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# Basic Principles of Segregated Education in Prewar Japanese Secondary Schools

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**BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SEGREGATED EDUCATION  
IN PREWAR JAPANESE  
SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

**By**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts**

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## LIFE

The present writer was born in Antwerp, Belgium, April 15, 1926. He studied the humanities in the same city at O. L. Vrouw College, Antwerp.

In 1944, he entered the Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Foreign Mission Society, often referred to as Scheut Fathers). After the novitiate, he studied philosophy at the seminary of the Society in Scheut, Brussels and theology at the seminary in Louvain.

On August 6, 1950, he was ordained a priest and in September, 1951, he went to Japan as a missionary.

He came to the United States in 1953 where he studied at Loyola University, Chicago, in preparation for the degree of Master of Arts.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. A General Survey of Education in Prewar Japan

To understand the place of secondary education in Japan, it is necessary to review the larger context of the school system in prewar Japan.

An organized educational system was established in 1872, modeled largely upon the methods of education in vogue in France, England, and the United States of America. Many points of the Confucian system were however retained. In this educational plan, the country was divided into eight sections, each of which was to have a university established within its borders, and this would be the nucleus of its educational system.<sup>1</sup> Each of these Universities was to be divided into 32 smaller sections, and each was to have a middle school. Further, each of these middle school sections was to be divided into 210 elementary school sections, each having its own school of that grade.<sup>2</sup> In an Imperial Rescript issued in those days we find the following words: "Hence forward shall education be so diffused that there shall be no ignorant family in the land, and no family with an ignorant member."<sup>3</sup> As a result,

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1 Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan, Tokyo, 1937, 4.

2 Ibid., 4.

3 Ibid., 15.

elementary education became compulsory in Japan. The educational system before the second World War consisted of six compulsory years at primary schools. The object of elementary school education, as defined by the Nombusho, or Department of Education, was: "to instil into the youthful minds the elements of moral and general education, and the knowledge and ability essential for the conduct of life, care being taken to develop the physique of the children."<sup>4</sup>

As organs of secondary education there were five years at Chugakko or Middle Schools for boys and three, four, or five years at Koto-Jogakko or girls' high schools.<sup>5</sup> There were also different types of technical schools for boys.

Koto-gakko or Higher Schools for boys, universities, special colleges, technical colleges were the organs of higher education. The higher school provided general education of that grade, and prepared the student for entrance into the University. In the university there were graduate departments, where the student would carry on their further studies.

There were two types of normal schools for the training of teachers. One was for the special training of elementary school teachers, and the other, known as the higher normal, for the training of teachers for the secondary schools.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Hugh Keenleyside and Albert Thomas, History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System, Tokyo, 1937, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan, 20.

<sup>6</sup> Department of Education, Japanese Education, Tokyo, 1937, 23.

Outside the regular educational system there were educational agencies that did their part in the intellectual training of people in general. There was the Seinen-gakko, or youth school, to provide supplementary education for those who had completed the elementary schools.<sup>7</sup> For adults, there are such agencies as educational lecture courses, mothers' meetings, and several organizations for the education of laboring men.

The following table shows the number of schools and their students, classified according to the various types of schools. The figures are those of March, 1937, published by the Department of Education in Tokyo.<sup>8</sup>

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7 Ibid., 23.

8 Department of Education, General Survey of Education in Japan, 12.



TABLE I  
DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOLS, NUMBER OF UNITS AND STUDENTS  
IN PREWAR JAPAN

Type of School	Number of Schools	Students
Elementary Schools	25,771	11,232,076
Middle Schools	555	330,992
Girls' High Schools	970	388,935
Technical Schools (boys)	1,069	342,914
Technical Continuation School	15,306	1,281,814
Higher Schools	32	18,905
Universities	45	71,162
Special Colleges	117	70,083
Technical Colleges	56	24,112
Normal Schools	102	30,420
Higher Normal Schools	2	1,775
Schools for the Blind	78	4,830
Schools for the Deaf and Dumb	62	5,077

The main object of Japanese Education was the moral training of youth. The following Imperial Rescript on Education, issued on October 30, 1890, was the accepted statement of the principles underlying the educational system of Japan, up to the second World War.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 99-100.

### Know Ye, Our Subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our Empire, and there also lies the source of our education. Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne, co-eval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best tradition of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by their Descendants and the Subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our Subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th Month of the 23rd year of Mei.

#### B. Statement of the problem

A strict policy of sex segregation in secondary schools was one of the characteristics of this school system in prewar Japan. The purpose of this study is to examine and evaluate the philosophical principles, upon which this educational policy was based. This study is an attempt to answer the questions: Why did the Japanese provide separate education and training for girls of secondary school age? How was their education different from that

of the boys of their own age group?

There is certainly a need for this study; namely to determine the principles upon which a non-christian people organized separate schools for boys and girls.

#### C. Procedure followed in this study

The following procedure has been used in this study. In the first half of the second chapter an attempt is made to outline briefly the social history of womanhood in Japan. It is not the purpose of this part to make an exhaustive study about the position of women in Japan, throughout its history. A few historical facts and data will show that there was a period, when women held pre-eminent position in Japan, but changed with the introduction of Chinese philosophy. This part is necessary because the only safe way to approach the study of present-day Japan is through her past. This is true in a particular way of the history of education in Japan:

The student, who believes that it is enough to know Japan from the time of the Restoration in 1868, can never understand the country and, least of all, her modern system of education and its many ramifications throughout her national life. <sup>9</sup>

The historical part will logically introduce us to the philosophy and philosophical principles that caused and influenced a separate education for boys and girls. The second part of Chapter II demonstrates how Confucianism and the Chinese classics moulded the social attitudes toward women and a separate girls' education.

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<sup>9</sup> Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 3.

In a third chapter an illustration is given of how these philosophical principles, advocating a separate education for boys and girls, were put into practice in the curricula of the secondary schools in prewar Japan. Conclusions and implications may be found in Chapter IV of this study.

#### D. Related Literature

There are not many books written about the education and school system in prewar Japan, and even fewer about girls' education in that country. All the authors, however, who wrote about education in Japan, had some brief mention of the differences in the education of boys and girls.

