

Study Abroad and the Transnational Experience of Japanese Women from 1860s–1920s: Four Stages of Female Study Abroad, Sumi Miyakawa and Tano Jōdai

Keiko Sasaki

email: sasaki.keiko@uec.ac.jp
University of Electro-Communications. Japan

Yuri Uchiyama

email: yuri_uchiuyama_0728@yahoo.co.jp
University of Electro-Communications. Japan

Sayaka Nakagomi

email: s_nakagomi@rikkyo.ac.jp
Rikkyo University. Japan

Abstract: This article aims to analyse the study abroad and transnational experiences of Japanese women between the 1860s and the 1920s. First, this article analyses the tendencies, periods, agents (both government-funded and privately-funded), aims and subjects studied in female study abroad in the four stages during this period from school history materials of individual institutions which supported female study abroad. In its later stages, female study abroad tended to strengthen the function of raising leaders of girls' and women's education, while in its early stages it tended to introduce a variety of Western culture and academic knowledge. Second, the article focuses on the forms of government- and privately-funded study abroad for women by tracing the study-abroad experience of two women educators in the early 20th century. Within government-funded study abroad, academic disciplines studied and students' experiences were controlled by the government and focused on building a national female educational system. However, privately-funded study abroad possessed wider aims. It allowed female students to study various academic disciplines and introduced new international trends for promoting women's social participation. Most female students who experienced study abroad became pioneers of female education and/or social activities in Japan as a result of their transnational experiences.

Keywords: study abroad; transnational experience; girls' and women's education in Japan; female educator.

Received: 04/06/2019
Accepted: 26/09/2019

1. Introduction

After putting an end to about 200 years of national isolation, Japan embarked on the project of building a modern state in the end of Tokugawa era (1853-1867) and Meiji era (1868-1912), far behind the leading Western powers, and introduced Western technologies, knowledge, culture, and modes of living in the pursuit of urgent modernization. Since the Meiji government was primarily concerned with raising a generation of leaders who would introduce Western culture, it sponsored several hundred government-funded students to study abroad. At the same time, the government employed several hundred foreign teachers and engineers to introduce academic knowledge and scientific technologies from abroad (Umetani, 2007). Japanese women, too, received education from Western teachers in Japan from the early Meiji period, and studied abroad to personally encounter and adopt Western cultures. Large part of them were sent abroad through women's higher educational institutions, and contributed to modernizing Japanese women's attitudes as teachers of such institutions after their return. The number of female study-abroad students between the 1860s and the 1920s included 23 female study-abroad students who were funded by the government (Tsuji, 2010, pp. 226-365), while several times as many students are thought to have been funded privately.

This article aims to analyze the historical development of female study abroad programs in modern Japan by presenting their four stages, which reflect the historical development of Japanese female education in general. The literature on study abroad programs by Japanese students since the Meiji era has focused on male students and the transformation of their aims, sponsoring agents, and careers after their study abroad within the context of the nationwide boom of state-led study abroad programs since the Meiji era (Tsuji, 2010; Ishizuki, 1992; Tezuka & National Education Center, 1992). However, little scholarship has researched the reality, characteristics, and overall historical development of female study abroad programs, although some have treated women's experiences studying abroad as a part of biographical research on female educators.

Thus, the first half of this article analyzes the trends in female study abroad programs between the 1860s and the 1920, when state support was visible, by delineating four stages which reflect the development of the female-oriented parts of the educational system and broader social changes since the beginning of the Meiji era. This analysis will clarify the characteristics of female study abroad programs and historical trends in the Meiji era and Taishō era (1912-1926) when modern nation-state building was underway. This article will not cover the 1930s and its growing militarism. At each stage, school history materials of individual institutions which supported female study abroad programs will be used to analyze the experiences, sponsoring agents, aims, and subjects studied by female study-abroad students.

The latter half of this article will place particular focus on the two forms of female study abroad programs – government-funded and privately-funded – and will discuss two female educators who studied abroad between the 1900s and the 1920s. The individual process of study abroad and the career trajectories of both women were supported by different backing agents (government-funded and privately-funded) in order to reveal the characteristics of each study abroad experience. By examining

their overseas experience from transnational perspectives¹, this section enables to consider the impact of cross-border female study abroad over the development of modern girls' and women's education in Japan.

Sources analyzed in this section includes biographies, school histories and manuscripts from school archives.

