

Mount Holyoke College: Teachers to Japan, Students from Japan

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During the last decade of the nineteenth century, four Japanese women graduated from Mount Holyoke College. All four returned to Japan to teach. Their travels were shaped in part by American women, former students at Mount Holyoke and other American colleges, who likewise went to Japan as teachers. This essay explores the recruitment to the college of the four Japanese women, the trans-Pacific networks that sustained them, and their subsequent lives in Japan not only as teachers but also as wives, mothers, and citizens. The experience of these four women illuminates not only the place of international travel in the construction of higher education for women in Japan but also some of the struggles within American society about the issue of race and its effects on accessibility to women's higher education.

The experience of the four Japanese women at Mount Holyoke demonstrates the importance of Protestant denominational ties in shaping educational opportunities for nineteenth century Japanese women. Despite the centrality of such ties in facilitating the travel of Japanese women to the United States for education, they have often been overshadowed in historical studies by the narratives of exceptional individuals. The prominence of Tsuda College stands as a monument to the life of Tsuda Umeko (1864–1929), who with four other girls traveled with a government-sponsored diplomatic mission in 1871.¹ Two of the girls returned home because of illness, but Tsuda and two others remained in the United States for ten years, and one of them, Yamkawa Sutematsu (1860–1919), graduated in 1882 from Vassar College, becoming the first Japanese woman to earn a bachelor's degree.² Too often, however, Tsuda Umeko and her companions are treated as if they were the only women in the Meiji era who earned American college degrees.³ When scholarly attention has extended beyond the story of Tsuda Umeko and her companions of the 1870s, the focus has often been on the students dispatched with support from the non-denominational "Scholarship for Japanese Women" that Tsuda established with the help of a committee of wealthy and influential Protestant women in the Philadelphia area.⁴ The majority of the Japanese women who traveled to the United States resembled the Japanese women who studied at Mount Holyoke in that their studies were funded through ad hoc arrangements facilitated by denominational ties rather than by formal scholarships. Examination of the Mount Holyoke women, then, will provide insights into the experience of tens of others who studied at small American institutions and returned to Japan to perform unheralded labors.⁵

Despite the centrality in this essay of the classroom as a site of both learning and

work, the story of trans-Pacific journeys also requires the idea of the home. Classrooms on both sides of the Pacific were embedded in institutions that characterized themselves as homes. The idea of the home will illuminate how these individual lives embodied larger patterns of national identity, citizenship, individualism, and gender equity in an international context in which the status of women was a measure of the level of civilization.

Mount Holyoke, Congregationalism, Missionaries, and Japan

Two sets of overlapping networks were crucial to the successful careers of the Japanese women who graduated from Mount Holyoke in the 1890s. Ties among former students of Mount Holyoke facilitated their recruitment to the school and their stay there. Equally important in terms of preparing them for an American education, funding their studies, and securing employment after graduation were denominational ties among Congregationalists in New England, American Board missionaries in Japan, and the leaders of the Kumiai church in Japan. The two networks overlapped in that some graduates of Mount Holyoke became American Board missionaries to Japan or the wives of American Board missionaries.

From the founding of the seminary in 1837, Mary Lyon intended that Mount Holyoke should be a Christian institution, one that would “cultivate the missionary spirit among its pupils.”⁶⁾ Although the seminary and college were ostensibly non-denominational, the ties with Congregationalism were strong. The original trustees of the seminary included Joseph D. Condit the pastor of the South Hadley Congregational Church. When a new Congregational church was built in South Hadley in 1845, every third pew was reserved for the seminary.⁷⁾ Rufus Anderson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the missionary arm of Congregationalism, served as a graduation speaker.⁸⁾

Even before Japan opened as a mission field, the seminary had sent a number of its former students and graduates overseas as missionaries. Women educated at Mount Holyoke were among the earliest missionary women to serve in Japan as wives and single educators. Mary Jane Forbes Greene and her husband Daniel Crosby Greene arrived in Japan in November 1869 as the first representatives of the ABCFM.⁹⁾ The next year Ann Eliza Clark Gulick (1833–1938) transferred with her husband Orramel from the Sandwich Islands to Japan.¹⁰⁾ Beneficiaries of the education Mount Holyoke had to offer made substantial contributions to the development of Christian schools for women. Former students of Mount Holyoke who taught for a time at Kobe College included Martha Barrows, Virginia Clarkson, and Mary Anna Holbrook.¹¹⁾ Mary E. Gouldy (1843–1925) spent eleven years in Osaka after her arrival in 1873, teaching at Baika Girls’ School, founded in 1878 by the Reverend Sawayama, minister of a Japanese Congregational church in Osaka.¹²⁾

Four Students from Japan

All four of the Japanese women who attended Mount Holyoke in the 1890s had personal experiences that set them apart from the majority of Japanese women and facilitated their access to an American education. The first Japanese students at Mount Holyoke, they had both predecessors and peers. In the two decades prior to

1900, Japanese women studied at a number of colleges such as Bryn Mawr, Carleton, Earlham, Wellesley, and Wilson as well as Vassar.

