

# Janes' Girls: The first coed students in Japan?

著者	米岡 ジュリ
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Janes' Girls:  
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ジェーンズ・ガールズ  
～ 「日本初の男女教育」 への疑問～

米岡ジュリ

Judy Yoneoka  
Kumamoto Gakuen University, Faculty of Foreign Languages

**Abstract**

In 1875, the Kumamoto Western School, headed by L.L. Janes, allowed two girls (Miya, aged 12 and Hatsu, aged 14) to enter the school and study the same curriculum as the boy students. It is generally claimed that this was the first instance of coeducation in Japan. However this paper argues that it was not actually the FIRST instance of coeducation; some *terakoya* taught boys and girls together before the Meiji Restoration, and there are recorded instances of mixed classes taught by missionary wives between 1869-1872. The Gakusei order of 1872 also ordered universal elementary school education for both boys and girls. Additionally, the two girls were relegated to the back of the class or outside, which is difficult to consider coeducation. Finally Hatsu's official CV states that she entered the Yogakko in 1872 (when she studied with Mrs. Janes) instead of 1875. It is concluded that to call the Yogakko the first instance of coeducation is an overstatement.

## 概要

1875年、熊本洋学校には2人の女子（徳富初子、横井美屋）の入学が許可され、男子生徒と同じカリキュラムを教師L.L. Janes氏の元で学んだ。これは、日本初の男女共学であるとされている。しかし本論では、明治維新前の寺子屋でも、明治初期の女性宣教師が開いた教室でも男女共学が行なわれたと指摘する。1872年の学制序文にも、小学校において男女共に教育を与えることが命じられ、また、熊本洋学校では2人の女子が教室の片隅または外で授業を聞かせられたため、実際の共学であったとは言い難いものであったことも本論では主張する。初子の公式履歴書にも、熊本洋学校に入学したのは1875年ではなく、ジェーンズ夫人と勉強した1872年だと残されている。これらの理由によって、本論では熊本洋学校は「日本初」の男女共学であることは言えないと結論づける。

### 1. Introduction

*If I am to lose my life in Higo, I would rather that it had been done after this school was half filled with girls, for then my death would count for something and there would be such an awakening in this country as would make short work of this stupid prejudice against the education of women. (Captain L.L. Janes, Kumamoto III, p. 76)*

Young men and women, studying side by side. This was an unthinkable concept in pre-Meiji Japan, where Confucian ethics ordained that males and females should not sit together, much less study together, in the same room after age 7. Indeed, public education was not provided for girls at all. For daughters of the samurai class, education was usually available only in the home (if the mother of the family had the time, wisdom and energy). Other classes sent their small daughters to teragoya—small private schools at temples or in private homes, but in

contrast to their brothers, they did not generally study for more than a few years. There were also special schools geared specifically towards girls, called *onna-terakoya*.

With the advent of modernization in the Meiji Era, however, the need for universal public girls' education was recognized. The Fundamental Code of Education (Gakusei) of 1872 resulted in a swift proliferation of lower and upper elementary schools (8 years, age 6-14) throughout the country, which aimed to provide a public education for children of both sexes from 6 to 14. However, it is argued that the schools were not actually coeducational in the strictest sense of the word (Morioka, 1999). In addition, these first public schools were not often well attended by girls, for reasons which will be discussed below.

It is often assumed that the first coed students in Japan were two girls: Yokoi (later Ebina) Miya and Tokutomi (later Yuasa) Hatsu<sup>1</sup>, who were enrolled into the Kumamoto Yogakko (Western school) in 1875 (Shiotani, 1991; Koine, 2012). Their teacher Janes himself writes: "It may be said in passing that their experience was the first and, so far as it can be learned, the last instance of coeducation in Japan" (Kumamoto III, p. 78). Their enrollment can be considered a successful attempt at coeducation when we look at the outcome of the students, both male and female. Janes writes at length about the beneficial effects of the presence of the girls on the boys in the school (Kumamoto III, p. 78):

*Their presence introduced a most humanizing, purifying, and beneficent influence into the school. Modest and refined to the last degree, cheerful as well as quietly brave and determined, they imparted to the school a certain indescribable mental and moral tone. Not a single student failed to be benefitted*

*by their presence, while the few who dropped behind in their studies and fell out of school had at least acquired a respect for womanhood in general and girlhood in particular which was as novel as it was tantalizing.*



Fig. 1. A photograph of Miya and Hatsu at the Doshisha (obtained from and used with permission of the Doshisha Shiryo Center)

The girls themselves also benefitted from their unique educational opportunity. Both went on to follow their brothers to Tokyo and then to Kyoto, enrolling in other coeducational schools. Hatsu attended Fukuzawa Yukichi's Keio Gijuku elementary school for a time, where boys and girls studied together (Fukuzawa was also a firm believer in coeducation). Miya, as already mentioned, attended the Kyusei Gakko, which began as a coeducational missionary class. Both then transferred to the Doshisha (see Fig.1) run by Nijima Jo in Kyoto, where they were enrolled in the separate girls' school, but were allowed to study with the boys due to their advanced skills and experience<sup>2</sup>. Thus, they were not simply products of a single coeducational school, but studied at schools which practiced or at least tolerated coeducation throughout their entire student lives.