2. The development of female education in Japan, 1868-1929

First of all, we need to overview the history of the modernization of female education in Japan (Duke, 2009; Marshall, 1996; Tsujimoto et al., 2017) Before the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japanese women were mainly educated at home with a focus on arts and crafts, although they also studied at the Terakoya, small local schools instructing ordinary people in the three R's, especially in urban areas. While some daughters of the Samurai class studied the Analects of Confucius at the *Shijuku*, private tutoring schools, alongside their brothers, there was no organized school system tailored specifically for female education. In 1872, the government issued the Education System Order (*Gakusei*), the first national plan for education, laying down the principle of «education for all».

2.1. The beginning of modern female education: Missionary², government, public, and independent private schools

Following the Tokugawa shogunate's opening of five ports including Yokohama to foreigners in 1856 and its new tolerance of commercial and missionary activities within the neighboring foreign settlements, mission schools for girls proliferated in the foreign settlements. Those included Ferris Girls' School³ in the Yokohama Foreign Settlement (Yamamoto, 1931), A6 Girls' School (later Joshi Gakuin) in the Tsukiji Foreign Settlement, both established in 1870, and Kobe College established by the American educator Eliza Talcott in 1894 (Kobe College, 1976; Ishii, 2004). The total number of mission schools for girls reached 35 in the 1880s (Sasaki, 2002, p.18). In these girls' schools, British and American women taught Bible studies and hymns, as well as Western lifestyle modes, customs, and manners, in English and Japanese.

¹ The definition of «transnational» in this article is based on the arguments noted below. Sandell says that recent «transnational interpretations of history, which, broadly defined, examine movements and interactions of peoples and ideas that go beyond and cross the borders of nation-states». She also defines that «*Transnational* tends to emphasise and refer to the roles of non-state actors in these processes, while the term *international* deals with the interaction between nation-states and those representing these» (Sandell, 2015, pp. 3-4). Further research on transnational perspective in the history of education are available in: Popkewitz (2013); Raftery & Clarke (2017); Goodman (2017); Fuchs & Vera (2019).

² After the Meiji Restoration, most of the missionaries that came to Japan were sent by Protestant missionary societies in the United States. Hence, this article focuses on mission schools opened mainly by American Protestant missionaries.

³ This school has changed its name several times. This article adopts the name which was most commonly used before the World War II. The same adoption of names will be applied to other schools.

These were the higher education institutions for women at the time, based on the education in female seminaries in the United States. It is especially noteworthy that female missionaries taught higher education subjects such as algebra, geometry, world history, physics, ethics, and psychology, using English textbooks at Ferris Girls' School, Kobe College, and Kwassui Girls' School in Nagasaki (established in 1879). In the latter school, all subjects were taught in English (Kwassui Girls' School, 1929, pp. 23-33).

National and public secondary education for girls also began in the early 1870s, although there were not many schools serving girls. In 1872, Tokyo Girls' School was established as a government school (Research and Statistics Division, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Government of Japan, 1980, p.61). This school provided English and Western-style education to its students, who were mostly the children of high government officials, aristocrats, and the upper class in Tokyo. The school was, however, closed a few years later, and Tokyo Normal School for Girls was established in 1875⁴. This normal school (teacher training school) was the predecessor to the Higher Normal School for Women. Since the school did not charge any tuition fees, its students came from less affluent classes and families, but were enthusiastic for education and eager to adapt to the new era. In particular, there were many fathers of daughters from the Samurai class who became unemployed following the Meiji Restoration. The rate of students from provincial families was also high (Ochanomizu University, 1984, pp. 39-60).

Eventually, with the issuance of Kōtō Jogakkō Rei, as a result of the 1899 Women's High Schools Act, public girls' high schools spread nationally. While there were only fourteen girls' high schools in 1894, the number increased to 52 in 1900 and 100 in 1905, exceeding the number of mission schools (Research and Statistics Division, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Government of Japan, 1980, p. 452. Statistics).

The purpose in building the government-led girls' high school system was to introduce the principle of *ryōsai kenbo*, or «good wife and wise mother» into the girls' curricula (Fukaya, 1966, pp.173-227). With the Imperial Rescript of Education (*Kyōiku Chokugo*) issued in 1890, the subject of Morals (*Shushin*), which includes Confucian teachings, was introduced into school curricula, and women were taught to obey men and exert themselves in maintaining the patriarchal family system⁵.

