

Surviving Japanese Militarism: Canadian Educators at a Christian Girls' School

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I. Introduction

On November 6, 1934, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō, a girls' school founded in the Azabu district of Tokyo by representatives of the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS) of the Canadian Methodist Church, celebrated 50 years of history in an elaborate ceremony led by the principal, Frances Hamilton, and attended by Canadian Ambassador Herbert Marler and former Prime Minister Saitō Makoto, whose wife was a graduate.¹⁾ The poet Kitahara Hakushū composed lyrics for a new school song; Yamada Kōsaku set them to music. Congratulatory messages were received from the governor of Tokyo and the Minister of Education. In 1934, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō consisted of four divisions—kindergarten, primary, high school and a kindergarten teacher training—with a total authorized enrolment of 710. Both the scale of the celebrations and the size of its enrolments reflected Tōyō Eiwa's success in attracting Tokyo's elite families to a school known for its progressive educational program, impressive facilities, international environment, and Christian mission. All had been developed over 50 years with the active participation of as many as 81 North American women, who were sent by the WMS to serve as missionary educators.

Hardly apparent in the 50-year celebration were two trends that were already transforming Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō. Like other Christian schools across Japan, it was being pressured to show loyalty to the emperor-centered policies of the government while at the same time removing Christianity from its educational program. As military action intensified in the second half of the 1930s, the school participated in a widening range of patriotic activities, including ceremonies to honor the emperor, weeding in the outer garden of Meiji Shrine, farm work in various locations across Tokyo, and the preparation of comfort packages for troops at the front. In 1939, after much pressure and subsequent preparation, the school accepted its own portrait of the Emperor Shōwa for display. From June 1940, ritual bowing toward the imperial palace (*kyūjō yōhai*) was held every day before morning worship.

Worsening relations between Japan and the United States hastened the second trend under way in 1934: the declining prominence of non-Japanese nationals in Christian schools, including Tōyō Eiwa. At Tōyō Eiwa, Hamilton, who had long supported the appointment of a Japanese principal, stepped down in 1938 in favor of a Japanese national. In the autumn of 1940, following a decision of the Japan National Christian Education Association (Kirisutokyō Kyōiku Dōmei), Tōyō Eiwa announced that foreigners could no longer hold positions of responsibility in the

school; by the end of the year, three of the five missionary personnel attached to the school had returned to Canada. In 1941, Tōyō Eiwa removed all references to Christianity from its constitution and changed its name to avoid any reminder of its international origins. With the declaration of war in December 1941, Tōyō Eiwa's two remaining missionary educators—Hamilton and her colleague Sybil Courtice (1884–1980)—were enemy aliens. Hamilton resigned in the closing days of 1941 and confined herself to her lodgings until her repatriation to Canada in the summer of 1942. Courtice was repatriated in September 1943, having been detained for close to a year as a citizen of an enemy state.

This paper analyzes some key events at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō from 1931 to 1942 to understand the challenges faced and the accommodations adopted by a Christian and foreign-founded girls' school seeking survival as Japan moved towards war. In keeping with the theme of trans-Pacific relationships among women, it focuses on the experiences of Frances Hamilton, Tōyō Eiwa's last foreign principal, whose long career at the school began with her arrival from Canada in 1917 and ended 39 years later, in 1956. The paper examines Hamilton's activities in three stages: from 1932 to 1934, when, as school principal, she worked to secure the school's status as a financially independent, Christian, and Japanese school; from 1935 to 1939, when she joined efforts to protect its Christian educational values from the demands of the Ministry of Education; and finally, from 1940 to 1942, when she was removed from public leadership positions and finally from Japan itself.

Disappointingly, I have no letters or other writings from these years that document Hamilton's private thoughts about the challenges she faced. The paper draws primarily on materials in the Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin archives and official histories of Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin²⁾ supplemented by documents stored in the United Church of Canada Archives in Toronto. The Tōyō Eiwa archives include records of teachers' meetings³⁾ that offer a detailed view of school activities during these years. The *Tōyō Eiwa nyūsu*, a monthly newsletter begun in 1935 to report on school events to pupils' families, reflects the public image the school was seeking to project. Moreover, English-language minutes of the meetings of the Tokyo Board of Directors⁴⁾, written by Canadian missionary personnel, including—occasionally—Hamilton herself, offer some indication of the North American missionary perspective on the issues and events of the 1930s.