Finally, both girls grew up to become not only good wives and wise mothers, but also productive educators and activists for women's rights. Hatsu became "a model wife and mother and an ornament to the high social circle in which she and her excellent husband move" (Kumamoto

III, p. 78) and Miya “devoted many precious and highly fruitful years to educational work” (ibid.). They were both positive examples of the benefits of coeducation, as Janes proudly writes of them:

*...the girls graduated into womanhood, wifehood, and motherhood in a manner to reflect the highest honor upon their sex and to impress an indelible seal of sanction and approbation upon the practice as well as the principle of coeducation (Kumamoto III, p. 78).*

## 2. Defining “Coeducation”

However, it is doubtful as to whether this was actually the first instance of coeducation in Japan. Indeed, the definition of coeducation itself is ambiguous. It is somewhat surprising that there is a lack of a general framework for discussing coeducation, even though many types of coeducation can be formulated. For example, “[l]ace coeducation, the teaching of boys by women in the public schools”<sup>3</sup> differs from “dame schools”, where young children were taught elementary reading and writing by women in private homes.

For the purposes of this research, three types of coeducation depending on the level of integration of classes and subjects are introduced and defined as follows:

Type 1. Fully integrated coeducation: the same curriculum (with the exception of physical education) for both sexes at the same time in the same physical location<sup>4</sup> (i.e. same classroom)

Type 2. Partially integrated coeducation: Similar curriculum for both sexes but with partial differences in location or content

Type 2.1. Segregation of location: partial segregation with respect to

physical location of study

**Type 2.2.** Segregation of curriculum: partial segregation with respect to content of study

**Type 3.** Segregated coeducation: Education for both sexes on the same physical school grounds but in different classrooms and with different study content.

Fully integrated coeducation (except for physical education at many schools) is generally the norm both in the US and Japan today, but this was not true until relatively recently, at least in some US schools. For example, the author herself experienced segregated all-female cooking and sewing classes in junior high school in 1971.

The present study uses the typology above to discuss the form of coeducation given to the two girls to the Kumamoto Yogakko Western School. After a general introduction to the background of coeducation and girls' education in Japan, the factors leading up to their admission are discussed, including the influence of their brothers and the relationship between the headmaster Janes and his wife and family. Who were these two girls and what were the circumstances surrounding their highly irregular admission to the school? What did they study along with the boys, and how were they treated? Does this instance deserve to be considered the first of its kind in Japan, and if so, what kind of coeducation does it represent? These will be the focal questions of the present research paper.

### **3. First cases of Coeducation: Terakoya and Missionary Schools**

Before the Fundamental Code of Education (Gakusei) of 1872, education for girls was usually provided only in the home or in private classes

called *terakoya*. Some of these *terakoya* were separated by sex (the girls attending *onna-terakoya*, or girls' classes), although most seemed to have been coeducational, and often relatively well attended by girls. Tone (1989) argues that the percentage of girls attending *terakoya* in Edo averaged 90% of the boys, and in certain areas girls even outnumbered boys, especially where merchant class families were common. He also provides attendance figures for rural *terakoya*, where up to 25% of the farmer class children were girls. Such figures attest to the fact that coeducational education in its loosest sense was prevalent even in feudal Japan, at least for younger children.

Even so, these girls generally learned to read and write only in addition to “womanly duties” such as cooking and sewing. Their reading lessons came from *onna daigaku* and similar Confucian classics, which contained indoctrination as to how to be “good” —i.e., obedient to your father, your husband or your son, depending on where you were in your life cycle. Therefore, cases of Type 1 (fully integrated) coeducation were probably rare. It was probable, too, that girls would learn only rudimentary reading and writing before they left to help their families. Moreover, it was unusual for a daughter of the samurai class to attend a *terakoya*, as her education was usually provided by or arranged for by her mother.

In the late 1860s and early 1870s, several missionary women began to offer classes for girls. One of the first was the A-Rokuban Girls School, started in late 1869 by Julia Carrothers. A famous (but possibly untrue) story of the inception of this school was that a child disguised as a boy wrote upon the blackboard “I am a girl” (cf. Shigehisa, 1968, p. 60; Miyoshi 1986, p. 136)<sup>5</sup>. This so impressed her teacher Ms. Carrothers that she decided to open up what would become the first missionary girls' school



in Japan.