Some of the authors, mostly foreigners, saw in these differences only the unequal position of women in Japan, a rejection of women based on the moral ethics of Confucianism. Faber wrote that in Confucianism the system of social life is tyranny, that women are slaves, and girls did not have any right to education.<sup>10</sup>

Sherer in his book Young Japan wrote in 1905 that the oppression of women and children, the denial of education for girls and many other facts are legitimate deductions from the Confucianist morality.<sup>11</sup>

Robert King Hall wrote in 1949 that the most obvious and pernicious form of discrimination against students has been directed against women. "The secondary schools for girls have been notoriously inferior in quality."<sup>12</sup>

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10 Ernst Faber, Doctrines of Confucius, Shanghai, 1902, 84.

11 James Sherer, Young Japan, London, 1905, 177.

12 Robert Hall, Education for a New Japan, New Haven, 1949, 418.

Other authors, mostly Japanese, saw in these differences an appropriate education for girls to become good wives and wise mothers. This opinion has been held by Dairoku Kikuchi, one-time Minister of Education in Japan and President of the Imperial University in Tokyo.<sup>13</sup> Naruse in his book The Education of Japanese Women and Hoshino in his book The Education of Women,<sup>14</sup> expressed the same idea.

The true answer may be found in a moderate combination of these two opinions. Keenleyside, who made a well-known study about the educational system of Japan, writes:

There is, of course, always the danger of overstressing this deterioration in the status of women, but it has nevertheless been true that throughout this period of Japanese history, women have been looked upon as definitely less important than men.<sup>15</sup>

Kasuya also wrote that the segregation of the sexes was normal in secondary education in Japan but "since the establishment of the first school for girls by the government in 1872, the development of the secondary education of girls in Japan has been remarkable."<sup>16</sup>

#### E. Limitations of this Study

1. It is a limitation of this study that it does not use the Japanese and

<sup>13</sup> Dairoku Kikuchi, Japanese Education, London, 1909.

<sup>14</sup> Tchiyo Naruse, The Education of Japanese Women, London, 1909.

<sup>15</sup> Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 232.

<sup>16</sup> Yoshi Kasuya, Comparative Study of the Secondary Education of Girls, New York, 1933, 184.

Chinese sources in their original language. It uses English translations of the masterpieces of ancient Japanese literature and current studies by well-known scholars about Chinese philosophy and Chinese influence in Japan. The names of Sir Charles Eliot, Edwin O. Reischauer, George Sanson, Hugh Kenney-side and others, mentioned in the bibliography, are known by all students of the Far East.

2. A second limitation is the fact that the topic of this study is limited to the segregation in the secondary schools. No attempt is made to examine the segregation in the customs and folklore of the people, in the laws regarding divorce and marriage, etc.

## CHAPTER II

### SOCIO-HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUNDS OF SECREGATED GIRLS' EDUCATION IN PREWAR JAPAN

#### A. Socio-historical Backgrounds

There are three periods that can be traced in the history of women in Japan.<sup>1</sup>

1. The earliest times, when women seemed to have occupied a high social position.
2. A second period beginning with the introduction of Chinese philosophy and way of life. Women were banned from public social positions in their communities and confined to their homes and duties of housewives.
3. A third period since the end of feudalism in Japan and the introduction of Western influence. This period was characterized by a gradual emancipation of woman in a new, industrial society.

#### 1. Earliest Times

In earliest times women seem to have occupied a comparatively high position in Japanese society. This is reflected in the fact that the first

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<sup>1</sup> Hugh Keenleyside and Albert Thomas, History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System, Tokyo, 1937, 231.

Imperial Ancestress was a woman: the Sun Goddess Amaterasu - O-Mi-Kami.<sup>2</sup> Then a number of important empresses and women appear to have no inconspicuous part in the practice of the arts and the patronage of learning. During the first decades of the eleventh century appeared two of Japan's greatest prose masterpieces, the Tale of Genji by Lady Murasaki Shikibu and the Pillow Book by Lady Sei Shōnagon.<sup>3</sup> Even war and tribal leadership were not exclusively masculine activities and women took an active part in politics and state-craft. Keenleyside lists several names of outstanding empresses: Kōgyoku (642-645), Saimai (655-661), Kōken (757-758), Shōtoku (764-770).<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Introduction of Chinese Philosophy

The position of Japanese women underwent a change with the introduction of Chinese philosophy. Japan's method of approaching China was the same as that which she has employed with the West since the Restoration. This was by learning as much as Japan thought she needed of Chinese philosophy, art and science, and then, during periods of relative isolation, ruminating to make it all her own. Japan's debt to China is, therefore, immeasurable and even up to the eve of the Restoration, it was profoundly affected by the Chinese classics.<sup>5</sup>

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2 Robert Hall, Education for a New Japan, New Haven, 1949, 108.

3 Edwin Reischauer and Joseph Yamagiwa, Translations from Early Japanese Literature, Cambridge, 1951, 5.

4 Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 336.

5 Ibid., 8.



Baron Kikuchi has well described the influence that the new learning exerted:

Chinese philosophers seem not to have had much respect for women; while Buddhism regards women as sinful creatures, a temptation and snare, an obstacle to peace and holiness. In our feudal system, in the Code of Bushido, there was no such reverence for women as in the Western chivalry...<sup>6</sup>

Under the feudal system it was natural that a woman could not become the head of a house, for she could not discharge duties required of such, the first of which was military service. The rule of "Three Obediences" for women - obedience while at home to her parents; obedience when married to her husband; obedience when widowed to her son - was a necessary consequence of this disability.<sup>7</sup>

Reischauer, analyzing several masterpieces of Japanese literature, states that "women were regarded as sources of pleasure, and excitement, and as decorations."<sup>8</sup> An easy-going, obliging disposition was the first essential in women. A woman had to possess the social graces, including a knowledge of native poetry; erudition and anything related to the Chinese classics were taboo.<sup>9</sup>

Keenleyside came to the same conclusions:

There is, of course, always the danger of over-stressing this deterioration in the status of women, but it has nevertheless been true that throughout this period of Japanese history women have been looked upon as definitely less important than men.

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6 Dairoku Kikuchi, Japanese Education, London, 1909, 261.