⁴ In 1885, Tokyo Normal School for Girls, established in 1875, was incorporated with the Tokyo Normal School and became the Girls' Section of Tokyo Normal School. In 1886, Tokyo Normal School was upgraded to a higher normal school. So, the Girl's Section of Tokyo Normal School became the Women's Section of Higher Normal School. In 1890, the Women's Section became independent of the Higher Normal School and became the Higher Normal School for Women. In 1908, as the second higher normal school for women was established in Nara, the Higher Normal School for Women was renamed as Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women (THNSW) (Sasaki, 2019).

⁵ According to Koyama (2012), the principle of *ryōsai kenbo* had an aspect of enlightenment. She argues that women could secure status in the family as «wife» and «mother» by introducing *ryōsai kenbo*, while in the feudal era women's status was not recognized even in the family. However, the fundamental structure of «wives obeying husbands» was the same. Girls' and women's education in Japan during the period covered in this article had much or less followed the line of *ryōsai kenbo*. Further research are required to examine if individual female educator has internalised the idea and to see what changes in *ryōsai kenbo* were brought by experiencing study abroad.

At the same time, mission schools taught Japanese girls that girls have the equal right to receive education as boys do (Kobe College, 1976; Kwassui Girls' School, 1929)⁶. The educational level of female missionaries was high for the time, even by the standards of the United States: they were graduates from female seminaries, normal school (teacher training school), or colleges (Kohiyama, 1992, pp. 141-159).

2.2. *The rise of female higher education*

The nationwide establishment of secondary education institutions for girls was followed by the increase in demand for women's higher education. Japan's first university was Tokyo University, established by the government in 1878 (later renamed Tokyo Imperial University). Although universities were established one by one, including Kyoto Imperial University in 1897 and Tohoku Imperial University in 1907, women were not allowed to enroll in these universities through formal channels. Instead, the government established training schools for girls' secondary school teachers as women's higher educational institutions. These institutions included the Higher Normal School for Women established in 1890 (formerly the Women's Division of Tokyo Higher Normal School), Tokyo Music School established in 1887 (a coeducational school, formerly the Music Investigation Committee of the Ministry of Education), and Nara Higher Normal School for Women, established in 1908. Apart from these, the Christian missionary schools established in towns around the country since 1870s (such as Kobe College and Aoyama Girls' School), as well as the private women's colleges established after 1900 (such as Tsuda College, Japan Women's College (JWC), and Tokyo Women's Medical School) responded to women's demand for higher education. In particular, women's colleges, as independent private institutions established in accordance with their founders' personal philosophies, expanded gradually in size and outmatched the Higher Normal School for Women and Tokyo Music School – both established by the government⁷. However, women from the upper classes, including the aristocracy, did not enter higher education, and students at these institutions were mostly drawn from the upper-middle or middle classes (Sasaki, 2002, pp. 81-85)⁸. Since these schools were not «universities» but higher normal schools or colleges, the students could not obtain Bachelor's degrees upon graduation. Prior to World War II, this fact provided an incentive for women to study abroad as a way of obtaining degree certifications from foreign universities.

⁶ Girls in mission schools and those studying English literature at women's colleges did not necessarily internalize the principle of *ryōsai kenbo* (Tokyo Woman's Christian University, 1968, p.16).

⁷ The number of enrolled students (in four-year universities and colleges) in 1920 was about 900 for Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women (THNSW) and about 600 for Tokyo Music School, while about 2000 enrolled in private women's colleges. Since the female school-age population at the time was about 500,000, the enrolment rate of women's higher education was 0.18 percent (Sasaki, 2002, pp.14-16, 78, 129).

⁸ Based on the fathers' professions, 55-58 percent of female students in higher education came from families in the modern professions, such as bureaucrats, middle managers, independent professionals, and teachers; 23 percent came from families in agriculture (landlords), commerce, and industry; and 17-20 percent came from families living off unearned income (including pensioners).

3. Four historical stages of the development of study abroad for Japanese women

In the following section, the development of study abroad programs for Japanese women is divided into four stages, and the political, economic, and social background of each stage is examined. In addition, we will examine individuals in their historical context to analyze the meaning of their study abroad experiences.

3.1. *The first stage: Introducing Western manners and values, 1868-1879*

Our first stage covers the period in which a new government system was built, following the Meiji Restoration. The Meiji Government issued the Education System Order (*Gakusei*) in 1872, marking the adoption of modern educational concepts at the state level, and Western ideas of the Enlightenment were introduced, which led to the period of Westernization. In 1859, before the Meiji Restoration, Japan concluded commercial treaties with five Western powers, i.e. America, Holland, Russia, Britain and France. From around this time, the Tokugawa shogunate and leading feudal lords (*daimyōs*) had begun sending their vassals as delegations abroad, along with prospective younger generations to study. While the number of study-abroad students was 152 individuals before the Meiji Restoration, it multiplied in the Meiji era, leading to a «study-abroad boom». Between 1868 and 1875, 538 students, both publicly and privately funded, studied abroad (Ishizuki, 1992, Appendix: The list of study-abroad students).

