina of the university kindly offered the suggestion that the reasons may lie in Naruse's feeling that he was working for a higher cause and that sacrifices had to be made for this. His wife had been ill for many years and Mrs. Kan feels that the impetus to separate could have come from his wife's desire not to interfere with his mission. Letter from Kan Shina, Oct. 15th, 1975).
It did not offer courses of a standard equivalent to those offered by the men's universities, but it was still the leading institution for those women who wished to go beyond the girls' high school level (equivalent to the boys' middle school) and offered courses which were more advanced and an atmosphere that was less repressive than that of the women's normal schools, the only other avenue of higher education for women. In January 1904 the school was approved under the provisions of the Semmongakkōrei (Special Schools Ordinance) (51) which at last provided some place in the government's classification of schools for institutions offering higher education for girls, although not a position on a par with the men's universities.

From the founding of the university until his death in 1919, Naruse's main activities were connected with the practical application of his ideas of women's education and with spreading the gospel of the desirability of women's higher education. This involved him in the running of Nihon Joshi Daigakkō and in membership of many of the educational committees which flourished in this period. Despite his deteriorating health, he appears to have been very active on these committees, lodging petitions for reforms in education and making many speeches. He was held to be a very inspiring speaker. A collection of his lectures on women's education was published in 1908 as Joshi Daigaku Gigi (A Righteous Proposal for a Women's University) and he followed this with Joshi Kyoiku Mondai (Problems in Women's Education) and Shimpo to Kyoiku (Progress and Education) in 1911, Shinjidai no Kyoiku (Education in the New Era) in 1913, Shinfujinkin (Readings on the New Woman) in 1916 and Joshi Kyoiku Kaizen Iken (An Opinion on the Improvement of Women's Education), his last work, in 1918 (52).

This period saw an increasing acceptance of high school education for girls, the development of vocational high schools and of more higher normal

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(51) See chapter 4 for an explanation of this.
(52) Chōsakushū p.644.
schools for women, all trends which had first appeared in the 1890's. However, the government made no moves to establish any school of the same level as Nihon Joshi Dai and women's higher education remained the business of private schools and a privilege available to only a minute proportion of the population.

As first President of the university, Naruse concentrated much of his energy on development the right moral outlook among his students, giving most of the compulsory lectures on ethics himself and encouraging the interest of the graduates' association, formed in 1904, in matters of social concern. The patriotism displayed by Naruse and his students during the Russo-Japanese War, expressed in many articles in the school magazine, Katei Shuho (The Home Weekly) and in such practical activities as preparing "home comforts" for those at the front as well as raising funds for medical work, ensured that no charges of lack of patriotism, such as had previously been levelled at Christians, could be contemplated, and the university established itself in the public mind as a truly Japanese institution.

Naruse's other main interest, one which involved him in a worldwide publicising tour in 1912-13, was a movement for world unity, generally known as the Concordia Movement. The first meeting of the Japanese society, the Kikyokai, referred to in English works as the "Association Concordia of Japan", took place in July 1912, just before Naruse's overseas tour, and a council, members of which included Professors M. Anesaki and S.L. Gulick and Baron Shibusawa, was formed. The prospectus states that the aims of the society were to create unity out of the diversity of the world and to subsume all racial and national differences in a higher spiritual whole, while at the same time, of course, allowing the expression of national consciousness. The specific function of the society was seen as being the fostering of mutual sympathy and the sense of common interest among nations, and
especially between the peoples of the East and of the West". (53) A common hope, indeed a firm belief, in the inevitability of progress in this area is expressed in the opening sentence of the prospectus: "The civilization of this twentieth century is breaking down the barriers of race and nationality and is transforming the world into one great corporation, nor merely in the realm of commerce and industry, but in that of intellect as well". (54) The movement, which had begun in America and in 1924 merged into the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, gained considerable support there and also some in Europe. Its growth in Japan may be taken as an indication of the increasing sentiment of internationalism in this period. Despite the events of 1914 in Europe, Naruse retained a belief in the aims and possibilities of this movement until his death.

Naruse's belief in the essential unity of mankind in matters of the spirit and religious faith had superseded the more fundamentalist notions of his earlier life and had formed a major rationale for certain of his ideas about women's education. In the establishment of Nihon Joshi Daigakkō it was notable that, although Christian ethics were held to be the basis of moral training there, these were felt to be in essence universal ethics and great stress was laid on the teaching of the ethical similarities between different religions, while the individual practice of different religious beliefs was unimpeded. No chapel was built at the school and it is probable that this tolerant, but strictly moral, attitude accounted for a good deal of the success of the school among the upper classes.

In his own, and others' eyes, Naruse was a success, having risen

(53) This appeared in English as part of a pamphlet, published by Naruse in America, which was entitled International Conciliation: the Concordia Movement New York, American Association for International Conciliation, 1913, pp.11-14.

(54) ibid p.12.
from being a poverty-stricken ex-samurai to being a public figure in Japan and having accomplished a "great task" for the nation. His services were recognised by various educational societies - he received commendation from the Imperial Education Association in 1918 - and by the Imperial family who continued to support the university. He died in 1919 at the age of sixty, having established a lasting memorial in the form of the university, now Nihon Joshi Daigaku.
CHAPTER TWO: WOMEN, EDUCATION AND JAPAN

In investigating the life and ideas of Naruse Jinzō up to the time of the founding of Nihon Joshi Daigakkō in 1901, we must turn to his two early publications on the subject of women, focussing particularly on the second and more influential work. The publication of Joshi Kyōiku (Women's Education) in 1896 was a major factor in arousing support for the establishment of an institution for the higher education of women in Japan. (1) Its contents interested and impressed influential men in political and financial circles who gave their prestige and considerable financial aid toward the fulfilment of Naruse's vision. This enlisting of moral support at a high level of society marked the extent to which Naruse's ideas were acceptable to Meiji society and, indeed, were taken as an expression of the ideals of that society in regard to women.

Joshi Kyōiku was Naruse's third published work. His second book, A Modern Paul, published in America in 1893, has little bearing on the topic of women's education, although it is of great value in determining Naruse's youthful religious feelings. (2) However, an understanding of his earliest work, Onna no Tsutome (The Duties of Women), written in 1881, is essential for an understanding of Naruse's views on women, their position in society and their proper role and education, as well as being very enlightening as to the changes in Naruse's views in general over the fifteen year period up to the time of writing Joshi Kyōiku. These two works established the basic ideas in accordance with which Nihon Joshi Daigakkō was founded. Naruse's later works are, by and large, concerned with refining and amplifying these views.

It is readily apparent that these two books were written for different audiences and different purposes. Onna no Tsutome appears

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(1) Hiratsuka op cit p.219.
(2) See chapter 3, following.
to have been aimed mainly at the Christian groups in Japan, most probably those of the Congregational churches in Osaka to which Naruse was attached. It may indeed have been directed toward a more general audience, but its strong Christian tone, seen in constant reference to Biblical passages and its complete acceptance of the moral standards "revealed" in the Bible as the basis of Naruse's views on the family, morality and women's position, would have made its acceptance by most Japanese extremely difficult. It had little practical relevance to many aspects of Japanese life or values at that time and was, in effect, an attempt of a type not uncommon in that period, to advocate the wholesale importation of Western civilization. (3) Its purpose was to encourage changes in attitudes to women and their worth, and in the behaviour and values of women themselves. Naruse's preoccupation with morality as the key to civilized behaviour was as apparent here as it was in his later work, but Onna no Tsutome was largely confined to the prescription of what women should be doing to advance themselves and the nation, with considerable stress on the negative effects of their current behaviour and without a great deal of consideration as to the specific manner in which reforms could be effected. He stressed the importance of education in forming the temperament of people in general and its vital role in training women as capable mothers, but did not deal with the nature of such instruction in detail. At this time, it is clear, he was contemplating a more moral education for women at the elementary school level. (4) Only much later did his focus shift to higher education.


(4) See chapter 4: "The Founding of Nihon Joshi Daigakko", for a discussion of the education available to women in the Meiji period.
Onna no Tsutome is thus an interesting work, reflecting many of the frustrations of those Japanese attempting to find solutions to the problems facing Japan at that time, and offering an individual and perhaps even peculiar, view as to the basic problems of Japanese society. Nevertheless, its limitations meant that it could never have attracted the degree of support gained by Joshi Kyoiku.

In Joshi Kyoiku, Naruse had similar aims of reforming the morality of the nation and particularly of its women, but the eventual outcome of this reformation was clearly stated in an optimistic and extremely attractive vision of the "New Japan". By 1896 Naruse knew what he wanted for Japan as a whole and put forward specific proposals to achieve this. Joshi Kyoiku, the reader feels, is a work infused with optimism, whereas Onna no Tsutome seems to have been motivated very largely by negative feelings of disgust at the weakness of Japanese women and fear of not being able to achieve reforms, either for their own sake or for the sake of the nation. Moreover, the later work, having the clearly defined aim of improving Japanese women's education for the advancement of the nation, presents a coherent account of methods and results, so that there is a strong impression created of the inevitability of success. Obviously, Joshi Kyoiku was aimed at a very different audience from Onna no Tsutome: the lack of any specific references to Christianity, and the justification of morality in terms of the achievement of an independent and powerful nation as well as in universal terms, ensured a far wider audience than a work like Onna no Tsutome could ever have attracted.

One outstanding characteristic of both books is the logical presentation and organisation of the arguments. Given an acceptance of certain basic premises, the structure of the argument in both cases is impressively clear. Within Joshi Kyoiku, in particular, not only is the overall structure clear, but most propositions within the work are given supporting evidence: for example, the chart comparing the percentage of
men and women in all schools above elementary level in the advanced
countries of the world, which substantiates Naruse's assertions about
the parlous state of women's education in Japan; (5) or the table, which
he says is taken from the work of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, (6) supporting
his analysis of the different characteristics of men and women. (7)
Naruse cites examples continually to make his point and they form a
powerful part of his argument, many of them representing some of the most
recent and advanced thought of the time, especially in such relatively
new fields as sociology and psychology. (8) This aspect of his work
excited much admiration. Hiratsuka says that the logical clarity of
Naruse's argument "overwhelmed all opposition" and caused his ideas to
be taken up by educational magazines as well as influential individuals. (9)
Undoubtedly Naruse's extremely lucid and relatively straightforward style
of writing was also a great help in advancing his cause. (10)

(5) This is probably taken from information provided in Lange, H. Higher
Education of Women in Europe New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1890. Translated
and accompanied by comparative statistics by L.R. Klemm, Ph.D. Naruse seems
to have relied heavily on this work for much of his information about
education in Europe, especially Joshi Kyōiku pp.49-51 which follows Lange
pp.110-119 very closely. He also quotes part of the introduction by Klemm,
as proof of the superiority of American education. Klemm had claimed that
"nowhere has the maxim of Diesterweg 'education is liberation' been proved
more conclusively than here [America]." (p.xxi) This appears in Joshi Kyōiku
p.51.

(6) I believe this to be a mistaken attribution. See Fn.64 following.

(7) Joshi Kyōiku pp.48-49. All page numbers cited, as with Onna no Tsutome
refer to pages as they appear in Chōsakushū. I have used a photocopy of
Joshi Kyōiku as it appeared in 1896 as a check for the Chōsakushū edition.
The amount of editing has been minimal and the Chōsakushū page numbers
given simply because of the greater availability of this edition.

(8) Chapter 3 will indicate some of Naruse's major sources of information.

(9) Hiratsuka op cit p.220.

(10) Miss Jōdai Tano, a past President of the university and a close
associate of Naruse, confirms that Naruse was noted both for his calligraphy
and for the quality of his writing style, which was clear and without the
obscurities that were so often held to be the mark of the scholar in Japan.
There are thus many similarities between Joshi Kyōiku and Onna no Tsutome - in style, clarity of organization and basic concern with an improvement in the position of women, both for their own sake and for the sake of the advancement of the nation. It should be stressed, however, that Naruse's basic attitudes and ideas about these subjects changed over the fifteen years between 1881 and 1896. Many of these changes will emerge in the following detailed consideration of some of the more important aspects of the two works, but there are two basic changes in thought which should be mentioned briefly here.

First, it is apparent that the overtly evangelical Christian approach that permeates Onna no Tsutome is absent from Joshi Kyōiku. It could be that Naruse simply concealed his fervent Christianity in an effort to make the work more palatable to influential non-Christian Japanese, but other evidence shows that by 1896 Naruse had abandoned the very straightforward Protestant Christianity which had held his allegiance in the 1870's and 1880's. His experiences in America, where considerable inroads had been made into fundamentalist thought by the 1890's and a new spirit of toleration and cultural relativism was current in church circles, directed his religious thought toward new channels that were at once more Japanese and more universalistic. The effects on Joshi Kyōiku were considerable. Not only did Naruse feel the need to go beyond the Biblical revelation which had provided sufficient justification for his arguments in 1881, but he also made the preservation of uniquely Japanese characteristics an essential part of his plans for women's education, the making of the new Japan, and the advance of true religion.

The second, and related, point of difference is Naruse's change

(11) See, for example, Williams, D.D. The Andover Liberals: a Study in American Theology New York, Octagon Books, 1970 (first pub. 1941) which shows the ferment into which Naruse's first college in America was thrown in the 1880's and the interest of students and faculty in Higher Biblical Criticism and ideas of social progress. (See esp. p.63 ff.)
from a rather simplistic acceptance of the need to import Western, Christian values wholesale in order to reform Japan, to a specific rejection of this solution in Joshi Kyoiku. By 1896 Naruse had come to realise that modernization was not necessarily identical with Westernization. This was crucial to his argument in Joshi Kyoiku and he stated it with clarity and forcefulness.

The reasons for the greater appeal and influence of Joshi Kyoiku are thus readily apparent and the details of Naruse's argument make it clear that he offered in this work many things which the Japanese of the 1890's Establishment considered valuable and exciting. During this decade and a half (1881-1896), the Japanese were much involved in attempts to reach a consensus on the questions of what it meant to be Japanese and where Japan was heading. A comparison of Onna no Tsutome and Joshi Kyoiku should help clarify not only Naruse's ideas, but also the degree to which he, and Japanese society, changed over this fifteen year period.

1. WOMEN AND CIVILIZATION IN JAPAN, 1881 and 1896

Joshi Kyoiku can in many ways be seen as Naruse Jinzō's mature answer to the problems first posed in Onna no Tsutome. Some of the solutions of 1881 were carried through, explicitly and implicitly, to form part of the fabric of his argument in 1896. Other solutions, notably some of Naruse's proposals for the Westernization of Japan, were abandoned. The problems about which Naruse was most concerned, however, remained the same throughout the period; in both works one of the major questions asked was "What will become of Japan?". The solutions Naruse provided for what he deemed to be related and important problems in regard to women and education are always given with reference to this major concern. National aims were to remain closely related to
Naruse's educational aims throughout his life. (12)

In Joshi Kyoiku, Naruse concluded that women should be educated as people (hito), as women (fujin) and as citizens of Japan (kokumin). (13) By the first he meant bringing out that "essence of humanity" which he felt was a part of each person as a "person" and which should form the basis for harmony among people. In 1881 this spirit had been based in Christianity, on the spirit that must inhere in all people as "children of God"; his ideas of 1896 were a development from his earlier Christian beliefs. Educating women as women, Naruse saw as fitting them for that vocation in life determined "in accordance with the structure of their mind and body and the organization of society", the vocation of being a good wife and a wise mother. (14) Educating women as Japanese citizens meant preparing them to be useful members of the new society which Naruse believed would emerge as Japan took its proper place in the world. These three parts of Naruse's educational plan were interwoven and he clearly saw them all as essential aspects of individual development and fulfilment within the context of national development. An examination of his views of the future of Japan, the character of women, and his more general reflections on the nature of humanity, as these developed through his two early major works shows the foundation on which his more concrete plans for the higher education of women rested.


(13) Joshi Kyoiku p.46.

(14) The phrase "ryōsai kembo" (good wives, wise mothers) was a catch-cry for educators in the 1880's and 1890's, and later, in Japan. "Ryōsai kemboshugi to Kōtō jogakkō" (The Doctrine of 'Good Wives and Wise Mothers' and the Girls' High Schools) in Nihon Kinōai Kyoiku Hyakunenshi Tokyo, Kokuritsu Kyoiku Kenkyūjo 1974, vol.4, pp.1051-1058, traces the development of this as an ideal that accompanied the development of women's education. "Ryōsai kembo" came to embody the ideal of women's education and the phrase acquired a sanctity which made it a powerful force in the women's education world. To claim that this was not the purpose of women's education would have aroused horror in the mind of any decent Japanese by the 1890's.
Naruse's ideas about the nation and the relationship to it of women as citizens, as presented in Onna no Tsutome, showed his early concern for Japan and gave an indication of the way in which this would later develop into his vision of the new Japan, and women's roles therein, in Joshi Kyoiku. However, in comparison with the later work, Onna no Tsutome proposed very few specific plans for Japan; the little that was revealed was done so indirectly, through Naruse's plans for women, but his concern for the fate of the nation was still very apparent. He was conscious that Japan in 1881 was a very different place from the Japan of pre-Restoration times; he referred frequently to "modern Japan" or "today's Japan" when stressing the changes in expectations and style of life needed for the "women of modern Japan" and keeps before the reader a constant implied, and sometimes specific, comparison between the Western "civilized" countries and Japan. It is clear from other sources that Naruse was strongly in favour of Japanese self-support and independence in religious matters (15) but this was not made apparent in Onna no Tsutome, nor was any notion of independence in other spheres stated although it is clear that one of Naruse's concerns was to preserve Japan's independence from foreign political control.

Naruse used the words "civilization" (bummei) and "enlightenment" (kaika) consistently to indicate his approval of certain customs and ideas. For example, any country "which does not know the true value of women is certainly not enlightened" and contemporary societies where customs like polygamy of polyandry (16) were prevalent, he thought: "do

(15) See chapter 1 and A Modern Paul in Japan pp.581-570.

(16) Naruse shows the influence of his American mentors in this in referring to this as "one man's having many wives" and "ownership by many men of one woman", expressions which follow the customary nineteenth century way of referring to this, rather than logic. See Fee, E. "The Sexual Politics of Victorian Social Anthropology" in Hartman, W. (ed.) Clio's consciousness raised New York, Harper and Row, 1974, pp.86-102.
not have the good fortune of civilization and enlightenment and are just like uncultivated fields." (17) "Civilization" did not, clearly, involve only the material aspects of western life. In fact, Naruse almost completely ignored these matters; he does not mention in this work, or in Joshi Kyōiku, any of those economic or political ideas which many believed to be the keys to western power, and the commonly known manifestations of the industrial West are mentioned only in passing as an incidental way of convincing people of the modern nature of Naruse's proposals. (18) Naruse believed that Japan was an unenlightened country and that it should become an enlightened one by using the civilized nations as direct models. (19) Because he saw Japan's and mankind's problems in moral terms, to the exclusion of all other ways of looking at them, his concern was to reform the morals and manners of the Japanese people, using the Western Protestant Christian model. In this he had the support of the missionaries. His diaries of the 1880's reveal that, as a fervent Christian, Naruse believed what most of the missionaries were saying - that the essence of Western civilization, the key to its success, lay in those Christian beliefs which they held to be the foundation of Western life. Naruse felt, at the time of writing Onna no Tsutome, that the adoption of Christian values, particularly those relating to the treatment of women, would lead to a worldly success concomitant with moral improvement, a confusion of power politics and morality which is quite explicable in terms of the Confucian tradition and of the exuberant self-confidence of the Protestant missionaries with

(17) Onna no Tsutome p. 4.

(18) For example, Naruse likens the process of discovering the true worth of women to the gradual revelation to mankind of the different qualities of water, which, as steam power, "now moves everything and is used in machines, trains and ships; in civilized countries it is used to manufacture clothing, food and appliances." (Onna no Tsutome p. 4)

(19) For example, in Onna no Tsutome p. 5, Naruse advises turning to the civilized nations to provide the model of what the women of modern Japan should be.
whom Naruse came in contact in Japan. (20)

In expounding his belief that moral reform was the only way of bringing civilization and enlightenment to Japan, Naruse made much of the idea that the moral worth of a people rested on the moral worth of its women. He appears to have been unique in the intensity of his concentration on the education and reform of women as the solution to the nations' problems. Other reformers, including Fukuzawa Yukichi and Mori Arinori, had seen reform of the position of women as a part of far more general reform programmes, rather than as the key to the solution of Japan's problems. The clearest statement of the reason for Naruse's approach, something that continued as an underpinning of the argument in Joshi Kyōiku, occurred very briefly early in Onna no Tsutome. "According to many of the world's scholars", Naruse wrote, "women are the basis of civilization (bummei)." (21) Fifteen years later, when writing Joshi Kyōiku, Naruse devoted much effort to establishing "proof" for this proposition, using the very latest scientific arguments of sociology and psychology, but in Onna no Tsutome he was content to simply accept this notion as a basis for his ideas as to the proper direction of reform. (22)

Naruse made it clear that the uncivilized state of the nation in 1881 could largely be blamed on the decadence of its women. He castigated those women who "are like dogs and sell their bodies for one or two thousand yen, exposing their shame and corrupting humanity ...".

(20) Mention will be made in chapter 3 of the types of men sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the 1870's and early 1880's.

(21) Onna no Tsutome p.5.

(22) Related ideas were accepted, around this time, by others who wished to reform the position of women. Iwamoto Zenji, in an issue of Jogaku Zasshi (The Women's Education Magazine) in 1885, pointed out that Western scholars considered the condition of women to be an indication of a country's civilization. The implications of this view for patriotic Japanese were obvious. (From Kosaka, M. Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era tr. D. Abosch, (Tokyo, Pan-Pacific Press, 1958), pp.262-263).
These women "kill civilization and enlightenment." (23) Naruse appears to have relied on women to preserve not only their own morality but that of men as well. Without indulging in the cloying sentimentality that typically attends Ruskin's writings on women, Naruse came close to echoing Ruskin's railings against those women who abdicated their position of moral power, "leaving misrule and violence to work their will among men." (24) Those women were thus the really guilty parties to all the crimes on earth: "there is not a war in the world, no, nor an injustice, but you women are answerable for it; not in that you have provoked, but in that you have not hindered." (25) This belief in the capacity of women for great evil and also for great purity certainly formed part of the missionary, and, indeed, Western societies', idea of womanhood. It seems likely that Naruse received his ideals about the great moral role to be played by women in society from the missionaries rather than from his Japanese experience. In 1881, he saw women's morality as a civilizing force vital to the welfare of Japan, and as a force that should be strengthened.

- 1896 -

In 1896, these assumptions still lay at the basis of his work, but his vision was a more optimistic and Japan-, rather than woman-, centred

(23) Onna no Tsutome p.4.


(25) ibid p.136, Para.91. Houghton has referred to this lecture as "the most important single document I know for the characteristic idealization of love, woman, and the home in Victorian thought." (Houghton, W.E. The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 New Haven, Yale U.P., 1957,p.343.) It was also Ruskin's most popular volume. Although it is unlikely that Naruse would have read this by 1881 (he certainly did later) the attitudes expressed were common in church circles.
one. By 1896, in the field of women's education and, by implication, in other areas as well, Naruse found the root of Japan's current uncertainties and inadequacies to lie in the former wholesale importation of Western ideals and practices which, he said, were not natural, systematic developments but were "unseasonal blooms [brought forth] by the warm wind of Europeanization". (26)

Naruse's experience of life in America had the effect of heightening his sense of Japan's unique qualities and his own "Japaneseness", and of increasing his confidence in the possibility of Japan becoming a world power. He was not alone among Japanese in envisaging Japan's role as that of the synthesiser of Eastern and Western culture, with the process of synthesis being a part of the general progress of humanity toward a higher civilization. (27) Naruse felt that Japan's unique geographical position made her most suited of all nations for this task. He focussed on what was needed to reform women, for Japan's sake and as a step in the construction of a higher morality; Japan's task was to:

"gather details from both East and West [in matters] of religion or literature and philosophy and so aim to attain the highest development and, even with morality, to make Japan's traditions the basis and onto that graft the collected essence of East and West and construct a female morality of unsurpassed beauty ...". (28)

This great task of synthesis, one not confined to the sphere of feminine morality, would result in the reform of Japan herself. The outcome would be:

"the development of the spirit of an independent country, as in England and China, not relying on the outside world and not constricted by old things, making good our deficiencies and thereby reforming Japanese society." (29)

(26) Joshi Kyōiku p.34.
(28) Joshi Kyōiku p.40.
(29) ibid p.69. All underlining follows Naruse's text. Naruse's quite positive recognition of this aspect of China at this time, just after the Sino-Japanese War, contrasts with the patronising tone adopted by Fukuzawa Yūkichi a few years before, in his Datsura ron (1885). (See Miwa, D. "Fukuzawa Yūkichi's 'Departure from Asia': ..." in Japan's Modern Century (A special issue of Monumenta Nipponica) Tokyo, Sophia University,1968,pp.1-26.
Japan had to be prepared for an exciting and demanding period of change ahead.

"The future for Japan will not be a time when one can sing of quiet rest, seclusion and tranquillity. (30) Must we not diligently plan the development of arts and crafts, untiringly stimulate an increase in the produce of land and sea, establish limits to trade and thereby enrich the country and strengthen our army; limit the dominance of Europeans, (31) achieve peace with the West and be responsible for establishing civilization?"(32)

For Naruse by 1896 it was clear that Japan need not be merely another Westernized nation; her need to change radically to meet the challenge of a modern world need not involve a total abandonment of her Japanese qualities.

Naruse's quest for a course of action for Japan which would enable her to take her place among the world powers rested on certain beliefs about the relationship between men and nations. Underlying Naruse's view of the nature of Man is his belief in the universal "spirit of humanity" (this is what he hoped to develop by his education of women as persons) the existence of which is the reason for his belief in an evolving new order. While allowing for individual and national differences, this essential unity meant that Truth might be discovered anywhere and belong to all, without implications of national inferiority. In education, for example:

"Japanese women, as women, do not differ from American or English women ... The fundamental truths and principles of education are not racial or nationalistic; if one is humanistic and internationalistic it will not subvert the fundamental character of the nation or the government and will not affect the advancement of the race. Truth is the common possession of the world and not a private possession."(33)

(30) At this point Naruse was attacking the emphasis on "ladies accomplishments" and the retiring, submissive nature ideally formed by the old system of education, which he saw as being dominated by Chinese ideals.

(31) This presumably refers to Japanese attempts to reduce the trade imbalance imposed by the unequal treaties with the Western Powers, and to the desire to lessen the cultural as well as economic domination of the West.

(32) Joshi Kyōiku p.70.

(33) ibid p.69.
While rejecting the total Westernization of society and insisting that the criterion of "Japaneseness" be used to assess the value of things, this universalism left the way clear for Naruse to attempt to establish standards for Japan, and for Japanese women, based on what he believed to be universal qualities and values. This altered his views on the relationship of Japan to the civilized nations. By 1896 he had become far more selective in his approach than he had appeared when writing Onna no Tsutome and saw that the civilized nations should not be copied slavishly but could be used only to provide raw data from which would be obtained some synthesis suited to the needs of modern Japan. In the field of education, for example:

"I am not saying that we must accept a simple transfer of the system, aims and principles [of American education] ... because we are a nation with a particular history, customs, manners, and so-forth... Certainly, education must suit the country's history, the age, and the mental strength of its teachers."(34)

Naruse's education therefore, really needed "Japaneseness" (Nihonteki), that is, it should be a national higher education, (35) but one which embodied the highest universal standards available. In seeking to bring Japan up to, or in advance of, the standards of those countries in which women's education was most advanced, Naruse was thus able to turn with a clear conscience to the American example:

"Truly, the greatest countries employ their spirit in experimenting with women's education and accordingly are the countries which obtain good results. So, I think that it is most appropriate to investigate women's education in America."(36)

Naruse's concern for Japan's future was such that he felt no hesitation in exposing Japan's weaknesses in comparison with the more advanced nations. For example, he felt that in physique and general appearance Japanese were inferior to Caucasians. The long-term

(34) ibid p.68.
(35) ibid p.44.
(36) ibid p.52.
solution of this lay, predictably, in the improved physical education of Japanese women, the mothers of future citizens. Japanese literature too was inferior to Western literature. One of the aims of those studying foreign languages should be to delve into their literature "to make up for the failures and gaps of our literature." However, Naruse felt that these weaknesses, when honestly faced, could be regarded as an advantage in Japan's struggle for modernity in that they placed her in a position of having some choice as to the path toward a higher civilization. He looked to America as an example of this. Naruse, along with many Americans, felt that America had emerged with far more vitality into the modern world than had the initially advantaged European countries. Similarly, a Japanese course of action consisting of taking "the strong points of each nation" without fearing to add "the special characteristics of our own nation", should ensure the emergence of a new, vital and highly civilized Japan.

The most essential point in this process would be the education and moral reform of Japanese women. Naruse's expression of this belief in 1896 rested only in part on the analysis of the structure of society and of women's relationship to the nation through the family which he had articulated in Onna no Tsutome. In 1896 he supported his original

(37) ibid p.80. Naruse makes virtually no other reference to literary or artistic matters, in sharp contrast with a number of other nationalistic Japanese of the 1890's, who were beginning to see these aspects of their culture as being of particular value and uniquely Japanese. (See Pyle, K. The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895 Stanford, Calif., Stanford Univ. Press, 1969, pp.68-69 in particular.) Naruse's attitude reflects what I feel is a basic character trait - a certain moral rigorism, largely the product of his Confucian upbringing and wholly compatible with nineteenth century Protestant Christianity. (38) Naruse may have shared this attitude with a good many of the Meiji bureaucrats. Pyle, at least, feels that this group early grasped "the advantage of backwardness" not only in controlling social unrest, but also in terms of the ability to direct, to some extent, the path Japan would follow in what was felt to be an inevitable progress. (See Pyle, K. "The Technology of Japanese Nationalism: the Local Improvement Movement, 1900-1918" in Journal of Asian Studies. vol.33(1), Nov.1973, pp.51-65, esp. pp.63-64) (39) Joshi Kyōiku p.126.
views with a detailed investigation into the character of women, which confirmed his earlier assumption that women were the basis of civilization as well as providing a scientific basis for his advocacy of the best methods by which to educate women "as women". However, the proper structure of society as Naruse saw it in 1881 remained basically unchanged, although his American experience provided him with a broader rationale for his beliefs. (40)

2. WOMEN AS CITIZENS

Naruse's views on the relationship of women to the state must be placed in the context of his beliefs about the nature of the family and women's roles therein. His analysis of the problems associated with the effective running of the family in the modern nation occupied a large part of Onna no Tsutome and this work reveals that the family was, to Naruse, the sphere in which women ideally fulfilled their duties both as citizens and as women. It had considerable importance in Naruse's articulation of his hopes for the Japanese nation as these were later revealed in Joshi Kyōiku.