7 Ibid., 261.

8 Reischauer and Yamagiwa, Translations from Early Japanese Literature, 157.

9 Ibid., 157.

Their education has been confined primarily to the services of family and home. When in some of the wealthier or more distinguished families further training was desired, it was designed to give her manners, grace and her taste refinement, rather than to arouse intellectual activity.<sup>10</sup>

A few philosophers, however, proposed a better education and training for girls. Bansen Kumasawa (1616-1697) appears to have been the first educational theorist to advocate the training of women in any way other than the development of the virtues of gentleness, obedience, chastity and honesty. Kumasawa taught that women should not be content with these virtues but should "learn to exercise their minds, seek knowledge of teachers, and study some of the Chinese classics..."<sup>11</sup>

Ekken Kaibara (1630-1714) in his Onna Daigaku or the Greater Learning of Women has set as the most prominent objective of the education of girls the training for their vocation of good wives and wise mothers.<sup>12</sup> There is, however, little change to record in the history of women's education until the impact of foreign culture was beginning to produce its effect in the middle of the 19th century.

### 3. Western Influence

With the penetration of Western civilization, added to an abundance of energy, Japan has undergone during the last hundred years a social change,

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<sup>10</sup> Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 232.

<sup>11</sup> Tchiyo Haruse, The Education of Japanese Women, London, 1909, 181.

<sup>12</sup> Yoshi Kasuya, A Comparative Study of the Secondary Education of Girls, New York, 1933, 188.

the rapidity and intensity of which have no parallel in the history of the world.<sup>13</sup> Until the latter half of the 19th century, Japan had been a reservoir of rich Oriental culture. Today she is a country where Western civilization freely blends with that of the East. It is true that women did not yet either legally or socially enjoy the same rights as men, and it is generally agreed that the educational training given to girls was neither as extended nor as thorough as that given to boys, but this discrimination was gradually passing, and a new era in which the women of Japan would enjoy the legal, political and social rights to which their many virtues so eminently entitle them, seemed to be approaching.

A first element favoring this emancipation was the change from an agrarian society to an industrial society.<sup>14</sup> As handlabor was replaced by machine production, women of the lower classes began to participate in productive activities outside the home. The wage system in the new industrial order, producing a concrete result of their labor, awakened women to a consciousness of their own power to earn bread and with it a vague sense of independence.<sup>15</sup>

Equally important for the improvement of women's lot was the introduction of Christianity.<sup>16</sup> While the government was busily engaged in the higher education of young men only, missionaries from the West established girls' schools for advanced intellectual training.

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13 Ibid., 179.

14 Ibid., 179.

15 Ibid., 180.

16 Ibid., 180.

Most-direct was, however, the influence of men and women who were sent abroad to see the best of Western culture. In view of the "lack of an established system of education for women", the Emperor issued a Rescript in September, 1871, advocating foreign travel.<sup>17</sup> The reason for this Rescript was to encourage them to learn ". . . how in the lands they visit women receive their education, and would also learn the way to bring up their children."<sup>18</sup>

As a result, secondary education for girls was inaugurated by the establishment of the Tokyo Jogakko, Tokyo Girls' School, and the Ei-Jogakko, English Girls' School, of Kyoto, in 1872. By the Ordinance respecting Girls' High schools, promulgated in 1899, it became imperative for every prefecture to establish at least one girls' high school.<sup>19</sup>

The increase of girls' high schools steadily ascended until the first World War, when there were as many as 150 high schools.

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17 Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 234.

18 Ibid., 234.

19 Ibid., 235.

The number of schools and that of girls studying in the years 1931-1935, were as follows:<sup>20</sup>

TABLE II  
GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOLS, 1931-1935

YEAR	NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF GIRLS
1931	975	368,990
1932	980	362,625
1933	963	361,739
1934	975	371,807
1935	970	388,935

It is true, however, that the education of Japanese girls still failed to obtain the assistance that it should receive in a country of modern standards and ideals. On leaving the primary schools, boys who are able to continue their education go first to Middle Schools and then to higher schools. Girls, on the other hand, go direct to their high schools. "It was, of course, presupposed that boys would go on to higher studies, while for the girls the secondary schools was quite high enough."<sup>21</sup>

It is true that some universities were permitted to offer full

<sup>20</sup> Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan, Tokyo, 1937, 28.

<sup>21</sup> Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 237.

privileges to women students, but as a whole, this promotion has received little care.<sup>22</sup>

After the Second World War, Japanese women for the first time were given the right to vote, to hold public office and to have equality of education.<sup>23</sup>

On December 4th, 1944, The Ministry of Education released a document entitled: "The Women's Education Renovation Plan".<sup>24</sup> That portion outlining practical measures to be taken during the following academic year is quoted:

1. (a) Women's Universities will be newly established and the co-educational system will be adopted in men's Universities. . . .
2. The creation of women's higher schools will be considered later. For the time being, the courses of study of girls' high schools will be elevated to that of men's higher schools.
3. The course of study of girls' high schools will be elevated to the standard of boy's secondary schools. Text books will be unified.
4. The subjects and the number of school days of young women's schools will be made equal with those of young men's schools.

Article XXVI of the Policy for the Revision of the Japanese Educational System says: "Equal opportunity for both sexes should be provided at all levels of education - primary, secondary and tertiary."<sup>25</sup> As a result,

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<sup>22</sup> Commission on Christian Education in Japan, Christian Education in Japan, London, 1932, 34.

<sup>23</sup> Hall, Education for a New Japan, 421.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 421.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 521.

co-education on each level of the educational system has been made permissive.

### B. Basic Philosophical Principles

The philosophy which underlies the secondary education of girls is distinct in each country in accordance with its particular social standards and its religious and cultural values. There is a fundamental law of inter-relation between philosophy of life and education. "Every system of education is based on a philosophy of life."<sup>26</sup> The truths, the values, the ideals and the moral standards that govern the life of a people are different from country to country. It is, therefore, easy to understand why the educational system of the Orient is so greatly different from those of the West.

With the Restoration in 1868, Japan adopted Western methods and organization of education, but she adapted it to her particular needs and in conformity with her philosophy and ideals.

In approaching, therefore, the History of Japanese Education, the student cannot afford to lose sight of this Japanese genius, which, while adopting what the Japanese consider best suited to their needs, assimilates what it believes to be most in keeping with Japan's national ideals. Much of this assimilation is unconscious, and some is only achieved after costly experimentation and even bitter experiences. However, this national trait is a facet of the Japanese genius, which few will deny, and none can afford to overlook.<sup>27</sup>

Thus with this new synthetic culture of Japan today, there is nevertheless that, which is traditionally Japanese, which remains intact, and which will probably never change.