Miyagawa Toshi (1865–1935), Mount Holyoke class of 1893, was born in China to Chinese parents and grew up in an American missionary family. Her Japanese name came from the Japanese pastor who adopted her prior to her departure for America, undoubtedly so she could acquire a passport. An American missionary, John Gulick (1832–1923) and his wife Emily Delacour (1833–1875) found “Martha,” as she was known, in North China and took her in when she was about three. At some point Martha traveled with the John Gulicks to London.¹³⁾ Emily Gulick, an English woman who had been a missionary in Hong Kong before she married John Gulick in 1864, died in Kobe, Japan in December 1875. John and Emily Gulick, ABCFM missionaries in Kalgan, China had been granted leave to spend the winter of 1875–1876 with his brother Orramel in Kobe; both were suffering health problems and Emily was pregnant. They were planning to return to Kalgan, and the tribute that appeared in the *Missionary Herald* was written by her colleagues there.¹⁴⁾

After Emily’s death, John Gulick gave up his missionary work in China for the sake of his health and relocated to Japan, where his sister Julia and his brother were missionaries and where his parents Peter and Fanny had taken up residence with Orramel in Kobe in 1874.¹⁵⁾ Martha enrolled at Kobe Home, the predecessor of Kobe College, and graduated with the first class in 1882. She taught at the Kobe school until 1885, when she went to Yokohama to Ferris Seminary for a year.¹⁶⁾ If her educational decisions were influenced by her teachers at Kobe, Mount Holyoke College was certainly a possible destination; the teachers at Kobe included former Mount Holyoke students such as Martha Barrows and Virginia Clarkson. If Martha’s decision was influenced by the Gulick family, then Mount Holyoke remained a likely destination; John’s sister-in-law Ann Gulick was a graduate of the seminary. It seems likely that Martha Gulick’s life continued to be shaped by the Gulick family. Addison Gulick says that Martha and a second Chinese girl “became permanently associated with the family.”¹⁷⁾ From 1878, John Gulick was stationed in Kobe as part of the Japan Mission. On May 31, 1880, he married Frances A. Stevens, already a member of the mission, and the couple continued to reside in Kobe at least through 1884.¹⁸⁾ John Gulick did not resign from his missionary appointment to Japan and relocate to Hawaii until 1899, about the time of Martha’s marriage. The Reverend Miyagawa Tsuneteru (1857–1936), who adopted Martha Gulick and provided her with the Japanese name Miyagawa Toshi, had connections with the Gulick family; he went on preaching tours with Orramel Gulick.¹⁹⁾ Miyagawa remained in touch with John Gulick, sending greetings for his eightieth birthday.²⁰⁾

The exact circumstances that brought Miyagawa Toshi, as we shall now call her, to Mount Holyoke are not clear. Arrangements for her admission may have been made when her foster father and his wife were in New England in 1888–1889. Frances Gulick arrived in Boston July 29, 1888, John Gulick on November 13. John received degrees from Williams College and Adelbert College in 1889; John and Frances embarked for Japan from San Francisco on October 17, 1889.²¹⁾ A note in the Mount Holyoke archives says that Dr. Mariana [Mary Anna] Holbrook interested the Mount Holyoke faculty in Martha Gulick’s case and the faculty provided the

means for her study. Dr. Holbrook was in New England in 1888 and 1889, on the faculty of Mount Holyoke College after a time as a medical missionary in North China. She embarked as a missionary to Japan from San Francisco on October 3, 1889, the same month that the Gulicks returned to the Japan mission. It is easy to imagine that the decision to enroll Martha/Toshi at Mount Holyoke was made in New England. In any case, the college catalog for 1890–1891 lists Miyagawa Toshi as a first-year student; by the next fall, she was listed as a junior.

Miyagawa Toshi graduated from Mount Holyoke College with a Bachelor of Literature degree on June 22, 1893. Her home town was identified as Osaka, the city where Miyagawa Tsuneteru was the pastor of the Osaka First Church. It is apparent from a letter to her classmates dated December 12, 1893, that Miyagawa made many friends during her three years in South Hadley.²²⁾ She mentions letters exchanged with Yamawaki Hana, a Japanese student who arrived at Mount Holyoke in 1891. Following graduation she spent five weeks with “the Dickinson girls,” a reference to Laura and Louise Dickinson of Amherst, who were members of her graduating class. “I spent the time reading, sewing, sleeping, playing with two dear little maltese kittens and cutting up generally,” she wrote. Her trip west to Vancouver and the voyage home took her to Oberlin, Ohio; the World’s Fair at Chicago; Huntley, Illinois; Minneapolis; and Winnipeg. A likely explanation for the stop in Huntley is the fact that Augusta Sawyer, the sister of ABCFM missionary Jerome Davis, lived there and the Davis children spent vacations there from the mid-1880s.²³⁾ Because Toshi mentions the name of the town with no identification of the state, as if her friends would know where Huntley was, it suggests that she may have stayed there before. Miyagawa arrived back in Japan at Yokohama on September 11.