It is clear that in Onna no Tsutome Naruse considered the ideal family structure to be something like a modern nuclear family, with a degree of equality between husband and wife, although they still operate in different spheres (the wife being concerned with the family in the home and the husband with representing the family in society), and with both parents acting as guides for their children, the mother here taking the more important role. He did not mention any extension of this structure and in fact frequently referred to the Biblical injunction that a man leave his parents and commit himself utterly to his wife, (41) so it

(40) See chapter 3.

(41) Onna no Tsutome p.17 in particular, where Naruse justifies his argument by reference to Ephesians 5:31.
may be taken that Naruse believed that the traditional system which held that a man's first loyalties should go to his parents, rather than his wife, should be abandoned.

There had been some modification of the traditional "extended" peasant family in Japan during the middle to late Tokugawa period, toward what is often described as a nuclear family, but appears to have been closer to what Beardsley aptly terms the "stem family", that is, family groups organized on the basis of a unilateral descent line, with the basic unit, the household, consisting of the male head of house and his wife, his eldest son and wife and their children, and possibly a grandfather as retired head of house. Those sons other than the eldest customarily left the house and did not inherit the property. This stem family pattern was, with modifications, the accepted one for the samurai class, with the eldest son inheriting his father's stipend and duties to the lord. The household in which Naruse lived as a child seems not to have included his grandparents, merely because of their early death, but the adopting-out of his younger brother, and Naruse Jinzo's relationship with his father, indicate that the pattern of inheritance and perpetuation of the family through the eldest son was to be practised here.

Naruse's whole-hearted acceptance of the idea of the conjugal family, that is, one where the household consists of husband, wife and children, seems to have been based almost entirely on Western practice. His advocacy may have been strengthened by his awareness of the difficulties caused by the traditional system on a personal level, especially the "mother-in-law problem". He obviously felt that married couples would be better off without this sort of strain. Naruse's relatively


impoverished state may also have allowed him to feel that a system
designed to maximize the inheritance of the family, by not dividing
property, lacked any point where there was little property to inherit,
as among the newly-impoverished ex-samurai. Whatever the reasons for
Naruse's views, his concern for the quality of the relationship between
husband and wife made him feel, in 1881, that a change to the conjugal
family as a general pattern in Japan would be desirable for individuals
and for the nation as a whole.

Naruse did not have as much to say about the ideal structure of
the family in Joshi Kyōiku as he had done in his earlier work, but he
seems to have retained his stress on the importance of the husband-wife
relationship. The only indication that he may not have been completely
in support of the idea of separate households being established by
newly-weds comes from the absence of any statement about this, whereas it
formed a forceful part of his argument in 1881. In Joshi Kyōiku there
is nothing that could have led any conservative to fear for the future
of the traditional family, and by 1909, there is evidence that Naruse
had changed his early views. In an article in Ōkuma's Fifty Years of
New Japan, Naruse specifically rejects Fukuzawa's idea of the necessity
of setting up independent households and stresses the need to adapt
even Christian ideals to take account of "special social situations". (44)

Whatever his broader view may have been in 1896, Naruse still
concentrated on the individual household when he discussed the family
and, in contrast to many nationalists who lauded "the Japanese family
system" as a unique and valuable Japanese asset, was not much concerned
with this; when he spoke of the family, he was largely concerned with
the group consisting of father, mother and children, whose life together
should create a home (he uses the English word frequently in his dairy).

(44) Naruse, Jinzō "The Education of Japanese Women" in Ōkuma, S. (ed.)
Fifty Years of New Japan Lond., Smith, Elder and Co., 1909, vol.2,
ch.11, p.223.
Certainly it is this model that he believed should pervade the whole society. For example, when, in *Joshi Kyoiku*, he considered the question of whether girls should be taught only by female teachers, he departed from general American custom and advocated the use of both male and female teachers because there should be times when "women teachers represent the mother and men the father, each making good the inadequacies of the other". The head of a girls' school, however, should be male as, by analogy with the family, he has the natural authority to deal with the task and to represent the school to the society around it. (45)

Naruse's focus on the household in both works explains to some extent his stress on the importance of women's role in the family. Levy reminds us that most of the samurai of the Tokugawa period in effect "went to the office every day", leaving their wives as the effective head of the household, (46) and in the household of Naruse's childhood this must have been especially marked as his father spent long periods with the daimyō in Hagi, leaving first his mother and then his stepmother with the immediate responsibility of rearing the children. This aspect of traditional samurai family life, which is often considered to be typical of modern industrial society, meant that Naruse approached Western ideas on the importance of women in child-rearing, and their role in making the home a "haven" to which their husbands returned, from a broadly similar standpoint. Naruse considered women to be the most important element in the smooth functioning of the family.

The essential link between women, their education, and the future of Japan, lay in Naruse's firmly-held belief that the family was the foundation of the nation. He stated this first in *Onna no Tsutome* where he bewailed the fact that many people did not realise how important the family is in the nation, nor how vital the role of women in the

(45) *Joshi Kyōiku* p.113.
(46) Levy, M.J. "These are only Hypotheses but ..." in *Asiatic Society of Japan Transactions* 3s., vol.12, 1975, pp.77-78.
family. (47) He stressed this further in Joshi Kyoiku, where he said that governing the family is far more difficult than governing the nation and that the reason for educating women is to ensure that they have the necessary knowledge to deal with the task. (48) Because the family is the foundation of the nation, "it is of the utmost importance that each woman govern her family well" (49) and so, "the first duty of people is to conduct themselves correctly within the family ... although being correct in conduct within the family is more difficult than accomplishing great tasks ...". (50) Women's responsibility for the moral health of the family made their role particularly important.

Women also had a vital task in making the family an economically valuable unit in the nation, as they should be responsible for the efficient operation of the household economy. The frugality of each household, Naruse thought, would lead to individual prosperity and, cumulatively, to the wealth of the nation. The division of labour between husband and wife would make possible this accumulation of riches which would "help government, schools, churches and poorhouses and so on, and eventually will all become the profit and happiness of the country. But without frugality and the work of the family, there will be poverty and widespread unhappiness ...". (51) This economic theme and that of the general importance of the family was reiterated in Joshi Kyoiku:

(47) Onna no Tsutome pp.15-16.
(48) Joshi Kyoiku p.43.
(49) Onna no Tsutome p.16.
(50) ibid p.19.
(51) ibid p.24.
"Our present problems - not having a firm basis for our modern economy, being unable to arrest the decline in morality or to control human insincerity, and so on - must arise from the inadequacy of the family. The saying: 'put in order the family and you will govern the country, govern the country and there will be peace in the world', is one which is true and applicable for all time; the family is truly the foundation of the state." (52)

Women's influence radiated out from, and by means of, the family in ways other than the economic, the most important being through their influence as mothers on their children, the future citizens of the new Japan. Naruse's rather simplistic view of women's economic importance to the nation through their role in the household was paralleled by his analysis of their importance in the education of children. Their role in education was not confined merely to their own children, but extended to all the other children around and thus to the state:

"the education of one child becomes the education of that child's playfellows and this again spreads through the relatives of these children and so goes on to be of service to a region and then to the nation." (53)

It is thus clear, from Naruse's ideas on the relationship between women and the nation, through their role in the family, that the way in which women were brought up and the way they behaved in the family were problems of concern to the entire nation.

Accompanying this section in Onna no Tsutome was a large segment devoted to the relationship between husbands and wives. Naruse, as we have seen, was greatly concerned with the quality of the relationship as a matter of personal fulfilment and for reasons of family and national stability. Although the personal aspects of the relationship were of more concern to him in 1881, he would doubtless still have been in

(52) Joshi Kyoiku p.43. The saying that Naruse quotes is from The Great Learning, and the section immediately following this in that work makes clear a possible Confucian origin for Naruse's belief that individual education and reform was the key to solving the nation's problems. "From the Son of Heaven down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person as the root of everything besides." (See Legge, J. The Chinese Classics with a translation, critical and exegetical notes ... 2nd ed., rev., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1865-95, vol.1, pp.358-359, Sect.5 & 6.)

(53) Onna no Tsutome p.7.
wholehearted agreement with Mori Arinori's views on the subject as they were expressed in 1874:

"The relationship between husband and wife is the fountainhead of all morality. It is the basis of virtuous conduct. And virtuous conduct, in turn, is the starting point of national strength and stability." (54)

By 1896, in this as in other areas of thought, Naruse concentrated more on the national than the personal implications of the husband-wife relationship.

3. WOMEN AS WOMEN

- The Character of Women -

Naruse's analysis of women's character in Onna no Tsutome had rested solidly on a number of assumptions derived from his Christian beliefs. He had begun that work by discussing why the true value of women which he himself, because of his Christian beliefs, appreciated, was so little appreciated in Japan generally. Using an analogy of the "pearls before the swine" type, he decided that it was largely a matter of concentrating on false values:

"Although there is a high value attached to a koban (an Edo coin), if it is placed before a cat, the cat will not know its value. Cats concentrate their gaze only on things like dried bonito: similarly, for those men who think of the fumes of sake, beautiful kimono, fine houses and dancing and the arts of the samisen and so on, as the worth of women, the true value of a woman, as of a koban, is difficult to see." (55)

This confusion conceals from both men and women the true worth of women, which is based on their spiritual qualities - even the lowest women have a spiritual soul which should be treasured though it may be obscured by worldly ideas. He likens this soul to a precious stone that flows down

(55) Onna no Tsutome p.3.
from the mountains concealed among the soil; to reveal it, one must abstract the stone from the worthless mixture and polish it to a fine lustre:

"Although women are creatures of great worth, they are an admixture of various qualities, ... and, if their virtue is not polished and they have no learning, it will be impossible to establish any true value for women, ..." (56)

This spiritual soul, Naruse saw as both the spirit of God in all people and as the spirit of all things, a concept which Bellah points out was typical of most Tokugawa period religious or ethical thought:

Man "is a microcosm of which divinity and nature are the macrocosms". (57)

For Naruse this spiritual soul was to emerge, in Joshi Kyoiku, as the basis of those universal qualities of mankind which were the foundation of harmony and unity among men and nations. Considering the strong Christian emphasis in much of Onna no Tsutome, however, it is interesting that there is no reflection of the idea of the burden of original sin; women are not sinful beings who need to be restrained from the exercise of their true natures, but innately good creatures who need only correct education to allow the full development of that "true heart" within each person.

Naruse felt that this innate goodness must not only be developed but also used for the good of society. The specific uses to which it could be put change and develop with the changing of societies - Naruse's view of the roles proper to women was here certainly not static, but one in which constant change was seen as natural and, indeed, essential for individual and national development.:
"Still more, if we use our knowledge of the true value of women, who are endowed with a spiritual soul which is the spirit of all things, there is no doubt as to the great enrichment of the country. We must, therefore, search for and employ this great worth." (58)

Naruse had faith that women's hitherto unsuspected abilities in other spheres would emerge along with the revelation of their true spiritual worth. Thus, he stated the advanced proposition that women who were educated properly could well prove to be the intellectual equals of men. (59) This equality clearly did not imply an identity of intellect but allowed that women, operating in their proper sphere of activity which was complementary to that of men, could function at a level deserving of equal respect and requiring an equal ability. Naruse cites in support of this the fact that England is ruled by a Queen and that in America there are not only women teachers at universities but also women authors whose moral influence is disseminated widely by their works, with immense benefit to other women, and to the nation as a whole. However, the proper sphere of all but exceptional women lies within the home. Naruse implied that this was because of women's innate qualities, that is, those determined by their biological nature, rather than those which were acquired in society. In 1881 Naruse went further than most in affirming that much of what he saw as undesirable behaviour in women was merely the result of socialization, as were many of their apparently "natural" limitations. As with many would-be reformers of women's position, however, there comes a point in Naruse's argument when the distinction between innate and acquired behaviour is no longer made; this point is reached when Naruse deals with those aspects of women's role which he holds to be beneficial for society.

In Onna no Tsutome, then, Naruse revealed a strongly progressive

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(58) Onna no Tsutome p. 4.
(59) ibid.
attitude, for the age, toward women's potential capabilities and their possible roles in the development of the nation. In Joshi Kyōiku, Naruse investigated women's nature at a far deeper and more "scientific" level. Building on some of his earlier assumptions, and using his American studies in psychology and sociology, Naruse made his findings an essential step in his progress toward determining an appropriate education for women.

Naruse began this discussion by pointing out the similarities of the arguments used by opponents of women's education in all countries, which are based either on the supposed limitations of women's physiological capabilities or on the dire effects of their increased education on the proper functioning of society. Naruse argued for the proposition that the education of women would have entirely beneficial effects on society, so long as it was done in accordance with their needs and capabilities as women. In dealing first with women's physiological capabilities, he disposed of the commonly-held assumption that women's brains were inferior in size to men's and that they were consequently less intelligent. Naruse attacked those "certain scholars in England and Germany", whose experiments were claimed to prove this, primarily attacking their methodology. He then questioned the very basis of the claim - the supposed correlation between brain size and intelligence, demolishing this by pointing out that "the brains of university lecturers [have been found to be] smaller than those of the general run of women". (60)

This, Naruse felt, sufficed to show that women were not inferior to men in mental capacity; their present differences arose instead from variations in the degree of development of the brain. (61) So,:  

(60) Joshi Kyōiku p.55.

(61) It is not clear whether Naruse is here referring to the differences in development caused by differing educational and social expectations or whether this is a passing reference to another common argument for female
"even though the problem of the brain development of men and women remains unsettled, the problem of the quality of mental strength is settled. Women are certainly not inferior to men in solving difficult problems of scholarship or philosophy. Women's present inferiority cannot be held to imply an inability to develop in the future."(62)

Clearly, however, Naruse did feel that men and women differed in the degree to which aspects of their intellect are used: "women are comparatively strong in intuition, men comparatively so in reflection."

He quotes an American author in support of this idea (63) and then goes on to devote a full page to a table of comparison of the various aspects of male and female behaviour, taken, Naruse said, from the work of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell. (64) He concluded, with the author of the table, that "the strengths and weaknesses [of men and women] complement one another" and that "one is not inferior to the other." Naruse further supported this view by referring to the testimonies of leading educators as to "the beneficial effects of coeducation and its lack of harm to health, intellect and morals", revealing as he did so the logical limitations on his arguments:

(61) (contd.) intellectual inferiority - that which linked the presence of certain mental qualities with the development of particular areas of the brain. (See Shields, S.A. "Functionalism, Darwinism, and the Psychology of Women: a Study in Social Myth" in American Psychologist vol.30, 1975, pp. 740-742. Either way, he thought the problem could be rectified.

(62) Joshi Kyoiku p.55.

(63) Naruse cites this author as "Mrs. Koroson Deeru", which I believe to be a misprint for "Mrs. Caroline Dall" who in Howe, J. Sex and Education New York, Arno Press, 1972 (first pub. 1874), pp.87-88, says (none too lucidly): "... for I believe the spiritual and intellectual functions of men and women to tend differently to their one end; and their development to this end, through the physical, to be best achieved by different methods. But I do not believe that any greater difference of capacity, whether physical or psychical, will be found between man and woman than is found between man and man;...".

(64) I believe Naruse may have mistakenly attributed this to Elizabeth Blackwell. I have been unable to trace it in her works and it is possible that Mrs. Antoinette Blackwell's book The Sexes throughout Nature (1875) was the origin of this table. I have, however, been unable to verify this as this work has been unobtainable.
"According to the publications of many college presidents, the average academic achievement of girls is superior to that of boys. ... Nevertheless, one cannot say that the intellectual strength of women is superior to that of men. It (this superiority) lies in some other source; Mr. Seelye, the President of Smith College, said to the author: 'With boys one needs the whip, with girls, the bridle.' Women study conscientiously, while men tend to frolic, ... So, it is true that women are fit to study the same things as men."(65)

Naruse therefore concluded that there were certain innate differences in temperament and capabilities between men and women, which complement each other and clearly mark out different spheres of action for each sex. He established the nature and origins of those differences further on in Joshi Kyoiku when he delved into the vital question of the nature of feminine morality. "From earliest times" said Naruse, "morality has been the common property of men and women and, although there is no specific 'women's morality', there are certain special characteristics that should be claimed for women's morality."(66) These special characteristics arise from the nature of Woman. Her nature has both positive and negative qualities, the positive ones being those which will be accentuated by proper education and also, as it happens, those which Naruse believed to have been a major force motivating humanity's progress toward higher civilization.

Naruse considered first the qualities of compassion and cruelty which in women coexist in a more powerful form than they do in men:

"Woman's nature is superior to that of Man in regard to compassion. If we look at the lower animals, it is the same there also. ... But, in opposition to this, women reveal a cruelty of nature which is unequalled by men. In situations of revenge the cruelty of women emerges far more than does that of men."(67)

Naruse does suggest, however, that this excessive cruelty may be due to the conditions in which women live - men, he pointed out, have the opportunity to "kill and plunder, whereas women have no way of giving

(65) Joshi Kyoiku p.61. Laurenus Clark Seelye was president of Smith College (a New England girls' college) from 1873 to 1910.
(66) ibid p.92.
(67) ibid pp.93 and 94.
free play to their wish for revenge."(68) Although these conditions obviously did not apply to most modern societies, their historical existence was felt by Naruse to have shaped the temperament of modern women. Women's superiority in compassion is shown by the greater degree of their involvement in social work - he took no account of the social causes of this - and Naruse saw this quality of compassion "as a general quality of women, being a great central force for the advancement of society", a belief which harks back to his earlier work. (69)

Naruse believed that there were two main sources for this civilizing emotion, the prime one being women's physiological function as mothers ("being a mother is the greatest task of women, and female animals are endowed with a nature which loves to teach children"). From this instinct to nurture one's own child comes that all-embracing quality, compassion. Civilized behaviour arises from the conditions of primitive society:

"The affection of mothers' hearts gradually weaves a path of mental progress and becomes the compassion ... which shows pity for those who need the protection of others ...". (70)

The other origin is the weakness of women themselves and their fellow-feeling with other weak creatures. This weakness is also the origin of cruelty: "It is the way the weak protect themselves against the
strong," (71) but, despite tradition, it is not the real instinct of
women, but merely a matter of self-preservation.

So, too, do women mingle the qualities of love and jealousy.

Love also develops from the compassion that flows from mother-love and
is part of women's character which is thus naturally "somehow self-
sacrificing and devoted." It is also the "origin of feminine morality
and is the basis of the emergence of morality in general. Fidelity,
courtesy, perseverance and courage also well up from this. (72) As with
cruelty, the jealousy which is the negative aspect of love, arises more
from social conditions than from any innate fault in women; the intro-
duction of monogamy in Japan would, Naruse felt, have more beneficial
effects than all the strictures of Kaibara Ekken.

The conditions under which women have existed similarly account
for their reputed lack of bravery. Their physical weakness means that
they will be inferior in battle, but "they are not lacking in perseverance
which comes from passionate love and in bravery of spirit ...". (73)

Variation comes in the nature of their bravery:

"Men's bravery is primarily materialistic, women's primarily
emotional and moral. Men's bravery is essentially founded in
custom, habit and training, women's comes from burning love
and noble inclination." (74)

All women really need is proper training.

This analysis of women's character owed much to certain contemporary
thinkers, as has been briefly indicated, and to beliefs which were generally
accepted in America in the early 1890's, but Naruse went beyond most of his
contemporaries, American and Japanese, in his stress on the influence of
the social environment in shaping many of the traditional qualities of
women. In asserting that women were innately compassionate, loving and

(71) ibid p.96.
(72) ibid p.97.
(73) ibid
(74) ibid p.98.
brave, and that their intellect, while differing from that of men, was at least potentially of an equal quality, Naruse justified a greater respect and more nearly equal treatment for women while simultaneously demarcating those areas for which their qualities best suited them.

The future, he felt, was hopeful:

"Following the advance of civilization, women's cruel character will gradually disappear together with the disappearance of brute force. Gentleness and compassion will become the true virtues of women. Men will like the gentleness of women and women will come to love the strength of men." (75)

In order to educate women so as to bring out these more positive and natural qualities, that excess of emotion which is women's real weakness would have to be controlled:

"Although women are rich in emotion, it flows into self-indulgence and they are easily tempted into evil paths. That is why, in regard to women, we must educate the will and so control emotional self-indulgence and educate the intellect and so make clear the evils of emotion. If we strengthen the will of women, broadening the intellect and thus enabling the guiding of the emotions which are otherwise like fire, then not only will the advancement of women be general and beneficial for society but the situation of society as a whole will be revolutionised." (76)

- GOOD WIVES AND WISE MOTHERS -

Having investigated the needs of the nation in the modern world and, thus, women's duties as citizens, as well as "investigating the natural character and talents of women in mind and body", Naruse decided, in Joshi Kyoiku, that the "principal vocation of women is to be good wives and wise mothers". (77) This is in fact an affirmation, supported by more thorough and scientific investigation, of the assumptions behind Naruse's aims in Onna no Tsutome, and can be taken to represent a general consensus

(75) ibid p.100.
(76) ibid
(77) ibid p.38.
of opinion in the late 1890’s, in Japan and, although there it was phrased rather differently, in America as well.

In his earlier work, Naruse had pointed out that women are by nature best fitted to do different tasks from those suitable for men. "The aim of women from their youth is not the invention of machinery. Nor is it the practice of government." Not that women are incapable of these things; their characteristics merely best qualify them for other tasks. They "have truly difficult duties which are important and certainly not inferior to those of men."(78) Ultimately, the role of wife and mother was that for which women were best fitted and which would offer them the best chance of happiness.

In 1881, Naruse also offered women some other roles, roles far in advance of general thought in Japan but consonant with widely accepted practice in America. He echoed the very common view of Americans at that time that the work of teaching was particularly suitable for women involving, as it did, some of those nurturing qualities best found in females. (79) Naruse pointed out that this was accepted practice in foreign lands:

"In civilized countries those who teach in kindergartens, elementary schools and women's schools (middle schools, universities and teachers' colleges) are, for the most part, women."(80)

Those who have children of their own can bring their valuable experience to others:

"Authorship is a task quite possible for those who are married and have children. There are many women who experiment in education, home economics and so on and consequently many of them write books as mothers."(81)

Other women can become involved in social reform, evangelism and work with

(78) Onna no Tsutome p.5.
(81) ibid.
the sick and needy; "in civilized countries women's work is widespread."
The governance of the family and work within the church and school, Naruse felt to be the particular tasks of women and he thought that they should be content with this:

"They should not envy the position of those who are distinguished in the world. As to the women of Japan, even if they should become honoured university teachers, I would say that it is impossible that they serve in government or perform distinguished war service, ...")(82)

In Joshi Kyoiku this attitude remained unchanged, but Naruse was concerned to show that the role of wife and mother was not a restricting one but one that had many different aspects and rewards. A women's existence:

"is certainly not limited merely to being a wife and mother. There is also the sphere in which one is a daughter, or a widow, or works as an individual and conducts oneself as a citizen. So women too are people. Moreover, as mothers, they have a respected vocation in rearing people. ... in Japan, after the victory, there is an urgent need for strong children with courage and active knowledge – the one thing which cannot be omitted in the cultivation of this is the mother, that is, women's strength."(83)

"It is an error to delimit too narrowly the sphere of women and to assume that it is completely separate from that of man. But, in accordance with the structure of their mind and body and the organization of society, I believe that the essential part of the vocation of women is [their role] as good wives and wise mothers."(84)

As in Onna no Tsutome, Naruse recognised the possibility of other roles:

"Although the proper path of women lies in their being wise mothers, dealing with domestic affairs and counselling good men, untoward things may happen; they may be widowed or childless and have much leisure. ... or they may lose the protection of a husband who travels overseas on business ... The training women received previously is unsuitable for women now and in the future. So, even though they be women, they must gain the talents and abilities to govern the family and fulfil the duties of citizenship, resolving to aid the public life of the country. ... Women can ... fulfil this task in life and accordingly increase their own happiness and add to the general good of society."(85)

(82) ibid p.16.
(84) ibid p.39.
(85) ibid p.45. Bennet notes that in pre-war Japan movements that promoted the position of women within the framework of traditional doctrine were encouraged even in highly conservative political circles. (See Bennet, J.W.
So, all Naruse's investigations led him to define these traditional roles as those most likely to be performed well by women and to offer them the greatest possibility of individual satisfaction, as well as benefiting the existing order of society.

4. **WOMEN AS PEOPLE**

There was another aspect of Naruse's educational plan that was less fully elaborated than those mentioned so far in *Onna no Tsutome* and *Joshi Kyoiku*, probably because of the inherently less concrete nature of the problem rather than any uncertainty on Naruse's part. This aspect, the need to educate women as people (Naruse uses the characters for *hito*, man, and *jimbutsu*, person or character, most often in this context), was first formally stated as an ideal in 1896 but it is clear, on reading *Onna no Tsutome*, that the idea of the individual personality was important to Naruse as early as 1881. In fact it may have been more important than his nationalist ideas, an order of priorities which was apparently reversed by 1896.

The first section of *Onna no Tsutome*, in which Naruse attempted to prove that women had some innate worth, was based on the assumption that there is an "innermost heart" which is the source of this worth. He referred to "Woman, who is endowed with a spiritual soul which is the spirit of mankind (lit. ten thousand things)", and clearly saw this

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(85) (contd.) In *Search of Identity: the Japanese Overseas Scholars in America* Minn., Univ. of Minnesota Press, (1958), pp.154-155.) This is clearly the case with Naruse's ideas.

(86) This, I believe, is elaborated somewhat in later works which were not available to me. See Nakashiba's analysis, using *Shinjidai no Kyoiku* (Education in the New Era) (1914). (See Nakashiba op cit Parts 1, 2 & 3, June, July and August, 1974).

(87) *Joshi Kyōiku* p.46.

(88) *Onna no Tsutome* p.3.
as the decisive factor in his assertion that women were not inferior to men. (89) He shared with his mentor of the period, Paul Sawayama, the latter's belief in "the sanctity of the human soul [which] induced him to see one of the greatest defects in Japanese life in the debasement of women". (90) Naruse, in his discussion of the relationship between husbands and wives, saw this problem in its most immediate and practical form and, in doing so, revealed the strong Christian foundations of his view on the individual personality and its right to fulfilment. As this relationship operated in the Japan of his day, Naruse could see no possibility of women achieving personal dignity or happiness. Naruse thus focussed attention on the spiritual needs of people in a relationship and hoped that a wise choice of spouse would enable both husband and wife to support each other with mutual respect, each developing their spiritual soul and individual dignity. He could not see this occurring in other than a truly Christian marriage.

If Aso's report of Naruse's adolescence is an accurate representation of his feelings at that time, Naruse's stress on "self-directed learning, self-control and self-cultivation" (91) indicates an awareness of his own separateness and responsibility for his own future. This came before his exposure to Christianity (92) and was doubtless important in enabling him to embrace Christian idea of the individual personality. Pyle refers to "this concern with self-direction, self-reliance and self-respect expressed repeatedly in the writings of the new generation" (it was, of course, present earlier, as in the writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi) which he

(89) ibid p.4.


(91) Aso op cit Part 1, p.154.

(92) Dore Education ... op cit p.313, traces this attitude back to the Tokugawa tradition which, in many cases, served to encourage "individualistic self-assertion".
feels represented "an explicit attack on the dependence, submission, and group identification stressed by the traditional ethic," (93) While one could not claim this degree of self-conscious assertiveness for Naruse in his youth, it does appear that he was conscious of his individuality or perhaps, at this stage, of his "aloneness" and of his responsibility for his welfare. Naruse's subsequent embracing of Christianity enabled him to see everyone else to be, at least potentially, in a personal and individual relationship with God and thereby having the right and the duty to develop him- or herself to the utmost.

In *Joshi Kyoiku* Naruse saw this development as an aim of his education, although his expression of it had lost its original Christian vocabulary. His education was designed to bring out those natural talents which were the gift of "Heaven" and by proper guidance use this process to form individual temperament as an essential step in the cultivation of a complete person. His education, in other words, was designed to bring out that "essence of humanity" (*jinsei no honshitsu*, also translated as "the reality of human life") which is necessary for full development. Each aspect of his education bore some relationship to this aim, particularly "moral training [which] means the cultivation of a person with a soul (seishin)". (94) Individual development is best accomplished by choosing elective as well as required subjects in accordance with individual needs and taught using methods suited to each individual's character. (95) As women are also individuals, they must be treated in this way for their own sake and for the sake of national advancement. In terms of "a rich country and strong army, in morality and religion, in the advance of society in its entirety, ... what reason

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(94) *Joshi Kyoiku* p.91.

(95) *ibid* p.75.
can there be for not giving them an education as people?" (96)

Several points of tension arise in regard to this aspect of Naruse's beliefs but remain unrecognised as such by him. The full development of the individual personality is seen as having its natural expression in communion with a universal soul in harmony with other people. This carries with it the danger, becoming apparent in Joshi Kyoiku, of this communal harmony becoming the measure by which the success of individual fulfilment is gauged. As woman's fullest development as women comes to mean their being in harmony with the needs of the nation by operating in their traditional, family, sphere, so their fullest development as people again integrates them more fully into the family and the nation. The tension between this idea of Woman as a personal self and as a part of some whole has been dealt with by Cho, whose analysis shows this to be a common and recurring problem among Japanese Christians. (97)

Some of this ambiguity arose from a degree of uncertainty in Naruse's idea of the relationship between Man and God. Although he undoubtedly strove to believe, in his early years as a Christian, in man's direct relationship with a personal God, it seems that he gradually came to focus on the universal spirit rather than the personal aspect of God, a tendency that was undoubtedly encouraged by his upbringing and his experiences at Andover in 1891-92. This area of uncertainty embraced Naruse's view of human nature and sin, which remained optimistic and Confucian in that he obviously felt that man's basic nature was good and that evil was the result of ignorance or ill-training, that is, of not knowing the difference between good and evil, rather than a necessary part of man's character. (98) Naruse seems to bear out Best's criticism, from a Christian point of view,

(96) ibid p.39.
(98) Onna no Tsutome pp.3-5.
of Japanese Christianity which, he says "possessed a strong ethical and moral orientation without, at the same time, possessing a deep sense of both personal sin and responsibility to a personal God." Naruse failed to recognise the problems involved in trying to marry his ideas of individual development, which he preserved despite changes in the bases of his belief, with his great desire for communal harmony and national development. He avoided in both works any mention of the relationship between the individual Christian, God and the state and it seems probable that he may not have recognised the possibility of real conflict developing between them. He only rarely, for example, referred to the Emperor, and then in terms of the greatest respect, but there is no hint of conflict in his work between the duties owed God and those owed the Emperor. That which best aided the development of the Japanese nation was also that which should allow the full development of women as citizens, women and people.