This school, however, was just one of a flurry of such girls' schools, as foreign women began to realize the gender gap and to step in to fulfill the need for girls' education<sup>6</sup>. Like the *terakoya* of the Edo era, these early missionary girls' schools clearly provided actual instances of at least partial coeducation. In Yokohama, for example, a girls' class was begun in 1870 by Mary Kidder, which would develop into the present-day Ferris University. However, it was actually "a class of seven – three girls and four boys" who "were reading from the second volume of the English reader" (Ion, 2009, p. 221)<sup>7</sup>. Similarly, at the American Mission Home Doremus School (*Kyoritsu Jyogakko*; today's Kyoritsu Junior High and High School, Tokyo), "by the end of 1871, there were eighteen children at the school: two Japanese girls, two English girls, and fourteen Eurasian girls and boys" (Ion, 2009, p. 228).

Indeed, many of these schools could not survive without first admitting both boys and girls. At the inception of the *Jyoshi Shogakko* (Girl's Elementary School)<sup>8</sup> founded by Dora E. Schoonmaker in 1874, she wrote "My school will first consist of both boys and girls; but it is the distinct understanding that my real business here is to seek to build up a girls' school" (Eder, 2003, p. 96). In the end of 1875, she continued, "almost daily, I am rejecting applications from boys who wish to enter the school, but girls who desire instruction are less numerous" (ibid., p. 99). This school was clearly coeducational, as "initially, students were divided into two classes by age (adults or children) rather than by gender" (ibid., p. 97). As shown by these examples, it is probable that actual instances of older girls studying together with boys occurred in early missionary schools such as these, before Janes' girls were enrolled in the Kumamoto

School in 1875.

#### 4. Development of Public Education for Girls in Japan

In the meantime, the new Meiji government was beginning to realize the wisdom of addressing the gender gap in education. In 1871, a group of five girls, including Tsuda Umeko (the founder of today's Tsuda College), were sent to the US under government auspices for education. Just a year later, the government issued the Fundamental Code of Education (Gakusei) of 1872, 18 years after the opening of Japan by Perry and 4 years into the Meiji restoration period of "culture and enlightenment". This marked the beginning of official promotion of education for girls by the Japanese government. The Gakusei was formed based on the education system of several western countries<sup>9</sup> and "expressed clearly that women were also entitled to receive elementary education" (Heung 1993, p. 18).

According to Yanaga (1949, p. 105), public education for girls in Japan began soon thereafter "in 1872, by the founding in Tokyo of the first public school for girls, open to all girls between the ages of seven and fourteen years, regardless of family status." After this time, girls' education received more and more government support, and in time, the upper class society responded by sending their daughters as well as their sons to school. The education provided, however, was generally in keeping with the *ryosai kenbo* ("good wife and wise mother") ideal; that is, reading, writing, cooking, sewing, and training for limited careers such as teaching.

It appears that these first elementary schools of 1872 were meant to be coeducational, which according to Heung (1993, p. 21), was one of the reasons they were so unpopular<sup>10</sup>. Indeed, in the first few years of

their existence, the percentage of female attendance was never more than 23.51%, in contrast to almost 60% for boys (Heung, 1993, p. 19). However, Morioka (1999, p. 206) argues that the schools were not actually coeducational in the strict sense that boys and girls were taught the same subjects in the same rooms, as they are today. Instead, boys and girls were simply educated on the same school grounds, but in different rooms with different teachers and different subjects (that is, type 3 coeducation). Specifically, Morioka (1999) makes the following points: (1) schools offered special subjects for girls only such as cooking and sewing, (2) classes were conducted in separate classrooms, and (3) the Gakusei order of 1872 promoted the establishment of girls' elementary schools as well as coeducational ones. In our terms, this corresponds to the loosest form of segregated coeducation (type 3), which is arguably not coeducation at all.

Perhaps because of the delayed start of women's education, a great number of girls' schools are still in existence today, and we find a much higher number of girls' schools than boys' schools in modern Japan. According to Benesse (2013)<sup>11</sup> there were a total of 682 junior high, senior high, and colleges for girls, but only 197 for boys (see Fig. 2). However, this data should be taken with consideration: although 5 universities are listed on Benesse as "men's universities"<sup>12</sup>, they have no indication of this in their names and their websites clearly indicate that they are coed. Moreover, the only "male" 2-year college was Tohoku Women's Junior College, clearly indicating an error in the data.