The second Japanese student at Mount Holyoke, Yamawaki Hana, had the distinction of having entered Mount Holyoke as a married woman. She married in her mid-teens and acquired her higher education after her marriage. In an autobiographical essay written as a student, she writes of “dangerous circumstances” and her married life in a large and unhappy family and refers to the difficulties of getting permission from her father-in-law for her studies. Her classmates vaguely remembered that her husband was in California while she was at Mount Holyoke and that Hana felt that she and her husband “did not think alike in religion and many other things and would never be happy together.”²⁴⁾ She was divorced not long after her graduation from Mount Holyoke and resumed the use of her original family name, Ōshima.

Ōshima Hana was born in 1864 into a samurai family. Because her mother was aware of the opportunities available in the new era inaugurated by the Meiji Restoration of 1868, her education was quite different from that of her older siblings. She attended a modern government-sponsored elementary school. Family plans for her to attend higher schooling in Tokyo were laid aside when her mother suffered a stroke and her sister married, leaving Hana in charge of the housework. Her brother’s marriage provided alternate care for her mother and Hana entered her unhappy marriage at this time. Through her married sister, Hana became interested in Christianity, and she determined to further her education by attending a Christian school. She began her studies at Kobe Home in 1884; the school principal assigned

Miyagawa Toshi to tutor her in English. Hana chose Kobe Home because of her interest in Christianity, and she was baptized in 1885 by Matsuyama Takayoshi (1847–1935) of Kobe Church. She graduated in 1889.²⁵⁾

Yamawaki Hana's first job after graduation was at the Christian girls' school in Tottori, the seat of a prefecture of the same name on the Japan Sea side of Japan's main island. The city had a population of about thirty thousand. For the Japan Mission of the American Board, Tottori was considered part of the Okayama Station. This work brought Hana into contact with ABCFM missionaries determined to raise the level of women's education in Japan.

The recruitment of Japanese women to study at Mount Holyoke in the 1890s centered around Mary Anna Holbrook. Holbrook left her studies at Mount Holyoke in 1878 and went to the University of Michigan, where she earned a medical degree. She served as an American Board missionary in Tung-cho China from 1881 to 1886, when a bout of cholera required her to return to the United States. Forbidden by the Board on the basis of her health to return to China, she developed an interest in Japan.²⁶⁾ As a faculty member at Mount Holyoke from 1887 to 1889, she was active in the movement to have the institution recognized as a college.²⁷⁾ She pursued her dream of work in Japan by recruiting three Mount Holyoke students: Cora A. Stone, Caroline Telford, and Elizabeth Wilkinson. Holbrook and the three students then petitioned the American Board to establish a Mount Holyoke College in Japan that would train Japanese women so that they "may do for their own and neighboring countries what the Mt. Holyoke of American has been able to do for the world."²⁸⁾ The Board rejected the petition, but the four women nevertheless applied to the Board to be missionaries to Japan. Mary Holbrook and Cora Stone set sail from San Francisco on October 3, 1889.²⁹⁾ Caroline Telford left San Francisco a year later on the S. S. *Gaelic* and arrived in Yokohama on Sunday, October 19, 1890.³⁰⁾ Elizabeth Wilkinson, the last of the four women to arrive in Japan, was the first to return home. She did not sail from San Francisco until September 26, 1891.³¹⁾ Very shortly after her arrival in Japan, Wilkinson was diagnosed with an "acute mania." Accompanied by missionaries and fellow Mount Holyoke graduates Martha Barrows and Cora Stone, Wilkinson arrived back in San Francisco on March 2, 1892.³²⁾

Yamawaki Hana met the women from Mount Holyoke and other ABCFM missionaries because they came to Tottori. Eliza Talcott and Ida McLennan joined Yamawaki in Tottori her first winter there. James Pettee of Okayama was impressed that the women planned to stay in a Japanese house.³³⁾ Holbrook, Stone, and Telford also came to live in Tottori. Yamawaki recorded in her memoir that it was Ida McLennan who asked her if she might want to go to the United States and assured her that Mary Holbrook would help her get there. Yamawaki credited her Japanese friends with providing her travel expenses, thus implying that her expenses in the United States were paid by someone else.³⁴⁾

Mount Holyoke College conferred the degree of Bachelor of Science on Yamawaki Hana of Okayama in 1895. At the fiftieth reunion of her class, some of her classmates recalled that she had contemplated giving up and going home because of the difficulty of taking notes in English. As a student, she attended the prayer meetings of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and a Christian education

conference in Boston.³⁵⁾ Yamawaki mentioned that she spent vacations with Caroline Telford, whose home was in Port Byron, New York.³⁶⁾ After her graduation, Yamawaki participated in the 1895 annual meeting of the Board of the Pacific, presumably on her way home to Japan.