5. WOMEN'S EDUCATION

On the basis of his findings about women's character, their needs as women and as people, and the requirements of modern Japan, Naruse set forth a programme in Joshi Kyoiku for the mental, physical and moral education of women.

In Onna no Tsutomé Naruse had seen education in general terms as the prime differentiating factor among people: "our ability [in matters of virtue, knowledge and strength] is tied to the form of our education" and thus saw formal education as not simply a matter of imparting information, but also as a process which should encourage habits of

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(100) Onna no Tsutomé p.6.
regulation and moderation, an understanding of the way things work and an experimental disposition. Learning, he felt, acted as a disciplinary measure by which the mind was focussed on healthy thoughts, (101) a necessity for the women of Japan, especially in their role as mothers.

Although in this earlier work Naruse did not go into any detail about the content of the education women should receive, he did indicate that it should be formal, general education with certain enunciated aims which would determine its content. Mixing very broad and quite specific aims and dealing with matters ranging from the great to the trivial - doubtless a reflection of the compass of motherhood - Naruse enunciated these aims:

"[mothers] must know the principles and teaching methods of psychology and physiology and of every-day matters. They must have the intelligence to make judgements, to make up interesting stories and ways of inspiring and cheering children, and to make rules and plan for the future, as well as having the intelligence, learning and strength of mind to enable them to deal with various other matters" (102)

This mental training should be combined with, and balanced by, a harmonious training of the moral sense and the physique of girls. (103)

Despite the experience of teaching girls at Baika Jogakkō, the educational proposals of 1881 were remarkably imprecise - although, admittedly, education was not the theme of Onna no Tsutome. It is apparent from Joshi Kyoiku that actually seeing the education of women from elementary to university level in practice in America clarified Naruse's thoughts on the subject. He spent much of his time in America

(102) ibid p.12.
(103) ibid p.27. Nakashiba op cit Part 1, pp.12-15, suggests that this stress on the harmonious development of the mind, body and spirit may have been a reflection of the ideas of Pestalozzi, which had been widely disseminated in Japan in the late 1870's, but ideas of this sort have been so widespread as to make the pinpointing of a particular source for Naruse's beliefs unnecessary.
inspecting schools and speaking to Americans who had ideas about how women should be educated, and returned to Japan with definite aims and methods decided, although it should be stressed here that he was quite selective in his attitude to American education.

The title of his work, Joshi Kyōiku, would have told Naruse's readers of 1896 quite a lot about the type of education that he wished to offer women. Kyōiku was a modern, Meiji, word used to mean "schooling" by this time. Naruse could have used the word gakumen which implied "learning", of the sort practised at the highest educational institutions in Japan. As with many other matters in the educational world, the clarification of these two words had been aided by the work of Mori Arinori who, in 1877, had defined kyōiku as "that intellectual, moral and physical education which is imparted entirely by older persons to younger persons who have not yet achieved maturity and are still in a dependent status". Gakumen, he said, was "for men of maturity, a matter in which one follows one's own inclinations, freely choosing a subject and performing research on it". (104) Thus, from the beginning, Naruse made it clear that his education for women was not going to be the same as the scholarship of the students of the Imperial University, for instance. Within the framework constructed by this distinction, he expounded his ideas on the education that was suitable for women.

Although not immediately apparent in Joshi Kyōiku, it emerges unmistakably when reading the book that Naruse had made a decision both as to the sort of people from whom he hoped to gain support for his planned university and the sort of women who should receive his education. He made it clear that he did not see his purpose as the encouragement of higher education for all classes of society; "women have inequalities of life and natural gifts" that make this impossible. Naruse saw such

(104) Hall, I. Mori Arinori op cit p.411.
physical disabilities as being deaf and dumb, or blind, as well as the social disability of poverty, as being factors which inhibit the freedom of people's lives and, in a sense, disqualify those affected from the right to higher education.\textsuperscript{(105)} An education that seeks primarily to produce good wives and mothers initially draws its pupils from those capable of fulfilling these aims. The physically unfit were thus specifically excluded: "most people, except cripples, are capable of being wives and mothers"\textsuperscript{(106)} and, although Naruse stated that the true value of people did not depend on their social position,\textsuperscript{(107)} in his plans for women's education the poor, as well as the crippled, were excluded. Because of the structure of society he believed that:

"those women who have the capabilities and duty of receiving higher education are those talented women of the middle and upper classes. These intelligent higher class women have an advantage, in terms of talent and financial support, over the general run of women and, when they receive higher education, they become guides for society and set an example; in the long run, they cause the advancement of other women and make the reform of society their duty; as parents, naturally, they must receive higher education on their responsibilities to the nation.\textsuperscript{(108)} The proper education for these intelligent middle and upper class women is a general education which will bring out those qualities most needed in women - morality (dotoku), knowledge (chishiki) and accomplishments (geino) and physical health (taikaku).\textsuperscript{(109)} Hitherto, Naruse claimed, the greatest evil in Japanese women's education had been that of extreme specialization:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{(105)} Joshi Kyōiku pp.71-72.
\item \textsuperscript{(106)} ibid p.39.
\item \textsuperscript{(107)} ibid p.91.
\item \textsuperscript{(108)} ibid p.72.
\item \textsuperscript{(109)} ibid p.39.
\end{itemize}
there has been a concentration on practical and specialized education, on the knowledge and talents applicable to being a mother and a correct (not 'good') wife. ... Does this path, which is supposed to rear good wives and wise mothers, form these in a manner suitable for Japan as a newly prosperous Eastern nation?" (110)

So, what is needed is general education which brings out the innate talents of women and forms a temperament suited to their tasks. In their most vital role - as wives and mothers - women require a breadth of knowledge not usually given in specialised education. Women must of course gather experience and information relevant to household economics, but this subject, hitherto regarded as quite narrow in focus, is in fact all-encompassing. The rather vague view of this that Naruse had had in 1881 became more specific but was just as extensive.

"If one connects up the study of household economy, it merges into sociology, logic, education, aesthetics, hygiene, nursing, cooking ... However, at the moment, people concentrate only on practice, not on theory; they believe that there is "no use in theory, only in good character"... Modern, enlightened people do not rely just on one side of things ..." (111)

Only those unfortunates who need special training to support themselves - the poor, the widowed or childless - should be trained in any specialised way and that should only be after a thorough grounding in general education.

In Onna no Tsutome Naruse was writing for women generally and for girls who could, in increasing numbers, be expected to attend elementary schools as well as for the few who would go on to the girls' high schools, whether private or public. (112) In Joshi Kyoiku, the major part of Naruse's argument is directed toward providing general education for those up to the age of 17 or 18 years, that is, those at the girls' high school level.

(110) ibid p.37.
(111) ibid p.43.
(112) The number of years of compulsory attendance and the whole organization of the education system was in a state of continual change during this period. By about 1883, two years after the writing of Onna no Tsutome, girls formed about a third of those attending elementary school. (See Japan. Mombushō. Nihon Ōnesko Kokunai Iinkai. The Role of Education in the Social and Economic Development of Japan Tokyo, The Institute for Democratic Education, 1966, p.66. (Cited hereafter as The Role of Education.)
He justified this by saying that those women who were educated to this age would still have a chance to marry because most would marry men who also had received higher education and as many of these would not leave university until they were 27 or 28 years old the girls' education would fit in well with this. Early marriage was, besides, detrimental to the health of children. (113) Only after the establishment of a suitable general education would there be a need for a three-year university to develop "one talent, one art". In the actual establishing of Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, the attached girls' high school was considered to be an integral part of the institution and its role in cultivating temperament and general knowledge to be of great importance.

Education enhances feminine virtue, but, under the present system, Naruse believed,: "Our putting the emphasis on moral education is proper, but it must be said to be generally regrettable that we sacrifice intellectual training and hinder the development of mental strength in our women for its sake."(114)

Thus he believed that a major gap in women's education up to that time had been in intellectual training. Naruse blamed the continuation of Chinese influence which, he felt, led to an inculcation of "useless arts, destructive of mind and body", for this. (115) His previous analysis showed the need for women to have intellectual training for Japan's sake, as "intellectual training naturally extends its influence to the health of the family, household economics and in social courtesy" and generally enables people to cope with specific tasks better. (116)

In determining what should constitute this training, one must remember that "there is a need to accompany this with training of the body

(113) Joshi Kyōiku p.88.
(114) ibid p.70.
(115) ibid pp.69-70.
(116) ibid p.65.
and to limit it so that it does not harm the development of the body." (117)

Given this consideration, it was clear that, women should be given a wide range of subjects, some compulsory and others elective so as to have a broad education, tailored as far as possible to the individual requirements and talents of each pupil. In order to attain wisdom (chiryoku), that is, the development of the mental faculties (shikoryoku), women should be required to study ethics, national literature, Chinese, composition, mathematics, geography, history, literature, science and sewing, household matters, singing and physical education and their electives should include foreign languages, music, drawing and arts. (118)

Naruse noted the particular need for women to study mathematics as the basis of all artistic and scientific thought and in order to correct women's relative weakness in speculative thought. (119)

Naruse in fact concentrated almost exclusively on the teaching of English in his discussion of intellectual education. Although he included the study of foreign languages only in his list of elective units, he was obviously greatly interested in the methods of teaching and the aims of learning such a subject, and his conclusions on this were expressed generally enough to be taken as applying to other subjects as well. English in particular he believed to be very important and necessary for women as it served to give them a greater knowledge of the world, than would the study of, say, French or German; it was a "requirement of the times" and also served to increase the possibility of equality and rapport between men and women, because almost all men would, at one time, have studied English.

The difficulties of learning English also applied to many other subjects, and these general problems were caused by what he termed

(117) ibid p.47.
(118) ibid p.75.
(119) ibid p.77.
"family custom" and by inappropriate teaching methods. The effects of the latter, of course, were felt by both men and women students and would be best counteracted by first establishing one's aims - this would then allow one to structure one's lessons in accordance with this - and by following the principle of awakening and keeping the interest of the student. Naruse seems to have supported the "object-lesson method" of teaching languages as the best and most natural way of doing this. In order to counteract the ill-effects of "family custom", which affected women more than men, the teacher had to develop the correct attitude in his students. The solution of both problems relied on establishing firm motivation. One must:

"inspire a spirit in women who are constrained by the customs of family and society, [in order] to give a new disposition, to cultivate habits of self-study and development, to cause them to yearn for the ideal of achieving something in life, to preserve an interest in learning related to women and to feel the need to read English books always while performing household tasks." (120)

Although he did go into such things as the wisdom of focussing on grammar or written or spoken language, and advocated the object-lesson method, Naruse's treatment of intellectual education was typical of his work as a whole - he was primarily interested in establishing aims, believing in a way that the correct aim would ensure success. He bore a considerable resemblance to his American guide, G. Stanley Hall, in leaving the details of teaching methods to others.

The aims of Naruse's intellectual education can be related to what he wished for women and his view of education in general. Intellectual education should strengthen women and so give them a stronger fellow-feeling with men, which will be to the advantage of the family and society.

(120) ibid p.79.
"Learning is not merely a matter of giving [particular] abilities to individuals; it cultivates the moral senses of integrity, faithfulness, obedience and so forth and somehow cultivates the moral nature, prohibiting immodesty and insincerity; the respected persons of the past introduce to many students the model of a lady and so give them valuable precepts ... (121)

and so:

"we give women knowledge and they will discriminate for themselves and gain a clear view of others, yearn for the ideal of duty and for tasks to perform, calculate their own destinies and values and cultivate habits of advancement ..."(122)

It is, for the most part, difficult to separate the aims of intellectual education and those of moral education as Naruse saw them, and so too with the method he advocated. In both cases he wished to develop and guide qualities already present in the student by activating her interest and strengthening her will. He saw morality as being the active control of the emotions by the will and the intellect in order to attain one's ideals. He did not wish to make heroines but to form ordinary women who inclined toward the good, (123) and were suited to their role in the new Japan:

"The women we hope for in the new Japan will enlarge the bounds of their compassionate hearts to protect the Imperial nation, in accordance with a strength of spirit and self-respect which will be in addition to refinement and meekness. But women like this are not only the hope of Japan's future but are a type which must be attained for the sake of women as women.(124)"

Thus Naruse's idea of women's morality followed from his findings about the character of women and his moral training was a matter of bringing out their natural abilities.

The method of instruction to be used in moral education was particularly important. Here Naruse dealt only briefly with ideas which he enlarged upon in later works and which became connected strongly with

(121) ibid p.64.
(122) ibid p.66.
(123) ibid p.91.
(124) ibid p.101.
the practice of the university. (125) He strongly advocated the use of what he called the "developmental method", rather than the traditional mechanical learning, which he saw as essentially false and destructive of the natural talents of people. By guiding women's passions and emotions according to a firm morality a naturally virtuous character would emerge. It is clear that once the nature of the problem and the aims of moral teaching were understood, the actual method of bringing out each individual's natural moral talents would be, in a sense, intuited by the teacher.

As a prerequisite for teaching: "one must yearn for ideals of morality for students" and then give the students a constant supply of fuel to motivate this moral nature. This fuel consists of five main things, the first, harking back to his particular view of humanity, is the universe, which is "the best and greatest classroom for mankind; the spirit of the universe is its great teacher." (126) So too, the accumulated wisdom found in a study of the arts and sciences make for an appreciation of beauty and purity as well as revealing that rationality which is the basis of a correct and firm will. There are the raw materials and "society is the laboratory for practical experiment". In turn, the nation, as one's immediate society writ large, acts as both teacher and laboratory in the moral education of women which involves the development of an enterprising patriotism which is:

"not a disposition toward looting other countries, but one toward heightening Japan's standing in the world and strengthening its power ... [It is] a patriotism that somehow causes morality to advance and heightens the ideals of the citizens." (127)

Finally, Naruse believed that religion provides an indispensable fuel for the moral fire; the bringing out of one's natural morality is in part a matter of activating "the religious spirit which flows

(125) See Nakashiba op cit.
(126) Joshi Kyōiku p.105.
(127) ibid p.108.
generally through Man" and in order to do this it is vital that teachers have a true love and respect for the thoughts of the sages, wise men, patriots and humanitarians of all nations and all ages. (128) There is no need to insist on holding to any particular religion but: "what harm can it do to cultivate the religious spirit which flows generally through man, to heighten and fulfil it and so to receive the benefits in moral education?" (128)

Two important influences on girls in regard to moral education were the character of their teachers and the conditions in which they lived while at school. He castigated the type of teacher most often seen in girls' schools - those who had failed to gain employment in boys' schools, temporary teachers or those who had no dedication to their task and no regard for their students. This had to be rectified before girls' education could advance. He also discussed the effects of dormitory life on the spiritual development of girls, a clear reflection of his experience in America, where the dormitories were a feature of the life at girls' colleges and were held to have particular value in moral education. (130) They later became a feature of Nihon Joshi Daigakō.

Although it was scarcely mentioned in Onna no Tsurome, Naruse devoted as much time to physical education as he did to moral education in Joshi Kyoku and showed most clearly the influence of his American studies. In this also, he delved into different methods of education in detail based on what appears to have been a considerable amount of his own work.

As the aim of humanity should be to advance toward the highest civilization, and the means by which this is to be accomplished is by

(128) ibid pp.109-110.
(129) ibid p.110.
training the strengths and talents of the mind and body, so physical education and intellectual training should be two equal parts of this fulfilment; physical education could not, for Naruse, be separated from mental and moral education and was both a means and an end in itself. (131) It needed to be stressed for Japanese women in particular for three main reasons, all of which relate to the nation. "Women are the mothers of citizens and therefore the strength or weakness of their physique is related to that of the physique of citizens of the future." (132) So too, the cultivation of beautiful and healthy bodies would result in the increasingly good appearance of Japanese citizens, a factor to which Naruse had previously drawn attention as one of the aims of the nation. As women determine the health of those in the home, their own good health was vital, and Naruse pointed out the relationship between ill-health in the family and unrest in the nation to support this. (133)

Naruse devoted a good deal of attention to different methods of physical education, giving outline histories of the types of education offered in the ancient world - Persia, the Greek city-states and Rome - and then dealing in more detail with systems in present operation in Europe and America. In regard to the ancient world, he cited with particular approval the system adopted in Athens which, he said, was based on general cultivation for the sake of the nation, in order to make intellectual education more effective and for the sake of improving personal appearance. Naruse also pointed to the decline of the Roman Empire which accompanied the decline in physical education of the people and stated very firmly that the early Christian disregard of physical education, based on a belief that bodily beauty was evil and that the

(131) ibid p.119.
(132) ibid p.120.
(133) ibid pp.120-121.
cultivation of the spirit was sufficient for man, was mistaken.

In the modern period Naruse took each of the major physical
education methods available - the German method, the Swedish (Ling)
method the French (Delsarte) method and current American practice -
and gave an outline of their features and their interpretation in
different countries, going on to offer criticism from the point of view
of his own aims for Japanese women and his ideas about balanced,
feminine, development, (134) and concluding with a consideration of the
system prevailing in American women's colleges.

After rejecting certain aspects of each system as being unsuitable
for women - being too military or mechanical - Naruse resolved to reform
Japanese physical educational practice by taking what was most suitable
from existing methods and establishing a Japanese school of physical
education aimed at providing bodily health, education and recreation for
Japanese women. As a guide to this he favoured Ling's method, which
encouraged movement based on natural physiological principles and
Delsarte's method which stressed artistry and endeavoured to express
the "meaning of life" in every movement; the two in combination being
particularly suited to the needs of women. As with moral and intellectual
education, he aimed to develop the will of women and saw physical education
as being of particular value in this as it encouraged habits of deter-
mination, judgement, agility, self-control and physical courage, (135)
all necessary for the development of the harmonious personality. Naruse's
views on physical education as expressed in Joshi Kyoiku can be seen as s
blueprint for the sort of education he hoped to establish in his women's
university and reflect in a very direct way the foreign sources for his
practical plans and for his ideals.

(134) Naruse was very concerned about the possible loss of femininity
among those who received physical education. For Japanese women he felt
that the ideal should be "when standing, a peony; when sitting, a tree-
peony, and the form when walking should be as a lily."
(135) Joshi Kyoiku pp.138-143.
CHAPTER III : THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, 1891-1893

1. INTRODUCTION

Although this chapter contains some mention of Naruse's life as a Christian in Japan and deals in detail with his family background, it has been entitled "The American Experience" in order to point out the importance to Naruse of his contacts with this Western nation. Naruse's experience of American life and ideas began long before his journey to America - perhaps as early as 1876 and his conversion by Sawayaama. His upbringing had a significant effect on his attitude to these foreign ideas, and his experiences with Americans, in Japan as well as in America, had far-reaching effects on the direction of women's higher education in Japan. There are other ways of treating the problem of Japanese interaction with the West, and the one chosen here inevitably runs the risk of underestimating the Japanese component in Naruse's thought. It should be stressed at the outset, therefore, that even though the focus of this chapter is on Naruse's foreign contacts, and more especially on the Americans he encountered during his residence in Massachusetts from 1891 to 1893, he approached these from a solidly Japanese background, espousing certain causes and adopting certain beliefs, not because they were foreign or "different" and therefore desirable, but because they made sense to him and provided him with answers to questions that arose initially from his being a Japanese in a period of rapid change in Japan.

Any attempt to determine the relationship between a man, his ideas and the society in which he lived raises problems about the nature of human motivation. In the absence of any firm commitment to any school of psychology that might provide a ready-made framework for such an analysis, no strenuous (and necessarily amateur) attempt to penetrate Naruse's subconscious has been made. This does not mean that his emotional
states and their possible relationship to his choices of courses of action has been ignored. In the brief biographical notes that Naruse provided in A Modern Paul, he revealed that he was a perceptive observer of his own actions and feelings, and that he was sufficiently aware of the ways in which he differed from his contemporaries to look for reasons for this. He made clear, for example, the parallels which he felt existed between the ethical norms and behaviour enjoined by his Confucian upbringing and those of American Protestant Christianity; he traced back the reasons for his bereft and distressed state of mind at the time of his acceptance of Christianity both to upheavals in his personal life and to the generally unsettled conditions in Japan which gave him a pressing need to find answers to questions that arose out of his upbringing but were not answered by it. For the most part, unfortunately, the insights which he provided into his life and motivation were confined to his early years; his emotional life in later years is largely closed to us, although his intellectual life is at least partially revealed in his writings so that the focus when dealing with these years will be on this aspect.

Naruse left what has been described as the best one can hope for in regard to records of the childhood of an historical figure - "sketchy biographical materials and a handful of anecdotes" (1) - but he also left us with some idea of what he felt to be most significant in his development. The availability of his own opinions on this, as source material, makes up to some extent for the inevitable lacunae in the record and for the obfuscations introduced by some of his biographers whose approach makes the separation of probability from outright fiction rather more difficult

Naruse's own statements have formed the basis of this analysis. In particular, his remarks in *A Modern Paul*, his diaries and his acknowledgements in *Joshi Kyoiku* have been helpful. The list of works in Naruse's personal library, in conjunction with his own writings, has provided some idea of the books that it was possible for Naruse to have read before the publication of *Joshi Kyoiku* and of those which most influenced him.

Naruse's diary, covering intermittently the years from August 1882 to May 1893, is not as revealing as one would have hoped in regard to his intellectual interests or personal contacts but does provide some insight into his religious preoccupations. While the difficulties involved in tracing his thoughts back to a possible written source are great they are not as onerous to an attempt to trace those factors of greatest influence on Naruse as might at first be supposed. The subject matter of this chapter is organized around the thesis that the deepest influences on Naruse came through his contact with people rather than books. Thoughts as expressed through the lives of particular people, rather than the ideas in abstract of a thinker, were of the utmost importance to Naruse. His character and outlook on life were formed in the first place under the strong influence of his father, given direction and inspiration by the example of Paul Sawayama and, through him, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Once Naruse had made a decision as to his "task" for Japan, much of the practical content of his plans for fulfilling this task was derived from people with whom he

(2) Asa's work op cit has been remarked upon before in chapter 1, pp.2-3. Two other works, *Naruse Sensei Den* op cit and Watanabe Eiichi's *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Soritsu Shisha Naruse Sensei Tokyo*, Ofukai Shuppanbu, 1948, (first pub. 1928) for the most part repeat Naruse's anecdotes without much embroidery. The striking similarities between these two books have led me to cite only one, the former, in this work.

(3) This list of Naruse's books exists in roneo under the title *Naruse Memorial Library*. It was kindly provided by *Nihon Joshi Daigaku*.
worked in America.

To assert the paramount importance of individuals in Naruse's development is not to deny that Naruse had ideas of his own, nor is it to see him as being pushed this way and that under the influence of powerful personalities. To some extent he chose the people by whom he was most influenced, although there were aspects of his character that did dispose him favourably towards certain types of people. To point to character traits or beliefs already held which may have enabled him to comprehend and accept new ideas and people is one of the aims of this chapter. This concentration on individuals does not indicate a desire to belittle the effect of something which Naruse and most other literate Japanese were most conscious - the jisei, defined by Fukuzawa Yukichi as the "general state of public opinion" or, more vaguely, as "the spirit of the times". There is no doubt that Naruse shared with many of the aware and articulate Japanese of early Meiji common values and common concerns which motivated them in the outburst of inquiry and activity which characterized the period. However, the focus of this chapter is on the personality and ideas of Naruse and not, except in passing, on "trends" in nineteenth century Japanese, or American, thought.

2. NARUSE KOZAEMON

In the summer of 1877, when Naruse was nineteen years old, he experienced a sudden and dramatic conversion to Christianity under the influence of Paul Sawayama and his life received new direction. In order to discover why Naruse saw Christianity as the answer to his problems, to exclaim "this is the Truth" (kore wa shinjitsu de aru)


(5) Naruse Sensei Den p.36.
and to follow it wholeheartedly, in other words, to find out what sort of young man Naruse was when he underwent this conversion, it is necessary to look at the character of Naruse Jinzō's father and at the thoroughly Confucian environment in which he was reared.

An outline of the major events of Naruse Jinzō's childhood was given in an earlier chapter and mention made of the great influence of his father in forming his character. Jinzō's comments on his father in A Modern Paul... make it clear that he was quite conscious of this influence on him and that he offered this as an explanation of his later conduct. He greatly admired his father's conduct in the family, seeing it as an expression of true Yamato damashii (Japanese spirit), which he defined as: "the spirit of self-denial, of self-sacrifice for prince and country". (6) No better idea of Naruse Kozaemon's character can be given than by taking Naruse Jinzō's own description of him:

"[The] ideal of strictness which the samurai taught his children he strove to inculcate, not only by instilling the principles upon which it rested, but by his own example. We had many forms of propriety which were enforced by very stringent rules, - an elaborate and finished system of politeness. For instance, there was the rule for sitting down on the mat in the true Japanese fashion. It was not usual to practice this every day and on all occasions, for it was very tiresome, if not absolutely painful, to sit in such a cramped position a long time, while reading, or writing, or speaking, or doing business at the office. So the lower class of samurai often allowed this rule to go unnoticed in their private rooms. But my father never lost the extreme strictness of his manners, in this or in any particular, even in his most private rooms. My mother has told me how he would never put his feet out against the hearth in the coldest winter weather, lest he should set the example of carelessness before his children. Thus he never ate candy or fruits at the improper time; he never went to the theatre, because he thought that these things contained strong temptations for children, and he would set no example except of the strictest propriety."(7)

Not only did Naruse Jinzō believe that the silent authority with which his father controlled his family and his moral uprightness were admirable in terms of the ideal behaviour of a man of his class but also that they were


(7) ibid pp.624-623.
admirable in absolute terms. Clearly, Naruse's attraction to the missionaries of the American Board owed much to the apparent congruence of both their ethical ideals and behaviour with those inculcated in him by his father.

Naruse and his biographers repeatedly link Naruse Kozaemon's behaviour with the true practice of bushido and see a strong link between this and Christian ideals. Keeping in mind Bellah's caution as to the variations in the idea of bushido over a period of time, this behaviour can indeed be seen as fulfilling the ideal as it was seen by Naruse Kozaemon, a late Tokugawa period bureaucrat and scholar, and also, in part, as the ideal was later to be presented to the West, particularly by such Christians as Nitobe Inazo(8) and, as we have seen, by Naruse himself.

As Bellah notes,:  

"The prevailing attitude [of bushido] ranges from an almost mystical preoccupation with death to a rather prosaic concern for the fulfilment of the duties of everyday life, from a primarily military outlook to a primarily civil outlook, from a close association with Zen Buddhism to a close association with neo-Confucianism."(9)

Naruse Kozaemon obviously inclined toward the second tendency in each case, but at the same time, took care to inculcate in Jinzo that "determined will to die" which can be seen as the essence of bushido.(10) In his everyday life he followed an ascetic style of life which Bellah sees as: "appropriate to the selfless devotion which [is] the highest duty and final fulfilment of the samurai ...". (11) There are striking similarities between this style of life with its stress on frugality and diligence, the outlook enjoined by American Protestantism, particularly as practised by Sawayama, and the

(8) For example in Nitobe's Bushido: the Soul of Japan, an Exposition of Japanese Thought Tokyo, Shōkwaibō, 1900.

(9) Bellah op cit pp.90-91.

(10) In A Modern Paul p.624 Naruse speaks of honourable suicide with an approbation and acceptance quite at variance with Protestant views on suicide.

(11) Bellah op cit p.94.
life which Naruse led as a poverty-stricken pastor. It is no coincidence that Naruse's expression of devotion to Christ should have led him to ascetic practices, nor that his diary of the early 1880's should reveal a constant emphasis on inner sincerity and its expression in self-denial, and on the dangers to the spirit posed by the desire for worldly goods and comforts. Once his goal in life had been decided upon, Naruse Jinzo could be said to have lived in accordance with Yoshida Shoin's dictum: "To take a rest after death. This is a maxim, short yet charged with meaning. Perseverance, dogged determination. There is no other way." (12)

One may well ask whether Naruse Kozaemon displayed an extreme example of samurai behaviour for his time. Bendix, for example, sees this sort of moral rigour as the product of tensions imparted by discrepancies between orthodox doctrine and practical accommodations, suggesting that most samurai failed to find satisfactory outlets for their ethical beliefs in Tokugawa Japan, (13) and Naruse points out that the "lower class of samurai" generally failed to observe the same strict practices as his father. However the work of both Craig and Dore suggests that in Choshu in particular the opportunities for living up to the ideals may have been greater than in other han. Given a widespread modification of ideals to suit a more civilian society, as Bellah points out, and Naruse Kozaemon's acceptance of this essentially civilian form of ideal for samurai, the strong emphasis in Choshu on competition in academic achievement as a method of proving one's ability and loyalty (14) suggests that within the han excellence in civilian pursuits may have been generally accepted as a fulfilment of samurai ideals. Naruse Kozaemon may have been able to live up to his

(12) ibid p.96.


(14) Craig Choshu in the Meiji Restoration op cit. Dore Education op cit p.210, describes the rules in 1859 at the han school, the Meirinkan, where the pupils were divided, on the basis of academic achievement, into "prize pupils, the daily improvers, the diligent, the idle and the outcasts".
ideals to his own satisfaction. Certainly Naruse Jinzō did not see him as a failure in this respect.

3. PAUL SAWAYAMA

That Naruse Jinzō should have emerged from this background with a disciplined and ascetic approach to living, placing a high value on learning and seeing success and achievement as being connected in some way with scholarly pursuits should not be a matter for surprise. His upbringing left him, however, with many questions to which it seemed to provide no answers. The loss of his brother and then his father in 1874 left him with no immediate family and free to take on what he would. After a fruitless attempt to gain further education while working in a hospital, he entered the new Yamaguchi Normal School and graduated as an elementary school teacher in 1876, immediately gaining employment near Yamaguchi. Yet, he was still troubled by questions which he said first arose after the death of his mother, ten years earlier. He felt incomplete, as though life lacked meaning. When he encountered Christianity, through Paul Sawayama, it seemed to him that he had found a solution to these problems.

Many analyses have been made of the reasons for so many of the early Christian converts in Japan coming from the samurai class; some of the possible reasons for Naruse’s conversion have been indicated, but to go more deeply into the general background would be to cover material already very adequately dealt with by other scholars. The parallels between Naruse’s background and the direction his career took when he became a Christian, and the attitudes and actions of other samurai converts make

(15) Naruse Sensei Den p.35.
repetition unnecessary. (16) He does differ in one major respect from most of his contemporaries in having been converted by an American-educated Japanese.