In actuality, there are no more "men's universities" in Japan today; the last to turn coed was Tokyo Shosen University (renamed Tokyo Kaiyo University), which began accepting women in 1980. A quick internet search shows that this discrepancy causes bewilderment for many (*Why*

	Coeducation	Men only	Women only	Total
Junior high school	10304 97.2%	86 0.8%	210 2.0%	10600 100.0%
Senior high school	4598 92.7%	105 2.1%	258 5.2%	4961 100.0%
2-year college	242 66.7%	1 <sup>☆</sup> 0.3%	120 33.1%	363 100.0%
4-year college	668 87.1%	5 <sup>☆☆</sup> 0.7%	94 12.3%	767 100.0%
Total	15812	197	682	16691

☆ Tohoku Women's College

☆☆ All coed, indicating errors in data

Fig. 2. Number and percentage of Women's vs. Men's Schools in Japan (Benesse, 2013)

*are there no men's universities?<sup>213</sup>) (Do women's universities discriminate against men?<sup>214</sup>).*

## 5. Janes' Girls in the Kumamoto Western School

The Kumamoto Yogakko (Kumamoto Western School) was a prefectural school created in 1870. The American teacher Leroy Lansing (L.L.) Janes arrived in 1871, and the two girls were officially enrolled in the fourth class entering in September 1875. In contrast to the elementary schools created by the Gakusei order of 1872, it corresponded to a present-day middle school, with students aged 11 to 15<sup>15</sup>. Additionally, unlike the missionary classes discussed above, the Kumamoto Yogakko did not start out as a girls' class which had to accept boys for its existence, but just the opposite: it was a boys' school, which allowed girls to enter in its fourth year. Thus, it is arguably the first all-male public middle school in Japan to break with both national and local tradition and allow females to enter.

The two girls, Tokutomi Hatsu and Yokoi Miya, were aged 14 and 12

respectively when they entered the school. They were the respective sisters of two of the male students: Tokutomi Soho, who would grow up to be a famous journalist, and Yokoi Tokiwo (only son of Yokoi Shonan), a future educator, politician and minister. The four were also cousins by virtue of the fact that their mothers were sisters of the Yajima family.

The Yajima family (of seven sisters and only two brothers, one of whom died in early childhood) deserves special mention. It was headed by Yajima Chuzaemon, who was a high ranking local official in Mashiki, a rural area of Kumamoto, Japan. The sisters were educated at home by their mother (Mimura) Tsuruko, who was officially recognized in her time as being a model mother. She coached her daughters not only in reading and writing the *Onna Daigaku*, but in other wifely pursuits such as weaving, cooking, and farming. They were then married off one by one as second wives to low-ranking samurai (this being seen as a step up in social class) who were students of the *Shijiken*, the private Practical Learning School of Yokoi Shonan. Tokutomi Ikkei, Hatsu's father, and Takezaki Sado and Hayashi Shichiro, her uncles, were all students of Yokoi Shonan who married Yajima sisters. Shonan himself married another Yajima sister, Tsuseko, who became Miya's mother (see Fig. 3).

In the early Meiji period, Kumamoto had three political factions: a pro-Western pro-Reformation party called the *Jitsugakuto*, an anti-Western, pro-Emperor party called the *Keishinto*, and a conservative former domain pro-Confucian party called the *Gakkoto*. The *Jitsugakuto* was headed by the abovementioned Yokoi Shonan, whose enlightened thinking influenced many of the leaders of the Meiji Restoration. Although he was assassinated in 1869, it was under Shonan's indirect influence that Janes was brought to Kumamoto and the Yogakko began in 1871. Before this,

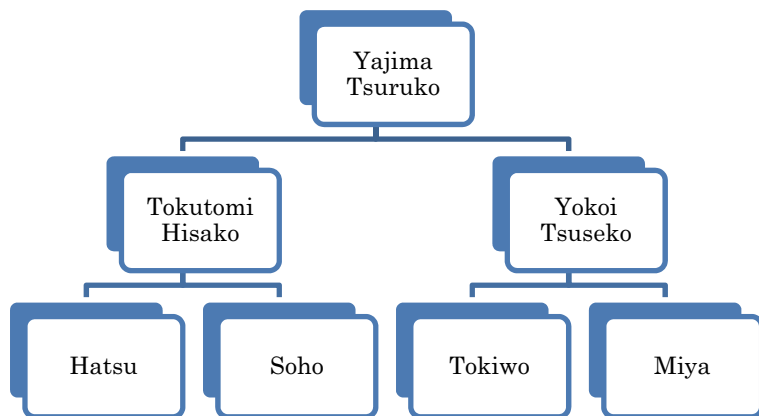


Fig. 3. Maternal family relationships between Hatsu, Miya and their brothers

these parties all ran their own educational institutions, giving local boys a choice for their education. But perspectives for girls' education in early Meiji Kumamoto were much worse.