Kajiro Yoshi (1871–1959) entered Mount Holyoke as a member of the freshman class in the fall of 1893.³⁷⁾ That year there were three Japanese students at Mount Holyoke. In addition to Yamawaki Hana, who was beginning her junior year, Takahashi Chika of Tokyo was enrolled as a special student.³⁸⁾ Born in Matsuyama City in Ehime, Kajiro Yoshi moved with her family to Osaka, where her father Kajiro Tomoyoshi (1852–1921) became interested in Christianity and was baptized by Nijima Jō, a Congregational minister who had graduated from Andover Seminary. Her father worked closely with the ABCFM missionary John Hyde DeForest, traveling with him on an evangelistic visit to Tottori in 1880. In February 1881, Tomoyoshi was ordained. Yoshi's father was one of the founders of Baika Girls' School, and she enrolled there in 1879. In the fall of 1881, Tomoyoshi resigned his position in Osaka and moved to Okayama; Yoshi was left behind in the Baika dormitory. Yoshi's mother died in April 1883 and the DeForest family took Yoshi into their home and continued her education at Baika Girls' School.³⁹⁾ When Yoshi graduated in 1889, she was offered two positions, one as the assistant to a missionary and one as teacher at Sanyō English Girls' School (Sanyō eiwa jogakkō) in Okayama. On DeForest's advice, she took the teaching job.

In Okayama, Kajiro Yoshi remained firmly embedded within the community of ABCFM missionaries and the Japanese Kumiai kyōkai. Sanyō English Girls' School was established in 1886 by Japanese Christians affiliated with the Kumiai kyōkai in Okayama. The first teacher at Sanyō was Nishiyama Kohisa, one of the twelve members of the first graduating class of Kobe Girls' School.⁴⁰⁾ Yoshi's arrival at Sanyō in September was after Nishiyama had left to marry the pastor Kanamori Tsūrin (1857–1945).⁴¹⁾

According to John DeForest, a missionary offered Yoshi the opportunity for a college education in America if she would teach in his denominational school on her return. DeForest, disapproving of this denominational pressure, called upon his friend Albert J. Lyman, long-time minister of the South Congregational Church in Brooklyn and asked his help in getting Yoshi to Mount Holyoke.⁴²⁾ Lyman's wife died in May 1893 and the couple had no children; perhaps DeForest thought Lyman would be open at that juncture to investing in the new generation.⁴³⁾ DeForest rejoiced that Yoshi went to Mount Holyoke "with perfect freedom from any promise of future work," but the support still came from within the circle of Congregationalist clergy.⁴⁴⁾ There is also evidence that Kajiro Yoshi was connected to the same group of missionaries who recruited Yamawaki Hana to Mount Holyoke. In a letter of April 16, 1904, Caroline Telford referred an inquirer from Mount Holyoke to Cora Stone for further information about Kajiro.⁴⁵⁾ Immediately upon her return to Japan, Kajiro worked for Mrs. White, formerly Miss McLennan, the missionary who recommended Yamawaki Hana to Mary Holbrook for an American education.⁴⁶⁾

At Mount Holyoke, Kajiro Yoshi made many American friends. Chief among them was Olive Sawyer Hoyt of Augusta, Maine, who came to Japan as a mission-

ary with the American Board in 1902, recruited by Mary Holbrook to serve at Kobe College. When Kajiro left on a study trip abroad in 1907, she stayed with Hoyt in Kobe on her departure journey. In Massachusetts that year, she spent Thanksgiving with Grace Low '96 and her mother in Whitinsville. When Edith Reed Smith '01 visited Japan in 1913, Kajiro and Hoyt entertained her in Matsuyama where Hoyt taught.⁴⁷⁾

The fourth of the Japanese women to attend Mount Holyoke in the 1890s, Egashira Hide, was born near Nagasaki, the daughter of the physician of the daimyo of Hi-zen. When Hide was a child, her family moved to Yokohama. Although the family was not Christian, Hide's father sent his daughters to Ferris Seminary, a Dutch Reformed mission school, because he believed that women should be educated. The father later moved the family to Osaka, where Hide attended Baika Girls' School, from which she graduated at age fourteen. She became a Christian that same year and began teaching at Baika. Hide's father died in 1890 and her sister, who married a Presbyterian minister died of tuberculosis, so before she left for the United States Egashira was without immediate family. She taught at the girls' school in Tottori, apparently brought there by Mary Holbrook and Cora Stone so that they could prepare her for Mount Holyoke. Once Caroline Telford arrived there, Telford and Egashira became close friends when Egashira's departure for America was delayed by illness.⁴⁸⁾

At Mount Holyoke Egashira lived on the second floor of Safford, one of the five dormitories on campus. Her roommates were Margaret Ball and Estelle Potter, with whom she maintained a correspondence after graduation. Egashira spent the summer of 1896 and probably other summers as well at the Telford home in Port Byron, New York.⁴⁹⁾ Following graduation, Egashira spent a year at Mr. Moody's Training School. Perhaps on her way to Chicago, she spoke at the annual meeting of the Women's Board of Missions, held that year at Plymouth Church in Syracuse.⁵⁰⁾ Her studies at Moody were funded by Cornelia Maria Clapp, a faculty member at Mount Holyoke. Egashira returned to Japan in 1900.