The fullest account available of the life of Paul Sawayama (17) is that of Naruse in A Modern Paul, where he brings together his personal memories as well as those of the Americans with whom Sawayama had contact. Sawayama was born in the early 1890's into a samurai family of the same Chōshū province as was Naruse and fought with Chōshū against the Bakufu troops during the Restoration. (18) He then turned to study, going first to a Confucian teacher in Shikoku and then to Daniel Crosby Greene, the first missionary sent out by the American Board, (19) in Kobe in order to learn English. He attended family worship but Greene reports that he gave no evidence of any faith in Christianity. (20) In mid-1872 Sawayama

(16) See Notehelfer op cit, (see chapter 1) a very suggestive article, especially in regard to the transfer of loyalty from feudal lord to God and nation. Also Germany, C.H. Protestant Theologies in Modern Japan Tokyo, IISR Press, 1965 - the early parts only, Scheiner op cit, Takenaka, M. Relation of Protestantism to Social Problems in Japan, 1901-1941 Thesis, Ph.D., Yale, 1954, Caldarola op cit and Best op cit.

(17) There is some uncertainty about Sawayama's given name. Missionary sources, and most Japanese sources also, refer to him by his adopted Christian name, Paul; the characters generally given are read "Hōra", which I take to be the Japanese approximation of "Paul". (See Meiji Jimbutsu Itsuwa Jiten Tokyo, Tokyo Dōshuppan, 1965, vol.1, p.429.) Schwantes cites Sawayama's given name as "Naritsugu" or "Umanoshin". (Schwantes, R.S. American influence op cit p.334). The latter reading is supported by Sawayama's having signed himself "P.U. Sawayama" in some of his letters.

(18) The dates of Sawayama's birth and death are also uncertain. Meiji Jimbutsu Itsuwa Jiten vol.1, p.429 is probably not correct in giving these as 1853 and 1890 respectively. Naruse implies that he was born in 1850 or 1851 and gives the date of his death as March 27th, 1887. Anesaki, op cit p.344 agrees with the latter date. 1851 and 1887 are the most likely dates of his birth and death.

(19) He arrived on Nov. 30th, 1869.

(20) A Modern Paul p.560. Some doubt about this is raised by Otis Cary's report that Sawayama urged the introduction of Christianity into Japan in an article in a Kobe newspaper in April 1873. (Cary op cit p.97) Sawayama left for America in 1872 but could have written this before he left. The article referred to is reprinted in the Missionary Herald vol.69, July 1873, pp.226-227 and is credited to a Japanese, unnamed, who was then studying in America and staying with one of Mr. Greene's brothers.
went to America, staying first with Greene's brother and then with his brother-in-law in Evanston, Illinois. He studied in the preparatory department of Northwestern University during 1875-76. It seems that he had taken this step with the expectation of entering government service when he should return to Japan but was convinced by H.H. Leavitt, then on leave from his missionary labours in Japan, that he should prepare himself for missionary work. Thereupon he devoted himself to Bible studies, at the same time taking the name Paul. Greene's brother-in-law, L.H. Boutell, has described him at this time.

"When he decided to devote his life to preaching the gospel among his countrymen, his spirit seemed elevated and quickened by the nobility of his work. He had a consuming zeal for his Master's service. In his consecration to that service, his heroic self-sacrifice, his sensitive conscientiousness, and the childlike simplicity of his faith, he seemed to have caught the spirit of the apostolic age."(21)

He returned to Japan late in 1876 "with his resolute, devotional, zealous Christian spirit undaunted."(22) His effect on Naruse has been described. (23) Sawayama was the first Japanese to be ordained in Japan (24) and became the Pastor of the second Protestant church in Osaka, the Naniwa church, on 20th January, 1877. This church, Leavitt noted at the time, "has taken a decided stand against the use of sake and tobacco, and requires of all this test of Christian character."(25) These were stands of which Naruse wholeheartedly approved.

Paul Sawayama is referred to in missionary sources in much the same way as is Niijima and is viewed as a true pioneer of Christianity in Japan: "He and Mr. Neesima were the Japanese who did most to lay the foundation of what afterwards became the Kumi-ai body of churches." (26)

(22) ibid p.613.
(23) See my chapter 1, p.8.
(24) Niijima had been ordained in America.
His views are of particular relevance to the ideas later espoused by Naruse. The practices that he enjoined on the members of his church are some indication of a particular view of Christianity that was shared by Naruse, and in the field of Naruse's greatest achievements - women's education - Sawayama seems to have led the way also. Anesaki's comment, previously cited, on Sawayama and women's education is supported by that of a missionary of the American Board, J.H. De Forest: "[T]he evolution of woman's education in Japan, so far as it is based on the innate dignity and worth of woman as taught in Christianity, has its source in the sacrificing work of this young man of Pauline faith, Mr. Sawayama." He was the moving force behind the establishment of Baika Girls' School in Osaka, although in this he was strongly supported by H.H. Leavitt, who had returned to Japan. The direction of Naruse's later work in education was undoubtedly encouraged by his experience in this school, which Speer believed was modelled in some respects after Mt. Holyoke Seminary, one of the earliest of the schools for women in America to offer more than just "ladies accomplishments". Baika was "animated by the same spirit of independence, economy, perseverance and service for others. So, the pupils cooked, swept, washed and took care of the schoolrooms and gardens." Sawayama closely followed Leavitt in his advocacy of independence for the Japanese churches, taking this to lengths which some of his fellow Japanese felt were impractical, and greatly influencing Naruse in the

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(27) See my chapter 2, p.57.

(28) In Speer op cit p. 127.

(29) Leavitt was in Japan from 1873 to 1875 and then from 1876 to 1881. He was a Pastor in North Andover, Massachusetts, from 1881 onwards.

(30) Speer op cit pp.126-127. In 1881 Naruse gave Mt. Holyoke as an example of a school which had benefited a nation. (Onna no Tsutome p.14).

(31) See, for example, Niiijima's comments on moves for independence in his letters of 1879-81 in Hardy, A.S. Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima Boston, Houghton Miflin, 1891, pp.230-231.
process, as one can see from his account in *A Modern Paul* and from his diary.

Naruse worked as a teacher at the Baika school, in close contact with Sawayama, until late in 1882 when he went into missionary work, "which his heart has for years been longing for" (32) being supported in this by the Naniwa church and working with the Home Missionary Society which had been founded by Sawayama and Niijima. In January, 1884 he was ordained as a minister and appointed to the newly-established church at Koriyama. In 1886 he took up a position in Niigata, the furthest outpost of the church in Honshu.

Naruse's disagreement with Uchimura in 1888 over the latter's desire to allow a Nichiren priest to address the pupils of the Hokuetsu Gakkan on the subject of ethics, indicates that up to the late 1880's, at least, Naruse still followed Sawayama's principles, the essence of which was, expressed in Speer's words, "As God is one and sin is one, man's nature is the same in all lands and the one gospel is its only need." (33) In later years Naruse recognised that he had moved away from Sawayama's beliefs, in holding that different ethical teachings were essentially similar and provided valid approaches to the Truth, as well as acceptable bases for behaviour. Until Naruse's departure for America, however, it appears that Sawayama and the American Board missionaries with whom Naruse worked closely provided guidelines for his beliefs and behaviour to which he adhered strictly.

4. **EARLY AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN JAPAN**

It is important to have some idea of the type of American to whom Sawayama and Naruse felt so akin and to see how they went about the task

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(33) Speer *op cit* p.125.
of converting the Japanese to Christianity. Not enough has been made
of the changes in American society in the late nineteenth century and
their effects on missionary endeavour in Japan. When Naruse went
to America and entered Andover Theological Seminary in 1891, he found
that the beliefs held by many of the professors there differed, in
ways particularly significant to him, from the beliefs taught him by
the early missionaries.

The missionaries with whom Sawayama and Naruse had most contact in
the early 1870's and 1880's had been trained before the great religious
controversies of the 1880's which shook Andover and changed the attitude
of many American Congregationalists to missionary activity directed at
"the heathen". The American Board missionaries were mainly Congregationalists, (although some other Protestant mission workers were attached to
the Board in the early years), and were drawn largely from New England,
many of them having graduated from Andover. One scholar has described
them as having a

"strong sense of personal responsibility for one's own character
and conduct; an optimistic belief in progress toward general
betterment, especially through the use of education, invention
and technology; and a conviction of moral and cultural worth,
at times even superiority, justified both by the religious teachings
of the Holy Bible and by the political principles of the Founding
Fathers."(36)

Others regard them in a rather less positive light as having had a "smug
preoccupation with the salvation and perfection of the individual" and

(34) Fairbank, J.K. (ed.) The Missionary Enterprise in China and America
Camb., Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1974 relates the situation in America
and China in this way. The way in which the missionaries viewed Japan
seems to me to have been significantly different from their attitudes
toward other heathen lands and deserves to be explored further, in the
light of later developments in Japanese Christianity.

(35) Rabe, V.H. "Evangelical Logistics: Mission Support and Resources
to 1920" in Fairbank ibid pp.75-76.

(36) Fairbank, J.K. "The Many Faces of Protestant Missions in China
and the United States" in Fairbank ibid p.7.
having seen social reform solely in terms of individual regeneration. (37) Naruse's diaries of the 1880's showed the influence of both these tendencies.

Although in the period before the 1880's, there were stirrings which heralded later upheaval among American Protestants, (38) the effects of these on the overseas missions were minimized by the policies of the American Board, which took great pains to ensure that only missionaries of a conservative type were chosen. Those who were sent to Japan were selected with particular care. Described as, for the most part, "outstanding personalities. ... orthodox, puritan Christians, inspired through the Awakenings and educated to hardship and the practice of virtue", (39) their character, and the assumptions with which they entered Japan, somehow allowed people like Sawayama and Naruse to accept foreign help and adopt the foreign creed and still retain a pride in their own nation. The motivation of these missionaries is shown in the report of the proceedings of the meeting of the American Board at which the decision was made to send the first missionary to Japan. (40) Pointing to the threat posed by the re-introduction of Catholicism into Japan ("the Man of Sin, ... is once more in the field") and to the encouragement offered by the weakness of the native religions and the upheavals of the Restoration period, which they saw as a struggle for modernity ("It was not to be expected that middle-age feudalism, without a struggle, would surrender its cherished privileges, and accept instead western ideas of liberty and

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(38) Increasingly humanistic concerns and a feeling that the Kingdom of God could be realized on earth marked the "progressive orthodoxy" of the immediate post-Civil War period. Higher Criticism of the Bible had been introduced from Germany and Darwinian theories from England, and the ferment in church circles in America was considerable. See esp. Williams op cit pp.15ff.
(39) Caldarola op cit p.36.
(40) This appeared in the Missionary Herald vol.65, Nov., 1869, pp.380-384.
progress"), it seemed that the time was ripe for them to take the initiative. The need was certainly very great: "as we look out upon these millions, we are compelled to write above them all, 'Without God in the world', 'dead in trespasses and sins'. ... we find nothing, anywhere, which insures morality in this life or holiness in the life to come."

Despite this doleful prospect, the Board felt confident of success, partly because of the "manifest destiny" of Americans which drove them to the fulfilment of Columbus' task, but also because Japan itself appeared to offer more hope of success than did other heathen lands. "Here is a great and stable nation, of high intellectual capacity and social progress, dwelling in a delightful land, but living without the knowledge of Christ. ... Our nation was God's honoured instrument in effecting this (Japan's) contact with western civilization ...", and so should be the nation to further extend Western, that is, Christian, penetration. The Board chose Daniel Crosby Greene, a graduate of Andover and the third generation of his family to serve as a missionary, to begin its work in Japan, and the meeting concluded with a spirited rendering of "The harvest dawn is near".

Of particular importance to the Japanese were some of the attitudes of Greene and the missionaries who followed him to Japan in the early years. Together with a sense of destiny and a genuine respect for the capabilities of the Japanese there went a belief that the task of the missionary was to "sow the seed" of Christianity and then leave its growth to native care. Many of the missionaries, particularly those of the American Board, emphasised the desirability of attaining independence and self-respect for the native churches in the shortest possible time, an emphasis that accorded well with the aspirations of the Japanese. The 1871 Conference of Protestant Missionaries, held in Yokohama, had resolved that the Japanese should have the major part in mission work and announced
that they deemed it "of the utmost importance to educate a native ministry as soon as possible". (41)

This attitude did not stem from any great appreciation of Japanese culture, but rather from a belief in the capacity of the Japanese people to conform to their own Christian ideals. Field has traced the idea of native self-sufficiency in religious matters, at a slightly earlier stage than this, to the sense of urgency created among evangelical Christians by their belief in the imminent coming of Christ. (42) Hutchison says that this idea, which flourished in the early years of the nineteenth century, died out in the missions after the 1850's and was only revived in the late 1880's and the 1890's. (43) However, the situation in Japan in the 1870's and early 1880's shows that here, at least, the last days were felt to be very near and the aspiration for native independence correspondingly strong. It may have been that Japan was felt to be a special case by those who served there, or that it attracted missionaries who differed in these matters from those who were sent elsewhere. Whatever the cause, the Congregational mission, more than any other, preached independence and self-support. Cary characterised the mission as one "that disclaimed all authority over the churches, leaving them to make their own creeds, to choose their own forms of government, and to manage their own finances." (45) This is a very great overstatement as to the actual practice but does reflect the views of some of the missionaries.


(43) Hutchison, W.R. "Modernism and Missions: the Liberal Search for an Exportable Christianity, 1875-1935" in Fairbank op cit p.120.

(44) Naruse's diaries of the early 1880's display a preoccupation with this which seems to have been a reflection of the beliefs of the missionaries, as he changed his ideas when he went to America.

As they laboured in Japan in the 1870's it seemed to the missionaries that much of their optimism was warranted. Although many of their early successes now seem to have been based on the desire of the Japanese for Westernization, which was presented by the missionaries as being inseparable from Christianity, (46) this was not apparent at the time. The Commissioners of the American Board, reporting on the Japan Mission in 1880, concluded:

"That Japan is to be evangelized may be counted among the certainties. If the dream of victory without a struggle has proved only a dream, victory by struggle is secure; and faith, that has ample reasons to warrant it, may catalogue among the near triumphs of Christ the setting of this jewel of the Orient in the diadem of empire that is to crown him "Lord of all"." (47)

The conversion of such outstanding individuals as Niijima and Sawayama, who had appeared before the public in America, and of such dedicated preachers and teachers as Naruse within Japan seemed to justify this enthusiasm among Americans. Its effect on Japanese Christians is indicated by the supremely confident Christianizing and Westernizing attitude of Naruse in Onna no Tsutome. This confidence was not seriously shaken until late in the 1880's when events in America, in Japan as a whole and within the Congregational church in Japan combined to produce a changed attitude to missionary endeavour in both Japanese and Americans.

5. A JAPANESE CHRISTIAN OF THE 1880's

Before going on to discuss these changes and their effects on Naruse, some summation of his life and his beliefs during the 1880's should be attempted. Naruse's commitment to Christianity was public and profound. Onna no Tsutome indicates that his commitment to the American cultural expression of Christianity also had a major part in his outlook. His diary which he kept intermittently from the time that he left Baika Jogakko

(46) Field op cit p.41.

in August 1882, to January 1886, and then resumed when he was in America, is concerned almost completely with his spiritual life and does not provide a record of daily events. Consequently, the effect of his earlier conversion and his continuing search for the truth is well documented, but the people he came in contact with and the books that he read are not. Much of this diary is in a form that suggests that Naruse kept it primarily as a notebook for his sermons. It reveals that he was most concerned with his relationship with God and supports Takenaka's contention that the early Christian converts were worried not by theology but by the nature of their "everyday life with a personal God". Naruse was sensible of his utter dependence on God's mercy, of the certainty of the damnation of the wicked and the salvation of the meek in heart and of the need to rely utterly on the Bible and on the promptings of one's own inner spirit for guidance as to belief and behaviour. In this last respect Naruse seems to be akin to his fellow converts who, especially in the 1890's, were to move away from specifically Western forms of religion and place their emphasis on the inner spiritual content of faith.

Inner purity was shown, as might have been expected from a perusal of Onna no Tsutome, through one's actions, forms of behaviour being indicative of the moral state of one's soul. Naruse's ascetic practices and the glory that he seems to have felt in his poverty arose partly from the behaviour patterns inculcated in him by his father, but rather more from a belief in the imminence of the last days and in the severity with which judgement would be meted out. Naruse seems to have spent much of his time trying to make himself worthy of being chosen by purifying

(48) The Japanese section of this diary is reprinted in Chōsakushū pp.482-526 and page numbers cited will refer to this edition.
(49) Takenaka op cit p.37.
(50) Caldarola op cit p.56.
(51) Diary, Sept., 1883 in Chōsakushū pp.298-299.
his heart and behaving in a self-sacrificing manner. Worldly luxuries were not for him - he was convinced that those who desired tobacco would not enter heaven\(^{(52)}\) - and such sacrifices as that noted in August, 1882, when he planned to go without food and sleep for one night for the greater glory of God,\(^{(53)}\) seems to have been his way of proving himself worthy of salvation.

These concerns were accompanied throughout this period by a passionate involvement in the fate of Japan and the moral welfare of the Japanese, which he saw in purely Christian terms, at least up to the last entry in his diary (January 1886) before his trip to America. Naruse's action in supporting the American missionaries against Uchimura Kanzō, when the latter attempted to introduce a more Japanese approach to the teaching of ethics at the Hokuetsu Gakkan in 1888,\(^{(54)}\) indicates that he still saw the moral future of Japan in terms of the American expression of Christianity. His exact thoughts during the late 1880's are unknown, but it is unlikely that he could have remained ignorant of growing Japanese demands within the Congregational church, in particular, for management of their own affairs, or of the increasingly ambivalent attitudes of even the most convinced modernisers in Japan toward out and out Westernization. However, it seems that until 1890, the public justification of his ideals and, to a large extent, the ideals themselves were derived from American sources and that his hope for Japan's progress was intertwined with his desire for the triumph of Christianity.

The incident with Uchimura was a harbinger of the direction in which Japanese Christians were to travel over the next few years. One of the factors contributing to Japanese dissatisfaction was the way in which the policy of the Congregational church on independence was implemented.

\(^{(54)}\) See earlier chapter 1.
The Japanese had at first delighted the missionaries by the rapidity with which they had taken over a large part of the financial support of their churches. Sawayama was widely admired for his founding of the first truly self-supporting church in Osaka in 1876, but there were, inevitably, strains inherent in the system. H.H. Leavitt, perhaps the American Board's most outspoken advocate of the principle of independence and self-support and a strong supporter of Sawayama's and Naruse's efforts in this direction, provided an insight into the origins of future troubles when he cited the example of Baika Jogakko as proof positive of the viability of self-support. "The school is, as it has been from the first, entirely sustained financially by the natives. ... The foreign teachers are there to advise and overlook, but it is distinctly understood that the natives are the responsible ones." (55) That different missionaries should interpret their role as "advisers" differently was as inevitable as it was that the Japanese would eventually wish to be truly self-supporting, independent and equal. (56) The dangers of leaving too much of the decision-making to the Japanese were obvious - they were inexperienced both in church organization and in matters of doctrine and so long as the practice of Christianity was felt by the missionaries to depend in part on the adoption by the Japanese of western ideas and behaviour (the Japanese tendency to reduce the supernatural elements of Christianity and concentrate on ethics was a matter for concern) control could not be handed over to the Japanese.

However these strains did not become really apparent until the late 1880's and the 1890's (57) when both the Congregationalists and the


(56) For example, none of the Japanese pastors who presented papers at the 1883 General Conference of Protestant Missionaries was listed as an official member of the conference. Even Niijima Jo, who was an associate member of the American Board was not listed, although in that year, for the first time, the wives of missionaries were registered as members. (Cary, F. op cit p.208).

(57) Although the missionaries were complaining about the Japanese tendency to "reduce the creed to a system of ethics" as early as the 1883 conference.
Presbyterians, who had operated in much the same ways, suffered a decline in their growth rates, one that was not experienced by some of the smaller sects, which had been far more paternalistic in their attitudes. (58) Yamamori has suggested that part of the reason for this lay in the high intellectual calibre of those who had been attracted to these two major denominations because they had offered greater prospects of self-determination than others. (59) They had attracted those Japanese who were most able, had enquiring minds and were concerned nationalists and their reaction to the liberal theology which became known in Japan from about the mid-1880's onward was quicker and perhaps more extreme than the reactions of other Christians. The rejection by such Congregational leaders as Uemura, Kozaki and Uchimura of the fundamentalist approach of the missionaries, and the embracing of Unitarian beliefs with a consequent denial of many of the supernatural elements of Christianity by other Congregationalists, changed the Japanese approach to Christianity during the 1890's.

Although Naruse does not appear to have made any sort of break with the missionaries up to the time of his trip to America - in fact, he publicly supported them against manifestations of the new trend - one can see in his attitudes toward religion, as he recorded them in his diary, many of the traits which characterized other Japanese who were working toward a freer and more Japanese Christianity. Notable among these are an overriding emphasis on the inner spiritual content of faith, on being pure in one's heart before one's God, with a consequent emphasis on the importance of sincerity rather than specific doctrinal beliefs and a great concern with working out a pattern of behaviour that was morally right. In Naruse's early writings it is clear that moral behaviour flows from Christian beliefs; in his later works he is willing

(58) Yamamori op cit Appendix C, p.244.
(59) ibid pp.120-121.
to acknowledge that other beliefs can result in equally moral behaviour, that is, that Christianity is not the only satisfactory basis for a system of ethics. This took him some distance from the early Congregational ministers and from Sawayama, but brought him abreast of many of the most outstanding of his contemporaries. His concerns as a Japanese pushed him in this direction and he was given encouragement by the changed attitudes of many of the Americans he met during his three years in Massachusetts.

6. NARUSE AT ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, JANUARY, 1891 TO JUNE, 1892

Andover Theological Seminary, the training ground of D.C. Greene and H.H. Leavitt, as well as of Niijima Jo, had been the "hard-core" of New England Congregationalism until the early 1880's. It had provided many of the missionaries chosen by the American Board and it was the institution to which Naruse first turned when he wished to study in America. Founded in 1809, in reaction to what was felt to be the religious laxity of other New England colleges (Harvard had 'gone over' to the Unitarians in 1805), it had been seen as the main defender of the Puritan tradition, a "conservative, Calvinistic institution" battling the steady growth of Unitarianism and cosmopolitanism. In the 1870's and increasingly in the 1880's, Massachusetts generally, and Andover in its own individual way, responded to the new scientific theories and to Biblical criticism (considerably later than had been the case in England) by becoming a source of the "New Theology". Described as "an attempt to incorporate the new hope for humanity's progress into Christian theology, and at the same time to preserve the assurance which a supernatural goodness and an

(60) See, for example, his approach to his father's beliefs in A Modern Paul.

otherworldly salvation could bring to disillusioned souls", (62) the movement stressed the immanence of God and the idea of the individual conscience as a test of the validity of conduct and belief. "More emphasis was placed by the pulpit upon conduct and duty; and gradually there was an appropriation of the new truths disclosed by science in the interest of ethics and of faith". (63) Salvation was increasingly defined in ethical and social terms as something to be achieved in this life, rather than in the next. The essence of the new beliefs was rather baldly summed up by Lyman Abbott: "The object of Christianity is human welfare; its method is character-building; its process is evolution; and the secret of its power is God." (64)

At Andover, after the resignation of a particularly conservative and influential professor in 1881, the faculty displayed increasingly liberal tendencies, concentrating on the "humanizing" of Christianity in an attempt to move toward a religion which would fit man for life in this world and would eventually change society itself, building the Kingdom of God on earth. In 1884 a group of faculty members began publication of the Andover Review which led the way in a fairly conservative theological reconstruction along "social gospel" lines. The contributors to this magazine faced increasing criticism, particularly from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which drew many of its missionaries from Andover. This criticism erupted in 1886 in the trial, on charges of heresy, brought by the Trustees of Andover against several contributors to the Andover Review. The immediate cause of this was the appointment of a professor who held radical views on a subject that must have been of considerable interest to Naruse. The idea that those who were not confronted with the knowledge of Christ in their lifetime were not

(62) ibid p.63.
(64) Quoted in Hopkins op cit p.119. Abbott was a prolific writer in the cause of social gospel ideas. Naruse met and talked with him in May 1893. (Chōsakushū p.527).
necessarily damned, but could receive a second probation after death, struck a direct blow at the work of the American Board. The case has been referred to by one of those tried as "Andover vs. "The Universal perdition of the heathen""(65) and it led to considerable distress among those involved with the American Board as it clearly necessitated a redefinition of the Board's relationship with the church and with Andover. Resolved in September, 1891, while Naruse was studying at Andover, by the acquittal of the defendants, it created a breach between the Board and Andover that was apparent to Naruse - in December 1891 he noted in his diary that the Board no longer took missionaries from Andover(66) - and it is clear from his diary that Naruse found the new Andover approach exciting, and one that meshed well with attitudes that were becoming current among Christians in Japan as well as with his own sense of pride in being Japanese.

In attempting to determine why, rather than how, Naruse's attitudes and concerns changed, his diary is disappointingly vague as to possible sources of intellectual stimulation. The first part, written mostly in Japanese, covers the period from April 1891 to January 1892 and shows his changing approach to many of the things that had concerned him in Japan and his new interest in matters of social reform that was stimulated at Andover. His guides there at Andover are not mentioned, although some of Naruse's personal friends are, and only by turning to other sources can we discover who most influenced him there.

- William Jewett Tucker -

In Naruse's diary William Tucker's name is not mentioned at all. Yet Naruse mentions him, in his introduction to Joshi Kyoiku, first among

(65) Tucker op cit p.161.

(66) Chōsakushū p.521.
those to whom he owed thanks for their help in America, and Asa suggests
that one of the initial attractions of Andover for Naruse was the presence
of Dr. Tucker, who taught a course in sociology. (67) Tucker seems to
have taken a great personal interest in Naruse and to have guided him in
his studies; when Naruse was ill in September 1891, Mrs. Tucker visited
him frequently in hospital and treated him very kindly. (68) As the kindness
Naruse received from Unitarians with whom he came in contact prompted him
to investigate their beliefs and see them in a most favourable light, (69)
a tendency to be seen throughout his diary, it seems reasonable to
postulate that Tucker's kindness would have reinforced Naruse's interest
in whatever Tucker happened to be teaching him.

It is not clear what status Naruse enjoyed at Andover; he seems
to have been formally enrolled in Tucker's course, but not to have taken
any further subjects. Asa says that he studied other things by himself,
and this is in character, and it is evident from his diary that he spent
a great deal of time visiting people - ministers and educationalists
mainly - and preparing his book on Sawayama. For the first few months
at least, the standard of his English was not good and this must have been
a factor limiting his ability to take certain courses as would his lack
of knowledge of Greek and Latin, prerequisites in many theology courses.
Whatever his formal status, Naruse took part in Tucker's course and its
effects are clear throughout that portion of his diary that covers
this period.

William Jewett Tucker's autobiography, significantly entitled
My Generation, is not only a portrait of Tucker's own life but also
tries to portray the sort of New England society with which Naruse had
most to do. Other sources indicate that Tucker's observations on his
contemporaries were perceptive and that he was justified in seeing

(67) Asa op cit Part 1, p.165.
(68) ibid pp.165-166.
(69) Chōsakushū pp.556 and 507.
himself as a good example of "a man of his age". His statements as to his own beliefs can be taken as having been representative of the liberal, though not radical, Congregational thought in Massachusetts in the 1880's and '90's which so affected Naruse's approach to Christianity.

Born in 1839, Tucker was ordained as a Congregational minister in 1867, apparently without having formed any conclusions contrary to his training. During his first two postings, from 1867 to 1879, he "shared in the quickening of the intellectual life" of the communities around him which were becoming increasingly aware of new scientific theories and trends in German and English thought. He emerged from this period feeling that the ministry needed to enlarge its scope to suit the needs of modern society and pursued this line of thought after his appointment as Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and lecturer on Pastoral Theology at Andover in 1879. He saw, in retrospect, his generation as one which was finding its way into the modern world, having to educate itself on the basis of its great gift from the past, "the intellectual and moral discipline of the old regime", in a new situation. In 1881, he qualified his acceptance of the "Andover Creed" as a final and sufficient truth; in 1884 he joined with other liberal professors in the publication of the Andover Review and in 1886 he was one of those brought to trial by the Trustees of the Seminary on charges of heresy. His views accorded with many of those mentioned earlier in connection with the "New Theology", although he was possibly less optimistic about the general


(71) His expression of this sentiment was very similar to Naruse's idea of a self-directed education which had as its basis, the character formed by the old Japan.

(72) Williams op cit p.29. This Creed was based originally on the Westminster Shorter Catechism, but the founders of Andover had made important modifications. Among these were articles stressing that each man was by nature
direction of man's progress, as he referred on at least one occasion to the "rapid and ruthless march of civilization". (73) He felt that the task of Christianity was to restore the home, which modern living was destroying and his focus of interest was on "the problem of human environment and human destiny", seen in terms of social ethics and on the reformation of current assumptions as to the proper structure of society and the nature of social relations. He specifically rejected Carnegie's comforting assumptions - that wealth is inevitably given to the few and that it is held by them in trust for the community because the few administer it more wisely than would the many (74) - and saw the eventual reduction of financial and social inequalities as an example of the sort of progress that should be hoped for. He used his lectureship in Pastoral Theology as an opportunity to investigate the social situation and to discover ways to enlarge the function of the church in modern society. To this initial course Tucker added elective courses (another sign of the changing times!) in sociological subjects; grouped under the title "Social Economics". Naruse seems to have been involved in these courses.

Described as "one of the most thoroughgoing courses of its kind ever given in America", the Social Economics course was concerned with bringing "the untrained, the disheartened, the dangerous classes (criminals) into moral relations to society." (75) In Tucker's words, "the idea running through the courses was that of the new obligations which society was assuming ... toward those who had received scant recognition or insufficient treatment as members of society," (76) and to this end students studied

(72) (contd.) depraved, that he was personally responsible for this state of sin, and that "nothing but the sinner's aversion to holiness prevents his salvation." The Professors at Andover were required to subscribe to this Creed in public every five years. (ibid pp.5-6).
(73) ibid p.118.
(74) Tucker op cit p.174.
(75) Hopkins op cit pp.167-168.
(76) Tucker op cit p.174.
specific problems, such as "The social evolution of labour", "The treatment of crime and the criminal classes" and "The treatment of pauperism and disease", with constant reference to the most advanced sources in these fields, including the works of Marx and Henry George. (77)

In his call for social reform as well as in his attitude to Christian beliefs and his personal character, Tucker epitomised the type of person who Naruse, judging by his diary and Onna no Tsutome, would have found admirable. As part of his changing approach to Christian beliefs, Tucker had embraced the idea of human sonship, "every man by nature a son of God", and had a far greater faith than was customary among old-style Congregationalists in the goodness of human nature. He emphasized both the importance of the environment in the formation of character, and the power of the religious spirit to move men, both points that were later taken up by Naruse in Joshi Kyoiku. From different sources, - Naruse from his Confucian upbringing and Tucker from the effects of the scientific discoveries of the mid-nineteenth century - both men came to emphasize much the same values and to hold similar beliefs, although Naruse was later to move much further away from the Congregational church than Tucker ever did. A most striking area of consensus between them lay in the underlying unity they saw as existing between their major concerns.