Naturally, the Yokoi women would want the only son of Yokoi Shonan to attend the Western school. After Tokiwo was accepted to the Yogakko in the first class of 1871, the family moved downtown to be near the Western school. Their cousins, 8-year-old Tokutomi Soho, who was accepted in the second class in 1872, and his 12-year-old sister Hatsu were sent from their home in Minamata, a town south of Kumamoto, to stay with the Yokois. At this time, Miya and Hatsu began studying together with Mrs. Janes with about 10 other members, and according to Hatsu's resume of 1888, this was the date of her official entrance to the school.<sup>16</sup>

Soho writes with pride that Hatsu and Miya were probably the first girls in Kumamoto ever to study a foreign language, and that he remembers his sister teaching him some English as well (Ochimi, 1937, p. 7).

Interestingly, he mentions nothing about her having studied with him at the Yogakko itself in 1875. We may speculate that the young Soho might have been somewhat chagrined at being beaten out in English, not only by his older classmates in the second year of the Yogakko, but also by his older sister in the fourth year, his second time around.

In other parts of the country which had more exposure to the West, missionary schools for girls were already starting. As mentioned above, one of the earliest and most famous of these was Mary Kidder's school in 1870, which developed into Ferris University today. Other female missionaries and missionary wives were similarly engaged in teaching girls' classes, which was tolerated at the time as long as Christianity was not openly taught. The Kumamoto government was also interested in girls' education. Indeed, when they insisted that their new Western teacher be a married man, they may well have been thinking of getting two teachers for the price of one.

Mrs. Janes' class consisted of 12-13 girls, who studied English along with cooking and sewing 2 to 3 times a week at the big Western mansion. However, girls dropped out one by one for various reasons and only two—Miya and Hatsu—were left in the end. It seems that Harriet Janes was not particularly enthusiastic about continuing their studies. According to Janes' memoirs, his wife clearly stated that she "did not feel called upon to teach these people" (Notehelper 1975 p. 141; Kumamoto III, p. 66).

However, things may not have been as simple as this. We can only speculate as to why the girls' classes did not work out. According to her husband, "an additional nurse was added to the five servants already employed" (Kumamoto III, p. 69) but even so, Mrs. Janes must have been busy with her own growing family. In her defense, coping with living

in a strange environment with little or no support network could not have been easy for her. There were no other Western women for miles around, and no Japanese female in the rural outpost would have been understanding in the least of the young wife's tribulations, having been raised in a culture where complete obedience to men was the expected norm.

In addition, Mr. Janes was highly praised by his students as being a teacher who treated them like sons and who was always there for them—missing only one day of school in the whole five years of its existence (Notehelfer 1987, p. 174; Iwamatsu 2003, p. 77). This was the very day on which their third child was born, in 1873. Indeed, their fourth child was born in 1875, the same year that the girls were adopted into the boys' school, so his exemplary attendance at the school implies that he was NOT there for his wife in this accouchement—another reason for her to have refused to have nothing more to do with his school, even indirectly.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever the reason, there eventually ended up being no class for the girls, whose brothers were already studying English and Western knowledge very diligently, and whose desire to study English as well left them little choice but to pursue an education among the boys.

## **6. Janes' Decision to Officially Enroll the Girls in the Boys' School**

Although Janes readily agreed to let the girls into the Yogakko itself, it could not have been an easy decision. He writes that the brothers counseled him, warning that “we must tell you there is real danger in the way. This would be a great change from our old customs, and would be so little understood by the ignorant and foolish men that their displeasure is sure to be made manifest” (Kumamoto III, p. 71). Moreover, although



coeducation was not unknown in the US, it must have seemed irregular even to Janes himself, whose Yogakko education was patterned after his all-male West Point experiences.

His strong support for the girls themselves and for girls' education in general seem to have stemmed from a clear commitment to the equality of women and men. Having participated in (and won) a war based on the ideal of human equality, Janes equated the state of women in Japan with the former situation of slaves in the U.S. Thus his attitude may be seen as an extension of his strong beliefs in human equality, developed during the Civil War and supported by his Christian ideals. About girls' education he writes elegantly in his memoirs:

*...you might as well tie up one leg, let it fester and die for want of exercise, and then attempt to win a race with a whole man as to tie up half the mind of Japan in the bonds of ignorance and expect to keep pace with western nations.* (Kumamoto III, p. 73).

However, his willingness to allow the girls to join a situation where he, they, the other male students, and the school itself would probably suffer persecution and lack of understanding from the community, may also well have been because Janes felt somehow responsible for his wife's reticence towards these girls who were so desirous to learn.