II. A Financially Independent, Christian, and Japanese School, 1932–34

Frances Gertrude Hamilton (1888–1975) was born in 1888 on Prince Edward Island, the daughter of a pastor.⁵⁾ In 1910, she graduated from Mount Allison University in New Brunswick with a degree in arts, and added a degree in literature and music the following year. After working as a secretary for the YWCA, she applied for a missionary position with the WMS, and in September 1917 arrived in Japan. One month later she began work at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō. Even by the generally high standards of the WMS personnel sent to Japan in the early 20th century, Hamilton served well. For five years she taught—music, then English, religion, and early education—at Tōyō Eiwa, before using her home leave to gain an M.A. in education at Columbia University in the United States. She returned to Tōyō Eiwa in 1925 to

become, at age 37, the 15th principal of a school whose total enrolment was 501. Hamilton held that position until 1938, with a break in 1931–32 when she took her second home leave. Like most of her missionary compatriots, Hamilton had no formal training in Japanese language; in a laudatory profile written 17 years after her arrival for the 50-year celebrations, a former student who remained close to the school noted that Hamilton was not well informed about Japanese history, literature, or arts, and “did not use Japanese much.”⁶⁾ On the other hand, she appears to have understood spoken Japanese well, and reportedly had a good and trusting relationship with her Japanese colleagues.

Hamilton’s years as principal coincided with a change in the relationship between the missionary headquarters in Canada and its mission schools in Japan. As the first, and in reputation most successful, of its overseas missionary enterprises, Tōyō Eiwa had attracted a particularly personal and proprietary interest within the WMS. Members received regular reports on the school’s religious and academic programs, selected and paid the salaries of missionary personnel, offered advice, and raised funds in Canada to support building and other projects. WMS missionaries occupied many of the leadership positions in the school, including that of principal. While the legal owner (*kōshu*) of the school was a designated member of a private company established to satisfy Japanese legal requirements, foreigners comprised half of the membership of the Board of Directors, which was established in 1891 with the owner as chair to oversee the management of the school. In 1925, however, the Methodist, Congregational, and most Presbyterian churches in Canada combined to form the United Church of Canada. Although a new Woman’s Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada continued the work of the original Methodist WMS, there was a growing realization that schools such as Tōyō Eiwa should be encouraged to secure greater financial and managerial independence from the home mission.

Hamilton did much to move Tōyō Eiwa in this direction. In 1926, she appointed Fujita Shizuo, a Japanese Christian who had taught in government middle and teacher training schools in Kumamoto Prefecture, as chief teacher (*kyōmu shunin*) to take charge of the everyday running of the Tōyō Eiwa high school.⁷⁾ Canadian mission policy aside, this was an obvious step, given the growth of the school, the level of government regulation, and Hamilton’s own limited proficiency in Japanese. According to the school’s hundred-year history, Fujita drew on his government school experience to set a regular school calendar, rearrange classes, organize the entrance examinations, and hold regular staff meetings, transforming the school from its hitherto homely confusion to the ordered regularity of a “normal” Japanese school. Following a series of changes directed at bringing the curriculum into conformity with Ministry of Education requirements, the high school course was extended from four to five years in 1929, making it possible for graduates of the school to go on to Tokyo Woman’s Christian University and other institutions of higher learning.

The transformation of Tōyō Eiwa can be seen in the staff meeting records for the school year beginning April 1932. Following the North American calendar, Hamilton had left for her second home leave in the summer of 1931, just weeks before Japan sparked international outrage by its military action in Manchuria. Jane Kinney,

another missionary, replaced Hamilton for one year as principal. In April 1932, Kanamori Yoshikazu succeeded Fujita as chief teacher and assumed additional responsibility for teaching ethics and civics. Records of the staff meetings organized by Kanamori suggest an orderly institution, staffed by hardworking teachers and providing a full complement of the programs one might expect in an elite mission school: religious activities, an extensive English-language program, and cultural events, including sports day, class trips, and day excursions.⁸⁾ The records were written in Japanese, liberally interspersed with English words like “class prayer,” “picnic,” “Bible class,” “English worship,” “piano recital,” and “Golden Rule.”

Nevertheless, Tōyō Eiwa’s basic curriculum, class organization, school events, and calendar had assumed an unmistakably Japanese character. Moreover, there were signs that nationalistic practices promoted by the Ministry of Education already occupied a place at the school. On April 27, pupils celebrated Tenchōsetsu, the emperor’s birthday, with a ceremony presided over by Kanamori.⁹⁾ As noted in the teachers’ records, the ceremony adopted the worship service format already in use for the school’s opening and closing ceremonies. It opened with a hymn, followed by a bible reading and prayer, the national anthem, a recitation of the Imperial Rescript on Education, a responsorial song, a congratulatory address, and the Tenchōsetsu celebratory song. A similar ceremony was held to mark Meijisetsu, the Meiji Emperor’s birthday, on November 3.¹⁰⁾ The Kigensetsu, or National Foundation Day, celebration held on February 11, 1932, was even more elaborate, consisting of a hymn, bible reading, prayer, national anthem, reading of the Imperial Rescript, responsorial song, reading of the Proclamation of the Constitution, congratulatory message, and the singing of a celebratory Kigensetsu song.¹¹⁾ Interestingly, the reader of the Imperial Rescript and the Proclamation of the Constitution was none other than Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu (1857–1933), eminent Methodist pastor, supporter of Tōyō Eiwa from its foundation, and current chair of the Board of Directors.