For Tucker, "theological advancement, including the new sociological development, and educational reconstruction were not far apart in aim or method". (78) This opinion rested in large part on a fundamentally moralistic outlook on society, and was one which Naruse certainly shared.

Tucker's attitudes to education were undoubtedly shared by many of his contemporaries. One can see in them the origin, or perhaps merely confirmation, - the lack of material on Naruse's ideas in the late 1880's makes any decision on this impossible - of views that Naruse may already

(77) ibid

(78) Tucker op cit p.x.
have held and was later to expound in Joshi Kyoiku and put into practice at Nihon Joshi Dai. Physical education, valued for its moral as much as its physical effects, dormitories as a benefit to both the health and the morals of students, and a vision of the college as a place whose primary aim was not to develop individualism in the student, "but rather his humanity", that is, a sense of comradeship and an intensity of corporate spirit which would be carried over into later life, were beliefs that marked Tucker's approach to education as much as they did Naruse's.

The questions of how much Naruse's ideas on these subjects were derived from Tucker directly and how much from "current opinion" among the people with whom he came in contact in America or, indeed, how many of these attitudes had been formed or at least foreshadowed by Naruse's thoughts in Japan, must remain largely unanswered. There are strong indications that Tucker was directly influential in forming Naruse's ideas about the structure and desirable functioning of society and in influencing later events at Nihon Joshi Daigakkō. It is no mere coincidence that the Nihon Joshi Dai graduate association, the Ōfukai, which was heavily under Naruse's guidance in its early years, should have been renowned for its projects researching into social problems and its concern for social reform. The similarities in their religious views has been noted and it seems probably that Tucker gave some personal guidance to Naruse in these matters. (81)

By the time that Naruse left Andover in June 1892, after some eighteen months there, his diary revealed many of these changes. A great

(79) ibid p.331.

(80) ibid pp.253-254.

(81). Unfortunately, the source that would best reveal Tucker's state of mind and his interests, at this time was not available to me. Issues eight to seventeen of the Andover Review contain many articles by Tucker, outlining his course in sociology and his religious views. (From Poole's Index vols. 3 and 4.).
concern with social reform, seen largely as moral reform, an interest in problems of excessive individualism (Tucker thought this a besetting sin of American society) and its possible modification by the education of people to a sense of comradeship and community spirit, and a very much decreased concern with the personal problem of salvation and his own relationship to God mark these pages. With these new attitudes, however, Naruse retained a major concern of his life in Japan - an interest in the education of women. That he felt this to be intimately concerned with the moral condition of society was clear as early as the writing of Onna no Tsutome in 1881, but Tucker's course seems to have provided him with an enlarged framework for this view and a broader conception of the nature of moral reform, although he still clung to the idea that the reform of society would be effected through the reform of individuals.

7. AT CLARK UNIVERSITY WITH G. STANLEY HALL, SEPTEMBER, 1892 TO MAY (?), 1893.

In developing specific plans for women's education within this framework, Naruse turned to sources of inspiration and information outside Andover. Leaving the theological seminary in June 1892, Naruse spent the next few months travelling round lecturing at different churches on the situation in Japan and the needs of Christians there - his diary from the end of June to September regularly records how well his speeches were received and how much money was raised on these occasions. (82) In September he entered Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, whose President and Professor of Psychology, was G. Stanley Hall.

Clark was established as a graduate university in 1889 and Hall notes that during his time there, only three people were admitted who

(82) See Chōsakushū pp.553-537.
had not graduated from a reputable college. (83) Naruse must have been one of these and must have come highly recommended from Andover to be considered for admission. One can only speculate on Naruse's reasons for wishing to enter Clark in 1892, a year in which rumours of the institution's imminent collapse were rife because of its loss of staff and financial difficulties, and which Hall saw as a time of "wreckage of fond anticipations". (84) It seems most likely that Naruse was attracted by Hall's reputation as one of the country's leading educators, just as he had been attracted to Andover by Tucker's reputation, and, in choosing this time to enter, Naruse may well have been lucky in that Hall stopped his purely administrative work in 1892 and began teaching again in conditions in which "close, personal, daily contact with the instructors" was possible for students. (85) It seems likely that Naruse did have a good deal of personal contact with Hall and he certainly read the articles that Hall contributed to the Pedagogical Seminary (later the Journal of Genetic Psychology). (86) Clement reports that Hall took an interest in Naruse's educational plans, (87) an opinion that is supported by the actions of Hall's assistant, Theodate L. Smith, who travelled to Japan in 1904 and wrote about Nihon Joshi Daigakkō in the Pedagogical Seminary. (88) Hall had already had some experience with Japanese at Johns Hopkins, where he had taught Shimoda Toshihide who went on to teach at the Tokyo Higher Education Institute. 


(84) ibid p.299.

(85) ibid p.302.

(86) This was founded in 1891 by Hall. Naruse noted its existence and Hall's contributions to it shortly after his arrival at Clark. (Diary Sept., 12th, 1892, p.537).


(88) This appeared under the title "The Japanese Women's University at Tokyo" in vol.9, 1904, pp.484-487.
Normal School for Women and Motora Yujirō, who helped found the Japan Child Study Society in 1890 and became its president in 1902.  

It is likely that Naruse would at least have heard of Motora.

The course of action adopted by Hall with Naruse was two-pronged; he sent Naruse off to make inspections of many colleges for women, and of normal schools, and he encouraged and guided his reading. Hall's personality was such that it could not fail to have had an effect on Naruse.

Despite a poor farming background, Hall had been educated at Williams College and then the Union Theological Seminary, apparently with the none-too-fervent hope of becoming a Congregational minister. Having become interested in Emerson and Unitarianism while at college, he developed such an unorthodox attitude that his professor of theology, on hearing a trial sermon from him, is reported to have been so horrified that he forgot to criticize Hall but, instead, fell on his knees to pray for Hall's soul. Hall turned, with relief, to academic pursuits and, having raised a loan with the assistance of Henry Ward Beecher, went to Germany, where he studied from 1868 to 1871. Returning to America, he taught English at Antioch College and then at Harvard, where he took the opportunity to study under William James and, 1878, received the first American Ph.D. in Psychology. He then spent 1878 to 1880 working on experimental and physiological psychology with Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig. In 1882 he was offered the Chair of Psychology and Pedagogy at the new "German-style" Johns Hopkins University.


This is reported in Strickland, C.E. and C. Burgess (eds.) Health, Growth and Heredity: G. Stanley Hall on Natural Education New York, Teachers' College Press, 1965 , p.4.

A Unitarian college of which Hall reports: "I was always impressed with the way in which the strong feminine element dominated the college.
During these years, Hall evolved a view of psychology and of society, the basis of which was his fervent belief in Darwinism, or rather, a considerably extended Darwinism that went beyond the physical to embrace the spiritual development of humanity. Hall's own words reveal his attitude:

"As soon as I first heard it in my youth I think I must have been almost hypnotized by the word "evolution", which was music to my ear and seemed to fit my mouth better than any other." (92)

His enthusiasm lasted throughout his life; at its end he could say:

"the only whole-hearted scheme of things which I had accepted with ardor and abandon was that of an evolution which applied no whit less to the soul than the body of man. This was bedrock." (93)

and from that:

"To conceive the whole world, material and spiritual, as an organic unity, to eliminate all breaks and supernaturalism, ... gave me a totally new aspect of life. Inconsistencies troubled me little ..." (94)

The effect of such enthusiasm on Naruse and their relationship to the material already provided by Tucker offers an interesting field for speculation. Naruse noted in his diary that Hall advised educators to "learn the mind of children", (95) advice which the contents of Joshi Kyoiku indicate that Naruse did not follow closely for his own work at the time. However, when, under Hall's guidance, he visited Worcester Normal School, he saw this idea, for which Hall was most famous in America, put into practice. Although this was not what Naruse was most immediately interested in, the influence of these ideas is quite apparent much later, in the courses on education offered at Nihon Joshi Daigakko, in which the child-study method was taken as the basis of the correct approach to teaching.

(91) (contd.) sentiment, and felt that the active boy student life that characterized other non-coeducational institutions was lamentably lacking because of this", (Hall, op cit p.203) Hall became a noted opponent of coeducation after primary school level.

(92) Hall ibid p.357.
(93) ibid p.222.
(94) ibid p.359.
(95) Sept. 19th, 1892, Chōsakushū p.537.
However, Naruse attempted to apply this principle—"learn the mind" of one's students—to women. The results can be seen in the large section of Joshi Kyoiku devoted to Naruse's ideas on the nature of women, ideas which incorporated both the opinions and, to a large extent, the method of Hall. While Naruse did not pay much attention to the "culture-epoch" theory expounded by Hall, he did use other ideas attributable to him. The most notable of these concerned the evolution of morality and sentiment and the inheritance of acquired traits, which were notions that Naruse later took for granted throughout his analysis of women's character, and which formed an important part of his advocacy of the benefits of women's education. This had been discussed in more detail earlier, and it will suffice here merely to note that Naruse traces the development of the characteristics of compassion and morality and the consequent moral development of society in terms of the inheritance and development of these qualities within the individual. Hall's enthusiasm for this sort of approach to discussions of social evolution was so marked that he seems the most likely source for Naruse's ideas.

Hall differed from Naruse in many ways in his attitude to women and their role in life, but it is possible, indeed probable, that Hall introduced to Naruse the ideas of another thinker, Eduard von Hartmann. Hall notes that while he was in Germany, between 1868 and 1871, he "spent

(96) This theory, now discredited, which holds that the child recapitulates the cultural evolution of mankind in its development from infancy to adulthood that is, from savagery to civilization, was adopted with enthusiasm by Hall. Strickland op cit, pp.9-10, points out that this idea had been held in various forms by many educational theorists and philosophers. Hall also held an almost mystical belief in the transmission of feelings and impulses through the generations and this, I believe, was of more importance to the development of Naruse's thought than was the "culture-epoch" theory. Naruse dealt with this idea, in a rather more logical fashion than did Hall, by claiming that an educated woman would pass on her "civilization" to her children. Hall did not follow his beliefs through to this extent.

(97) See my chapter 2.

(98) See e.g. Hall op cit pp.81-83.
a number of memorable afternoons at the house of Eduard van Hartmann, the famous philosopher of the Unconscious\(^{(99)}\) and, although Hall does not mention it, author of a well-known essay on the differing roles of the sexes. This essay was published in its English translation in 1895 in *The Sexes Compared and other Essays*, and this translation is in Naruse's personal library. Unfortunately, the date of its acquisition by him is unknown, but the ideas expressed in this work are so close to Hall's ideas and to the more conservative aspects of Naruse's thoughts on this matter that, to postulate some influence by Hartmann on Hall and through Hall on Naruse seems not unreasonable. For both Hartmann and Hall the distinction between the sexes was utter and irrevocable. In every fibre of their physical and psychic being men and women differed and this difference, characterized by the physical and mental activity of the male and passivity of the female, had to determine their roles in life. For both, woman's only true vocation was maternity and, in Hartmann's words, "the sentiment which forms a part of female nature, and which is of peculiar value in the family and society, makes woman totally unfit for public business, depending as it does on the undivided sway of reason."\(^{(100)}\) Naruse allowed women a slightly wider sphere of activity in exceptional cases but in essence shared the opinions of Hartmann and Hall as to their ultimate role. It should be noted that Hall was a leading American critic of the system of higher education for women which he felt would surely prove to be too arduous for their frail systems. At the same time, he fought to ensure that women could enter Clark University on the same terms as men - perhaps by the time they entered graduate school there was no longer any hope of diverting them to their maternal role - and referred to their scholarship at that level in terms of praise. Hall also led the attack on coeducation at all but the lower levels of

\(^{(99)}\) ibid p.194

schooling and on the "feminization" of the teaching profession.

In one vital respect Naruse differed from Hall and Hartmann. Hartmann seems to have had little idea of women as people and comes perilously close to viewing them as chattels or mere tools of men, at the same time as making a passing obligatory nod to the romantic view of women's "spirituality" and the "mysterious power" women can exercise over men. (101) While Hall took a mystical and romantic view of women and their maternal role, viewing their special "feminine qualities" with mingled admiration and distrust, it does seem that he genuinely wished to have them fulfil themselves as individuals, albeit in the restricted fashion imposed on them by the peculiarities of their sex. Naruse, too, wished women to fulfil themselves and approached the problems with assumptions about the individual which he derived from his Christian beliefs and which he took in a far more literal fashion than did many of his Christian contemporaries. It also seems that he did not have the peculiarly romantic and sentimental attitude to women that Hall and many others held and which led them to practise so many hypocrisies in the name of chivalry. Naruse genuinely believed that women's natural influence was entirely beneficial and saw education as the means of bringing out these natural qualities. Hall tended to think in terms of curbing and directing women's behaviour through education. However, in other matters, Naruse would have found that Hall's views confirmed those that he had held in Japan.

One of the most important of these was the idea of the importance of motherhood and what it should entail. Hall refers to the "sacred responsibility of motherhood" in bringing out in children the proper emotional feelings which should later be directed toward God, (102)

(101) ibid p.3.
and in educating the child's conscience. Naruse echoes this concern with the moral function of mothers and cites Hall as his authority in asserting that this function begins before the birth of the child. He virtually quotes part of an article by Hall to the effect that the prenatal experiences of the child, received through the mother, determined its character. Following Hall's argument that moral traits could be inherited, Naruse makes this an argument for better education of women.

Hall also emphasized the importance of physical education and the desirability of the parallel development of the brain and body in order to develop a well-rounded moral being. Naruse's stress on the development of the will, which both he and Hall saw as the moving force of morality, by a judicious combination of mental and physical training, if not entirely derived from Hall, at least received encouragement from Hall's views. In a more direct way, Naruse's discussion of physical education and its importance, in moral and national terms, in Joshi Kyoiku, owed much to an article by Hall in which he refers to the influence of Greece, Rome and Germany in this regard.

As will have become clear in this discussion, there is such agreement between Hall's views and those of Naruse, especially in regard to social evolution and the nature of women, as to indicate that there was considerable direct influence from one to the other.

8. OTHER INFLUENCES

- People -

It will be apparent that this treatment of Naruse's contacts in


(104) See Joshi Kyoiku, esp. pp.121-125. The greater detail given by Naruse is derived from other sources, but the framework is clearly provided by Hall's "Moral Education and Will-training" in Ped. Sem. vol.2, 1892, pp.72-89.
America has been selective. Tucker and Hall have been concentrated on to the exclusion of other people, for several reasons which, for the most part, arise from the incomplete nature of Naruse's records on the one hand and a lack of material by or about many of his friends in America on the other. From the available records, it seems that Hall and Tucker influenced Naruse directly over a period of months and that their influence was a lasting one. That Naruse was also influenced by his many friends in America as well as by thinkers other than Hall and Tucker is certain, but this is rarely documented.

One famous thinker whose name should be mentioned in connection with this problem in William James. Naruse's personal library contains several of James' works (105) and Kan suggests that James influenced Naruse greatly from the time that he first came in contact with James' ideas while at Andover. (106) However, there is no record of James' having had any prolonged contact with Naruse and, indeed, the only suggestion that they had any contact at all comes from Naruse's mention of his name in the introduction to Joshi Kyoiku. Although Naruse had some interest in James' work after his sojourn in America and, in 1908-09, gave a series of lectures to his students at Nihon Joshi Daigakkō on his Pragmatism, it is unlikely that James had any great influence on Naruse before the founding of the university. The reasons for this, especially those that apply particularly to the period during which Naruse was in America, are indicative of why other thinkers, too, may have only superficially affected Naruse.

There were several factors that militated against Naruse's being able to delve deeply into James' thoughts, especially during the first

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(105) These include James' The Will to Believe and other Essays in Popular Philosophy (1904), Pragmatism (1907), on which Naruse appears to have based his 1908-09 lectures, The Meaning of Truth (1909) and others. The dates refer to the editions in Naruse's library, not to the original date of publication.

half of his stay in America, which is when he is supposed to have come in contact with James. The first is the matter of Naruse's command of English. His English diary, which he kept from May, 1892 (when he was about to leave Andover) until May, 1893 reveals a growing, but still very uncertain, command of English. In the first entry, for May, 1892, which was written partly in Japanese and partly in English, Naruse thought it worth noting that he had "understood the operative sentences" of a sermon that he had heard, which indicates that this level of understanding was by no means taken for granted by Naruse. Aso said that when Naruse went to America, his knowledge of English was scanty and "there were some who sneered that it was the trip of a deaf-mute", and certainly, there is no indication in his diary that Naruse was fluent in speech until very late indeed during his stay in America. It may have been that Naruse's comprehension of the written word was rather greater than his aural comprehension but, at this time, James' only major published work was the Principles of Psychology, in two large volumes. While this does have much to say on things that interested Naruse, for example, on man's nature as a moral being, this aspect of it is by no means obvious and the subject matter and style are far subtler and more complex than any of the available literature by Tucker and Hall. James' writings on ethics, which was Naruse's major interest, did not begin to appear until 1897, after

(107) This is reprinted in Chosakushū pp.556-527. As with A Modern Paul, the script runs from left to right and the page numbers from right to left.


(109) A Modern Paul is written in a very natural English style, but there is reason to suspect that Naruse's friend, Patton, did a great deal of editing.

(110) Tucker, if his autobiography is anything to judge by, wrote very lucidly indeed. Hall's style tended to be Germanic and was not easy to read, but his subject matter was basically quite straightforward and easily comprehended. James, on the other hand, wrote clearly but dealt with extremely complex subjects.

(111) His first such work was The Will to Believe op cit in 1897.
Naruse had returned to Japan. Naruse may have attended James' Harvard lectures, but, once again, his level of comprehension is open to doubt. If he had heard about James' ideas through other people they would inevitably have been somewhat simplified.

The issue of influences generally is further complicated by a marked tendency on the part of those who write about Naruse, mostly people connected in some way with Nihon Joshi Dai, to make him "larger than life". Because they view him as a Great Man, they tend to see it as inevitable that he should have been influenced mostly by Great Thinkers. Hence the stress on James. Naruse's own approach lends itself to this sort of interpretation. He tended to ignore contradictory elements in people's ideas, and between the thoughts of different people. It is quite conceivable that Naruse would have taken James' concern with man as a moral being and his idea of there being one "primal stuff" of which everything in the world consists (112) as being entirely supportive of his own views, without appreciating the subtlety of James' thought. The desire for harmony in all things may have led Naruse here, as in other areas of thought, to ignore any jarring elements.

Naruse's later role in introducing James to his students should not be undervalued, just as his role in introducing Dewey to Japan, by encouraging the translation of School and Society in 1905, and then inviting Dewey to visit Japan in 1919 (113) was undoubtedly valuable. But to suggest that Naruse had assimilated the thoughts of either thinker especially as early as his American trip is to gild the lily.

At the other end of the scale, it is certain that Naruse's views on all manner of things were influenced constantly by the opinions of his personal friends, rather than his academic mentors, in America. One of

(112) It has been pointed out that the monism implied in this was purely formal (Encyclopedia of Philosophy New York, The Macmillan Co., 1967 vol.4, p.248).

(113) Kobayashi, V.N. John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan, 1964, p.27.
the few cases in which this casual, but highly significant, type of influence was recorded is in Naruse's diary of July, 1891 (while he was still at Andover). On the 20th of July, under the heading "There is no sexual passion in women", Naruse noted that it was the opinion of his friend Leavitt that "it is certain that women have no sexual passion", Naruse concluded that "the Heavenly Father implanted this animalism only in men. Its purpose is procreation."(114) That this should affect the type of education that should be given women, both Naruse and Leavitt were convinced. Unfortunately, Naruse did not elaborate on this point. There must have been innumerable such instances, dealing with different matters, in which popular opinion was simply accepted by Naruse.

Before dealing briefly with the schools which Naruse visited, for the most part under Hall's guidance, another matter of non-academic influence should be dealt with. The diary which Naruse kept during his years of preaching in Japan reveals a constant concern, not only with the content of his sermons, but also with finding the most effective way of making his message reach his listeners. In America, listening to the most popular preachers of the day, Naruse believed that he had found this. His diary entry for 26th June 1891 revealed the great impression made on him by the famous preacher, Dwight L. Moody and the singer Ira Sankey whose music, Naruse noted, "touches the heart."(115) Although Moody was an uneducated man, Naruse observed that he influenced even educated people through his enthusiasm and led them "as a father guides a child." There is no doubt that the spectacle of mass emotion displayed by Moody's listeners, who flocked to him in their hundreds, attracted Naruse greatly.(116)

(114) Chōsakushū p.496. The underlined words are in English in the original.
(115) Moody was an evangelist, attached to the Congregational church, who, with Sankey, a renowned singer, held revival meetings throughout the United States and Great Britain. Moody also established three schools in Northfield, Massachusetts, one of which Naruse visited in June, 1891. (Chōsakushū p.489)
(116) Chōsakushū pp.490-493.
Later he quoted from an unknown source, under the heading: "The method of speaking Rev Samuel Davis D.D.", (underlining and omission of punctuation are as in the original), in a way that revealed his concern with this subject: "He could address his auditory, either with the most commenting authority (sic), or with the most melting tenderness. He seldom preached without creating some visible emotion in great numbers present". Lectures and sermons, Naruse felt, should "strike at the human heart".

It may have been that Naruse, like many of his American contemporaries, fell back on a more sentimental and emotional expression of religious belief as the more fundamentalist notions which he had previously believed were chipped away, and that this sort of mass display of emotion was felt to be a desirable expression of religious, and perhaps community, feeling. Whatever the reasons, it was by passionate oratory that Naruse later attempted, successfully, to raise the moral and religious feelings of his students in his morals lectures at Nihon Joshi Daigakko. Although it is clear that he was capable of convincing people of his views by logical argument, in matters moral and religious, and perhaps especially when dealing with impressionable girl students, Naruse felt the need to use a highly-charged emotional approach, one that he had seen to be successful in America.

Institutions

As well as being influenced by different people while he was in America, Naruse took care to investigate the structure and operation of various institutions of interest to him. Visits to colleges and schools

(117) ibid p.494.
(118) ibid p.495.
(119) See my chapter 4.
occupied a good deal of his time there, however, it is not clear which institutions he visited in the early part of his stay. He wrote a report entitled "An outline view of Wellesley College", for the May and June, 1891 issues of Jogaku Zasshi (The Women's Education Magazine) in which he commented approvingly on the methods of teaching, which seemed to him to encourage "self-directed learning". (120) Aso states that Naruse left Clark University in April, 1893 and travelled around the Eastern states visiting educators, religious and scholarly men and various institutions, (121) an assertion which cannot be confirmed as the last entry in Naruse's diary is dated May 4th, 1893, when he was still attached to Clark. Much of Naruse's time after May 1893 must have been taken up with the preparation of A Modern Paul which was published in September 1893, which suggests that his activities, as described by Aso, would have been basically a continuation of those at Andover and Clark. The records of these visits are very patchy for the period of Naruse's enrolment at Andover - he mentions only the visit to Moody's school although the article in Jogaku Zasshi makes clear that he visited at least one other famous school. However, from the time of his enrolment at Clark up to May 1893 the record is fairly full and shows that, under Hall's guidance, Naruse visited many of the most famous girls' colleges and various other co-educational and specialist schools as well as speaking to leading educators.

Naruse started by visiting Worcester Normal School several times in mid-September and early October, 1892 and then went on to Grafton High School. Both were co-educational institutions. In late November, armed with a letter of introduction from E.H. Russell, head of the Normal School, Naruse met Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, who had been the President of Wellesley College and was about to become Dean of Women at the

(120) This is reprinted in Chosakushu pp.221-226.
(121) Aso op cit Part 1, p.167.
University of Chicago. A strong advocate of Christian social gospel ideas, she was well thought of as an academic and very much impressed Naruse as being both intelligent and a "Womanly woman". Naruse acknowledged her help in the introduction to Joshi Kyoiku. Her husband, a Professor of Philosophy at Harvard, introduced Naruse to Charles W. Eliot, the President of Harvard. He gave Naruse some advice on methods of raising money to finance institutions and on the secrets of managing staff and students, impartiality and self-control counting for much here. There is no mention of Naruse's meeting William James, who taught Psychology at Harvard, at this time.

Naruse followed this by visiting the Springfield Gymnastics School in January 1893, whose Principal, Luther H. Gulick, had done much to advance physical education in America, strongly emphasising that it should be both "scientific" and "natural". Naruse seems to have been impressed with what he saw here and acknowledges Gulick's help. In March, April and May 1893, Naruse visited Mount Holyoke, which had achieved full college status only in that year, Smith College, New York University, the Brooklyn Girls' High School, the Women's Medical College established by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, and the Brooklyn Teachers' College, among others.

It would be pointless and tedious to attempt to delve into the exact condition of each of the institutions visited by Naruse, even if he

(122) As Alice Freeman, she had been President of this famous girls' college from 1881 until 1887, when she married Professor Palmer.
(123) Chōsakushū p.531.
(124) ibid
(125) Schwendener, N. A History of Physical Education in the United States New York, Barnes, 1942, p.124. Gulick spent part of his boyhood in Japan, going there from Honolulu in early 1876 and returning to school in America in 1880. His father was the Rev. L.H. Gulick, an American Board missionary. He noted that his experiences in Japan confirmed for him that childhood games were "a great racial force making toward conserving the individual in the paths of the ancestors". Gulick, L.H. "Psychological, pedagogical, and religious aspects of group games" in Ped. Sem., vol.6(2), March 1899, p.140-141.
(126) Joshi Kyoiku p.31.
had made a complete list of these. Naruse himself seems not to have made substantial notes about individual schools or people. The best record available of what impressed him most about these schools is provided by the plan, in Joshi Kyōiku, of the facilities and style of teaching that Naruse hoped would be offered in his women's "university" in Japan. This reveals that he looked at the women's colleges of New England quite critically, taking from them only those things which he felt were suited to Japanese women, and ignoring or directly opposing some of their motivating principles in the light of his own ideas about women and their appropriate role in society.

He rejected, on purely practical grounds, the alternative of attempting to establish a co-educational institution in Japan. In America, after the Civil War, the battle for the admission of girls to secondary schools had largely been won and women were being admitted in increasing numbers to teachers' colleges, many of which were co-educational. (127) In the Middle West co-education, which had been introduced at Oberlin College in 1830, had become the norm, and nearly all the State universities were co-educational. Although Naruse cited the views of several of the presidents of these universities to show that co-education was not harmful and that women were as capable as men in intellectual pursuits, (128) he clearly had no intention of founding a co-educational institution. Hall held very strong views about the pernicious effects of co-education above the primary school level, but Naruse obviously disagreed with this. The determining factor in his decision is much more likely to have been the situation in Japan where the academic track from Boys' Middle School to the universities was already firmly established (129) and the task of founding a reputable

(128) Joshi Kyōiku p.59.
(129) See chapter 4 following.
co-educational institution, that is, one to which boys would choose to
go, rather than one to which they would go only after failing to enter
the more prestigious Boys' Middle Schools, would have seemed impossible.
Naruse's attention in America was, therefore, focussed on the women's
colleges of New England rather than on the universities of the Middle
West.

The seminaries and female academies of the eighteenth and early
nineteenth centuries, the main aims of which had been the development of
"ladies accomplishments" as well as domestic and religious training, had
given way to colleges for women, which were intended to be a good deal
more academic. Their forerunner was Mount Holyoke Seminary which had
been founded in 1837 and which Speer believed had been the model for Baika
Jogakko. (130) Its founding has been described as "the single most
significant step away from the concept that women needed an improved
education only to carry out their housewifely or teaching duties
better", (131) but it did not achieve full college status until 1893,
after the founding of such institutions as Vassar (1861), Smith College
and Wellesley (1875), the "Harvard Annex" (1879), which Naruse visited
with Professor Palmer, and Bryn Mawr (1885). The ideal of these colleges
was to provide an education for women that should be of an equal standard
with that provided at the men's colleges. At the same time, they sought
to avoid the pitfalls of encouraging a "masculine" approach to life among
their students and allowing their health to decline through overwork, since
charges along these lines occupied much of the literature on women's
education of the period. (132)

(130) Speer op cit pp.126-127.
(131) Flexner, E. Century of Struggle: the Woman's Rights Movement in
(132) An excellent example of this is Dr. E.H. Clarke's work, Sex in
Education; or, a Fair Chance for Girls Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1873.
This went through five editions in 1873 alone.
In the founding of these colleges, as in the founding of Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, the finance came largely from men (except in the case of Smith College) although many of the colleges were presided over by women. In order to make this education available to women other than those of the wealthiest families, most of the founders stressed the importance of having a large endowment, so as not to be dependent on fees, an idea that Naruse adopted. In practice in America, this education was still confined, for the most part, to the middle and upper classes, a situation which Naruse viewed as proper for both practical and ideological reasons. (133)

The debates in America over women's education were concerned mainly with the evolution of an education suitable for women of these classes.

By the 1890's, the most famous women's colleges were those where the curricula and organization were modelled on the established men's colleges. As part of the "college like a man's" ideal, they attempted to concentrate on the same academic subjects as did the men's colleges (134) (although the sort of preparation for college that most women underwent necessarily introduced some modifications in this) and offered many of the same facilities. The era during which these colleges had shown their most rapid development, the 1880's, had coincided with a marked concentration in the men's colleges on physical education, (135) and the women's colleges, too, soon aimed to provide comprehensive physical education programmes. There was a good deal of experimentation in order to find systems of physical education that were suitable for women and would cultivate a "harmony of mind and body". This quest had in fact begun well before the period of greatest concentration on physical education

(133) See my chapter 2. That society would be saved by the reformation of individuals is implicit in Naruse's argument. He held that these reformed individuals would then guide their fellows and felt that middle and upper class women were the proper people to fill this role. (Joshi Kyōiku p.72).