## 7. The Role of the Brothers in the Decision

When Captain Janes brought his wife and children into the small town in Kyushu on September 30, 1871, he was greeted by a class of some 45 boys who had already been chosen according to rigorous standards and

had studied Chinese classics together for some months prior to his arrival. One of the boys of this first class was Yokoi Tokiwo, the only son of Yokoi Shonan and the older brother of Miya, one of our two heroines. He was also one of the 11 students who were able to graduate from this first class; the others had either been expelled or dropped out along the way.

The second year saw an even larger crop of students—72, to be exact<sup>18</sup>. Among this group was Tokutomi Soho, Yokoi Tokiwo's cousin and Hatsu's younger brother. He was only 8 or 9 years old at the time, and it may be assumed that he had been given special consideration. He was extremely intelligent and advanced in his traditional studies, and grew up to be a highly prolific and influential journalist. However, he could not keep up with the *Yogakko* studies due to his lack of understanding of English, and was told by Janes to come back in a few years when he was older. He reentered the school in 1875, in its fourth year, becoming the only student in the school's history to enroll twice. This second enrollment coincided with the enrollment of his older sister Hatsu.

Even though both girls had brothers in the school, this did not stop many of the boys from grumbling about the new development. The girls were teased mercilessly, and Janes relates an episode in his memoirs about how the boys moved so far to one side of a bench to avoid the girls that the last one fell off<sup>19</sup>. Ebina Danjo, an upperclass student from the second class of 1872 was selected to tutor the class in which the girls would be present. He complained directly to Janes, saying he never thought he would "come down to be a teacher of girls" (Notehelfer, 1975, p. 141; Kumamoto III, p. 76). Janes reply to him was purportedly given in the form of a question, "Was your mother a girl?" This response not only made Ebina respect the girls enough to teach them and stand up for them

against other boys, but also to marry Miya himself several years later.

Janes (Kumamoto III, p. 71) makes much of the fact that the two brothers supported their sisters and pleaded their case before him. Most of this support must have come from Miya's older brother Tokiwo, as Hatsu's brother Soho was not at the school again until 1875, the same year as Hatsu herself. The fact that Tokiwo would support the education of his younger sister is interesting in light of the fact that Tokiwo's father, Yokoi Shonan, was not only responsible for the philosophy of the Practical Learning Party which first put the *Yogakko* in place, but was also somewhat renowned for having three women (his wife, his brother's widow and a live-in maid) in the same family. As discussed above, Miya's mother Tsuseko had been raised by her own mother Tsuruko on the *Onna Daigaku*, which taught that women were to serve their fathers, husbands, and sons and had no lives of their own. Tsuseko had received no formal education outside of what her mother provided for the 7 sisters. We may speculate that Tokiwo's support for his sister may well have sprung partly from observations of the little enviable situation of his mother, who referred to herself as the "dustrag" of the Yokoi family. His enthusiasm for his sister's education may also have developed with his growing knowledge about American families from Western textbooks, and desire to see similar changes in Japanese families. Janes' treatment of his own wife, although bordering on negligence in Western eyes, may also have seemed progressive and enlightened to the young Tokiwo. Moreover, Tokiwo was the closest Miya had to a father figure, as their own father Shonan had been assassinated by reactionaries in 1869, when she was only five years old.

On the other hand, although Soho and his sister Hatsu were very close,

as an elder sister she was less dependent on him than he was on her. However, it can be imagined that he may well have been persuaded into cooperating with Tokiwo to plead her case by both Tokiwo and Hatsu herself.

## 8. School life for the girls in the boys' classes

The two girls were officially admitted to study with the boys in September, 1875, in the Yogakko's fourth cohort. They were streamed into the lowest class, which was clearly below their natural ability and experience. Miya had already started studying English with her mother and brother before Janes' arrival in 1871, and Hatsu had been studying as a member of Mrs. Janes' class since 1872. Indeed, they both quickly rose to "near the head of their class" (Kumamoto III, p. 77), so we may guess that their placement was more out of concession to and consideration of the other boys in the class than due to the girls' linguistic abilities themselves.

However, the treatment of the girls differed from that of the boys in that they were allowed to come into the classroom only when the blackboard was being used, and otherwise they had to sit outside and listen (Ebina, 1935, quoted in Oshima 2012, p. 111). In the main study hall, the girls occupied a corner in the very back of the room.

Why would the girls be subjected to such discriminatory treatment? Why was it possible for Janes to let them freeze out in the hall during the cold winter, rather than bringing them into the classroom itself? Why, furthermore, was this true only for the smaller room and not the larger study hall? The most plausible reason is that Janes could simply go so far and no further against the Japanese society and mores of his place and time. His benefactor and Miya's father Yokoi Shonan was a Confucian

educator, and Confucianism dictated that children after the age of 7 should not sit together, even to study. It could be that Janes, who would have certainly been made aware of this by his male students, interpreted it to mean “sitting side by side”—therefore in the larger room, if the girls were off in a corner, it would not count. The blackboard concession in the smaller classroom was probably similarly reasoned to be permissible; as long as the girls were as far away from the boys as possible.