While there is no indication from the Board minutes that Hamilton or other missionaries took part in these services, there is also no indication that they opposed their inclusion in the school calendar. Moreover, the minutes show no sign of a change in the pattern of school events when Hamilton resumed her position as principal in September 1932. Hamilton was naturally present at the school’s 43rd commencement ceremony held on March 28, 1933. Because the ceremony included a dedication of the hall to former missionary and Tōyō Eiwa principal Margaret Craig, dignitaries such as Hiraiwa, Methodist bishop and Board member Akazawa Motozō (1875–1936), Canadian ambassador Herbert Marler, Christian educator and school trustee Shimizu Yoshimatsu (1865–1950), and senior mission representative Sybil Courtice were invited. The ceremony included prayers, hymns, congratulatory speeches, presentation of diplomas, presentation of prizes, and a piano duet as well as a reading of the Imperial Rescript (by Shimizu) and the singing of the national anthems of Japan and Canada. Formal programs printed in English and Japanese suggest a curious blend of North American and Japanese formality, heavily Christian, but also showing due respect to Canadian and Japanese national pride.¹²⁾

Freed from the everyday demands of running the school, Hamilton worked on

long-term projects, notably financial arrangements, pensions and scholarships, and preparations for new school buildings made necessary by the growing enrolments.¹³ Despite difficult economic conditions in both Japan and Canada, she encouraged alumnae and other support organizations to raise funds while at the same time working to get support from the mission Home Board in Canada. Already, in 1929, the school had bought land nearby to build a kindergarten, dormitory, and mission house for the foreign teachers.¹⁴ Completed in 1932, the new Western-style foreign missionary residence was held separately in the name of the United Church of Canada in Japan. In addition to raising funds, Hamilton used her 1931–32 home leave to inspect school architecture in various Western countries to get ideas for the main school construction. The new building, designed by William Vories in Spanish mission style, was completed in 1933. The total cost of both buildings was 842,306 yen, of which some 88 percent came from the Canadian Home Board.¹⁵ Among mission schools, the new Tōyō Eiwa was impressive; in the autumn of 1934 it hosted the annual meeting of the Japan National Christian Education Association, another achievement for the 50-year anniversary.

Funds to support Tōyō Eiwa in the early 1930s, raised with difficulty in depression conditions, represented the last substantial donation from the Canadian mission headquarters. In 1933, with help from Canada to meet the required financial reserves and following the example of other Christian schools, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō applied for permission to be incorporated as a separate and independent property-holding foundation (*zaidan hōjin*), including the high school and the kindergarten teacher training school. Approval was granted in 1934. Succeeding the Tokyo Board of Directors that had guided the school since 1891, a new Board of Directors met at the foreign missionary residence in May 1935.¹⁶ There were seven Japanese and seven foreign trustees, including Hamilton; Bishop Akazawa was named chairman. Although English minutes would continue to be kept in the same format as under the old Board, it was announced that henceforth the official minutes would be taken in Japanese.

III. Responding to Government Pressures, 1935–39

Defending Christian Education

In 1935 Tōyō Eiwa faced three issues that indicated new threats to its status as a Christian school. First, in February, a special meeting of the Board of Directors was informed that the school had received a letter from the Ministry of Education “asking why the Emperor’s picture is not in our school.”¹⁷ Second, it was reported at the September 30 regular meeting of the Board that the Ministry of Education had instructed girls in the 4th and 5th years of the Tōyō Eiwa high school to attend a ceremony at Meiji Shrine to honor the Meiji emperor on November 5.¹⁸ Third, the September 30 meeting discussed the matter of instituting Saturday as a class day (leaving Sunday as a holiday) in the primary department “as suggested by” the Ministry of Education. Each of these issues indicated that government efforts to promote Shinto-related practices and restrict those of Christianity had reached girls’ mission schools such as Tōyō Eiwa.

The Ministry of Education’s inquiry regarding the acceptance of the imperial im-

age (*goshin'ei*) appears to have taken Tōyō Eiwa leaders by surprise. While the practice had spread gradually through the public school system, the pressure on private schools was recent and had been relatively muted.¹⁹⁾ After some discussion, the meeting agreed to “await the attitude of other Christian schools after which the final answer should be given by the Principal [Hamilton] in consultation with the Chairman [Akazawa] of this meeting.” It was agreed that Tōyō Eiwa should act in coordination especially with the other two Canadian Methodist schools in Yamanashi and Shizuoka.