For these four women, education at Mount Holyoke culminating in a degree required an extended stay in the United States. The Japanese women were well integrated into the life of the college, taking the same courses as American girls and living with them in the dormitories, where they were privileged to enjoy steam heat and gaslights. The four women were also well integrated into Congregational life in New England, attending Christian education conferences, YWCA prayer meetings, and meetings of the various women's boards of the ABCFM. Although the college catalog proclaimed that each dormitory was a "private family," this family disbanded at regular intervals, as college buildings were "closed during all vacations." Yamawaki and Egashira spent some vacations in Port Byron with Caroline Telford, who returned to the United States in 1895. We can imagine that on other occasions the Japanese students stayed in the homes of Mount Holyoke students, as Miyagawa Toshi did after her graduation in 1893.

The presence of the four women from Japan in the classrooms and dormitories of Mount Holyoke was not part of a college initiative. When asked, however, the college was willing to accommodate students who were different in race and citizenship

and native language from the rest of the student body. The four women from Japan were not the first non-white or non American students to study at Mount Holyoke; Native American students, Canadians, and natives of the Sandwich Islands enrolled in the 1840s.⁵¹⁾ The first African American graduate of Mount Holyoke Seminary was Hortense Parker of Ripley, Ohio, class of 1883. Another African American woman, Martha Ralston of Worcester, Massachusetts, graduated from the college in 1898.⁵²⁾ The four Japanese women were products of the missionary movement to which Mount Holyoke had given generous support. As a favorite destination for the daughters of missionaries, Mount Holyoke had already welcomed many young women raised in distant lands. In the case of Japan, Grace Whitney Learned, daughter of D. W. Learned, ABCFM missionary in Kyoto, graduated in the same class as Egashira.

Back in Japan

All four of the Japanese graduates of Mount Holyoke in the 1890s returned to Japan as teachers, Miyagawa and Yamawaki to Kobe College, Egashira to Baika, and Kajiro to Sanyō Girls' School in Okayama. For all of them, including Miyagawa Toshi, who was born Chinese, Japan was home. Adoption into an American missionary family allowed Miyagawa to develop native fluency in English, but it did not make her American, whereas her adoption as a Miyagawa does seem to have made her Japanese. Some meaning of the word "race" seems to have been operative here. Race was a word that missionaries used. Telford asserted of Egashira that "she never could be happy or feel she was doing her duty if she had not gone back to do the work God had enabled her to fit herself to do for her own race in her own land."⁵³⁾

For Kajiro and Egashira, teaching was a life-time calling. Egashira's life was not very long; she died of tuberculosis in 1906. Kajiro survived World War II and in the postwar era her considerable service as an educator prompted some to consider her a possible candidate for legislative office in 1946, the first election in which women could vote and stand for office.⁵⁴⁾

In 1899, Miyagawa and Yamawaki both married widowed pastors who already had children. Yamawaki married Ibuka Kajinosuke (1854–1940), a Presbyterian minister who later became president of Meiji Gakuin. Miyagawa married Hirata Yoshimichi (1866–1934), an assistant to her adoptive father, Miyagawa Tsuneteru, pastor of Osaka First Church. Both women subsequently gave birth to children of their own. Hirata Toshi bore five children, two of whom died around age two. Ibuka Hana had two sons, born in 1903 and 1904. The fact that two of the four Mount Holyoke graduates married and had children stands in contrast to the recipients of the Philadelphia scholarship. The first scholarship recipient to give birth to a child was Ban Hannah, who began her American studies in 1925, more than thirty years after the scholarship was inaugurated.⁵⁵⁾ Ibuka lived an exemplary life as the leader of women's organizations. She was a long-time officer of both the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the YWCA. Both Hirata and Ibuka continued to teach long after marriage.

The four Mount Holyoke graduates were successful products of missionary endeavor in another respect: they all remained active church members to the end of

their lives. Missionaries knew that for recent converts to Christianity, life in the United States could challenge their faith; continued church membership was not to be taken for granted. Schuyler S. White, an ABCFM missionary in Tsuyama, rejoiced that Kajiro Yoshi had retained her faith. He wrote in a letter of December 29, 1897, how glad his wife was to have Kajiro as a helper. He added, "She shows a most earnest evangelistic spirit, delightful to behold, when so many come back from study abroad changed in this respect, and she is a great addition to our working force."⁵⁶⁾

The pattern of education at Mount Holyoke shared by these four women was not sustained in the following decade. Although at least eight more Japanese women attended Mount Holyoke before the outbreak of World War II, there was a considerable gap between Egashira's graduation in 1899 and the time the next student from Japan arrived in 1912. By 1897, when the next Japanese student should have been taking her seat in South Hadley, the tight-knit group of missionaries who recruited the four Japanese women of the 1890s simply were not available to recruit and equip the next student; their ranks had been diminished by illness. Wilkinson returned to the United States almost as soon as she arrived in 1891. Cora Stone developed tuberculosis and had to return to America in 1894. Telford left Japan the next year. Holbrook developed diabetes and left Japan from 1897 to 1902.⁵⁷⁾