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<sup>26</sup> Frans De Hovre, Catholicism in Education, New York, 1934, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 4.

One popular concept is that the Japanese have never been anything more than a race of borrowers and imitators. The truth is quite the contrary. Although geographic isolation has made them very conscious of borrowings from abroad, it has also led to develop one of the most distinctive cultures to be found in any civilized area of comparable size.<sup>28</sup>

### 1. Characteristics of Oriental Philosophy

In the classical philosophy of the Orient the student will find little systematized thought, as known in the West, with its technical terminology and subdivisions into logic, ethics, metaphysics, epistemology, etc.<sup>29</sup> He will rather find collections of comparatively disjointed and spontaneous ideas recorded from time to time by the philosopher himself, or by his disciples, who frequently comment upon or add to their master's thought. Modern thinkers of the East have often condemned much of Western philosophical thought as idle and irrelevant, since it is largely concerned with the examination of abstract truths, and neglects the immediate and pressing problem of daily life and of how it should be lived.<sup>30</sup>

Lin-Yu-Tang, a modern Chinese thinker says:

Chinese philosophy may be briefly defined as a pre-occupation with the knowledge of life rather than the knowledge of truth. Brushing aside all metaphysical speculations as irrelevant to the business of living, the Chinese philosophers clutch at life itself and ask themselves the one and the only, eternal question: How are we to live?<sup>31</sup>

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28 Edwin Reischauer, Japan, Past and Present, New York, 1953, 8.

29 Leo Sherley-Price, Confucius and Christ, Westminster, 1951, 26.

30 Ibid., 27.

31 Ibid., 28.



## 2. Chinese Philosophy and Japanese Education of Girls

It would be impossible to understand the philosophy of girls' education in Japan without bearing in mind the early Chinese influence. Japanese thinking was profoundly affected by the Chinese classics and Chinese philosophy.<sup>32</sup> In the early days Japan had copied and then transformed to conform to her own genius Chinese religion, art, writing, philosophy and ethics. This is easier to understand when it is remembered that, though Japan claims almost 2,600 years of history, China's history dates from at least the second millenium B. C.<sup>33</sup> While Buddhism remained the dominant religion of the masses, Confucianism became the strongest intellectual and ethical force in Japan. "It became the dominant philosophy in Japan and a major source for the unwritten ethical code of the samurai, which recent scholars have described in romantic terms as Bushido, the way of the warrior."<sup>34</sup> Through the centuries Japanese were taught to read Confucian books and to copy the maxims of Chinese classics as practice in calligraphy.<sup>35</sup> As a result, the influence of Confucianism on Japanese minds was very important.

## 3. Ideal of Womanhood

The following question arises immediately within the scope of this

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32 Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 8.

33 Reischauer, Japan, Past and Present, 17.

34 Ibid., 87.

35 Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education, 8.

study: What is the ideal of womanhood in Confucianistic philosophy?

Baron Kikuchi, President of the Imperial University of Tokyo, answers very briefly and clearly:

We hold that women are born to matrimony, that their vocation is to become wives and mothers. Our ideal of womanhood is "good wife and wise mother". Man works outside and woman helps at home is our maxim.<sup>36</sup>

Baron Kikuchi repeats here the statement given by Ekken Kaibara (1630-1714), who emphasized in his book Onna Daigaku or the Greater Learning for Women, the training of girls for the vocation of "good wife and wise mothers".<sup>37</sup> Kaibara Ekken lived during the 265 years of the Golden Age of Confucianism, and was an outstanding scholar of Confucian philosophy.<sup>38</sup>

What did Confucius himself teach about the ideal of womanhood and the education of women? It is evident, even for a superficial reader of the works of Confucius, that his ideas and opinion regarding the female sex are a considerable defect in his ethical philosophy. This is caused chiefly by the anciently transmitted practice of polygamy, against which Confucius has no objections, he himself being the son of a concubine.<sup>39</sup>

Confucius laid much stress on the five human relations, the first of which is that between husband and wife. He had, however, no word of comment on the disgrace of the Imperial harem, nor on the prevailing evil of

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<sup>36</sup> Kikuchi, Japanese Education, 268.

<sup>37</sup> Kasuya, A Comparative Study of the Secondary Education of Girls, 188.

<sup>38</sup> Reischauer, Japan, Past and Present, 277.

<sup>39</sup> Ernst Faber, Doctrines of Confucius, Shanghai, 1902, 55.

polygamy; consequently he had no influence on the elevation of women. Confucius had a low opinion of female nature. He demanded the strict separation of the two sexes. He allowed no social intercourse between the two. Females should not appear in public, not even be heard of, neither for good or evil. If they had to walk on the streets, they should take one side of the road, the males the other.<sup>40</sup>

How did Confucius come to such an idea of womanhood? In Confucius' moral philosophy, the family stands as the very foundation of the whole social structure of the state, for it is a social unity and itself a state in miniature.<sup>41</sup> It is the school of citizenship in which the social virtues may be learned and practiced and in which character is formed. The family, rather than the individual is the unit of importance in the East.<sup>42</sup> Thus, in the family, kindness, decency, honesty, obedience to authority, affection and kindred virtues will be learned virtues which are no less valuable in the sphere of civic life, than in the more intimate domestic relationship. One of the main duties of the family is to raise children.

Because it is a man's duty to raise children in order to give grandchildren to his children and to ensure perpetuity to the family name . . . failure to have a son and heir is regarded as the worst of lapses. This emphasis upon the absolute obligation upon a man to provide heirs to continue the family name and to offer sacrifice to the family shades has naturally tended to encourage polygamy and, consequently, to keep at a low level the status of women.

Under Confucianism a woman was often regarded as a potential mother, or as a source of labour, rather

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>41</sup> Sherley-Price, Confucius and Christ, 102.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 101.

than as a partner or as a friend.<sup>43</sup>

To have no posterity was considered highly unfilial. Therefore, to avoid this shame, the practice of taking secondary wives and concubines were evil practices condoned, and even indirectly encouraged, by Confucianism.

"Confucius certainly does not intimate that it is unlawful, neither can there be found any testimony against this social evil in the whole of Chinese literature."<sup>44</sup> It appears that this theory of filial piety of Confucius and the classics have influence social attitudes toward women.