Janes’ habit of interpreting the rules and working barely within the interpretation is also evident in the way he behaved towards the rules against teaching Christianity. He was not allowed to teach or talk about Christianity until 1875—so he did not. He simply used Western textbooks such as Webster’s Blue-backed Speller; the first full sentence of which is “No man may put off the law of God.” When government edicts against Christianity were rescinded in 1872, he began going a bit farther by injecting “hints” into his science and history classes of an almighty God. One time when he did this, one of the boys<sup>20</sup> interrupted the class with the interjection “That is a lie, Sir!” To this, Janes rejoined with the reminder that, as a good Confucian, the student should not dare to contradict his teacher (Notehelfer, 1975, p. 184). When the boys came to him of their own accord to ask him about Christianity, he began to teach them from the Bible on weekends. Finally, when their excitement came to a head with the formation of the Kumamoto Band in early 1876, he turned a blind eye and claimed to have nothing to do with it. We see then that his approach to social taboos such as teaching girls and teaching Christianity may have been similar—that is, do as much as possible under the broadest interpretation of the circumstances, and then claim ignorance or faulty understanding if problems came to hand.

## 9. Effect on the school and its reputation in the community

The Kumamoto Yogakko and its American teacher L.L. Janes must have been considered quite outrageous in early Meiji Kumamoto. The conversion of many of its star pupils to Christianity and the formation of the Kumamoto Band in 1876 was a great blow to the school itself, but it was certainly not the only unconventional and shocking act connected with the school. Janes' princely salary and fine Western style home must have aroused great jealousy among the townspeople, and it probably did not help that he saw fit to expel a great number of his students, thereby shaming them and making enemies of their families. Janes not only went against Confucian tradition by allowing girls into his school; he also went against Buddhist tradition by insisting on feeding his students beef — killing the first cow himself to do so, as no one else in the area would do the job (Notehelfer, 1975: 166). Moreover, the Practical Learning Party, which had controlled the government and sponsored Janes in the first place, was fast losing power to the Gakkoto (Conservative School Party) in the school's later years. Thus it can be argued that the conversion of the Kumamoto Band students to Christianity, although important, was merely the straw that broke the camel's back in terms of the demise of the school.

The enrollment of two girls in 1875 may clearly be seen as yet another 'straw'. Janes reports in his memoirs that the local authorities gave their consent, but this move could not have endeared Janes to the government or to the local community, and the boys who tried to talk him out of it were well aware of this (Notehelfer 1975, 141). The school officials are said to have agreed only very reluctantly. In addition to the Confucian precepts against boys and girls sitting in the same room, common beliefs

at that time, dictated that girls, if they were to be educated at all, should learn womanly subjects like sewing and cooking rather than foreign languages and academics. Thus, Janes' decision to enroll the two girls in a school where they would be studying "manly" subjects such as algebra and physics, can clearly be considered to have been another nail in the eventual coffin of the school.

### 10. Conclusion: Was the Kumamoto Yogakko actually first?

The claim that the enrollment of these two girls at the Kumamoto Yogakko was the first instance of coeducation in Japan is usually based solely on claims made by Janes himself, in his memoirs written several years after the fact (see introduction). He is obviously proud of "his girls" as he is of "his boys", but to call this event a "first" in Japan is clearly an overstatement. First of all, in terms of the framework presented in section 1, the education under Janes in 1875 was not coeducation in the strictest sense, but can only be said to have been partially integrated coeducation, segregation by location (type 2.1). This is because the two girls were only allowed to sit outside the classroom and listen in, or sit in the very back of the largest hall. Moreover, if one believes Hatsu's CV, it seems that the girls themselves made no clear distinction between the first three years of their education in contrast with their fourth and fifth ones.

Furthermore, it also cannot have been the first instance of coeducation, as evidence points to the fact that girls and boys studied together before 1875, if one looks back through the history of missionary girls' schools in early Meiji, or even further back into local *terakoya* in Edo Japan. Especially, several instances of "girls' classes" provided by missionary women could not have been successful if they had not at first accepted

boys along with the girls. Of course, these boys were willing to study with girls (probably sisters) in order to gain the access to Western information that they so dearly desired.

Also, it must be remembered that coeducation in Japanese elementary schools (both lower and upper, until age 14) was provided for in principle by the Gakusei order of 1872—three years before the girls entered the boys' classes. In fact, this was generally Type 3 segregated coeducation, but it is very difficult to claim that there were no cases of Type 2 coeducation at that time.