The issue of attendance at shrine ceremonies had raised ongoing concern in Japan's Christian community. In 1930 the United Church of Canada mission had signed a 1930 statement by Japanese Protestant groups protesting government efforts to force acceptance of Shinto by promoting it as a supra-religious movement.²⁰⁾ Moreover, Canadian ambassador Marler had expressed concern about the impact of government policies on the work of Canadian missionaries.²¹⁾ However, the Tōyō Eiwa Board decided to comply with the instruction to send its pupils to the Meiji Shrine ceremony of November 1935, apparently noting the Ministry of Education's argument, clarified in 1932, that student visits to shrines were based on educational rather than religious considerations and aimed only to promote patriotism and loyalty. The English notes to the meeting state simply: “It was discussed and was thought advisable to comply with the request.”²²⁾

More vexing was the issue of Saturday school, since it connected directly with the Christian mission of the school. From its foundation, Tōyō Eiwa had taken Sunday as the first day of the school week, using it primarily for religious instruction and worship at the Azabu Methodist Church.²³⁾ For its first 50 years, the school required even children of Christian families to attend Tōyō Eiwa on Sundays rather than worship with their families. On the other hand, Saturday, a normal school day according to government rules, was a Tōyō Eiwa holiday. Noting the irregularity, the Ministry of Education had urged the school to institute Saturday classes in at least the primary department. Since instituting Saturday classes would end the organized participation in Sunday religious observances, an October 1934 Board meeting had decided that Akazawa and Shimizu would attempt to negotiate an agreement with the Ministry of Education and the Tokyo city government. Clearly, however, nothing had been accomplished in September 1935, when the matter was raised again. Akazawa and Shimizu were again asked to make an approach to the authorities. Even so, the issue dragged on, continuing after Akazawa died in 1936 and Shimizu replaced him as chairman of the Tōyō Eiwa Board.

In November 1935, the Vice-Minister of Education issued a new statement on religion in schools, Items for Consideration Concerning the Cultivation of Religious Sentiments (*Shūkyōteki jōsō no kanyō ni kansuru jikō*).²⁴⁾ Based on the principle of freedom of religion, the document stressed that schools had to be neutral to all religions and denominations and warned against violations of the Imperial Rescript on Education. On January 10, 1936, the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* reported that the government suspected Buddhist and Christian schools were using ethics class hours to promote their own teachings and was preparing to issue an order forbidding the use of religious lectures that did not suit Japan. Although the government denied the re-

port when the Japan National Christian Education Association asked for confirmation, the situation was viewed as a crisis for Christian education.

At the Tōyō Eiwa Board meeting of April 27, 1936, Hamilton argued the need to have the primary department incorporated with the high school and teacher training departments of the school and got approval to begin the process.²⁵⁾ However, it was reported in the following May meeting that preliminary inquiries had revealed it to be “improbable that such permission will be given by government to a Primary school openly avowing that the object of the Foundation is to provide education founded on Christian principles.”²⁶⁾ The Board decided to postpone a decision on the application, leaving the primary department as the property of Chairman Shimizu and with its Christian objectives intact. The September 19 meeting reported that Shimizu had finally approached the Ministry of Education on the question of Saturday classes. Since the new person in charge seemed—surprisingly to “view our position with some sympathy,” the Board decided to follow his advice and put off any change to its Saturday-Sunday schedule as well.²⁷⁾

The First Japanese Principal

Although Hamilton served energetically and effectively as principal through the stresses of the 1930s, a consensus had been reached on both sides of the Pacific that her replacement should be a Japanese national. As her third regular home leave approached, Hamilton reported to the Board on January 27, 1937, that “it is the desire of the Mission to have a Japanese principal as soon as may be practical...”²⁸⁾ The Board agreed to consider as acting principal a Tōyō Eiwa graduate, Akagi Yoshiko, who had returned to the school to teach in the previous autumn after obtaining her M.A. at the University of Michigan. At the April meeting, however, it was reported that Shimizu and another Board member had called on Bishop Kugimiya Tokio of the Japan Methodist Church to ask whether “Mrs. Akagi’s family relationships might be such as to stand in the way of her taking responsibility in the school as principal or acting principal.”²⁹⁾ What exactly might be problematic in the family relationships was not clarified. Although the Bishop—to his credit—said that he did not view the family relationships to be a problem and thought Mrs. Akagi might be suitable for the position, the Board decided after much discussion that it was “too soon” to appoint her to the position of principal. Apparently frustrated by the outcome of the discussion, Hamilton “stated her strong conviction that some arrangement should be made soon to put the management of the school in the hands of a *Japanese principal*.” On May 19, she offered the Board the name of Ono Naoichi, currently principal of the Tokushima Jogakkō in Yamaguchi Prefecture. The minutes noted: “Favourable consideration was given to the suggestion that in the present situation it would be the best arrangement to appoint a man principal of fine character, record and experience.”³⁰⁾ Subsequent interviews and a recommendation from a Kansei Gakuin university dean indicated the acceptability of the candidate “from the standpoint of Christian faith and character as well as administrative ability and ability in English.”³¹⁾ Bishop Kugimiya declared there would be “no mistake” in the appointment.

Ono was approved unanimously by the Board in September 1937 and announced

to the teachers in a special joint meeting held the following month.³²⁾ Noting that “changes in the times” required an end to the practice of appointing foreign missionaries as principal, Shimizu explained Ono’s religious fervor and extensive teaching and administrative experience and declared his appointment as a big step forward for the school.