#### 4. Education of Girls Toward This Ideal

In spite of their inferior status in society, it was true that while women were illiterate, they were not uneducated.<sup>45</sup> The responsibilities of the home were heavy and called for many kinds of skill. Vocational standards were set high and the instruction which she received fitted the girl for such duties as were thought properly hers.

A girl's education, however, generally stopped at the elementary level. The classics advise that girls should be taught how to cook and to sew, also how to sing and play music, give tea ceremony, possess the art of arranging flowers, painting and other accomplishments.<sup>46</sup>

Good music, together with poetry, the dance, painting and all things gracious and beautiful is, for Confucius, a potent instrument in the formation

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43 Ibid., 106-107.

44 Faber, Doctrines of Confucius, 34.

45 Ida Lewis, The Education of Girls in China, New York, 1919, 17.

46 Kikuchi, Japanese Education, 270.

of character, the education of the mind, and the establishment of high ethical standards, since it arouses in the mind a hunger for, and appreciation of, all that is good, true and beautiful.<sup>47</sup> But rather than academical knowledge, the training of the woman by virtues of gentleness, obedience, chastity and honesty was more important.

Mencius, a student of Confucius, expressed the ideal by saying: "To look upon compliance as their correct course is the rule of women."<sup>48</sup>

In the classics we find the following description of a woman:

She should be humble, yielding, modest and respectful. First others, then herself. When she does good, she ought not to talk about it, when she does wrong she ought not to excuse herself. Even if shame or disgrace are put on her, she should be patient. She should be as careful at all times as if she were afraid. Retire late and rise early. Even though it takes her till midnight to do it, she should do what she has to do regardless of the difficulty of the undertaking. She should work until it is completed and be able to do it neatly.<sup>49</sup>

Girls were taught early to help at home and serve the man. Moloney writes about child training, as follows:

Modesty and reserve are insisted upon in the youth of Japan. A girl is taught that she must talk very little, but listen sympathetically to the conversation of her superiors. If she has a brother, she must look up to him as her master, even although he be younger than herself. She must give way to him in every detail. If he is sad, her one care must be to make him happy. Her ambition is to imitate as nearly as possible the behavior

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<sup>47</sup> Lewis, Education of Girls in China, 17.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 10.

of her mother towards her own lord and master.<sup>50</sup>

With the change in the social condition of the people in the second half of the 19th century and the introduction of Occidental civilization, the education of girls widened. But the ideal of woman's vocation remained the same, and the essentials of "good wife and wise mother" did not change. Education has advanced and an intellectual training of a sort was provided for girls, but underlying all the new educational practices was still the idea that womanhood is to be perfected only in married life.

With most girls . . . a girls' higher school is the highest and final place of education, for soon after leaving school, they get married and have to assist in keeping house. We say assist because when a woman marries in our country, she does not always become a mistress of an independent household, but in most cases she goes to her husband's family and is bound to help his mother and sisters. For this reason our female education may be said to have the object of forming character in women and of imparting knowledge well calculated to make good wives and wise mothers, able to contribute to the peace and happiness of the family into which they wed.<sup>51</sup>

According to the code of regulations, governing the secondary education of girls, which was first issued in 1899 and revised in 1920: "matters relating to moral and national education, and womanly virtues shall have special attention".<sup>52</sup>

"Moral and national education", added in 1920, corresponds to civic education in other countries, and it is a great innovation, "yet in practice character education with a narrow view of womanly virtues is too often the

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50 James Maloney, Understanding the Japanese Mind, New York, 1954, 22.

51 Kasuya, Comparative Study of the Secondary Education of Girls,

52 Ibid., 188.

primary object of education even in these years."<sup>53</sup>

This emphasis upon a narrow character education, rather than intellectual training, remained unchanged in the years before the second World War. The department of education still states in 1937 that "the object of girls' high schools is to provide secondary education to girls, special emphasis being laid on the cultivation in them of national morality and womanly virtues."<sup>54</sup>

How this philosophy and these regulations of girls' education were put into practice is shown in the following chapter, by comparing the curriculum of a boy's and a girl's secondary school in prewar Japan.

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53 Ibid., 188.

54 Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan, 24.

## CHAPTER THREE

### OUTLINES OF THE CURRICULA FOR BOYS' SCHOOLS AND GIRLS' SCHOOLS

As organs of secondary education, there were middle schools for boys and high schools for girls. The segregation of the sexes was the norm of secondary education in Japan. The secondary schools for boys, middle schools, and those for girls, high schools, were also treated separately in the code of regulations of the Department of Education.<sup>1</sup>

Before outlining the curricula of both these schools, it is necessary to examine briefly the powers and responsibilities of the Department of Education in prewar Japan.

#### A. The Central Authority - The Department of Education

The Minister of Education in the Japanese Government was given powers and responsibilities that made him one of the most important functionaries in the country. In addition to being responsible for the organization and control of the educational system, he was in charge of all matters relating to art, science, literature and religion.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Yoshi Kasuya, A Comparative Study of the Secondary Education of Girls, New York, 1933, 184.

2 Hugh Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System, Tokyo, 1937, 123.



His Department, known in Japanese as the Mombusho, was the central organ through which the rulers of Japan exercised effective control over what their people should study, read, see and believe. The ramifications of the Department extended to the smallest villages of Japan, and the direction of the interests of successive generations was largely controlled by the policies of the Department.

The Department of Education was established in the year 1871.<sup>3</sup> Since that time its activities had expanded and its personnel increased, though its status and duties had but slightly changed. The Minister of Education was authorized to direct and supervise the Superintendent-General of the Metropolitan Police, the Governor of Hokkaido and the Governors of all Prefectures in matters under his control and jurisdiction.<sup>4</sup> He supervised directly the heads of universities and other schools and libraries established by the Government as well as the public and private universities, higher schools and special colleges; and through the Prefectural Governors, he controlled all the public and private, secondary and elementary schools, kindergartens and libraries of the prefectures.<sup>5</sup> This central authority prescribed, though only in outline, the curricula and courses of study of these schools and standardized their work by means of periodical perusal of school reports and by occasional inspection of schools.<sup>6</sup>

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3 Ibid., 124.

4 Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan, Tokyo, 1937, 10.