(135) Patton op.cit p.58.
in colleges. In the late 1830's the students at Mt. Holyoke had been assigned domestic duties for the purposes of exercise but by the 1890's this was generally considered to be either unsuitable or not enough exercise for women students, although in most colleges the women continued to do a great deal of the domestic work. By the time of Naruse's sojourn in America, the physical education programme at the women's colleges had two main aims. Like the men's colleges, they hoped to preserve the health of their students and, indeed, had more reason than did the men's colleges to stress this aspect because of the attacks on higher education for women. Their critics held that this education sapped the strength of women and destroyed their reproductive powers. At the same time, all interested sections of society agreed that physical education, while desirable, should in no way reduce the femininity of women. The women's colleges had therefore evolved systems of physical education that were claimed to fulfil these aims, and it was from these that Naruse decided to take elements for the construction of a programme suitable for Japanese women. Similarly, the dormitories which were attached to all the women's colleges were claimed to provide a homelike atmosphere in which the femininity of the students would be preserved and developed. Naruse made both the dormitories and regular physical education features of the educational programme at Nihon Joshi Dai and devoted much of Joshi Kyoiku to arguing their worth.

The aspects of the programme at American women's colleges that Naruse rejected are even more illuminating of his attitude than are the aspects that he adopted. The women's colleges had been much criticized from the 1860's on in America for their lack of home-making training but were reluctant to introduce the domestic economy courses demanded by

(136) Schwendener op cit p.59.
(137) See Clarke op cit.
(138) Woody op cit pp.217-219..
their critics, (139) feeling, quite rightly, that any such move would forever deny them the hope of being considered equal in status to the men's colleges. They clung to the ideal of an intellectual, essentially non-professional, education for women and tended not to introduce even those practical professional courses which in the 1890's became features of the co-educational and some of the co-ordinate colleges. Naruse chose a course which was different from either the women's or the co-educational colleges. The system of study at Nihon Joshi Daigakko, which was organised on a "group system" (in departments with co-ordinated subjects) very similar to that which had been adopted at Bryn Mawr, (140) consisted of a home-economics course, a pedagogy course and a literature course, but the structure of each ensured that the students would be given a thorough grounding in home-centred subjects. The idea of a women's college being just like men's colleges was one that Naruse could not entertain for Japanese women.

It is clear from Joshi Kyōiku and from the list of work in Naruse's library that he had read the literature presenting both sides of the argument (141) and that he chose this course of action because of his desire to find a system of women's education that was suited to the situation of Japan and women's roles in the new Japan. (142) Naruse was not greatly influenced by the critics of American women's education, who tended to be motivated by a romanticism which he did not share. Naruse greatly admired the women of New England - his diary abounds in references to their kindness, intelligence and the delicacy of their religious feelings - but he felt that these qualities would be achieved in Japanese women by taking a selective attitude to the educational models provided for him in

(139) Newcomer op cit pp.55-58.
(140) Boone, R.G. Education in the United States New York, Appleton, 1890, p.370. This work was in Naruse's library.
(141) He refers to both Clarke op cit and Howe op cit in Joshi Kyōiku.
(142) Joshi Kyōiku p.68.
America, and then adapting even their desirable features to Japanese conditions.

The changes in Naruse's religious attitudes have been mentioned and his new attitudes to education, as they were to be expressed in *Joshi Kyoiku*, were a public manifestation of the effects on Naruse's ideas of his three years in America. In December, 1893, armed with ideas on the proper development of society, on the evolution of civilization and women's role in this, and on the means by which "civilization" could become "Japanese civilization", Naruse returned to Japan. He was, by then, far more conscious of being Japanese and much prouder of his national heritage than he had been in December, 1890, when he had left his native land for the first time.
On Naruse Jinzō's arrival in Japan, in January 1894, he set about his task immediately, consulting friends and influential people on the possibility of establishing a school for the higher education of women. He eventually achieved this aim with the founding of Nihon Joshi Daigakkō in 1901. In order to understand the background to this achievement and, in particular, to see what Naruse really envisaged when he referred to this institution as a "university" or "college" (daigakko), some account must be given of the condition of education for girls in the 1890's and of the history of previous attempts to establish a system of education that would include girls. Concentration will, for the most part, be on the education of girls above the elementary school level, in the private girls' schools and in the public girls' high schools (kotojogakko), because these schools provided education for those girls from whom any institution of higher education would draw its students.

Naruse's plan for a girls' high school to be attached to his university was a plan for a school on the same level as these, but offering what he felt to be significant improvements in teaching methods and attitudes to life.

1. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

In 1873, when the new government had just taken control over education and was, to a very large extent, using already-existing facilities, it estimated that 39.9% of school-age boys and 15.14% of girls

(1) Aso op cit Part 1, p.169 tells of his discussions in Kyoto with Naruse at that time. Nihon Joshi Daigakko Yonjunenshi (ed. Nakamura Masao) Tokyo, Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, 1942, p.26, records that Naruse sought and obtained an interview with the Prime Minister, Itō Hirobumi, in May 1894 in order to ascertain his views on this subject. (This book will hereafter be referred to as NJD.)
were attending elementary school. This relatively high rate of school attendance was one of the legacies of the Tokugawa period as were certain attitudes to education. The custom of children other than those born into the wealthiest or most aristocratic families receiving some basic education had been established as had the idea that education made people better at whatever they were destined to do, making "the gentry better gentry, ... merchants into better (morally and intellectually) merchants". The Confucian belief in the link between sin and ignorance, virtue and knowledge, formed, in general terms, the background to the assumption that education was a "good thing" with which the Meiji leaders approached the problem in the early 1870's as well as providing some antidote to the precept "stupidity is a virtue in women" (joshi sai naki wa kore wo toku), which idea also made the transition from Tokugawa to Meiji times.

The Rules of Local Administration of 1869 had foreseen the establishment of elementary schools throughout the nation with individual han preparing their own school programmes, and it is noteworthy that in the immediate post-Restoration period, before the government had stepped into the field, several of the han announced plans for, and others actually

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(2) Japan. Mombushō. Gakusei Hachijunenshi Tokyo, Ōkurasei Insatsugyoku, 1954, p.1036. School age had been defined as the eight years between the ages of six and fourteen.

(3) See Dore Education op cit pp.319-322. Despite the reservations expressed by Dore in "The Importance of Educational Traditions : Japan and Elsewhere" in Pacific Affairs vol.45(4), 1972, p.491, the 1873 figures indicate that his earlier estimate of the proportion of children attending school at the end of the Tokugawa period is neither too high nor irrelevant.

(4) Dore "Educational Traditions" ibid p.505.


(6) The Role of Education op cit p.28. Also Passin op cit pp.65-66.
established, schools to provide elementary education for girls.\(^{(7)}\) This period also saw the beginnings of what was to become a major force in girls' education - the schools of the Protestant Christian missions. There had been scattered classes, mostly co-educational, run by missionaries since about 1867, but in 1870-71 separate girls' schools were established in Nagasaki and Yokohama supported by individual missions and with missionaries or their wives as teachers.\(^{(8)}\) During the following twenty years it has been estimated that 43 girls' schools, of varying standards were established by the Protestant missions.\(^{(9)}\) From the first they attracted the daughters of well-to-do families.

Concern over the position of women in the new era in Japan was also expressed at the highest levels of society by the sending, in December 1871, of five upper-class girls to America. They were to be educated in the customs of the West, in recognition of the need to have women at the highest levels of society familiar with Western social customs and fluent in English. One of these girls was Tsuda Umeko, who was later to found a well-respected girls' school in Tokyo, and another, Yamakawa Sutematsu, who, as Princess Oyama, was to become one of Naruse's earliest and most enthusiastic supporters. In connection with the decision to send these girls to America, there was some recognition that the education of women could lead to social changes. The Emperor is reported to have said, at the time of their departure in 1871, "Women, ... have had no position socially, because it was considered that they were without understanding; but if educated and intelligent they should


\(^{(8)}\) Verbeck op cit pp.44-46.

have due respect."(10)

In September 1971 a Department of Education was established(11) and an investigation begun of the condition of education in Japan. The outcome of this was the Gakusei (Fundamental Code of Education) of 1872, which was accompanied by a proclamation of the Dejōkan which is generally taken as its preamble. This document has been much cited as an example of the progressive and individualistic tendencies of the new government(12) and it is clear that the advantages of a literate population to the nation and the value of education to the individual had been recognised. Of particular interest are those statements relating to the position of girls in the system:

"It is ignorance that leads man astray ... Learning being viewed as the exclusive privilege of the Samurai and his superiors, farmers, artisans, merchants, and women have neglected it altogether and know not even its meaning ... there shall, in the future, be no community with an illiterate family nor a family with an illiterate person. Every guardian, acting in accordance with this, shall bring up his children with tender care, never failing to have them attend school. (While advanced education is left to the ability and means of the individual, a guardian who fails to send a young child, whether a boy or a girl, to primary school shall be deemed negligent of his duty.)"(13)

In specifically stating that girls were to have an equal part with boys in this system, at its lower levels at least, the government set a standard that was far in advance of current practice and was not fully

(10) Quoted in Nitobe, I. The United States and Japan Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1891, p.181.

(11) This will be referred to as the Mombushō throughout. It became a Ministry of Education on the establishment of the Cabinet system in 1885.


(13) Document 17, in Passin op cit pp.210-211.
achieved for about forty years. (14)

Attached to the draft plan for the eventual establishment of separate girls' elementary schools was an explanation that the "principle of nature" which had established the equality of men and women called for equality in education. In addition, "whether children become wise or not depends much upon their mothers. Girls of today will be mothers in future. For this reason, the education of women is extremely important and necessary." (15) This argument was to recur, as we have seen, throughout the period.

The Gakusei set up a system of university districts, divided into middle school districts and further divided into elementary school districts with a projected eight universities, 256 middle schools and 53,760 elementary schools. (16) It was an ambitious plan, but it was clear from the beginning that a basic assumption behind it was that education above elementary level would be necessary for relatively few of the population, male or female. Counteracting this to a certain extent, it should be noted that the minimum standards established were very high.

Eight years of compulsory schooling put Japan well in advance

(14) As late as 1896, the year of publication of Joshi Kyōiku, only 47.53% of girls attended elementary school, compared to 79.00% of boys. However, by the end of the period (1912), 98.80% of boys and 97.62% of girls were attending. Gakusei Hachijunenshi p.1036.

(15) Quoted in Inoue op cit p.20.

(16) NKKH vol.3, p.485.

The promulgation of the Gakusei and the organization of the school districts was strikingly similar to the establishment of the conscription system in 1873. The mechanism was the same; an Imperial Rescript and a proclamation of the Dajōkan preceded and justified the move and then the legislation followed in a rather piecemeal and pragmatic fashion. The country was divided into six military zones, like the eight school districts, and the organization of both systems is believed to have owed much to the French example. Yamagata, in advocating the conscription system, saw it as an integral part of the national educational process which would eventually make the nation "a great civil and military university". (Hackett, R.F. Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan Camb.,Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1971,p.65.) Yamagata's view does not seem to have allowed much room for women in the nation's education.
of most Western nations at that time. (17)

That the government was anxious that a few girls should receive more than the minimum elementary education was apparent. The government-founded Tōkyō Jogakkō (Tokyo Girls' School), which was founded in 1872 as an elementary school, was raised to middle school status in 1875. Its purpose was to teach the daughters of the ex-daimyō and government officials English and it had several foreign teachers. In 1876 there were 152 pupils, and in 1877, the year of its demise, apparently because of the Satsuma Rebellion, 136. (18) There was some provision in the Gakusei for girls' schools of the same type as the chūgakkō (boys' middle schools) or the gaikokugogakkō (foreign language schools) but few of these were established and, although co-education was practised in several of the middle schools, it was discouraged. (19) A pattern emerged during these years of private establishment and then prefectural control of girls' schools whose standard was gradually raised. Such schools were established in Aichi and Tochigi (20) and in Kyoto, where the Kyōto-fu Jogakkō (Kyoto Prefectural Girls' School) developed out of a privately founded English language school. As was the case with most girls' schools, the student population varied but was

(17) In Germany, various of the states had had compulsory elementary education since the late eighteenth century. In France it was made free in 1881 and compulsory in 1882 while the first Acts establishing compulsory education in England were promulgated in 1876 and 1880, but only in 1891 was elementary education made free. Despite the fact that Massachusetts had initiated compulsory education in 1852, the rest of the states in America did not begin to enact such laws until the late 1870's and many of the southern states did not do so until the twentieth century. The period of time during which children had to attend school varied widely, but it is clear that Japan was much in advance of most countries. (Good, H.G. 'A History of Western Education New York, Macmillan, 1949.) When Japan lowered the requirements to 16 months, which could be spread over eight years, in 1879, she did so for practical, not ideological, reasons.

(18) NKKH vol.3,pp.706-710.

(19) ibid

(20) ibid pp.711-714.
never very large. (21) The only major initiative by the government in these years, other than the トキョウ女子師範学校, was the establishing in March 1874 of the first teacher-training course for girls at the トキョウ女子師範学校 (Tokyo Women's Normal School), whose five-year course trained elementary school teachers. (22)

The role of the government in providing education at the post-elementary level for girls can be seen from the statistics. By 1879, the year in which the education system was radically changed, there were three public (prefectural) girls' middle schools (the 女子師範学校 terminology was adopted later) and 12 private ones; 14 public and 242 private schools educated boys and girls together. The balance was slightly better in the 公立女子中学校 category, in which there were two public and four private schools by 1878, with four private coeducational schools. (23) It is difficult to determine the number of girls receiving education of this standard because of the uncertainty about standards and the role of the private schools in the early years of the system, but it has been estimated, from 陸軍省 records, that in 1874 there were 1,409 boys and four girls in public middle schools and 1,716 boys and 24 girls in private schools. The figures for the years to 1879 reflect some of the fluctuations in the educational situation as well as revealing the large part played in this field by private schools. Expressed in tabular form, these are:

(21) The enrolment was, for example, 121 girls in 1876 but only 16 in 1878.

(22) The Empress took a special interest in this school, writing a poem to commemorate its founding. This was the beginning of her interest in educational projects for women, an interest which, directly and indirectly, proved to be valuable in raising support for Naruse's project.

(23) NKKH vol.3,p.705.


<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Girls</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1875</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1876</td>
<td>8,515</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,079</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>16,331</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
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<td>4,437</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>22,813</td>
<td>1,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>7,478</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>29,803</td>
<td>2,440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus by 1879 there were estimated to be 37,281 boys and 2,748 girls in schools recognised as being of the chūgakkō level in Japan. (24)

2. CONFUSION AND GROWING STABILITY

The uncertainties of this period about the direction that Japanese education should take are best seen in the changes in the system and the conflicting opinions put forward in 1879-80. In 1879 the system was radically reorganised, a move which involved considerable decentralization and the government's ridding itself of most of the financial responsibility for schooling. This has been linked both to the government's financial problems and to the influence of its American advisers. (25) At the same time a conservative reaction to the Westernizing aspects of the education system was made apparent by the issuing of an Imperial Rescript calling for a reaffirmation of traditional values. (26)

(24) Taken from ibid p.662.

(25) An American, David Murray was Superintendent of Educational Affairs from mid-1873 to December 1878 and considerably influenced the drafters of this ordinance.

The first move resulted in chaos in the nation's schooling - a decline in the attendance of both boys and girls throughout the country, the virtual disappearance of formal schooling in some rural areas and the proliferation of private elementary schools of varying standards. The Imperial Rescript indicated a concern for tradition and for moral training that was to become an influential component of the education debates of later years. It influenced the provisions of the Kaisei Kyōikurei (Revised Education Ordinance) of 1880 which reasserted government authority over education and, among other provisions, gave moral training first place in the list of required subjects at elementary schools. Moves were made to replace Western-style textbooks with Confucianist ones.

Thus by 1881, when Naruse was writing Onna no Tsutome, a reaction had already set in in government education circles. Although Naruse's advocacy of Christian ideals was not in accordance with the new policies, his concern with the morality of the nation was. From this period onward, the discussion of education, and particularly of women's education, was couched in terms of developing morality in students and, although this aspect has been overemphasised it affected the vocabulary and the rationalization of policy in government pronouncements on education, as much as it did in Naruse's work.

(27) Nagai op cit p.68.
(28) Passin op cit p.85.

(29) It is easy to overestimate the practical effects of this stress on moral education. During the 1880's, there were, in fact, far fewer hours devoted to morals than to arithmetic or Japanese language. By the turn of the century, when the school system had stabilised and the emphasis on moral training was at least as great, if not more so, than in the 1880's, the subject occupied two hours each week in the timetable for elementary schools. As the number of classroom hours increased with each year spent at school, the proportion of time devoted to moral instruction decreased. (Kikuchi, D. "The Spirit of Japanese Education, with Special Reference to Methods of Moral Instruction ..." in Sadler, M.E. (ed.) Moral Instruction and Training in Schools: Report of an International Inquiry Lond.,Longmans, 1908, vol. 2, ch.23,pp328-338.)
The system was not really stabilised until the advent of Mori Arinori as Minister for Education. In 1886 he promulgated a series of ordinances which established the basic structure of the education system that was to be retained until 1945. While Mori's attitudes toward women seem to have been much in advance of those current in Japanese society, he was hampered in any reforms he might have wished to make by the stringent curtailment of government expenditure imposed by Matsukata's financial policies. While the worst of the financial crisis seems to have been over by the late 1880's, it may well be that Mori's hand was stayed still further by the deep-seated conservatism in society toward women's education.

A speech made by Mori on the occasion of a graduation ceremony for students of the Tokyo Kōtō Jogakkō in 1888 reveals that his own attitudes were similar to those that became current in at least the upper levels of society only in the mid-1890's and later. Mori spoke of the possibility of women teaching, claiming that they had special talents for this and were "natural teachers". He then went on to make a forceful statement on the value of educated women to the state and of the importance of developing women's education - because the state depended on its men and women equally, the education of women was at least as important as that of men. Women, Mori felt, should have some recognition paid to their status and importance to society. In phrases rather reminiscent of Naruse's argument in Onna no Tsutome, he told the graduating class that as mothers and wives, their appearance and conduct would have a deep and wide influence on the whole society and that, as the education of

(30) Hall. I.P.Mori Arinori op cit p.409.

(31) The reasons for this financial stringency, and its effects in restoring stability to the government's finances, are sketched in Fairbank, John K., E.O. Reischauer and A.M. Craig East Asia: the Modern Transformation Tokyo, Tuttle, 1965, pp.257-259.
women was advanced, so too would be the civilization of the nation. (32)

Despite these sentiments, the Chugakkōrei (Middle School Ordinance) of 1886 took no notice of girls' secondary education at all, leaving it to the discretion of the prefectures. In 1882 the Mombushō had indicated that girls' higher education should be developed by the prefectures, with the aim of fitting girls of wealthier families for home life. However, the only initiative taken by the government itself was the addition, in 1882 of a girls' higher school to the Tōkyō Joshi Shihan Gakkō. This offered a five year course "taught with the view of producing refined and gentle women, the principles of morality being taken as the basis of instruction". (33) By 1885 there were one government and eight or nine prefectural kōtōjogakkō with a total of 616 students. (34) The only other avenues of higher education were the government normal schools, training elementary school teachers, and the Higher Normal School in Tokyo which, from 1885, offered a four year course to women who had completed two years of ordinary normal school, (35) training them as teachers at the higher elementary and secondary school levels.

Thus the situation as it affected girls up to the mid-1890's was stabilised by 1886. It was characterized by highly restricted opportunities of secondary education for both boys and girls, with that education available being general and ethically oriented, one very narrow academic


(34) NKKH vol.3,p.1146.

(35) There was a three year course for men who had graduated from ordinary normal school.
track which completely excluded girls, few alternatives available in technical or vocational education and the general abdication of responsibility by the government in the field of girls' secondary education. The chief distinction between boys and girls made by the government up to the 1890's was in the field of education after elementary school. Even though it was accepted that very few boys would be educated at the secondary level and, although the government was unwilling or unable to assume financial responsibility for this education, it took care that the standards and type of education received were covered by official regulations, in the case of the chūgakkō, and that it had direct control over the higher levels.

The rising percentage of girls attending elementary school and the proliferation of mission schools for girls, many of them offering work above the elementary level, in the 1870's and 1880's, indicates an increasingly favourable attitude to the general education of girls, at least among the financially well-off classes. By 1887, it has been estimated, there were seven public (prefectural) kōtōjogakkō with 1,235 pupils and 11 private schools of this standard with 1,128 pupils, that is, fewer than the total estimated enrolment of 1,748 pupils in 1879. The figures for the period from 1888 to 1894 show the rise and then decline of interest in women's education, and its resurgence in the public schools around the time of the Sino-Japanese War.

(36) From 15.14% in 1873 to 36.46% in 1892. (Gaskusei Hachijunenshi p.1036).

(37) Burton, M.E. The Education of Women in Japan New York, F.H. Revell, (c. 1914), p.59 reported great financial and moral support being offered at this time by the "samurai and wealthy merchant classes" to girls' education.

(38) The actual standard in 1879 was even more uncertain than it was in the late 1880's, so that this may not be a real decline; it was certainly no great advance.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Private Schools</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>Pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,678</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>1891</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,343</td>
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<td>1,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,742</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 211 graduates of these schools in 1889 had become 476 graduates in 1891 and 659 in 1893. \(^{(39)}\) In addition to these recognised schools, there were various Christian and other private schools whose standards varied considerably. Some were craft or "finishing" schools, while others offered a high standard of education, but concentrated on one major subject, often English language, and were thus in a different category from the standard kötōjogakkō. For example, in 1888, there were 5,323 girls in various schools which concentrated on Japanese and Chinese language studies, 4,397 in handicraft schools and a further 2,974 girls in English language schools, the last of these categories probably being mission schools. By 1891, there were 5,492 girls in the Chinese and Japanese schools, 5,504 in handicraft schools and 1,381 in schools classed as "calligraphy schools". No figures are given for English schools, which is probably an indication of the effects of the reaction against Westernization in the late 1880's and early 1890's. \(^{(40)}\) The lack of regulations governing girls' schools up to 1895 means that the calculation

\(^{(39)}\) These figures are taken from NKKH vol.4, pp.264 and 279.

\(^{(40)}\) NKKH vol.4, p.270. It should be noted that in the preceding year, 1890, there were 2,495 girls in English language schools.
of how many girls were receiving what standard of education above the elementary level is almost impossible. There was much more education of girls beyond the elementary level than the numbers of girls going to the schools recognised as kōtōjōgakko would indicate. The figures just cited show that, in the late 1880's and early 1890's, there were about twelve to thirteen thousand girls, and possibly even more, receiving some education after elementary school. However, it is obvious that this education was, as Naruse complained, extremely specialised, and in no way equal to that received by boys in the government middle schools.

3. IDEALS FOR GIRLS' EDUCATION

Despite the lack of government supervision, it is clear that some consensus of opinion had evolved between both the public and the private schools, and in society generally, about the things that were of most importance in girls' education. Despite the recurring charges of excessive Westernization levelled at the mission schools, undoubtedly with some justification, Verbeck noted in 1882 that "the missionaries have steadily kept in view the idea that they were educating the girls to become good wives and mothers in Japan", (41) and much of their education was directed to moral ends, an emphasis that agreed in principle with the attitude of the government toward all education below the (boys') middle school level. The inculcation of morality and of a peculiarly feminine disposition was taken very seriously as being the main aim of girls' education and formed the basis of the Emperor's criticism of the appointment of a military man, Tani Kanjō, who was President of the Peers' School, as President of the new Peeress' School in 1885:

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(41) Verbeck op cit p.73.
"Though it would be premature to pass judgment on the appointment of Tani as President, women's education is not the same as men's. The position of President of the Girls' School would have been more appropriately filled by a person of calm, rather than active disposition. Women's education has heretofore been conducted in a vigorous manner but the bad effects of this are numerous. Therefore, a person of greater composure should have been selected to direct the education of girls."(42)

The public kōtōgakko tended to follow the pronouncements of the government in relation to the boys' middle schools on matters of morality, although giving these pronouncements a specifically feminine emphasis, of course, but there is no doubt that through most of this period, the practices of the mission schools for girls and their enunciation of ideals of education for girls were influential as well. Much of what the Christians said during the 1880's seemed to fit the requirements of modern Japan rather better than did the strictures of Kaibara Ekken.

In the late 1880's and early 1890's there was, however, a general public reaction against some of the extremes of Westernization that had been seen in the earlier period. As Shively has so well demonstrated, this reaction was not simply the product of pique at the lack of progress, or rather its direction, in the treaty negotiations. (43) Although there were clear indications of reaction after the furore over these in 1887, the reasons for the reactions were complex and by no means uniform throughout the nation. It has been reported by most missionary sources of the time and by other sources as well that the results of this reaction were felt particularly keenly in the field of girls' education. The lack of mention of girls' English education by 1891

(42) Nagai op cit p.45. The Peeress' School had been the Girls' Department of the Peers' School, but was established as a separate school in 1885. Both Tani and his successor Ōtori Keisuke appear to have been President of both the Peers' and Peeress' School.

(alluded to above) is almost certainly an indicator of this. While there may have been a "boom" in Christian education in the mid-1880's, it does seem that the linking of the reported drastic decline of the late 1880's and early 1890's to the uproar over the treaty negotiations is an oversimplification of the situation. The steady rise in the number of schools and pupils during the period, especially in the private schools, reached a peak in 1889, two years after the failure of treaty negotiations, and only slowly declined during 1890 and 1893. Only in 1894 in the private schools registered as Kotojogakko did the number of schools and pupils really plummet. (See preceding Table) It is not inconceivable that the decline of the early 1890's owed something to the slowing down of the 1880's economic boom as well as to rabid feelings against Westernization.

The developments at Niigata Jogakko have been used by one Japanese source to demonstrate the results of the call for kokusui hōzōn (preservation of national characteristics) which followed the failure of the treaty negotiations in 1887. The school, which had been founded largely through Naruse's efforts late in 1886, had 50 pupils in 1887, rising to 60 in 1888 and a peak of 73 in 1889. In 1890, while Naruse was still connected with the school, but after the incident with Uchimura Kanzō at the Hokuetsu Gakkan (its "brother school"), the numbers dropped to 33. By 1891 there were 31 pupils, in 1892, 25 and, after this had fallen to eight in the following year, the school closed. The isolation of Niigata could have accounted for the relative lateness of the reaction.

(44) From 1884 to 1889 some 13 new girls' schools, most apparently offering some post-elementary education, were opened under the auspices of American church groups, for example. (Schwantes, R.S. American influence op cit p.195).
(45) See my chapter 1.
(46) NKKH vol.4, p.351.
but it does offer other interpretations. It is clear that there was, in this period, an increasing awareness among Japanese of the desirability of preserving their own national characteristics rather than simply trying to adopt Western ways. The treaty negotiations doubtless added fuel to this feeling. However, there is nothing to indicate that irate parents stepped in and took their daughters away from Christian schools at the first opportunity. It seems more likely that they were less keen to send daughters who were just starting school to the mission schools if there were other schools available, and it is possible that it took specific incidents involving some affront to Japanese pride, as did the confrontation between the missionaries and Uchimura at Niigata, to cause the removal, in any great numbers, of girls from any school. The decline that had become apparent by 1894 among the private mission schools which were recognised as kōtojogakkō may owe something to the uncertainty within the schools themselves over the attitude they should take to the Imperial Rescript on Education. The role of Christians like Uchimura Kanzō and Okumura Teijirō, who had refused to bow to the Rescript brought the problem to public notice in 1891 and 1892.

The general climate of opinion had clearly swung away from Westernization in girls' education by the mid-1880's but, after the initial drop in the numbers of girls' being educated at recognised kōtojogakkō in 1894 (the numbers went from 3,020 in 1893 down to 2,314 in 1894), there was a steady rise. In 1895 there were 2,897 girls at kōtojogakkō, 4,152 in 1896 and 5,899 in 1897. Despite criticism, among conservatives, of general education for girls on the ground that it was too similar to that for boys and thus ruined girls for their future roles as wives and mothers, and the airing of general complaints of the sort that Naruse pointed out were common to all countries, most of the reaction was against Westernism rather than the idea of education.

(47) ibid pp.197-198.
for girls. It was clear by the mid-1890's that any enunciation of ideals for girls' education would have to have, as its basis, specifically Japanese rather than Western aims.

4. WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN THE 1890's

Consequently, when Naruse returned to Japan in 1894, he found a marked decline in attendance at the girls' mission schools, accompanied by only a very slight rise at the government girls' high schools, considerable opposition to the Westerizing aspects of girls' education and, it seems, a consequent strengthening by association of opposition on other grounds to girls' education. (48) Girls' education was not so much in outright decline as stationary after a period of steady progress. Naruse's interview with Ito Hirobumi and discussions with friends must have convinced him that 1894 was not the year to launch a campaign for girls education beyond the kotojogakko level. The associated problems of raising finance for such a project in the atmosphere immediately preceding a war, and probably his own lack of private income, caused him to accept the offer of the Headmastership at Baika Jogakko and to concentrate on writing a book expounding his beliefs. This work, Joshi Kyoiku, was published in February, 1896, at an opportune moment.

The Sino-Japanese War which began in mid-1894 was over by April 1895 and, despite the bitterness caused by the three power intervention which forced Japan to withdraw from the Liaotung Peninsula, the outcome of the war created a feeling of optimism and confidence within Japan. As a result of the service of women in nursing and industry during the war many of the more general objections to women's education seemed to lose their force. The Regulations of 1895 for kotojogakko and the Ordinances of 1899 have been traced by Japanese sources directly to this. "The

(48) As I have indicated, this opposition, while vociferous, seems not to have had much effect.
whole nation began to realise more than ever the importance of education and how great was the influence of mothers and wives who had so much to do with bringing about the happy result of the war."(49)

In 1895 the government, with Prince Salonji Kimmochi as Minister for Education, issued the first regulations dealing specifically with the form and content of girls' education above elementary school level. The Kotojogakkō Kisoku (Girls' High School Regulations) provided for a standard course of six years (one year being optional according to local conditions) after four years of elementary school. (50) It was firmly established that this was to be general education - the subjects to be taken were ethics, national language, foreign languages (usually English), history, geography, mathematics, science, household matters, sewing, calligraphy, music, and physical education, with electives chosen from education, Chinese literature and crafts. Moreover, this training was intended for those of the middle classes and above who would be fitted by it for home life, although a few would be expected to go on to the only higher education available, the women's normal schools. (51) The government followed this in 1899 with the Kotojogakkōrei (Girls' High School Ordinance) which required each prefecture to establish a kotojogakko with a four year course, with an optional two year higher course, the entrance qualifications being two years of higher elementary school (that is, six years of elementary school in all). This Ordinance made clear the assumptions on which the system was founded. The aims of girls' education at this level were to "cultivate a refined and proper disposition and a nature which is gentle and pure, together with imparting


(50) Comparing this with the boys' schooling, which was six years of elementary school, followed by four years of middle school (chugakkō), and, for the very few, four years of higher middle school (kotochugakkō) and then academic or professional training, the girls' high school was, in its last four years, the equivalent of only the boys' ordinary middle school.