Both Hamilton and Courtice, the senior WMS representative in Japan, expressed satisfaction with the outcome, and Hamilton announced that the pastor of the Azabu Church would provide religious guidance by joining the teachers’ meeting. At her final teachers’ meeting in January 1938, Hamilton identified Ono’s strong qualifications: his Methodist faith, his understanding of the Methodist mission, and his educational experience and experience in dealing with the authorities.³³⁾ Ono took up his appointment as Tōyō Eiwa’s first Japanese principal in April 1938. Hamilton departed in February, leaving a gift of 1,000 yen for the school’s endowment fund. She spent her year’s leave studying early education in Canada, the United States, Britain and India.

Receiving the Imperial Portrait

After Tōyō Eiwa received the Ministry of Education request for an explanation of its position on receiving an imperial portrait, discussion continued within the three Methodist mission schools and among the foreign missionaries.³⁴⁾ Although connections with high-ranking families offered the school some protection from government demands, those became less effective, particularly after the February 26, 1936, incident in which former Prime Minister Saitō Makoto, the school’s highest-ranking supporter, was assassinated. As Japan’s war on mainland China intensified, Christian schools were placed under increasing pressure to show their support for national goals. A teachers’ meeting held in July 1938 confirmed that the school would cooperate in a “support for the economic war week (*keizaisen kyōchō shukan*)” by cutting back on purchases of cotton, hemp and wool and by having rice and pickled plum lunches (*hinomaru bentō*) once a week.³⁵⁾ In the first week of September, pupils took part in group labor (*shūdan kinrō*) as required by the Ministry of Education, even though girls in the 4th and 5th years of the high school had already come to school during the vacation to sew 150 white work uniforms (*hakuī*) and the younger girls had done three days of outdoor tasks. For the thanksgiving holiday in November 1938, students visited 250 Azabu families of soldiers serving at the front in order to give them presents of fruit and vegetables.

In this charged atmosphere, the question of the imperial portrait could no longer be avoided, and representatives of the three Canadian Methodist schools made a decision to comply. In the Board of Directors meeting held in September, Principal Ono showed plans prepared by Vories to build the necessary repository for the portraits (of the emperor and empress) in an area near the principal’s office at a projected cost of 1920 yen.³⁶⁾ It was agreed that women teachers would be assigned to protect the portraits during the day; male teachers would take over at night.

With preparations completed, Tōyō Eiwa received its imperial portraits on February 2, 1939. Pupils from kindergarten up lined the streets approaching the school as Ono carried the portraits. Teachers, pupils, and members of the mothers’ associa-

tion attended a ceremony at the school. The events of the day dominated the February issue of *Tōyō Eiwa nyūsu*.³⁷⁾ Speaking for the school, Chairman of the Board Shimizu, Principal Ono, and mission representative Sybil Courtice expressed thanks for the unparalleled honor and committed the school to even greater efforts at national service. Congratulations and exhortations to service were offered by the head of the Japan National Christian Education Association, Vice-Admiral Koga Mineichi, the politician Ayabe Kentarō, House of Peers councilor Uehara Etsujirō, and a representative of the mothers' association. (Ayabe and Uehara had children in the school; Koga's connection was not explained.) Many of the messages mentioned Tōyō Eiwa's Christian mission; none hinted at any contradiction between Christian faith and devotion to the emperor. Ono came closest to addressing the issue directly with a statement that the spirit of God was manifest in all religions but perfectly in Christianity, allowing him to conclude with the assertion that Christian ecumenicity and *hakkō ichiu* (Eight Corners of the World under One Roof) were one.

Courtice's contribution written in Japanese, presumably with help, under the title "Piety and Loyalty (*keishin to chūsei*)," defies easy interpretation:

After our long-held desire was realized and the imperial portraits were deposited at our school, experiencing the honor of attending the ceremony I received an even deeper sense of responsibility towards the spirit of our school....

We who take Japan as our second homeland aim to have the same feelings of patriotism as all of you. I pray deeply that the teachers and pupils of Tōyō Eiwa as well as the friends of the school will all alike make great efforts toward the high ideal of service and live as good citizens of this great country.

Among the poems of the Emperor Meiji there is one I have always read respectfully as the source of such a feeling:

"It is by discerning the heart of the invisible god (*kami*) that the hearts of people become sincere."

Thought, feelings, words, and actions are truth. To the extent that our lives are penetrated by "truth," are we not as subjects on the path of loyalty?

I think the following verse from a letter to Peter truly teaches us deeply the precepts of a good life: "Honor all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God (*kami*). Honor the emperor (*ō*) (1 Peter 2:17)."

While there is no reason to doubt Courtice's sense of responsibility to the school and loyalty to her "second homeland," one can only guess her intentions in using parallel quotations to present Japanese and Christian deities, both as "*kami*." Was she simply expressing the sentiment, held by missionaries at Tōyō Eiwa for more than 50 years, that the Bible and Christian faith offered a true guide to serving Japan? Or did her words containing a warning not to abandon Christianity in what several writers in *Tōyō Eiwa nyūsu* called "these extraordinary times"? Did she feel discomfort or irony in writing such message, or did she view it as a necessary service to save her beloved school?

Courtice left Japan for a year's leave in the spring of 1939. When Hamilton returned from her leave to begin the spring term of 1939, the imperial portraits were

already installed.