Even so, there is no doubt that one of the first attempts at coeducation can be traced back to this event, and that the Kumamoto Yogakko is most likely the first public secondary school in Japan to provide a coeducational class. It is probably also the first to introduce female students into an all-male school. It is also unique and worthy of attention in that it did not occur under the auspices of the progressive central government, but in a mid-sized, highly conservative city at the insistence of the American teacher who for all intents and purposes single-handedly ran the school.

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## 注

- 1 In the present research, the family name is given first following the Japanese tradition. The two heroines both had names ending in *-ko* (the Chinese character for child) but used their names without this ending. For consistency we refer to the girls simply as Hatsu and Miya hereafter, leaving off the *-ko* as well as the honorific prefix *O-* and suffix *-san*.
- 2 Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nijima Jo are also both known as progressive educators and proponents of coeducation.
- 3 Encyclopedia Americana (1918, online at <http://gluedideas.com/content-collection/encyclopedia-americana-7/Coeducation.html>)
- 4 This generally coincides with Koine's (2012) definition of coeducation, although she specifies that the students must be at the same school and in the same class. This paper broadens the definition somewhat to include other learning environments such as private classes at homes or religious institutions. Physical education is regarded as an exception both by Koine (2012) and in the present study, and the wisdom of coed physical education classes is still hotly contested today.
- 5 According to Ms. Eriko Kajiwara, head librarian at Joshigakuin High School in Tokyo (successor of the A-Rokuban Girls School), there is no evidence of this actually happening. It does make a wonderful story to begin the chapter of girls' education in Japan, however; so its reappearance in several studies on women's education may be explained by wishful thinking more than hard fact.
- 6 See Rose, 1992, p. 178, note 4.
- 7 Ion adds that she wrote "The children were learning to read and write and do arithmetic. Two of the girls and a boy were members of the Sunday school." (Ion, 2009, p. 221)
- 8 This school was renamed the Kyusei Gakko (Salvation Girl's School) in 1875 and Kaigan Jyogakko in 1877 when it moved to Tsujiki. It is the predecessor of Aoyama Women's College. Miya attended this school for about one year from 1876-77, but it is unclear whether it was accepting boys at that time. It is interesting to speculate whether her coeducational experience prompted her to choose a school that had coeducation as a part of its history.

- 9 France, Germany, Netherlands, England, America, and Russia, in that order, all served as models for elements of Meiji Japanese educational reform. (Ogata, 1963, p. 30).
- 10 As noted in Heung, 1993, “some parents disliked the co-educational system practiced in public elementary schools. Most of them still kept the traditional thinking that boys and girls should not sit or study together after seven years old.” See also Katayama (1984, p. 8).
- 11 <http://benesse.jp/school/>, data compiled April 1, 2013.
- 12 Hannan University, Komazawa University, Bunri University of Hospitality, Tokyo University of Pharmacy and Life Sciences, Hagoromo University of International Studies
- 13 [http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question\\_detail/q135428143](http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q135428143)
- 14 [http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question\\_detail/q1319634433](http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q1319634433)
- 15 There were exceptions to this general rule; notably, Ebina Danjo who was 16 on admittance and Tokutomi Soho, who was only 8 or 9.
- 16 In 1888, Hatsu applied to start a kindergarten in Tokyo, and submitted her resume to the government authorities. The resume clearly states that she entered the Kumamoto Yogakko in 1872, presumably when she began studying English with Mrs. Janes, rather than in 1875 when she was officially admitted by Mr. Janes. (Ohama, 1985, p. 238)
- 17 After their return to the United States, there was a long and painful divorce (Notehelfer, 1975), and the seeds of Mrs. Janes’ future delusions about her husband’s alleged lack of faithfulness to her during this time were perhaps planted during these long days of neglect.
- 18 Of these 72 students, only 11 were able to graduate, and they made up the final graduating class. Thus the school produced a total of 22 graduates before it was closed down in 1876, five years after it started. The reasons for the closure were complicated, having to do with both local and national politics, but the trigger for the decision was the formation of the Kumamoto band. This was a group of 35 of the Yogakko students who embraced Christianity under Janes’ influence and made a pact to follow the new faith, to the shock and dismay of their parents, the community and the local government.
- 19 “The boys…moved off to the end of the bench in the recitation room as far as possible from the objects of contamination. On one occasion in my presence the end boy was shoved so far in this process of escape that he found a seat on the

floor.” Kumamoto III, p. 72.

- 20 This refers to Kozaki Hiromichi, one of the greatest doubters of Christianity at first, who grew up to be one of the most faithful Christian ministers of the group.