5 Ibid., 10.

6 Kasuya, A Comparative Study of Secondary Education of Girls, 184.

The educational system in Japan being highly centralized and, uniformity being its main feature, it is rather easy to give a typical curriculum for a boys' school and a girls' school in prewar Japan. The latest prescriptions for boys' middle schools were issued by the Department of Education in Tokyo in February, 1931; the latest complete regulations for girls' high schools were issued by the same Department in 1920.<sup>7</sup>

#### B. Middle Schools for Boys

Male students from the elementary schools, who wished to continue their studies and who were financially able to do so, might enter middle schools. In addition to the financial difficulty, such students were faced with the serious problem of gaining admission to these schools through competitive examinations. Admissions were strictly limited and hardly more than one-half of the students who wished, and who were financially able to continue their studies beyond the elementary schools, were permitted to do so.<sup>8</sup>

The object of the middle school was to give the male students a higher general education, "special emphasis being laid on the cultivation of national morality in them."<sup>9</sup> The ordinary middle school course extended over five years, and the usual age of the student was from 13 to 18.

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7 Ibid., 186.

8 Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System, 193.

9 Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan, 20.

The subjects taught were: morals, civics, the Japanese language and Chinese classics, history, geography, a foreign language (English, German, French or Chinese), mathematics, science, technical studies, drawing, music and gymnastics.<sup>10</sup>

The subjects taught and the hours per week required for each are shown in the following table.<sup>11</sup>

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10 Ibid., 20.

11 Ibid., 22.

TABLE III

BOYS' SCHOOL CURRICULUM AND NUMBER OF  
HOURS FOR EACH SUBJECT

Curriculum	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year
Morals	1	1	1	1	1
Civics	-	-	-	2	2
National Language & Chinese Language	7	6	6	7-9	7-9
History & Geography	3	3	3	3	3
Foreign Language	5	5	6	2-7	2-7
Mathematics	3	3	5	2-4	2-5
Science	2	3	3	5-8	5-8
Drawing	1	1	1	1-2	1-2
Business Methods	-	-	-	3-5	3-5
Practice Work	2	2	1	1	1
Gymnastics	5	5	5	5	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>30-35</b>	<b>30-35</b>

As will be observed a considerable freedom in time was permitted in the 4th and 5th year, but in neither year must the total number of hours a week be less than 30 or exceed 35.

What should be taught in these courses was further outlined by the Department of Education. The official outline about the essential points of morals in third and fourth year was as follows: <sup>12</sup>

Obligations to self -

Body: Health, life.  
 Mind: Intellect, emotion, will.  
 Independence: Occupation, property.  
 Personality.

Obligations to family -

Parents, brothers and sisters; sons and daughters; husband and wife; relations, ancestors and house servants.

Obligations to society -

Individual: Personality of others; person, property and honour of others; confidence and promise, gratitude, friendship; relations of elder and younger, or social superior and inferior, of master and servant.

Public: Co-operation; order and progress of society.

Obligations to the State -

The nationality of the "fundamental character of the Empire."

The Imperial House: Loyalty, the Founder and other Ancestors of the Imperial House, the Throne.

The State: The Constitutions and laws, patriotism, military service; taxation; education; public duties; public rights; internal relations.

Obligations to Humanity -

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12 Dairoku Kikuchi, Japanese Education, London, 1909, 210.

Obligations to Nature -

Animals, nature objects, the true, the good, the beautiful.

The above topics were chiefly objects of obligations, and these obligations were to be explained as fully as possible. Thus, under the title of obligations to one's mind were to be taught such matters as the culture of the intellect, moderation of passions, cultivation of sentiments, discipline of the will, development of common sense, etc.

For each of these courses a similar obligatory outline was published by the Department of Education in Tokyo.

A last word about the five hours gymnastics every week. For these classes, the War Department provided officer-instructors and the training, which occupied five hours a week, was of a regular and serious nature.<sup>13</sup> The instructions included not only squad-drill and military evolution, but target practice, bayonet-fighting and the use of hand-grenades and other implements of modern warfare.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the students were given lectures on subjects best suited to stimulate their martial and patriotic ardour. Satisfactory completion of the middle school course of military instruction entitled the graduate to volunteer for one year of service in the colonies instead of the ordinary two year service, and this privilege was undoubtedly appreciated by the average student who intended to go on to higher institutions.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System, 199.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 200.



### C. Girls' High Schools

The girls' secondary schools were classified into two types, the girls' high school for general education with emphasis on academic training and the girls' high school for real subject or for domestic training.<sup>16</sup> The former, however, outnumbered the latter with a ratio of about 4 to 1.<sup>17</sup> These schools for girls can again be grouped in the categories of the 5-, 4- and 3-year schools.<sup>18</sup> As a rule, large cities had 5-year schools, and country districts 4- and 3-year schools.

The 5- and 4-year schools admitted girls who had completed the six-year course in the lower elementary school, or those who were twelve years old and had passed the qualifying examinations. The 3-year school took those who had completed the second year in the higher elementary school.

The curriculum required by the government for the girls' high schools of the general type comprised morals, Japanese, foreign language, history, geography, mathematics, science, drawing, domestic sciences, sewing, music and physical education.<sup>19</sup>

The curriculum for the girls' high school of the real type placed a greater emphasis on practical subjects. Although the curricula were different,

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24. 16 Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan,

17 Kasuya, A Comparative Study of Secondary Education of Girls, 184.

24. 18 Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan,

19 Ibid., 25.

the object of both types of schools was "to provide secondary education to girls, special emphasis being laid on the cultivation in them of national morality and of womanly virtue."<sup>20</sup>

The number of hours required in a girls' high school of the general type, was as follows:<sup>21</sup>

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20 Ibid., 24.