Compliance with Government Demands

May 13, 1939, was set as the date for a special Ministry of Education inspection of Tōyō Eiwa's primary department. It was probably not coincidental that May 13 was a Saturday, requiring the school to switch its Monday and Saturday programs in order to make Saturday a school day.³⁸⁾ Already the Ministry of Education had withheld its response to Tōyō Eiwa's request to increase the numbers of students at primary, high school, and teacher training levels—a revenue-raising measure—while it considered whether or not to require the removal of the phrase “founded on Christian principles” from the school's constitution.³⁹⁾ Since the results of the May inspection included guidance on items such as the concept of national polity (*kokutai*), drills, the raising of the flag, and the ritual bowing toward the imperial palace, it was also not coincidental that the school administrators decided in June to erect national flags on the roofs of the elementary and high school buildings, establish a discipline (*kun'iku*) section in the high school, and organize lectures on mobilizing supplies and economic problems. The issue of introducing Saturday classes was also discussed during the summer of 1939. In July, the Board of Directors decided to make Saturday a regular school day in order to provide opportunity for farm work (*gakkō nōjō*); it expressed deep regret that the more than 50-year tradition of compulsory Sunday school attendance would have to end.⁴⁰⁾

Hamilton did not attend the July meeting, but she was present, and acting as recording secretary in September, when Principal Ono reported that it “seems to be becoming necessary to remove all mention of “Christian principles” from everything pertaining to the Primary Dept.”⁴¹⁾ There was also discussion on the advisability of changing the name “Tōyō Eiwa” in order to remove the foreign associations from the “Ei” (“English”). From June 1940, ritual bowing toward the palace was conducted held every day before morning worship.

IV. Removal of the Foreign Missionaries

In 1940, five Canadian women worked at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō. Lois Lehman (1897–1977) was in charge of the teacher-training program; Jane Kinney headed the English program; May Hennigar, wife of a prominent United Church missionary stationed in Japan, taught music. After returning to Japan from home leave in the spring of 1940, Courtice had resumed her position as WMS representative. Although no longer principal, Hamilton taught English and headed a voluntary Sunday school program she had organized after compulsory Sunday attendance was ended. With the exception of Hennigar, all were long-serving, senior members of WMS. Kinney, Hamilton and (after her return) Courtice were members of the Board of Directors and appear to have participated actively in the school's strategy of tactical accommodation to Ministry of Education demands.

In the wider Christian community, however, the interests of Japanese and foreign Christians were no longer closely aligned. According to mission historian A. Hamish Ion, the generally firm sympathy of the Japan-based foreign Protestant mission community for Japanese goals in Asia survived the 1931 attack on Manchuria but

cracked after the outbreak of hostilities with China in 1937.⁴²⁾ Foreign missionaries in Japan became increasingly concerned about Japanese activities on the Asian mainland, and Christian publications in Canada spoke often of the difficulties faced by Japan-based colleagues as they worked under the “intensifying of extreme nationalism.” Japanese Christians, on the other hand, demonstrated patriotism by joining the government’s campaign for spiritual mobilization, and leaders of the Protestant denominations moved to realize a union of Japanese Protestant churches promoted by the government.⁴³⁾ Formed in 1941, the United Church of Japan (Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan) represented not only the unification of Japanese Christians but also the separation of their member denominations from organizational headquarters outside of Japan.⁴⁴⁾

The movements in the broader Japanese Christian community toward unity and freedom from foreign influence impacted on the organization of Christian or “mission” schools. In September 1940, the Japan National Christian Education Association approved a new set of guidelines for member schools that aimed to complete their separation from foreign control. First, all principals and division heads (*buchō*) should be Japanese nationals; second, schools should be independently incorporated; and, third, the chairman and half of all school boards should be Japanese.⁴⁵⁾ Although Tōyō Eiwa had moved ahead on most of these items, it implemented the remaining guidelines immediately, removing Kinney, Lehman, and Hamilton from the programs they led. Moreover, in order to enhance Japanese leadership, the Board of Directors asked two of its foreign members to resign, leaving five foreign and seven Japanese members. In December, the Board further announced that, effective April 1941, Tōyō Eiwa would change the “Ei” character in its name from 英 (“English”) to 永 (“long”).