Mary Holbrook and her allies wanted to build women's educational institutions that could provide for Japan the benefits that Mount Holyoke had bestowed upon the United States. If we set aside these particular individuals and ask why others did not institutionalize the pattern they had set, it becomes apparent that the cost benefits of sending Japanese students to the United States may simply not have been sufficient. As Noriko Ishii has pointed out, Mary Holbrook relinquished her vision of a new college in Japan and invested her energies in Kobe College, which became "a new institution, neither Japanese nor American."⁵⁸⁾ The four Mount Holyoke-educated Japanese women did not yield even one long-term faculty member for Kobe. Further, an American education was no guarantee that a Japanese woman would support the missionaries. Noriko Ishii argues that one of the teachers who petitioned in 1894 for Japanese control of Kobe College was almost certainly Miyagawa Toshi.⁵⁹⁾ Egashira's illness and death were yet another reminder of the high cost of overseas education.

There were forces at work in the wider society that may also have made overseas education seem less worthwhile. Egashira's graduation occurred just as a higher level of education became available to Japanese women. The government mandated the establishment of women's higher schools in each prefecture in the late 1890s. Three important private institutions for women opened in 1900 and 1901: Tsuda Juku, Japan Women's Medical College, and Japan Women's College. These institutions made it less pressing to dispatch women to America for education.

Conclusion

Because the regular stream of Japanese students to Mount Holyoke in the 1890s did not prove to be the beginning of a long-lasting institutional arrangement, this study cannot be justified with the oft-used teleological end of explaining institutional

beginnings. The fact remains, however, that Japanese women played a part in acquiring knowledge from throughout the world and in negotiating Japan's place in the world. The story of the four Mount Holyoke women is in a sense compensatory history, giving names and individual identity to the converts and students who are so often nameless in missionary accounts. With two exceptions, the four women examined here have been little mentioned in English-language scholarly writing on Japan. Noriko Ishii discusses Miyagawa Toshi as a member of the first graduating class of Kobe College. [Yamawaki] Ibuka Hana gets passing attention for her leadership of women's organizations.⁶⁰ This particular study has produced the somewhat unexpected finding that women missionaries could exercise considerable agency. Mary Holbrook's effectiveness as a recruiter of both missionaries and Japanese students is striking.

In terms of how the Japanese women negotiated their lives between two continents, I emphasize three points. The first is the use of actual missionary homes as incubators for cultural mediators. Because women missionaries and Japanese teachers were so effective in establishing long-lasting institutions such as Kobe College, Tsuda Juku, Baika Girls' School, and Kassui Girls' School, historical studies tend to focus on educational institutions.⁶¹ It is important to remember, however, that Tsuda Umeko, founder of an important college, was raised in an American home as were her companions on the Iwakura Mission. Tsuda's friend Alice Mabel Bacon fostered two Japanese girls at various times. Elizabeth Russell of Nagasaki adopted a Japanese girl. Thus, Mary Holbrook's attention to two women who learned English in American missionary homes was a continuation of an earlier practice.

Second, homes in America and Japan were one of the means of easing the ruptures occasioned by leaving natal homes for virtual homes in Japanese secondary schools and Mount Holyoke College. The ruptures were great.⁶² Egashira Hide wrote to her roommate Estelle Potter that when she saw her grandmother on her return to Japan it was their first meeting in twenty years. Egashira found it equally wrenching to leave the United States. In the same letter she told Potter about her parting from Telford, "I realized then for the first time the meaning of parting ... with no probability of ever meeting again this side of Heaven."⁶³ Egashira spent summer vacations in Telford's home and it seems likely that other homes were open to her. In Japan, Mount Holyoke graduates stayed in each other's homes and welcomed their classmates who came to Japan. When Egashira arrived back in Japan, she went first to the Tokyo home of [Yamawaki] Ibuka Hana.

Finally, from the way that Japanese Mount Holyoke graduates presented themselves to their classmates, we can see that they had no discomfort in reporting exemplary home lives as the product of their college education. Hirata Toshi reported numerous times to college alumni publications about her husband's work as a minister, her children's education, their jobs, and the fact that she lived with her children. Ibuka Hana shared with her classmates information about her sons, step-children, and mother-in-law as well as her husband's illness and the care that she gave him. Hirata and Ibuka resembled their Mount Holyoke classmates in their assumption that the home was an appropriate place to exercise the fruits of their education. A study of Mount Holyoke graduates done in 1910 showed that 42% of the graduates of