(51) The class basis of higher education seems to have been widely accepted. (See NKKH vol.4, p.343).
that knowledge of the arts and sciences and those skills necessary for
the life of the middle classes and above, ... [and] for the sake of
cultivating [the qualities of] wise mothers and good wives (kemboryosai)."(52)

That this approach represented the prevailing attitude of reasonable
men in the late 1890's and afterward, and why this was so, was indicated
by Baron Kikuchi Dairoku, Minister of Education from 1901 to 1903 in a
speech of 1907 to the Japan Society of London. It seems worthwhile to
quote extracts from the report of this speech at length as it makes clear
the motivation behind the approach of the government to girls' education,
an approach that was shared in large part by Naruse. After Kikuchi had
given a history of girls' education up to the middle of the Meiji period
he went on to say:

"Yet, slowly but surely, social conditions are changing with the
introduction of occidental civilization; our idea of woman's
sphere is widening, the spirit, I trust, remains the same, but
the form must change. Our ideal of woman's avocation remains
the same, and the essentials of good wife and wise mother cannot
change, but outward manifestations will change. ... [in the present
conditions of social change and uncertainty] ... there is a very
great danger for society; the young, impatient of what they
consider unreasonable restraints imposed upon them by the old,
are apt to break away from all control, and work great harm, not
only to themselves, but to society. The only means to prevent
such unhappy catastrophes is to give such an education to the
rising generation of women as will enable them to advance in line
with men under the new condition of things, and at the same time
to appreciate all that is valuable and worthy to be preserved in the
old ideals. Such had been the object kept in view in framing the
present system of female education. In a word, to fit girls to
be good wives and wise mothers under the new conditions, proper
helpmates, and worthy companions of the men of Meiji, noble
mothers to bring up future generations of Japanese.(53)

Though the expression of these sentiments may well have been influenced by
Naruse's work, it is clear that the further development of the "good
wife, wise mother" ideal paralleled the expansion of education above the
elementary level for girls and that the words of Kikuchi may be taken as
representative of more advanced thought of the late 1890's. (54)

(52) ibid p.616.
(53) Kikuchi, D. "Female Education in Japan" Japan Society, London
Transactions and Proceedings no.7, 1907, p.430.
(54) See NKKH vol. 4, pp: 1051-1054:"Ryōsaikemboshugi to kōtōjogakkō"op cit.
During the later 1890's the education of girls and the position of women generally were much discussed. In 1898 Fukuzawa Yukichi published his series of articles, Shin Onna Daigaku (A New "Greater Learning for Women"), whose suggestions, radical though they seemed, in effect envisaged making women better off within their traditional sphere. But, given these limitations, there were many advances in this period. The amount and extent of girls' education advanced rapidly. In 1895 the 15 public and private kotojogakko had 2,897 pupils; by 1897 this had jumped to 26 schools with 5,899 pupils, and by 1900 there were 53 schools with 11,984 students. There had, in addition, been a great increase in the number of girls receiving vocational and craft education and, although these schools were generally outside the range of education with which Naruse was most concerned, this and the greater proportion of girls attending elementary school testified to the new enthusiasm for girls' education after 1895. A similar rise was seen in the normal schools where the 6,583 men and 759 women of 1895 rose to 13,543 men and 2,096 women by 1900; the higher normal schools, the top level of education available to women, had in 1895, 203 men and 100 women and in 1900, 480 men and 323 women.

Another feature of this period is the loss of position of the

(55) ibid p.279.
(56) The Role of Education op cit p.74.
(57) In 1894, 77.14% of boys and 44.07% of school-age girls were attending elementary school; in 1896 this rose to 79.00% and 47.53% respectively; by 1900, it was 90.55% and 71.73%. (Gakusei Hachijunenshi p.1036).
(58) The Role of Education pp.96 and 100. The greater parity of numbers at the highest level of normal schooling can be explained by considering the situation of teachers within the schools. The ordinary normal schools trained teachers for elementary schools, whose classes were almost all mixed. While it was deemed suitable for male teachers to teach mixed classes and desirable that they should teach boys, the idea of women teaching boys above the very lowest grades was frowned upon. At the higher normal schools teachers were prepared for the secondary schools where the classes were not mixed and at which level it was held, women should be in charge of classes of girls. With the projected increase in government secondary schools for girls, the demand for trained women teachers for this level was, in 1895, about to rise considerably and, by 1900, was fast equaling the demand for male teachers.
Christian and other private schools in relation to the government schools. The decline in mission education in the mid-1890's had been made irreversible by the government's move into the field of women's education. In the boys' schools, many of the privileges attached to attendance at middle school (postponement of conscription, and eligibility for the government higher middle schools) were withdrawn from those schools which gave religious instruction. While these measures did not have much force against the girls' schools, which had no need of such privileges, they did mark the determination of the government to control education and reflected a distrust and dislike of Western, especially Christian, teaching in society at large, (59) and can only have helped accentuate the trend toward government control of girls' education. The mission schools had to cope with the problem of gaining official recognition in order to attract students at all levels of schooling except the post-kōtōjogakko level. Even at this level, they faced increasing competition from schools which were granted recognition as semmon gakkō (special schools) after 1903. (60) At the time when Naruse began to seek support for the founding of a women's university, it was becoming apparent that government recognition was a valuable thing to have even in the field of women's education. It was equally apparent that there was no place provided, within the system already established by the government, for an institution of the type that Naruse wished to found.


5. **PLANS FOR A "UNIVERSITY"**

Having sketched the situation of education for girls up to the time of the founding of the university in 1901, we can now go back to deal briefly with the ideas that Naruse had about the structure of the institution he wished to found, and then go on to detail the steps that he took in order to gain support and raise finance for this plan.

In *Joshi Kyoiku*, Naruse approached the problem of education in fairly general terms, without giving detailed plans of the type of university he hoped to found. Furthermore, despite the fact that most of his book is devoted to the sort of education needed immediately below the university level, there was, in view of the 1895 Regulations, no need to detail the courses to be offered at recognised girls' high schools. Therefore, Naruse confined himself for the most part to the question of what the proper emphases were that should be made within the established system, and to questions of attitude. Much of his discussion can be taken as applying to university education for women as well. Even at the tertiary level, where there was no guide as to courses and content, at only one point in his argument did he sketch out his idea of the departments of the future university and the subjects that should be studied by those enrolled in each department. (61)

This plan reflects very clearly Naruse's belief that the departments established should be highly relevant to women's needs and that within these should be offered subjects which would result in a balance being maintained between the demands of specialisation and the need to fulfil more general needs. The departments he envisaged were:

- Home Economics, offering as subjects family education, the study of social conditions, economics, family hygiene, nursing, home beautification, psychology, child studies, natural history, food chemistry, physiology, general hygiene and practical work;

(61) *Joshi Kyoiku* pp.89-90 "The Characteristics and Departments of the University that should be Established."
Pedagogy, offering history of education, education systems, women's education, literature of education, sociology, practical psychology, physiology, pedagogy, home economics education, literature and practical work;

Literature, offering Japanese literature, Chinese literature, English literature, history, history of philosophy, pedagogy, home economics education, psychology and practical exercises;

Music, offering music, musical instruments, discussion of music, history of music, Japanese literature and English literature.

When these departments were fully established, Naruse felt that the university could go on to add such less-essential departments as those of Physics, Chemistry, Commerce, Physical Education and Art. It is not clear from this whether Naruse intended that girls enrolled in a particular department should take, at one time or other, all of the courses offered or should make a decision on the basis of their experience in the kōtōjogakkō. The latter is more likely, but it is certain that he expected that all girls would take at least some subjects that would be of direct benefit to them in their home life.

Later in 1896, after the success of Joshi Kyōiku, Naruse and Aso published a short pamphlet, The aim in establishing a Japanese University for Women, (62) in which was detailed the overall structure of the institution in diagrammatic form. It was to consist of a main school (honkō) and an attached (fuzoku) school. The attached school was to contain all the grades below that of the university, which was the main school, and was to be divided into two parts. A general (futsu) section would contain the kindergarten, for children from three to six years, a six-year elementary school and a five-year girls' high school course, offering the compulsory subjects and a variety of optional ones. The other part of the attached school was to be a semmōn (specialised) section,

which would offer three-year courses in a commercial department (しょうぎょうぶ), an industrial department (こうぎょうぶ) or a nursing science department (かんがくぶ) to those who had graduated from the elementary school. These courses did not lead on to higher education. For those who graduated from the girls' high school, at seventeen or eighteen years of age, however, there was the opportunity of entering the main school of the institution. This school would offer a three-year course, that is, potentially the equivalent of a university first degree course, but actually more like the equivalent of the boys' higher middle school course, because of the limitations imposed by the standard of the lower courses for girls. Naruse hoped that the departments of this institution would be Home Economics, Literature, Pedagogy (divided into a literature and a science section), Physical education, Music and Fine arts, something which had not been emphasised in Joshi Kyōiku.

It is clear that Naruse's focus, and that of his supporters, was on the university rather than on its attached schools and it is this aspect of his scheme that attracted the support that followed. Naruse felt that it was desirable to establish the different sections of the institution at the same time and estimated that he would need three hundred thousand yen to do so. In order to attract financial support, he first turned to those public figures who could provide him with the prestige that his movement would need in order to succeed. At no time did Naruse consider going to sources of finance outside Japan so that his school had the attraction of having no financial ties with church groups or foreign interests of any sort.

After Naruse's return in January, 1894, he first went to Kyoto to discuss his plans with his old friend, Aso Shōzō, and apparently received encouragement from him. In March 1894 he became Head of Baika Jogakkō, which post he retained until the summer of 1896 when he retired to devote himself to the task of fund-raising. In May 1894, while Naruse was
making a tour of inspection of many of the leading girls' high schools, both
public and private, in order to discover what provisions were made for
physical education, dormitory life and different teaching methods,(63) he
visited Ito Hirobumi, then Prime Minister, from whom he received encourag-
ment for his scheme. (64) It should be noted that this was not Ito's
first introduction to this field. In 1886, at the height of the craze
for Westernization, he had donated money for a girls' school, which became
in 1888 the Tokyo Jogakkan (Tokyo Girls' Academy). It is reported that
"life inside was that of the upper-middle classes of England. (65)

The circumstances of 1894 indicated that no immediate action was
possible and the rest of that year and 1895 seems to have been devoted to
the writing of Joshi Kyoiku and the publicising of his plan in Osaka.

That Naruse should have chosen Osaka rather than Tokyo as the site
for this new school is understandable. He had strong personal ties with
Osaka but had, apparently, no connections with Tokyo at all, so that the
chances of rapid progress in Osaka seemed much brighter. In a letter
to Aso in June 1895 Naruse pointed out the great wealth of Osaka and its
position as a centre of industry. (66) It was by no means a centre of
cultural or educational activity however, and Naruse seems to have seen
the new women's university as the natural centre of a movement for women's
education and for a general cultural flowering. (67) Although almost

(63) He visited Meiji Gakuin, Joshi Gakuin, the Tokyo Koto Joshi Shihan
Gakko (Higher Women's Normal School), the girls' section of the Peers'
School, Tokyo Jogakko and others. (NJD p.32).
(64) Ibid p.26.
(65) NKKH vol.4, p.345.
(66) Osaka had risen in the mid-1880's from what had seemed to be its
economic ruin. The revival of industrial and commercial activity had
resulted in a steep rise in population - from 290,000 in 1878 to 340,000
in 1887 and 750,000 in 1897 - and the general prosperity which was the
accompaniment of the Sino-Japanese War further accentuated this. Yazaki,
T. Social change and the City in Japan, San Francisco, Japan Publications
immediately after the publication of Joshi Kyōiku it became clear that the university for women was going to attract national support, not until May, 1900, was it decided to make Tokyo its site.

6. MORAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Following the appearance of Joshi Kyōiku, Naruse began his campaign to collect the three hundred thousand yen that he had considered would be needed to provide the land, the buildings, and a fund for investment for the university. This sum was very large by the standards of the day; it was estimated that "in all the wealthy families of Osaka there would not have been more than ten men born to [an inheritance of] more than one hundred thousand yen". (68) The first large donations came in mid-1896, from Naruse's supporters in Osaka.

The movement for the establishment of the university can conveniently be divided into two periods of activity, separated by a period, from mid-1897 to 1899, when fund-raising slowed markedly. The supporters enlisted by Naruse at the very beginning of the movement were Osaka-based, and it was from them that the introductions came enabling Naruse to gain the support of some of the most influential political and financial figures in Meiji society. The first person to whom Naruse turned was an influential Osaka figure, Utsumi Tadakatsu (1843-1905). A former Choshū samurai (Aso says that he was born in the same region of Choshū as was Naruse), Utsumi had many contacts with other Choshū men in power, particularly Ito Hirobumi, and had since 1869 been in turn Governor of Nagasaki, Kanagawa and Osaka. He was to go on to be Governor of Kyoto and was elevated to the peerage in 1899 and appointed Minister of Home Affairs in 1902. (69) Although at first doubtful about Naruse's scheme, he eventually gave his approval and provided a second introduction and a

(68) ibid p.28.
(69) ibid p.29 and Aso op cit Part 2, p.83.
recommendation to Ito. Doubtless the post-war atmosphere and the current enthusiasm for women's education, as well as Naruse's relationship to him as a former Choshu samurai, helped him in coming to this decision. It is reported that his wife was an early supporter of Naruse's ideas, and this may also have helped.\(^{(70)}\) From Utsumi's support, and through his introduction to Ito, came much of Naruse's backing in the political world. Ito introduced him, in 1896, to Prince Saionji Kimmochi (1849-1940), who was Minister of Education from October 1894 to September 1896. Saionji saw the project from the first as being a potentially great benefit to the nation.\(^{(71)}\)

Saionji, in turn, introduced Naruse to Prince Konoe Atsumaro (1863-1904), who was to become Chairman of the first meeting of the supporters of the university in 1897. Konoe was the Head of a noble family with close connections with the Imperial family. After five years of study overseas, he had returned to Japan in 1890, and immediately taken a seat in the House of Peers. Konoe has been described as being, at that time, "a vibrant and popular political figure of great promise".\(^{(72)}\) He held strong views on the role of the aristocracy in helping the development of harmony and consensus in Japanese society and became a member of Cabinet in 1894. Konoe took the post of Principal of the Peers' school (but not of the Peeress' School) in 1895 and is reported to have been particularly interested in the education of the children, male and female, of noble families, (again an indication of the class of girls whom Naruse hoped to enrol in his university) and to have placed great weight on the importance of educating women for motherhood.\(^{(73)}\) His summing up of his approach to women's education in 1898 is significant, in that it indicates some of the reasons for the appeal of Naruse's proposals.

\(^{(70)}\) NJD p. 46.

\(^{(71)}\) ibid p. 32. He described Joshi Kyōiku as an "always moral" work.


\(^{(73)}\) NJD p. 33.
"With regard to the higher education of women what I have particularly in my mind may be expressed by one word, Harmony."

The education of women would lessen the prevailing discord between the sexes in Japan, but must not be carried to excess.

"Although I am a warm supporter of women's right, no one would find any sympathy in me for any plan which tends to carry her away from the domain of the law of nature, making her forget her inborn instinct, and abandon gentle ways and loveliness." (74)

Konoe's wife is also listed as one of Naruse's earliest supporters. (75)

From Itō, too, came an introduction to Ōkuma Shigenobu who had read and been impressed by Joshi Kyōiku, (76) and was to become Chairman of the executive committee of the promoters after the resignation of Prince Konoe. Ōkuma's longstanding interest in education had been shown in his founding of the Tōkyō Semmon Gakkō, later Waseda University, in 1882 and his concern extended to the education of women which he saw as, not only vital to Japan's progress as a nation, but also something to which women were entitled equally with men. (77)

By the end of 1896 then, Naruse had the public support of several notable political figures, but these were not the only people from whom he sought and obtained aid. As was mentioned above, the first large contributions to his cause came from Osaka. At about the same time as Naruse's approach to Utsumi he contacted other Osaka notables connected with the business rather than the political world. The first was a wealthy farmer, Dogura Shozaburō, whose daughter had been at Baika Jogakkō.

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(75) NJD p.46.
(76) ibid p.33. It appears that Naruse was also recommended to Ōkuma by others, including Viscount Shibusawa Eiichi, Morimura Ichizaemon and Shimada Saburō.
(77) Lebra, J. "Ōkuma Shigenobu: Modernization and the West" in Japan's Modern Century (A special issue of Monumenta Nipponica) Tokyo, Sophia Univ., 1968, pp.27-40. That Ōkuma had other interests in common with Naruse is shown by his concluding paragraphs in Fifty Years of New Japan op cit pp.574-575, where he speaks of his concern for the harmonization of East and West, and also in his remarks on Japan's role in this in "A Japanese Statesman's View of Christianity in Japan" in International Review of Missions vol.1, 1912, pp.654-658.
when Naruse had been teaching there and who was in substantial agreement with Naruse about the need for more education for women. He suggested that Naruse seek the aid of individuals, in particular, Mrs. Hirooka Asako, Baron Sumitomo Kichizaemon and Kitabatake Harufusa.

A younger sister of Mitsui Takayasu, Hirooka Asako (1849-1919) had been married into a wealthy Osaka family which, because of the profligacy of her husband, came close to bankruptcy in the early 1870's. She took control over the family finances and moved into new business enterprises, including banking, restoring the family fortunes and becoming known as an outstanding business woman. Having become convinced of the worth of Naruse's cause by reading Joshi Kyoiku (three times while she was touring Kyūshū) Hirooka became one of his most enthusiastic and generous supporters. (78) It is likely that the very generous support given to Naruse by the Mitsui family - it donated the land in Tokyo on which the university was built, provided a house for Naruse's use every summer in Karuizawa and gave money for dormitories as well as for the main university buildings - can be ascribed in part to the influence of Mrs. Hirooka.

Sumitomo Kichizaemon (1864-1926), to whom Naruse was also recommended by Utsumi and Saionji Kimmochi, (79) became, with Baron Shibusawa, one of the treasurers of the first Executive Committee and a member of the Building Committee of the Association of Promoters of the University. The President of the wealthy Sumitomo enterprises, he was a younger brother of Saionji Kimmochi and had been adopted by the Sumitomo family in 1892.

The third person to whom Naruse turned, Kitabatake Harufusa (1834-1921), was the President of the Court of Appeal at Osaka, and had strong links with Ōkuma. He too supported Naruse, but does not appear to have

(78) NJD p.30 and De Forest Woman and the Leaven op cit p.151.
(79) Aso op cit Part 2, p.84.
been as active as many of the other public figures to whom he turned.

From these first valuable introductions came more both in the
depolitical and business world, including one to Itagaki Taisuke, founder of
the Jiyūtō, and to others who took a more active part than did Itagaki in
the movement, particularly Morimura Ichizaemon (1839-1919), Baron Iwasaki
Yanosuke (1852-1908) and Shibusawa Eiichi (1840-1931). Morimura, who also
had strong ties with Ōkuma, \( \text{(80)} \) began his career as purveyor to the army
after the Restoration and had gone on to found a silk-exporting company and
the Morimura Bank. He proved to be one of Naruse's most enthusiastic
supporters, giving five hundred yen at the beginning of the movement \( \text{(81)} \)
and later founding a memorial fund to commemorate his son, who had died in
the Sino-Japanese War, the profits from its investment going to Nihon Joshi
Daigakkō. Although at the time he was not a Christian, like Hirooka Asako,
he was converted late in life and devoted his last few years to evangelism. \( \text{(82)} \)
In 1912 he was associated with Naruse in the founding of the Concordia
movement.

Iwasaki, later a member of the Building Committee, was the younger
brother of the founder of Mitsubishi and a director of the firm. A
Governor of the Bank of Japan, he was created Baron in 1896. He seems to
have associated himself with the support of causes that he deemed to be of
benefit to Japan as when in 1905 he joined Prince Katsura (Prime Minister
from December 1905 to January 1906) in paying the expenses of Kozaki
Hiromichi when he went to preach to the Japanese settled on America's West

\( \text{(80)} \) NJD p.34.

\( \text{(81)} \) ibid p.35.

\( \text{(82)} \) Gleason, G. What shall I think of Japan? New York, Macmillan, 1921,
chapter 12, "Can Japanese be Christians?", pp.264-268 describes the
conversion of both Hirooka and Morimura.
Coast, although Iwasaki was apparently not a Christian himself.

Shibusawa Eiichi, described as "the most spectacular of the peasant-born entrepreneurs", apparently needed some persuasion to give his support but, once given, he proved to be a most valuable ally, becoming one of the treasurers of the first Executive Committee and a member of the Building Committee and donating a good deal of money to the university. It is reported that he was very helpful in obtaining the support of the Mitsui family and of Fujita Denzaburo. His association with Naruse and the university was a long-lasting one. He helped in the founding of the Concordia Movement in 1912 and eventually became the third President of the university, after Naruse and Aso.

Thus by the time of the first meeting of the "Association of Promoters of the University" in April 1897, a start had been made on raising funds and the support of the most influential and wealthiest men of the nation had been obtained.

However, although some of these influential people had offered Naruse encouragement at the very beginning of the campaign, before the publication of Joshi Kyōiku, most came in after this date, when a network of personal contacts and introductions had been established by Naruse. The


(84) Fairbank, J.K. et al East Asia op cit p.254.

(85) Aso says that "repeated interviews and meetings" were necessary before Shibusawa was convinced of the worth of the project. Aso op cit Part 2, p.84.

(86) NJD pp.34-35. Fujita (1841-1912), a businessman who had been born in Hagi, was the Chairman of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce and eventually donated ten thousand yen to the project. He is mentioned by Ogawa, G. in his The Conscription System in Japan New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1921, p.224 as the foremost among the merchants who profited by the sale of arms during the Satsuma Rebellion and again, with Barons Mitsui and Iwasaki, during the Russo-Japanese War.
compilers of the official history of the university have given a list of people whom they consider to have been the earliest of Naruse's supporters, that is, those who had shown an interest in the days before the publication of Joshi Kyōiku. (87) As might be expected, many of them (most of the men listed) are Osaka people; rather more surprising however, and significant in view of the men who became the most generous and influential supporters, is the number of wives of important men listed here. The compilers indicate, for example, that Mrs. Dogura Hisako, rather than her husband, first showed an interest in this proposal. This appears to have been the case also with the wife of Shibusawa Eiichi, with Baroness Iwasaki, Baroness Kitabatake, Marchioness Ito, Marchioness Hachisuka, (88) Countess Kabayama (89) , Princess Konoe, Marchioness Matsukata (90) , the wife of Ōkuma Shigenobu, Princess Ōyama (91) , who continued to support the project independently, attending Sponsors Meetings herself, and Mrs., later Baroness, Utsumi. It seems likely that there was a genuine enthusiasm among these women for the idea of higher education for women as it was presented by Naruse. As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, although there had been a great increase in the number of girls attending schools at

(87) NJD pp.46-47.

(88) Her husband, Marquis Hachisuka Mochiaki, Minister for Education in 1896-97, became a member of the first Executive Committee.

(89) Count Kabayama provided money for the building of dormitories at the school.

(90) Her husband, Matsukata Masayoshi, was Prime Minister in 1891-92 and 1896-98 and provided nominal, rather than active, support.

(91) NJD p.46. Princess Ōyama had been sent to America in 1871 with Tsuda Umeko. She had studied at a school in New York State and on her return to Japan became active in such things as the Japan Red Cross Society, the Volunteer Nurses' Association and the Patriotic Women's Association.
all levels and an outburst of enthusiasm for girls' education in the mid-
1890's, the only places at which girls could gain any sort of higher
education were in the normal schools established by the prefectures and in
the one higher normal school established by the government in Tokyo. As
well, particularly since the reaction to overt Westernization of the late
1880's and the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890, there had been much
concern that whatever education was available to women should inculcate the
principles of morality and, while being modern, should not be overwhelmingly
Western in style. Naruse's proposals fitted these requirements and could
thus be enthusiastically supported by those who believed in the advance of
women and who had been shown by the example of their Empress that an
interest in women's education was the sort of public-spirited behaviour
that was not only acceptable but desirable in women of their class. (92)

While there were thus good reasons and some precedent for the
actions of these women, it is unlikely that they would have supported
Naruse's project without the prior approval of their husbands. Indeed,
it is probably that it was considered politic to have them support the
movement first, giving their husbands time to see how much élite support
there was for Naruse's plans. Just as the Empress, in her previous support
for women's education, had not been acting on her own initiative, but
represented official rather than just personal encouragement, so too, did
these women signify more than their own interest by their support. The
only exceptions to this would have been Mrs. Hirooka and Princess Ōyama,
who were active in the movement and appear to have been following their
own inclinations in this.

(92) From the time of the founding of the Tōkyō Jogakkō in 1872, the
Empress had shown a consistent and open support for many educational
projects for women.
When we turn to Naruse's most active supporters, those who actually sat on the committees and donated the money, - for the most part the husbands of these women - it is clear that the idea of private support of projects of public benefit was already established by the mid-1890's. This continued well into the new century. It is no surprise to find, for example, Baron Iwasaki (the son of Naruse's supporter) and the House of Mitsui supporting a scheme to found a Buddhist university for women some thirty years after their first offer of aid to Naruse, (93) or to find Shibusawa the leading figure among a group of businessmen who provided funds in 1911 for Nitobe to make a good-will tour of America. (94) As Naruse made clear in Joshi Kyōiku and again at the first meeting of his supporters in 1897, the extension of higher education to women was something which he felt to be intimately connected with the development of the nation and of society generally. (95) No one concerned with the future of Japan and the sort of society that would develop in it could afford to ignore such an argument, and there is no question that men in public life in Japan at that time displayed an extremely strong identification with their country and were concerned above all with its future.

- 1897-1900 -

Having gained the commitment of these people to his plans, Naruse launched himself into hectic activity in publicising the project more widely and collecting funds. On 13th March, 1897, Naruse made a speech to the

(93) "Buddhist University for Girls", 'Note' in Young East, vol.2,1926-7, p.214.


(95) Hiratsuka op. cit p.221.
Imperial Education Association entitled "A Plan for Promoting Women's Education", the first of many such speeches over the next few years, and followed this with one at the first meeting of the "Association of Promoters of the University for Women" held at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo on 24th March 1897.

Prince Konoe chaired the meeting which was primarily concerned with publicising Naruse's plans and with means of obtaining finance. An Executive Committee was elected with Konoe as chairman and Shibusawa and Iwasaki as treasurers, with an advisory council composed of Ōkuma, Dogura, Mrs.Hirooka, Saionji, Hachisuka, Mochiaki (then Minister of Education), Utsumi, Baron Kubota Yuzuru and of course Naruse. The first meeting of this committee was held in May 1897 with the then Prime Minister, Matsukata Masayoshi, in attendance. Konoe resigned as chairman because of the pressure of work and Ōkuma was elected in his stead. Later in the month, on the 26th, the second public meeting of the Association, presided over by Ōkuma, was held in Osaka. The speakers included Ōkuma himself, Konoe and Itagaki Taisuke and the speeches given on this occasion were published in August as Lectures on Women's Education (Joshi Kyoiku Enzetsu). With this publication as well as public attendance at the two meetings and Naruse's lectures to various educational bodies, the scheme was well publicised by late 1897 and money had already been donated or promised.

(96) NJD p.45. Much of this section relies on NJD pp.36-73 and Chōsakushū pp.639-640. Other sources will be footnoted accordingly.

(97) Kubota began his career as Principal of the Hiroshima Normal School in 1874; in 1894 he was elevated to the peerage and after serving as Vice-minister, became Minister of Education in 1903.

(98) The term "Executive Committee" seems to have been used in the sources to refer to both the Committee and the Advisory Council. I shall use the term to cover both.

(99) This seems to have been the real reason for this. Konoe continued to show an interest in the project and attended the second public meeting in Osaka.
However, after this, came a period of stagnation, lasting well into 1898, during which fund-raising slowed down because of the post-war slump. There was also some generally expressed opposition to the idea of a university for women. (100)

During 1898 Aso resigned from his position at the Doshisha to become secretary to the movement and both Aso and Naruse moved to Tokyo and based their operations there. (101) At this stage it was still planned to establish the university in Osaka but it was clear, and had been since the first public meeting in Tokyo, that the tendency was to look toward Tokyo as the natural centre for this sort of enterprise.

By the end of 1898, one hundred thousand yen, one-third of the estimated amount required, had been collected, enough perhaps to establish the university but not the attached schools. With the improvement of the economic climate came a renewal of interest in the project and in May 1899 Naruse gathered, with Ōkuma, Iwasaki, Shibusawa, Kojima Ikken (102) and Dogura to discuss finance and the problem of the site of the institution. Naruse and Shibusawa argued strongly for Tokyo as the site for reasons governmental, political and economic, (103) but it appears that a final decision was not made until May 1900. (104) Despite the apparent uncertainty as to location, a meeting of the Promoters resolved to begin plans for building and a Building Committee, comprising Iwasaki, Kubota, Kojima Ikken, Mitsui Saburosuke, Shibusawa and Sumitomo was formed.

(100) Hiratsuka op cit p.226.

(101) NJD p.57.

(102) Kojima had been President of the Supreme Court of Appeal in the early 1890's and was a member of the House of Peers from 1894.

(103) Aso op cit Part 2, p.85.

(104) This seems to have been very late, but both Aso ibid and NJD p.553 confirm that this was so.
At a general meeting in May 1900 in Osaka, the decision was made to build the university in Tokyo and to begin construction despite the fact that the target of three hundred thousand yen had not been reached. The decision to locate the university in Tokyo seems to have spurred on the people of Osaka and their contributions increased, Baron Sumitomo doubling his original contribution of five thousand yen, and the contributions from Osaka reaching fifty thousand yen in all at that time. By the middle of this year about one hundred and fifty thousand yen had been collected, which included fifteen thousand yen from the Iwasaki brothers and five thousand yen from Ōkuma. In June, the Mitsui family donated 5520 tsubo (about four and a half acres) of land in Mejiro, a suburb of Tokyo, and at a meeting in Tokyo in the same month, it was decided to open the university in the following April. Building began in September.