In the absence of records, one does not know the reactions of the missionary women at Tōyō Eiwa to their enforced retirement from the positions of prominence they had held for so long. Reporting to overseas readers on Christian activities in Japan for 1940, Charles Inglehart noted that foreigners had not been involved in the national association’s decision to remove them from positions of leadership in Christian schools and added: “In the case of missionaries who consider that under all the circumstances their contribution to the life and work of the Christian movement in Japan is ended, and who feel their presence is rather an embarrassment to the work, the Japanese Christian leaders think it would be no kindness to ask them to remain.”⁴⁶⁾ At Tōyō Eiwa, three of the five missionaries apparently decided that they could contribute no further. A teachers’ meeting of November 19 announced, without elaboration, the organization of a party to farewell Kinney, Lehman, and Hennigar. Kinney left Japan on December 6, 1940, and the other two in the middle of the month. (Hamilton and Courtice planned to stay in Japan, despite the difficult circumstances.)⁴⁷⁾ The departure of the three Tōyō Eiwa women coincided with what contemporary accounts by foreign missionaries missions termed a large-scale missionary “exodus” from Japan.⁴⁸⁾

The departures also coincided with a major shift in life at Tōyō Eiwa. Teachers’ meetings for 1941 give a picture of a school trying vainly to maintain the familiar routines of classes, club activities, trips and even Sunday school amid the intrusions

of farm work, shrine weeding, activities to support the troops, lectures on national issues, and air raid drills. Hamilton taught English and, probably, Sunday school, but nothing more than her attendance is noted in the records of teachers' meetings.

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor—unremarked in the school records—prompted another sharp shift in the missionary relationship with Tōyō Eiwa. Hamilton retired to her room in the foreign missionary residence, refusing to appear at the school. Officially still a member of the Board, she attended an emergency meeting on December 17 to ask whether she should remain in Japan or return to Canada. Although the Board members apparently said they had no objection to her remaining at the school, it was reported at a teachers' meeting held on January 1, 1942, that Hamilton had resigned her position as English teacher. Since salaries could not be sent from Canada, the school decided to support both Hamilton and Courtice financially so long as they remained in Japan.

Gwen R. P. Norman, spouse of a Canadian missionary who had returned to Canada before the outbreak of war, wrote that there were six WMS missionary women, including Hamilton and Courtice, in active service in Japan at the time of Pearl Harbor.⁴⁹⁾ All remained in their homes for the first few months under informal house arrest. They were free to go out if they informed the appropriate officer, but rarely left their homes. Their maids did shopping for them, and food was brought to them. In June 1942, Hamilton and two other women were escorted to Yokohama, where they boarded an exchange ship that ultimately returned them to Canada. The remaining three missionaries, including Courtice, were interned for another year in a former Catholic school in the Denenchōfu area of Tokyo before being repatriated in the summer of 1943.

V. Conclusion

In his study of the Canadian Protestant missionary movement in the Japanese empire from 1931–45, A. Hamish Ion offers a compelling account of the process in which missionaries were gradually separated from their central roles in Christian education and isolated from the Japanese Christian community as the Japanese government enforced compliance with its nationalistic and anti-Western policies. With the approach of war, opinions were divided on whether or not to leave Japan but, by the attack on Pearl Harbor, only a bare handful of Canadian missionaries remained. Ion's conclusion is stark: "The missionary age died in failure."⁵⁰⁾

The experiences of Frances Hamilton and her fellow missionaries at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō fit within the broad outlines of Ion's account. In the early 1930s, Hamilton was a powerful and effective principal, delegating day-to-day administration to a Japanese national while she worked on new construction and on securing the school's financial and legal autonomy. The 50-year celebration over which she presided offered a striking public demonstration of the success of the WMS educational mission in Japan and marked a high point of Canadian missionary influence within the school. From the second half of the 1930s, however, Tōyō Eiwa's status as a Christian school was threatened by government policies that aimed to restrict Christianity while at the same time placing pressure on the school to participate in its emperor-centered and nationalistic programs. In order to meet these challenges and in

line with Canadian mission goals, Hamilton stepped down as principal in 1938 in favor of a Japanese national. By 1940, the presence of foreigners in Christian schools had itself become a sufficient impediment that the Japan National Christian Education Association decided to remove them from leadership positions and complete the financial and legal separation of the schools from foreign church bodies. In the wake of this reorganization, three of Tōyō Eiwa's five foreign missionaries resigned at the end of 1940, leaving Hamilton and Courtice to face the outbreak of war in December 1941 as isolated enemy aliens.

And yet, the narrative of Canadian women missionaries at Tōyō Eiwa in the decade leading to war suggests that their relationships with Japanese colleagues were more balanced, reciprocal, and enduring than the themes of isolation and separation suggest. Living and working on the Tōyō Eiwa campus during careers that typically stretched to 20 or 30 years, WMS women had the opportunity and, it appears, the capacity, to build productive and mutually respectful relationships with Japanese teachers and administrators that survived the stresses of ultranationalism and war. The records of the Board of Directors, in particular, suggest that Hamilton, Courtice and other foreign Board members participated in devising and implementing strategies to respond to government pressures in the late 1930s. So long as decisions were reached in common and with the objective of defending Tōyō Eiwa, the WMS missionaries could accept even distasteful measures such as accepting the imperial portraits, participating in shrine-related activities, and even abandoning compulsory school attendance on Sundays. It is likely that Tōyō Eiwa's 1940 decision to implement the guidelines announced by the National Christian Education Association shocked the missionaries not because they were being removed from leadership positions but because they had not been included in the decisionmaking. At this point, when three of their members decided to resign their positions, they may have felt isolation, and even betrayal.