21 Ibid., 26.



**TABLE IV**  
**CURRICULUM OF ACADEMICAL GIRLS'**  
**HIGH SCHOOL AND NUMBER OF HOURS**  
**SPENT WEEKLY IN EACH SUBJECT**

COURSES	NUMBER OF HOURS				
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year
Morals	2	2	2	1	1
Civics				1	1
Japanese Language	6	6	6	5	5
Foreign Language	3	3	3	3	3
History & Geography	3	3	2	2	2
Mathematics	2	2	3	3	3
Science	2	2	3	3	3
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1
Domestic Science				2	4
Sewing	4	4	4	4	4
Music	2	2	1	1	
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>

The number of hours per week required by the Department of Education  
for girls' high school of the real type was:<sup>22</sup>

TABLE V  
CURRICULUM OF DOMESTIC GIRLS' HIGH  
SCHOOL AND NUMBER OF HOURS SPENT  
WEEKLY IN EACH SUBJECT

COURSES	NUMBER OF HOURS			
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year
Morals	2	2	1	1
Civics			1	1
Japanese Language	6	6	5	5
History & Geography	2	2	2	
Mathematics	2	2	2	3
Science	3	3	3	4
Sewing	8	8	8	8
Drawing	1	1	1	
Singing	1	1	1	
Technical Studies			2	4
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3
TOTAL	28	28	29	29

In "morals" besides the essential points of morals, whose divisions are similar to those for boys of middle schools, one hour a week in the first three years of academeical schools and in the first two years of domestic schools was given to sahō or deportment of manners.<sup>23</sup>

In the system of Chinese philosophy, good manners, courtesy and dignity are counted among the indispensable attributes a lady should possess. In the regulations, under the heading sahō, were items such as the following:<sup>24</sup>

Things to be born in mind in relation to -, and practical lessons in -, sitting and standing; advancing and retiring; interview; offering and accepting of things.

Things to be born in mind in relation to sleeping and eating; dress; visit; reception; correspondence; entertainments; public meetings; occasions of joy or sorrow; congratulations and condolence; mourning . . . .

And, with regard to its teaching, it was stated that in teaching sahō, or deportment and manners, stress must not be laid on old customs and ceremonial rules, rather it must be adapted to the modern conditions of living, dressing and eating, to "standing manners" or European style of living, as well as to manners "on mats," the Japanese style of living.<sup>25</sup>

Here are some details of the regulations about household matters, for they were a very essential part of girls' education, and there was nothing like them in the middle school regulations. The items were as follows:<sup>26</sup>

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23 Kikuchi, Japanese Education, 277.

24 Ibid., 277.

25 Ibid., 277.

26 Ibid., 278-279.

For third year - Two hours a week.

Introduction -

Woman's work in the household; importance of forming good kufu, or customs and usage of the house.

Clothing, food and habitations;  
Clothing: choice of materials, making, preservation, washing.

Food: Constituents, nature; ordinary food. . . ; food articles of special taste; drinking water, means of getting good water; infection by water; utensils and implements for eating and cooking.

Habitation: choice, site, building, direction of the frontage, light, warmth, ventilation, position of rooms, ornamentation, gate and fencing, gardens, well; cleansing, sweeping, furniture and utensils.

For fourth year - Two hours a week.

Care of the old and of children.

Care of the old; attention to be paid with respect to clothing, food and habitation; assistance in sitting and standing; mental comfort.

Care of children; lactation; teething; food; clothing; habitation; bathing; exercise; sleep; sickness.

Speech and demeanour; conversation; play and toys; school attendance.

Nursing and prevention of infectious diseases; attention to be paid with respect to clothing, food and habitation, nursing, medicine, dangerous cases; measures to be taken in emergencies, infectious diseases and their prevention; mode of cleansing; disinfection.

Management and economy; diligence, economy, order, preparedness, minute attention, cleanliness; servants, their choice and how to treat them; distribution of works; property, estimate

of income and expenditure, necessary expenses and waste; saving, insurance; household-bookkeeping; method of bookkeeping. . . .

Besides general instruction in household matters, sewing was taught four hours a week in academic girls' high schools and eight hours a week in the domestic curriculum.

#### D. Comparison of both curricula

A comparison of the curricula of a boys' middle school and a girls' high school shows us quite a few interesting points.

The standards of academic achievement in the girls' schools were much lower than those in the boys' schools. This can be proved by the difference in number of school years, in curricula, and in textbooks. Whereas the boys' school had to provide a 5-year course, the girls' school could be designed on the four and three year basis. Girls, who wished to take only part of the course, were allowed to do so and were called elective pupils; boys, however, were never allowed to be part-time students.<sup>27</sup>

The normal number of weekly school hours for boys was 30 in the first two years, and from 30 to 35 in the remaining three years, whereas it was 28 and 29 for the girls. In boys' schools, however, in addition to the prescribed teaching hours, two hours or less every week might be appropriated for special lectures; these special hours were not made available for girls.<sup>28</sup>

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25. 27 Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan,

28 Ibid., 23.

Girls' schools did not provide Chinese classics, business methods, higher mathematics, physics and chemistry, which were all essential in boys' prerequisites for higher studies.

Besides the time and subject differences, the required standard in almost all subjects was lower for girls' high schools than for boys' high schools. Baron Kikuchi wrote:

Even where syllabuses have the same wording, giving the same items and directions, there must be a difference of the standard, due to the number of hours given to that subject, and moreover, there must be a difference arising from the difference of sex.<sup>29</sup>

There were also different textbooks for boys' schools and girls' schools composed and published by the Department of Education itself, or at least approved by this central authority.<sup>30</sup> Article 7 of the sectional regulations of the Department of Education, issued June 8, 1913 and revised June 2, 1934, stated:

In the bureau of books, there shall be the section of Compilation and Revision and the section of Publication, and it shall deal with the affairs assigned to each section.

The section of Compilation and Revision shall be responsible for those affairs concerning:

1. The compilation of National standard textbooks.
2. The compilation of different textbooks for various schools.
3. Research council for textbooks.

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<sup>29</sup> Kikuchi, Japanese Education, 276.

<sup>30</sup> Keenleyside and Thomas, History of Japanese Education and Present Educational System, 129.

4. The investigations of the national language.

The section of Publication shall deal with the affairs concerning:

1. The publication of national standard textbooks.
2. The publication of different textbooks for various schools.
3. The investigation, examination and approval of textbooks.
4. Those questions not coming under the competency of any other section.<sup>31</sup>

As a conclusion, we may say that whereas the object of secondary education for boys was to give the male students a general education of a rather high academic standard, the main object of girls' high schools was the cultivation of womanly virtue. The basis for this segregation was the Confucianistic principle that female education should fit girls to "be good wives and wise mothers, proper helpmates, and worthy companions of men, noble mothers to bring up future generations of Japanese."<sup>32</sup>

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31 Ibid., 142.