Mount Holyoke between 1890 and 1899 had married by 1910.⁶⁴

Notes

- 1) Two biographies of Tsuda Umeko that recount her childhood in the United States and her later studies at Bryn Mawr College are Yoshiko Furuki, *The White Plum: A Biography of Ume Tsuda Pioneer in the Higher Education of Japanese Women* (New York: Weatherhill, 1991) and Barbara Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
- 2) On Yamakawa, see Akiko Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations: The Poignant Story of Japan's First Vassar Graduate* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1993).
- 3) See for instance Terasawa Ryū, *Meiji no joshi ryūgakusei: Saisho ni umi o watatta gonin no shōjo* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2009).
- 4) On the "Scholarship for Japanese Women," see Araki Noriko and Louise Ward Demakis, "The Scholarship for Japanese Women: 'A Free Gift from American Women.'" *Japan Christian Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (Winter 1987), 15–32; Linda L. Johnson, "'Contributing to the Most Promising Peaceful Revolution in Our Time': The American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women, 1893–1941" in *Women and Philanthropy in Education*, edited by Andrea Walton (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 298–319; and Febe D. Pamonag, "Turn-of-the-Century Cross-Cultural Collaborations for Japanese Women's Higher Education." *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, no. 37 (2010).
- 5) One such woman was Ishizaka Mina (1865–1942), who spent eight years in the United States, beginning in 1899. We would not know her story, were it not for scholarly interest in her father and her husband. M. William Steele, "The Ishizaka of Notsuda: A Family in Transition," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall, 61–76 (Lanham, Maryland: Scholarly Resources, 2004).
- 6) Arthur C. Cole, *A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College: The Evolution of an Educational Ideal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 102.
- 7) Cole, *Hundred Years*, 113–114.
- 8) Cole, *Hundred Years*, 46.
- 9) Marion Kilson, *Mary Jane Forbes Green (1845–1910), Mother of the Japan Mission: An Anthropological Portrait* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 5.
- 10) *Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (1869), 2. Sarah D. Stow, *History of Mount Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Mass. During its First Half Century, 1837–1887* (South Hadley, Massachusetts: Mount Holyoke College, 1887), 31–32, gives a list of former Mount Holyoke students under appointment to mission boards. The nine women appointed to Japan were: '62 Martha J. Barrows, Kobe; '53 Ann E. Clark Gulick, Okayama; '72 Virginia (Clarkson) Cady, Kyoto; '74 Anna Y. Davis, Kobe; x65 Mary J. (Forbes) Greene, Kyoto; x66 Mary E. Gouldy, Osaka; x75 Mary A. (Kelley) Leavitt, Osaka; x68 A. D. H. Kelsey, Hirosaki; '62 Louise (Walker) Gaines, Kyoto.
- 11) Noriko Kawamura Ishii, *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873–1909: New Dimensions in Gender* (New York: Routledge), 52–54; 57–58.
- 12) Her obituary appeared in the *Japan Christian Year Book* (1927), 331.
- 13) Martha's presence on this trip is mentioned in *Hirata Yoshimichi-shi fūfu shōden* (Yokohama: Privately printed, 1937), 51. Off-print in Archives, Mount Holyoke College.
- 14) "Mrs. Emily (Delacour) Gulick," *Missionary Herald* 72.5 (May 1876), 145; Addison Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), 244–245.
- 15) The list of missionaries provided by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in January 1877 listed John T. Gulick as a missionary in Kalgan. "Missionaries of the Board," *Missionary Herald* 73.1 (January 1877), 9. In 1878, however, he contributed a letter dated March 13 and sent from Kyoto to the *Missionary Herald* 74.6 (1878), 196. His transfer from the North China mission to Japan is mentioned in a letter dated October 25, 1878 quoted in the *Missionary Herald* 75.2 (1879), 64. Most accounts of Martha Gulick's life say that she enrolled at Kobe Home in 1875. If, however, her enrollment related to Emily's death, she may well have arrived in Kobe somewhat later.