But if there was a sense of betrayal it did not deter the WMS missionaries from fulfilling their commitment to Japan. After their return to Canada, at least 10 former Japan-based missionaries spent part of the war years teaching high school classes to Japanese-Canadian children in internment camps. Hamilton worked at Lemon Creek camp in British Columbia from 1942.⁵¹ After the war, more than 10 missionaries, including Hamilton and Courtice, resumed their work in Japan. Based on the number of baptisms they produced, Ion is probably correct in declaring the missionary movement in Japan by had ended in failure. Based on the building of enduring human relationships built in pursuit of a shared cause, however, the WMS mission at Tōyō Eiwa proved remarkably successful.

Notes

- 1) Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakunenshi Hensan Jikkō Inkai ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi* (Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1983), 304–07.
- 2) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*; Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Gojūnenshi Hensan Inkai ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō gojūnenshi* (Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934); *Kanada Fujin Senkyōshi Monogatari* Hensan Inkai (ed.), *Kanada fujin senkyōshi monogatari* (Gakkō Hōjin Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 2010).
- 3) Kyōin kaigiroku, 1932–1942.
- 4) Tokyo Board of Directors, Sep. 4, 1891–Mar. 14, 1940.

- 5) Biographical details are drawn from: *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 260–61; *Kanada fujin senkyōshi monogatari*, 68–77; and the personal history records of missionary personnel in Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin archives.
- 6) Profile by Akagi Yoshiko in *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō gojūnenshi*, 208–09.
- 7) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 229–30; A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931–1945* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), 114.
- 8) Kyōin kaigiroku, April 1932–March 1934.
- 9) Kyōin kaigiroku, April 1932–March 1934, 17.
- 10) Kyōin kaigiroku, April 1932–March 1934, 66.
- 11) Kyōin kaigiroku, April 1932–March 1934, 89.
- 12) Insert in Kyōin kaigiroku, April 1932–March 1934.
- 13) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 231–35, 248–50; Tokyo Board of Directors, 1927–1934; Ion, 114–15
- 14) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 246–48; *Shiryōshitsu dayori* 史料室だより, no. 71, Toyo Eiwa Jogakuin Shiryōshitsu, Nov. 2008.
- 15) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 249.
- 16) Tokyo Board of Directors, May 31, 1935.
- 17) Tokyo Board of Directors, Feb. 15, 1935; *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 312–13.
- 18) Tokyo Board of Directors, Sep. 30, 1935.
- 19) Okada Akiko, “Senjika no mishon sukūru” 61–104 in Tomisaka Kirisutokyō Sentā ed., *Josei Kirisutokyōsha to sensō*, Kōro-sha, 2002, 63–64.
- 20) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 312.
- 21) Ion, 88–90.
- 22) Tokyo Board of Directors, Sep. 30, 1935.
- 23) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 312–13.
- 24) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 316–17.
- 25) Tokyo Board of Directors, April 27, 1936.
- 26) Tokyo Board of Directors, May 29, 1936.
- 27) Tokyo Board of Directors, Sep. 19, 1936; *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 312.
- 28) Tokyo Board of Directors, Jan 27, 1937. *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 316–17.
- 29) Tokyo Board of Directors, April 28, 1937.
- 30) Tokyo Board of Directors, May 19, 1937.
- 31) Tokyo Board of Directors, Sep. 25, 1937.
- 32) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 317–18; Kyōin kaigiroku, October 6, 1937.
- 33) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 318–19; Kyōin kaigiroku, January 10, 1938.
- 34) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 322–23.
- 35) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 324–27.
- 36) Tokyo Board of Directors, Sep. 29, 1938, Feb. 4, 1939; Kyōin kaigiroku, October 12, 1938.
- 37) *Tōyō Eiwa nyūsu*, Feb. 25, 1939.
- 38) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 325–27; *Tōyō Eiwa nyūsu*, May 1939.
- 39) Tokyo Board of Directors, February 4, 1939.
- 40) Tokyo Board of Directors, July 12, 1939.
- 41) Tokyo Board of Directors, Sep. 28, 1939.
- 42) Ion, 210–24.
- 43) Ion, 238–43.
- 44) Ion, 256–81.
- 45) *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin hyakunenshi*, 328–29. English-language minutes of the Board of Directors meeting are not available for the period after March 1940 and Japanese-language minutes have not been made public.
- 46) “The Japanese Christian Movement in Crisis” in *The Japan Christian Year Book for 1941*, 62–64.
- 47) Lehman, a U.S. national, had wanted to stay, but at the strong urging of the U.S. embassy suddenly made the decision to leave Japan.

- 48) See, for example, "1940-41 and the Missionary Exodus," *The Japan Christian Quarterly*, XVI: 1, 1941; Ion, 273-95.
- 49) Gwen R. P. Norman, "One Hundred Years in Japan, 1873-1973" (unpublished manuscript), 408-11. Ion, 312-13, follows Norman's account, though he mistakenly puts Courtice's repatriation at 1942.
- 50) Ion, 1.
- 51) Data collected by Ise Kimiko, Toyo Eiwa University.