32 Kikuchi, Japanese Education, 269.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Drawing conclusions and evaluating the educational system in general, and segregation in particular in prewar Japanese schools, is not an easy task. The student of prewar Japan is inclined to see in his national education what he considers nothing but undigested ideas from the West. It is true that Japan with the Restoration in 1868 took over Western methods and organization of education, but she adapted it to her particular needs and made it conform to her philosophy and ideals. Throughout their history the Japanese have adopted, first from China, later from the West, what they considered best suited for their needs. But the Japanese are not blind imitators. They are assimilators. Nothing has been taken over as such. Western organization and methods of education have been transformed into something new and strange, something essentially Japanese, suited to the ideal of the Japanese people. Thus we find in prewar Japan an organization that is Western in nature, and mostly European, built upon a Japanese philosophy of education.

#### A. Segregation in Secondary Schools in Prewar Japan

It is an undeniable fact that segregation was the norm of secondary schools in prewar Japan. The Department of Education in A General Survey of Education in Japan, stated as organs of secondary education there were "middle



schools for boys" and separate "high schools for girls."<sup>1</sup>

The history of Japanese education, especially since the introduction of Chinese philosophy, has always been characterized by the disparity in the provisions made for the education of girls as compared with those for boys. This fact is clearly evidenced by the different kinds of schools for girls and boys. Graduating from the elementary schools, boys went first to middle schools and later to higher schools. Girls, on the other hand, went directly to their girls' high schools, the equivalent of the middle school for boys. The idea behind this policy was that the girls' high school was the highest and final place of education for girls, for soon after leaving school, they would get married and have to work at home. The boys, however, who were able to do so, could continue their education in boys' higher schools and universities.

This disparity is also proved by the objectives of the middle schools for boys and the higher schools for girls. Boys in middle schools will receive "such a higher general education as will be required by male pupils in general."<sup>2</sup> Girls' high schools, however, will provide a secondary education to girls, "special emphasis being laid on . . . womanly virtue."<sup>3</sup> The emphasis in higher schools for girls was character education, to become "good wives and wise mothers,"<sup>4</sup> rather than intellectual training.

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1 Department of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan, Tokyo, 137, 20.

2 Ibid., 20.

3 Ibid., 24.

4 Dairoku Kikuchi, Japanese Education, London, 1909, 268.

Moreover, the standards of achievement in the girls' schools were notoriously inferior compared with the standards of boys' schools. A review of the courses of study and types of school, which are differentiated for the two sexes, clearly indicates the varied standards of achievement set for boys and girls.

These differences in standards were required by the Department of Education itself, as mentioned in Chapter Three of this study. Baron Kikuchi wrote that even if the same courses are given, "there must be a difference of standards due to the difference of sex."<sup>5</sup>

#### B. Confucianism: Source For This Policy of Segregation

When we consider the aims of education, both for boys and girls in prewar Japan, two points stand out from all others:

1. One is the cultivation of a reverence for what the Japanese call Kokutai, or the national structure.
2. The other is the fundamental importance of the family as a social unit.

Japanese boys and girls must be imbued with a sense of the glory of the nation and with a sense of responsibility towards it.

Within the family, cooperation must be the key to ideal life. All dependent members must have individuality, which is to be developed to the fullest extent, but at the same time they must be strictly bound to the patriarchal rule of the legal head of the family. This idea of the family has influenced the Japanese conception of education. Everyone has his own place and

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 276.

responsibility in the family. The duty of a woman is to be a good wife and a good mother. In these circumstances, loyalty and filial piety are the two great virtues, which are inculcated in Japanese schools. They are emphasized in the Imperial Rescript on Education, which was issued in 1890.

These virtues are the fundamental teaching of Confucius and Confucianistic philosophy.

The virtue of filial piety holds such an important place in Confucius' moral philosophy that it is regarded as the very fons et origo of real virtue. . . . 6

The responsibility for this emphasis is largely that of Confucius himself, who, says Lin-Yu-Tang, is reputed to have provided the philosophical foundation for the family system with its emphasis on the husband-wife relationship as the foundation of all human relationship.<sup>7</sup>

We may say that Confucianistic philosophy has caused, for a large part, segregation in the schools of prewar Japan.

The curricula for girls' schools have continued to follow the Confucian philosophy of the social inferiority of women and to perpetuate the feudal ideals of womanhood expressed in the Onna Daigaku, written by Kaibara Ekken.<sup>8</sup>

Educational discrimination has been only a small and relatively innocent part of a greater pattern of sex discrimination which has reduced the Japanese woman from her pre-eminent position in Court and public life a millennium ago to a position of pallid subservience to her husband and indifference to the social and political questions beyond her home.<sup>9</sup>

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6 Leo Sherley-Price, Confucius and Christ, London, 1951, 100.

7 Ibid., 101.

8 Robert Hall, Education for a New Japan, New Haven, 1949, 418.

9 Ibid., 418.

### C. Recommendations

Is an improvement of girls' education possible within this Confucianistic philosophy?

Although an educational reform may be elaborate in its external form, unless it is motivated by a definite philosophy it will be lifeless, for fundamental to all educational practices is the ideal of education.

Training for wifehood and motherhood is necessary especially when tradition justly holds married life to be the normal and best career of women. Since the family is not to be neglected, especially in a country built upon the idea of the nation as a large family, women as a rule should be trained for home life. Their position in the home must not, however, be limited to the so-called women's tasks. Household efficiency should increase, not merely from skill in cooking, sewing, etc., but from a trained mind with that creating activity and initiative, which lead to the salvaging of leisure time out of routine work of the home, and to the worthy use of leisure hours thus found.

More extensive educational objectives should be set for the making of Japanese women with critical judgment and wide interests in life, those who can fully appreciate the cultural and social factors of their country. Intelligent and well-educated women will be able to understand the true needs of society. They will see themselves in a clear perspective and will not pursue their selfish ways to the disintegration of the family.

In view of the peculiar cultural history of Japan, a co-educational system should perhaps not be put immediately into practice. A reform in this

field should be directed rather to the revision of the traditional ideas of women's intellectual inferiority and to a new conception of sex differentiation in educational objectives.

The general goals of secondary education for girls should be similar to that for boys, namely, moral and intellectual training, character building, and efficient living. The academic standards of the secondary school for girls must be raised to the same level as boys' schools. Character building and domestic training is necessary, but intellectual training is essential. Intellectual training, however, does not mean merely a training in traditional academic subjects, but the development of a critical attitude and constructive initiative that is so urgently demanded of the adolescent girls of present-day Japan.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Joseph P. Wellens, C.I.C.M. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Education.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

March 31, 1955  
Date

Lloyd R. Smith  
Signature of Adviser