- 16) *Hirata Yoshimichi-shi fūfu shōden*, 51.
- 17) Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 243.
- 18) *Missionary Herald* 76.8 (1880), 322
- 19) See for instance *Missionary Herald* 85.2 (1889), 62.
- 20) Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 367.
- 21) Frances's arrival in Boston is listed in *Missionary Herald* 84.9 (1888), 403; John's is given in 84.12 (1888), 569. The embarkation of the Reverend and Mrs. John T. Gulick appears in *Missionary Herald* 85.12 (1889), 548.
- 22) The letter is in Miyagawa's biographical file in the Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, South Hadley, Massachusetts.
- 23) John Merle Davis, *John Merle Davis: An Autobiography* (n.p.: Kyobunkwan, n.d.), 18.
- 24) This statement is in a summary of Yamawaki Hana's life entitled "Hana Oshima Ibuka," in her biographical file in the Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, South Hadley, Massachusetts.
- 25) This information comes from a typescript of an autobiography Hana wrote as a student, in her biographical file in the Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, South Hadley, Massachusetts. Information on Matsuyama Takayoshi is from *Kirisutokyō jinmei jiten* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto kyōdan, 1986), 1567.
- 26) Ishii, *American Women Missionaries*, 57–58.
- 27) Cole, *Hundred Years*, 191–192.
- 28) Ishii, *American Women Missionaries*, 121.
- 29) *Missionary Herald* 85.11 (November 1889), 509.
- 30) Biographical File, Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, South Hadley, Massachusetts.
- 31) *Missionary Herald* 87.11 (November 1891), 494.
- 32) *Missionary Herald* 88.4 (April 1892), 169; Ishii, *American Women Missionaries*, 123–124.
- 33) *Missionary Herald* 86.4 (April 1890), 150.
- 34) Typescript autobiography, biographical file, Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, South Hadley, Massachusetts.
- 35) "Hana Oshima Ibuka," 85.
- 36) Typescript autobiography, biographical file, Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, South Hadley, Massachusetts.
- 37) She is listed in the catalog for 1893–1894, 37.
- 38) Catalog, 38.
- 39) Charlotte Burgis DeForest: *The Evolution of a Missionary: A Biography of John Hyde DeForest, for Thirty-seven Years Missionary of the American Board, in Japan* (F. H. Revell Co., 1914), 87–96, 162. From the chronology of DeForest's life, it is most likely that Yoshi stayed with the DeForest family sometime between 1883 and 1886, when DeForest moved to Sendai. *Ibid.*, 297. Dates in the lives of Yoshi and her parents are from Hirano Naoko, *Kajiro Yoshi no kotoba no ashiato* (Okayama: Kibito shuppan, 2006), 355 and Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten henshū iinkai, *Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten* (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1988), 292.
- 40) Sanyō gakuen, *Sanyō gakuen kyūjūnenshi* (Okayama: Sanyō gakuen, 1979), 13–15.
- 41) On the marriage of Kanamori Tsūrin, see Kirisutokyō jinmeijiten henshū iinkai, *Kirisutokyō jinmeijiten* (Tokyo: Nihon kirisutokyōdan shuppan kyoku), 374.
- 42) DeForest, *Evolution of a Missionary*, 162.
- 43) "Obituary: Mrs. Albert J. Lyman," *New York Times*, May 29, 1893.
- 44) DeForest, *Evolution of a Missionary*, 163.
- 45) Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, South Hadley, Massachusetts.
- 46) *Missionary Herald* 94.4 (April 1898), 143.
- 47) Edith H. Smith papers, Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, South Hadley, Massachusetts. From the Summary of Correspondence, 1913–1924. According to Mount Holyoke College, *General Catalog of Officers and Students of Mount Holyoke College 1837–1911* (South Hadley, Massachusetts: Mount Holyoke College, 1911), 75, Olive Hoyt studied at the University of Illi-

- nois, taught school, and worked at Mount Holyoke College before going to Japan in 1902. Holbrook's recruitment of Hoyt is from Ishii, *American Women Missionaries*, 59.
- 48) Letter of Caroline Telford, April 16, 1904, to Miss Edwards.
 - 49) *Cayuga County Independent* [Auburn, New York], July 2, 1896.
 - 50) Alice M. Kyle, "Annual Meeting of the Woman's Board of Missions," *Light and Life for Women* 29.12 (1899), 558–562.
 - 51) http://asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/mountholyoke/mshm370_bioghist.html, accessed 5/20/11.
 - 52) Linda M. Perkins, "The Racial Integration of the Seven Sister Colleges," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* no. 19 (Spring 1998), 105–106. Perkins observes that discrimination in housing was a problem in all the Seven Sisters schools (108), but she offers no specific examples from Mount Holyoke, so it is not possible to tell from her evidence whether the African American students were treated differently from the Japanese women.
 - 53) Letter of Caroline Telford, April 16, 1904, to Miss Edwards.
 - 54) Nakamura Junsuke, *Azami no ki: Kondō Tsuruyo den* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1974), 47–50.
 - 55) Araki and Demakis, "Scholarship for Japanese Women," 28.
 - 56) *Missionary Herald* 94.4 (1898), 144.
 - 57) Ishii, *American Women Missionaries*, 123.
 - 58) Ishii, *American Women Missionaries*, 143.
 - 59) Ishii, *American Women Missionaries*, 127–128.
 - 60) See for instance Helen S. E. Parker, "Women, Christianity and Internationalism in Early Twentieth Century Japan: Tsuda Ume, Caroline Macdonald and the Founding of the Young Women's Christian Association in Japan," in *Japanese Women Emerging from Subsistence, 1868–1945*, ed. Hiroko Tomida and Gordon Daniels (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2005), 187 and Elizabeth Dorn Lublin, *Reforming Japan: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 117.
 - 61) On the history of Kassui, see Karen K. Seat, "*Providence Has Freed Our Hands*": *Women's Missions and the Encounter with Japan* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008).
 - 62) Ruptures were experienced by men as well. In a letter of July 24, 1876, Mary Jane Greens writes that Paul Sawayama told a Japanese prayer meeting that "parting with his friends in America seemed very much like leaving his father's house," and the Greens said of Nishima Jo that he was "a man of two countries without belonging to either." Kilson, *Mary Jane Forbes Greene*, 103.
 - 63) Letter of Egashira Hide to Estelle Potter, January 14, 1901, Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, South Hadley, Massachusetts.
 - 64) Amy Hewes, "Marital and Occupational Statistics of Graduates of Mount Holyoke College," *Publications of the American Statistical Association* 12, no. 96 (December 1911), 783.