7. THE EARLY YEARS OF NIHON JOSHI DAIGAKKŌ

The situation of women's education in Japan had changed since Naruse first began this movement in 1894. As well as the 1899 Ordinances covering girls' high schools and private schools which marked increasing government control over and standardisation of girls' secondary education, in 1900 two now-famous private ventures were made in this field. Tsuda Umeko began her Eigakujuku (English College) and Yoshioka Yayoi opened the Tokyo Women's Medical School. Thus, from the first, Nihon Joshi Daigakkō had competitors, although neither of these schools had the prestige which Naruse's supporters conferred on his venture. When in 1903 the first official recognition of this type of higher school was provided for in the

(105) Clement op cit p.17 and NJD p.552.
Semmongakkōrei (Special Schools Ordinance), Nihon Joshi Daigakkō was granted status as a semmongakkō, the nearest it could have come to being recognised as a university proper. (106)

When Nihon Joshi Daigakkō was opened in April 1901, at an impressive ceremony attended by many prominent figures in political, economic and educational circles, only part of Naruse's original plan had been achieved. Only the upper part, the main school and the girls' high school section of the attached school, could be constructed and even in these sections, the main buildings had not been built. The only buildings ready at the time of opening were a recitation or assembly hall, a laboratory, three dormitories and two residences for teachers. There was a staff of 33 at the university, this number including seven teachers from the Imperial University and several women, and 18 at the girls' high school. (107) Naruse was the President of the university and Aso the Dean.

(106) The Semmongakkōrei provided for an alteration in the system of higher education first established by Mori, in which the kōtōchūgakkō and the Imperial University formed the highest educational stream. Under the Ordinance of 1903, "higher education" was divided into "university preparatory education" (i.e. the boys' kōtōchūgakkō), "university education" and "special education" (semonkyōiku). Special education differed from university education in being concerned with "learning about" things and attaining skills of a higher order than those of e.g. the ordinary chūgakkō, while university education was considered to be a matter of "delving into the principles behind the arts and sciences" and doing original work. Semonkyōiku differed in degree rather in kind from lower-level education. This was a formalization the gakumon/kyōiku distinction mentioned earlier. (Chapter 2). NKKH vol.4, p.1204. During the Meiji period only six girls' schools managed to gain recognition as Semmongakkō. (Sakurai, M. Joshi Kyōikushi Tokyo, Zoshindo, 1943, p.246.)

(107) NJD pp.80-81. Much of the information in this section is taken from NJD. pp.74-148, which takes the history of the institution to about 1911. The teachers at the university in many cases seem to have donated their services for this, and perhaps succeeding years, and taught their subjects for what must have been only a very few hours each week (presumably at a lower level than at the Imperial University) as a public service to education.
The バーン (Evening Fragrance) Dormitory, opened in 1908

Dormitory life, around 1908-09
It had been estimated that the probable number of applicants would be about 30 in each department, that is, about 90 in all, but the actual number of applications more than doubled this. The university, in response, considerably enlarged its Home Economics and National Literature departments even before its opening, but was nonetheless in the fortunate position of being able to reject unsuitable applicants rather than having to take all who applied. The first year's intake ranged in age from 18 to 34 and included married women and some who had already trained as teachers.

The girls' high school section enrolled 288 students and the university section had 222 students in the three departments of which it was at this stage comprised. There were 84 in Home Economics, 91 in National Literature and ten in the English Language department, while a further 37 were enrolled in the English Language Preparatory department. All the girls who were enrolled in these departments were required to do certain subjects - ethics, sociology, philosophy and child-study - and they were in addition offered certain electives from among music, drawing and pedagogy and various other subjects. In the dormitories, which housed nearly all the girls enrolled, the students were distributed in eight "households", each with a matron and head cook, and the girls, as part of their general training, took turns in doing the cooking and other domestic chores.

Sectarian religious education was not part of the curriculum at Nihon Joshi Daigakko. No chapel was ever built there, but lectures about different religions were apparently given, either by visiting lecturers or by Naruse himself. In connection with this tolerance of other religions, Naruse was criticised by Christians, although this seems to have come mainly

from foreign, rather than Japanese, Christians. His reply to this, on
one occasion, confirmed that his ideas on religion had changed in the
direction that had been indicated first in his American diaries. It is
worth quoting this reply because it shows quite clearly the ideal that
Naruse and his successors followed at the university:

"Educators must have a spirit of tolerance to all religions, and
allow students perfect freedom in adhering to any religion they
choose; and at the same time they ought to inculcate high moral
principles of life, aiming to the spiritual edification of the
students without interfering with their individual faiths. Such
teaching will tend to strengthen the conviction of students in the
essential and everlasting truths, and let alone the non-essential
and valueless elements of their respective religions."(109)

Clearly, this approach was approved by the parents of the girls who were
sent to the school.

Despite some fluctuations in its enrolment, the university never
really looked back after its founding. The Empress, in September 1901,
conferred a public seal of approval on it by donating two thousand yen, the
first such Imperial donation to a private school, and those who had
supported its establishment, notably Ōkuma, Shibusawa, Morimura, Kabayama
and Fujita, continued to give time and money to the school. New dormitories
were donated in 1902 by Kabayama, and Morimura and Kabayama in 1903 donated
land for the use of the graduates' association. In January 1904 the school
was the first girls' school to be recognised under the Semmongakkōrei and
in April of that year it graduated its first class of 120 students. In
December 1904 a Pedagogy Department was added to the three existing
university departments. Thanks to the generous donation of Morimura, the
university was able to add, in 1906, the library, the entire elementary
school buildings and the kindergarten, all named "Toyoake", after

(109) Burton op cit p.147 quotes this, disapprovingly.
Morimura's son, thus completing the original plan of providing an education for girls from the kindergarten to the highest possible level. (110) In 1908 Fujita Denzaburō donated money for a science building and Shibusawa for another dormitory. In 1910 the university section again received government recognition with the decision to grant graduates of its Home Economics Department licences to teach this subject in girls' high schools without their having to undergo further examination.

The numbers of girls enrolled in the main school varied considerably in the first few years. (111) In 1906, just after the Russo-Japanese War, the number of girls' entering the university rose to a new height of 518 after a sharp increase during the war. The Home Economics department, predictably, attracted the largest number - 170 students - with 78 entering the Literature Department (formerly the National Language Department), 40 in English Literature, 71 in the Pedagogy Department and 45 in the English preparatory department with another 114 in what appears to have been a general preparatory department. In all, there were 1,011 students attending the university in 1906. An American visitor in 1904, an associate of G. Stanley Hall, had commented on the sudden influx of students at a time when the financial strain of the war was surely being felt throughout the nation. He had been told by the Dean, Aso Shōzō, that it was because of the changes which would be caused by the war. "As a result of the present war many of the present generation of young Japanese women will not marry and must become self supporting", and the increased enrolments were "due to realization of the need of higher

(110) The kindergarten took, and still takes, boy students.

(111) Concentration will be on the main school or "university". This reflects the slant of the sources available. The lower schools seem to have established themselves as high class schools within the government system, and it is clear that the focus of any public interest was on the university.
education for women for whom self support will become necessary". (112)

Despite this realization, there was a steady decline, after the peak of 1906, in the number of girls wishing to enter the university. In 1907 there were 463 students in the entering class and the trend continued until by 1912 there were only 229 new students. This dropped to a low of 173 in 1915. The numbers stayed around this figure in the following year and then rose to 309 in 1917, a hundred fewer than had applied for admission. The situation then stabilised for several years with the intake being between three and four hundred students, the heaviest concentration for all its early years being in the department of Home Economics. (113)

Between the two World Wars, the structure and the size of the institution remained much the same. In 1948, it was recognised as a university (daigaku) within the newly-reorganised education system, and some changes were made in its structure. The number of major departments was reduced to two, Home Economics and Literature. The first now includes schools of Child Studies, Nutrition, Household Economy, Household Science, Clothing and Housing and under the second are grouped the schools of English Literature, History, Pedagogy, National Literature and "World Welfare" (Shakai Fukushi). In 1974 there were 600 students in the entering class, 310 of whom were distributed among the schools of the Home Economics department with the remaining 290 going to the Literature department, 160 of these being distributed evenly between the National and English Literature schools. In 1976 the entering class was larger (720) with a relatively larger proportion going into the Literature department - 350

(112) Smith, T.L. "The Japanese Women's University..." *op cit* p.485.

(113) De Forest Woman and the Leaven *op cit* p.112 noted that in 1922, out of a total student population of 1,138, nearly seven hundred were in the Home Economics department. Up to that time, she reports, nearly three quarters of the graduates had been from this department.
A biology class for students of the Pedagogy Department.

An athletics meeting.
to Literature and 370 to Home Economics. (114)

8. A UNIVERSITY?

The problem remains of determining the actual standard at which
the main school, the "university", operated in its early years, especially
in the period during which Naruse was President. The standards of the
attached schools were much more closely regulated by the government and they
can be taken as being on much the same level as schools throughout the
country.

It would be no surprise to find that, in the first few years after
its opening, the standard was low. It was, after all, only a few years
after the standardization of the girls' high schools by the government and
the graduates of these schools probably varied in quality throughout the
country. In addition, even the new policy only brought the girls' high
school graduates up to about the standard of graduates of the boys'
ordinary middle schools, so that Nihon Joshi Daigakko was starting out
with students at a far lower level than were the men's universities.

However the standard of entrants and thus the quality of their work was
expected to improve with time and was recognised as being relatively low.
Naruse was confident that this could be improved. When it gained
recognition as a semmongakko in 1904, this certainly implied that it was
among the best of the women's schools in Japan. However the comments of an
American observer in 1914 ten years after this recognition, cast
considerable doubt on whether Nihon Joshi Daigakko in any way approached a

(114) This information has been obtained from Japan. Mombushō. Daigaku
Gakujutsukyoku. Daigakuka. Zenkoku Daigaku Ichiran Tokyo, Mombushō, 1974,
pp.103-104 and Zenkoku Daigaku Shoku'in Roku Tokyo, Hiromitsu Sha, 1970,
pp.1491-1497.
standard comparable to that of the men's universities: "Even the name college would be too ambitious a term to describe correctly the work done in this school, but it does represent a step in advance in the matter of higher education for girls." (115) Coming from a widely experienced observer who had had a long-standing interest in women's education and general social conditions in America and in Asia, this observation cannot be dismissed lightly.

It seems that the very aspects of Naruse's plan which most appealed to his supporters - the emphasis on Japanese education and on giving education suited to the needs of women - had created a curriculum in which it was extremely difficult to concentrate on academic matters. The extra courses in psychology, sociology, child-study and so-forth, classes in Japanese etiquette and flower arranging, all doubtless would have enriched the lives of the students, as would the time devoted to the development of a correct moral outlook. In the early years, this last was done by means of the two-hour lectures on morals, delivered by Naruse himself, which apparently often extended to three or four hours, during which the students were held spellbound. For the final year students there was a special summer conference held at Karuizawa for three weeks of "meditation, self-examination, repentance and purification", (116) a culmination of their training in morality. As with the emphasis on home training, even in courses not intrinsically connected with this, (117) the enrichment of student's lives in one sense created a situation in

(115) Burton *op cit* p.142.

(116) De Forest Woman and the Leaven *op cit* p.114.

(117) Inukai, M. "Nihon Joshi Daigaku" in *Asahi January* vol.5(29), 1963, p.67, notes that even in the science classes, home management was emphasised - "science was to fit them for home life and home management, because they were women".
which women's education could not achieve real academic respectability.

This aspect, which attracted favourable comment from many Japanese and foreigners, was summed up in 1908 when a visitor, having remarked favourably on the fact that the education offered was avoiding the pitfalls, seen in American education, of being the same as that offered to men, went on to say why this education was so good: "This most progressive of Japanese educational institutions for women boasts branches to be found in few women's colleges elsewhere - gardening and chicken-raising, for instance, and practical kitchen classes both in "foreign style" and the Japanese fashion." (118) It could not be expected that academic departments in which these courses were virtually compulsory could be said to to operate on a standard equal to that of the men's universities in Japan or women's universities or colleges elsewhere - it simply was not the same sort of education.

Given that Nihon Joshi Daigakkō cannot strictly be called a "university" and that its courses had, to the modern eye at least, a distinctly sexist aspect, what did the institution, in its early years, offer its students? In general terms, it can be said that their years at Nihon Joshi Daigakkō gave women the sort of experience of group life, purposefulness and participation, that was available to very few Japanese women. For most women who went there it offered an education that was relevant to their future lives as wives and mothers; it awakened an interest in social problems - one can see Tucker's influence here - that many of them kept alive through activity with the Ōfūkai (the Graduates' Association), and for the few who wished to study further, the university provided a base from which many of them went on to study overseas and make careers for themselves outside the home. In terms of Naruse's ideals,

(118) Ellis, W. "Miss Japan, the Schoolgirl" in Outlook vol.88, 1908, p.451.
the education and the outlook on life instilled at the university seems to have really fulfilled his aims in that it helped mould women who could cope with their daily life at a high level in society, who were undoubtedly able to bring up their children in an intelligent fashion, who could cope with social situations, whether in "foreign style" or Japanese style and who maintained interests outside their homes. Mastery of these matters could only have enriched their lives. For the majority of women who went to Nihon Joshi Daigakko the experience was undoubtedly a rewarding one.
CONCLUSION

Naruse Jinzo must be counted as a major figure in Japanese education in the Meiji period. He rose from a position of poverty and obscurity to be a public figure, known throughout Japan and in the West as the founder of Japan's highest institution of learning for women. In his own eyes, by his contribution to the advance of Japanese women, he felt that he had fulfilled himself as a samurai by accomplishing a great task for the nation, and by the time of his death in 1919, he had hopes that his religious searchings would prove to be another contribution to Japan's welfare.

While Naruse still considered himself to be a Christian at the end of his life, (1) he had moved on from his early rather naive acceptance of fundamentalist Christian beliefs, strongly linked with Westernization, to beliefs that he thought were both universally true and compatible with Japanese needs and experience. In this, his development had paralleled that of many of his contemporaries. As a Japanese, his ideas about his country changed only in that his love for Japan and concern for her welfare became a stronger and more positive influence on his work as he grew older. His religious development had been accompanied, and perhaps partly caused, by this growth of a Japan-centred approach to problems and an increasing awareness of the value of Japanese traditions and characteristics. By 1896, although Naruse's religious views were not generally accepted within his own country his ideas about Japan, her importance in the world and the value of the Japanese experience were in accord with the opinions of responsible men in Japanese society.

It was through his activities as an educator of women that Naruse gave most coherent expression to these ideas and received public

(1) Although Naruse apparently stopped going to church some time after the founding of Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, he did hold prayer meetings with a group of students. (Letter from Mrs. Kan Shina Oct. 15th, 1975).
recognition for them. His proposals of the mid-1890's to establish a women's "university" received support for a variety of reasons, among which Naruse's justification of his plan in terms of national aims must rank high. His inclusion in the group of people chosen to contribute to Count Okuma's *Fifty Years of New Japan* in 1908 is an excellent indication of his standing in Meiji society - as an educator, Naruse had evolved a formula for women's education which had the approval of the responsible and informed people who comprised the Establishment of late Meiji Japan.

Naruse's presentation of this formula in 1896 showed that there were inner tensions in his thought that he had managed to resolve to his satisfaction. His resolution, however, gives ample fuel for criticism to the modern reader. Naruse believed that individual moral reform was the key to the solution of national and international problems. While this was an attitude common to both Confucian thought and to Protestant Christianity, Naruse seems to have taken it more seriously as a complete solution than did most people and so attempted nothing in the way of broad social reform. His other major beliefs flowed from his desire for harmony in and between societies. So, he held that the education of women and their development as individuals could never be in conflict with the advancement of the nation. The result of this was his paying far more attention to the education of women as citizens and mothers than as individuals because he saw their effectiveness in the first two roles as the outward manifestation of their inner individuality. This attention to the nation and his stress on morality led him to see the material progress and moral advance of Japan as intertwined and to hold that Japan's rise to the status of a world Power could be achieved without cost either to other nations or to individual citizens. In fact, he believed that Japan would perform a great service to humanity by evolving a synthesis of the best values of East and West. Just as the
interests of the individual within Japan could never be in conflict with the advancement of the state (because their real interests were one), that advancement would never be at the expense of humanity at large, because the progress of humanity and the development of the "essence of humanity" made Japan's interests one with those of the rest of the world. These must have been extremely comforting assumptions for Naruse, although the dangers they posed to individual freedom now seem obvious.

These dangers have attracted the attention of many post-War students of Japanese history, whose attitudes toward the "successes" of the Meiji period have been, with some reason, coloured by the subsequent political and ideological repressions of the 1930's and by the Second World War. The criticisms made of Japanese Christians of the Meiji period, whose beliefs and actions were, by and large, similar to Naruse's have been particularly severe on the matter of their attitude toward the relationship between the individual and the state.

Notehelfer, for example, points to Ebina Danjō's acceptance of the precedence of the social system over the individual as a failure in his Christianity: "his individualism never penetrated beyond this final limit, and in the end even his Christianity had to submit to it". (2) Miwa, too, is perturbed by Nitobe Inazo's displaying the same attitudes. Individual freedom was held by Nitobe to be limited by the need for harmony in society and Miwa feels that the effect of this on Nitobe's educational activities was to create bureaucrats who "were so conditioned to hold "harmony" in high esteem and practice it that they forgot the virtue of courageous dissent." (3) Cho provides a most penetrating analysis, from a Christian perspective, of the options available to Japanese Christians of the Meiji period, and indicates the difficulties

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(2) Notehelfer Ebina Danjō op cit p.41.
(3) Miwa op cit p.325 and pp.278-292, "Nitobe as an Educator of the Elite - the Dai-ichi Kōtō Gakkō".
of criticising existing society in a positive way. Those who did criticise became isolated from their society; those who did not criticise, she feels, compromised instead. While acknowledging these difficulties, Cho is still highly critical of those who failed to hold fast to the idea, in her view an integral part of Christian belief, that the full development of the individual personality should have precedence over the demands of the state.

While these criticisms can be seen as an accurate statement of the facts, they do ignore the situation in Japan before the 1930's and the actions of Christians in Western countries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is unrealistic to expect Japanese Christians to have done what other Christians, many of whom lived in societies which had a stronger tradition of individual assertion and dissent than did Japan, failed to do. Only rarely did Christians in the West openly oppose, on Christian grounds, their countries' expansionist policies in this period and, while there were instances of Christian pacifist opposition to participation in the First World War, most Christians adopted a "God is on our side" attitude and supported the war effort of their particular nation. Again, most Christians had no desire to see the good of the nation and the rights of the individual to be in conflict and chose instead to see national strength and internal harmony as being beneficial to citizens. And, within Japan, even Miwa seems to forget that for some time in the post-Meiji era most of the voices raised in "courageous dissent" were those of the ultra-right wing nationalists. Virtue in these circumstances could well attach to conformity.

This is not to say that these criticisms are entirely unjustified. It must be remembered that virtually all States of any importance in the period under review were part of, or direct offshoots of, traditional Christendom, and they remained either officially or culturally Christian.

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(4) Cho Christian Criticism op cit.
The only exceptions to this were a rapidly decaying Ottoman Empire and the regenerated Japan. In these circumstances, Japanese perceptions both in the Meiji period and since, of the problem of the relationship that should obtain between a strong, self-confident State and its Christian subjects must be markedly different from, and far more acute than, the general European or American experience in this matter. Very few Europeans or Americans during this period were, as individuals, caught in a conflict between the demands of the modern State and their perceived or indoctrinated duty as Christians and, as a general and pressing social and ideological problem, this issue was never raised outside the ritualistic framework of perennial dispute between clericals and anti-clericals. Japanese Christians, on the other hand, must have been only too aware of the gulf between their private beliefs and the explicitly non-Christian assumptions that pervaded their society. Not for them the possibility of the comforting reassurance that the State was somehow "with them", or at any rate just as Christian as they were.

Two things flow from this observation. One is that, just as the divide between the State and Christian individual seemed, and was in fact, wider and deeper in Japan than elsewhere, so was the possibility of closing it satisfactorily from a Christian-individualist point of view correspondingly remote, and therefore let go by default. Secondly, contemporary Japanese Christian critics of their religious forbears have themselves been unusually aware, as Japanese, of what was in fact virtually a uniquely Japanese problem and have in retrospect expected more than it was humanly reasonable to expect of people like Naruse.

In judging Japanese Christians of this period by these unreasonably high standards other matters that are of importance within the context of Japanese society have been obscured. It tends, for example, to distract attention from the role of Christians in the growth of freedom and the plurality of Japanese society in the Meiji period, and particularly in
the Taisho period. To see Christians as failing to take a stand against a repressive state is to ignore the fact that society must have appeared at the time to be advancing toward far greater freedom for the individual than had ever been experienced before. From another perspective, the behaviour of Christians during these years does reveal the emergence of a pattern that was to be repeated under more repressive governments. For example, one can see in Naruse's progress from his role as an isolated and radical Christian reformer of the early 1880's to that of "Establishment figure" in the 1890's and later, the emergence of a pattern of compromise that seems to characterize other Christians at a later date.\(^5\) This undercurrent of acquiescence, this desire for harmony and the willingness to rationalize the compromises consequent on this is important as an example of the interaction in Japan of a thinking individual, (not just a Christian) and his society. It is perhaps regrettable, even culpable, but an understandable and hardly a uniquely Japanese pattern of behaviour.

Criticisms can be levelled, from other than a Christian perspective, at Naruse's attitude not only to the relationship between the individual and the nation but also at his desire for harmony in general and his attitudes to Japan's role in the world. However, once again, if Naruse's actions and beliefs are placed in the context of Japanese society of the 1890's and the early years of the twentieth century and in the wider context of Western societies of the same period, these are quite explicable and even justifiable. Not only Naruse's own age and history, but also that of most Japanese by the 1890's must have made a conservative approach to social matters almost inevitable. Most people of Naruse's generation were looking for some relief from the constant, rapid, and often unpredictable changes which had been part of the lives of most of them since childhood. After the Sino-Japanese War, and still more after the

\(^5\) With some notable exceptions, see Shapcott, J.J. The Pacifist Dissent of Yanaihara Tadao Thesis (M.A.), Australian National University, 1975.
Russo-Japanese War, when Japan appeared to be close to "arriving" on the world stage, the desire to consolidate rather than change must have been very strong. Very few men in such a situation could be expected to choose constant change and probable conflict and to deny the desirability of social harmony.

His political and social conservatism was also reflected in his attitudes to education, but, even in this sphere, Naruse's attitudes were not reactionary by Western standards of the time. Curti, for example, has pointed out that American educators of this period, and indeed most other times, consistently saw their task, and that of the schools, as the promotion of social harmony: "concerning whatever promoted the established social and economic pattern, they (American educators) have spoken in definite rather than in nebulous terms. But concerning whatever cut across the status quo, they have been either cautious or else nebulous and extremely general in their use of words. ... there has been a constant tendency for educators to insist that schools are the most certain means for preventing violent overturns in the social order." (6) Naruse was no exception to this. In addition, as both educator and Christian, he had come in contact with many Americans, Hall and Tucker included, who were at the very least dubious about the effects of the American concentration on the individual rather than the group. Hall wished to re-integrate the disparate elements of society into a harmonious community in a fashion that is disconcerting to the modern reader (7) and Tucker saw the rampant individualism of Americans as one of the most distressing and destructive aspects of modern society.

Naruse's growing nationalism was balanced by his belief that Japan's development would bring it into harmony with other nations and be beneficial

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(7) Strickland has pointed out how strong was the potential for fascism inherent in Hall's philosophy. (Hall Health, Growth and Heredity op cit).
to all and his involvement in the Concordia Movement in the 1910's indicates a real commitment to internationalism. His unwillingness to see that there could be consequences other than desirable ones of national development and his rationalization of nationalist aims in terms of the good of humanity were common approaches to the problem in the West also. It has been pointed out that a reconsideration of the role of morality in international affairs came for most Europeans only after the devastation of the Great War. Until then rationalizations of the sort that Naruse made were common and their psychological causes explicable: "To suspect that the ends of one's national community are at variance with the good of mankind is productive of so much indignation to the average individual and of so much agony to the sensitive one as to make it infinitely tempting to assume that the two objectives (one's duty to humanity and to one's country) coincide ...". (8) In justifying Naruse's stand on these matters, one is really saying no more than that he was a man of his age in "world" terms as well as in terms of Meiji Japan, not a rebel in society nor in advance of other men in his basic thought.

The greatest effect of his ideas was, of course, on the education of women. Here, his desire for harmony within Japan was a major force in his advocating an education for women that would integrate them into the existing social structure, rather than one which would enable them to attain some freedom as individuals, even if it were only the relative freedom of American women. Certainly he did not criticise in any trenchant way the overall position of Japanese women in society, although such criticisms could, and had, been made. The Japanese reception of recent criticisms by a Japanese Christian (9) might well have aided any

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(9) In 1893, a Congregationalist pastor, Tamura Naomi, had published a book, The Japanese Bride, in New York. In it, he had presented a highly critical argument against the injustices inherent in the situation of Japanese women. For these views he was expelled by Japanese Congregationalists from the church and attacked bitterly in the press. Part of this was a reaction to his exposing Japan to criticism overseas, but the lesson to Christian would-be reformers was clear.
natural tendency toward conservatism in his ideas on this matter.

While his overall vision of change in women's position in Japan was strictly limited to the individual moral reform of a small group of women, within this sphere some of his suggestions were radical. The ideas about women and their capabilities on which Naruse based his plans, for example, while limited by many of the preconceptions of the age, were far in advance of the ideas of many of his contemporaries, Japanese and Western. To assert that women could operate at an intellectual level equal to that of men must have been viewed with scepticism by most Japanese, and to claim that social factors were largely responsible for defects in women's capabilities and that they could be rectified by changing these factors, were virtually revolutionary statements. For example, Naruse's contention that any "natural" weakness women might have had in the realm of speculative thought (weaknesses intensified by society's expectations of them) could be rectified by the inclusion of mathematics and science in women's education was a far cry from the sort of arguments frequently heard from opponents of women's education and from the apologetic attitudes of many of its proponents. In this sphere, Naruse would not admit that women were inherently incapable of achievement or change. While, from a modern feminist viewpoint, one could wish that Naruse had pushed this approach further than he did, it is certain that, had he done so, he would never have achieved the degree of social support which enabled him to establish the Nihon Joshi Daigakkō.

Despite the reservations expressed earlier about the standard of education offered in the early years of Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, it should be recognized that it was no mean feat to establish an institution of higher learning for women, especially one that had the support of such influential figures in society. Although the Japan Times contended that "every enlightened mind" should be convinced of the desirability of
a "female university", (10) it would not be unfair to say that in Japan and in the West, while the desirability of some sort of education for women was generally recognised, the idea of higher education for women was still incomprehensible to some and laughable to many.

Naruse's ideas, though generally more enlightened than those of Japanese society at large, were limited by his own growing conservatism. Despite this, and its effects on the sort of education offered at Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, the mere existence of this institution offered some women opportunities that they would otherwise not have had. The advantages to the majority of women who had been its students and then settled down as wives and mothers has been indicated, (11) and the opportunities this education offered for self-development within this sphere should not be undervalued. However, one can only regret that the education and reform Naruse envisaged for women were so limited. In educating women to be intelligent, self-reliant individuals, he was unable to conceive that they might want some wider sphere than the Japanese family in which to exercise their talents and he educated his students in order to allow them to live more successfully in a social structure that he hoped would remain stable. Unwilling to countenance the idea of disharmony in society, Naruse ended up concentrating on the development of "better wives and wiser mothers".

There were, however, other effects of his education which, while they can hardly have been approved of by Naruse, indicate the degree to which the university may have offered other possibilities to its students, despite its stated aims. The career of one of the best-known, if least typical, students will illustrate this point. Hiratsuka Raicho, later a founding member of the Seitousha (Blue Stockings Society) and a life-long agitator for women's suffrage and change in the social condition

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of women, was a graduate of Nihon Joshi Daigakko, but was highly critical of the atmosphere of the institution and particularly of the "Naruse cult" which flourished there. While acknowledging Naruse's sincerity and enthusiasm, she found his message to women, as presented in his morals lectures, sterile and unsatisfying. (12) Her university career was unusual. She had been enrolled, after overcoming her father's opposition, in the Home Economics department (she had wanted the English department) in 1903, but rarely attended classes. Her graduation essay described her religious doubts and searchings, but she still graduated on the basis of this in 1906, which indicates not only the freedom of expression allowed at the institution but also the extreme uncertainty of its standards. It was in the library at Nihon Joshi Daigakko that Hiratsuka first read Ibsen's Nora which, with his A Doll's House, was to cause such an uproar among Japanese women. (14) In 1907 Hiratsuka's name was struck from the register of graduates because of a rather public love affair with a young writer. Recovering from this and the attendant disgrace, she became involved in 1911 in the founding of the Seitousha, a literary group which quickly became concerned with social problems, particularly those of women. The members of this group soon achieved notoriety, becoming known as examples of the "New Woman" so derided in Taisho Japan.

The interesting thing about this group is that four out of its five founders, and a majority of its members were graduates of Nihon Joshi Daigakko. (15) Hiratsuka's name was removed from the list of graduates

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(12) Reported in Hiratsuka op cit p.229.
(13) Her father, Hiratsuka Teijiro, was a bureaucrat in the Ministry of Finance. He had been sent to Europe by the government in the late 1880's, but had, by 1903, recovered from his early advocacy of Westernization.
(15) The preceding information has been derived from Nancy Andrew's paper, "The Seitousha: an early Japanese Women's Organization 1911-1916" in Harvard University. East Asian Research Center. Papers on Japan vol.6, 1972, pp.45-69, except where otherwise noted.
because of a scandal over her sexual immorality; the other members, as far as can be ascertained, met no such fate because of their radical political and social views. There is no doubt that Naruse must have been distressed at their activities - they were, after all, hardly promoting harmony in society - but it seems reasonable to suggest that the emphasis on social concerns (or, rather, "good works") at Nihon Joshi Daigakko, (16) may have been instrumental in directing the interest of these women away from purely literary activity, just as the mere fact of their having received higher education could create a realization of intellectual frustration when there was no alternative open to them other than life in the home. It is ironical that Naruse's later conservative teachings should have produced some women who held ideas on social reform and individualism that seem quite close to Naruse's very early ideals, and that they should have been prepared to endure social obloquy and isolation for their views, as he had for his early Christian beliefs.

In Naruse's own thought his ideas about women's education were strictly limited. However, it is clear that his stress on the right, even duty, of women to develop their capabilities to the maximum, on their ability to act as independent, thinking persons and on their equality with men before God had effects that may not always have been to his liking in that they took some of his students well beyond the limits he had defined for them.

These results, however, are of as much account as was the successful integration of so many of his students into the social system. The historian must be left feeling ambivalent toward Naruse's ideas and achievements. Too much has happened to Japan, and perhaps not enough to Japanese women, for this to be otherwise.

(16) This was another departure from tradition on Naruse's part. The education given to most women encouraged them to look inward to their families rather than outward to the needs of society at large. See Koizumi, I. "Major Problems in Women's Education in Japan" in Mid-Pacific Magazine vol.47, 1934, pp.423.
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