On the other hand, women were expected to learn the art of socializing in the mode of Westerners, specifically regarding manners and lifestyles, and upper-class families, such as aristocrats and political leaders, were recommended to bring their wives and daughters when they studied abroad (Ishizuki, 1991, p. 196). Around this time, the government also sent female students to the United States for the first time. In 1871, the Hokkaido Development Agency (*Hokkaido Kaitakushi*) sent five female students abroad. Since the purpose was to let them immerse in and acquire a Western *modus vivendi*, the requirements for candidates included the stipulation that their age be under 16 years old at the time of departure and that the length of stay be 10 years. They spent the 10 years staying with ordinary upper-middle-class families, attending schools as American girls, learning how to play the piano, and going to concerts and on vacations. Although the government did not expressly specify schools or subjects for them, three of the five female students successfully completed their education and returned home: Shigeko Nagai graduated from Vassar College's School of Music and became professor at Tokyo Music School; Sutematsu Yamakawa graduated Vassar College with excellent grades, obtaining a college degree; the youngest Umeko Tsuda graduated from Stephenson Seminary and Archer Institute (Takahashi, 2002; Nimura, 2015).

3.2. *The second stage: Transferring Western useful knowledge and skills for the construction of the modern state, 1880-1889*

The second stage was the period of establishing the legal, cabinet, and bureaucratic systems to found a modern constitutional monarchy, which is marked with the promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan in 1889. Despite some backlash against Westernization, the transfer of Western sciences and industrial technologies was promoted in various fields with the help of many foreign advisors hired by the government (Umetani, 2007). When studying abroad in this period, male students were expected to engage in the academic fields useful for nation-state building, such as military science, medicine, mining, shipbuilding, metallurgy, civil engineering, law, and politics. On the other hand, female students were expected to study «feminine» subjects such as childcare, infant training, pedagogy, music, physical education, and domestic science.

In 1885, the first woman was ordered by the Ministry of Education to study abroad. Kinko Takeda, née Katō, was a government-funded student and a graduate of the Tokyo Normal School for Girls. She proceeded to study at and graduate from Salem Normal School in Massachusetts and the Nursery School of Western College for Women in Ohio. When she returned to Japan in 1889, she taught child education and English at the Higher Normal School for Women, her alma mater (Ouinakai, 1940, pp. 262-263). Japan's first music study-abroad student was Nobuko Kōda, a graduate of the Music Investigation Committee of the Ministry of Education (later Tokyo Music School), who left Japan in 1889 to study abroad in the United States, Germany, and Austria. After some preparatory study at Boston Music School in the United States, she studied abroad in Germany, and at the Vienna Music Academy in Austria. When she returned in 1895, she became a professor at Tokyo Music School and endeavored to mentor future composers (Tokyo University of Arts, 1987).

Privately-funded study abroad programs, on the other hand, centered around girls' mission schools, as indicated by the fact that most of the female study-abroad students in the early Meiji era were Christians. Female graduates of mission schools were not only fluent in English and as a result of being Christians received direct teaching and lifestyle guidance from Western female missionaries. Since many female missionaries returned home after a few years, the latest information about education abroad could be obtained easily. These female missionaries promoted the study of medicine, nursing, and hygiene from relatively early on. Kei Okami, a graduate of Yokohama Kyōritsu Girls' School, a mission school, entered the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1894. She returned to Japan four years later upon being awarded an MD degree, and she obtained a medical license in Japan with which to practice medicine. Also, the Tokyo Jikei Hospital Nursing School sent Sei Nasu and Yoshine Haishi to St. Thomas' Hospital Nursing School in the United Kingdom in 1887 (Tezuka et al., 1992, pp. 160, 198, 216).

In addition, Kobe College, which adopted the American-style education of liberal arts colleges and aimed at establishing a women's college in Japan in the future, had intended to send graduates to the United States since its foundation. In 1887, Fuji Kōga, a Kobe College graduate, studied at nursery training schools in Cambridge and Boston, Massachusetts, in the United States. She later taught at nursery training

schools attached to various mission schools after returning to Japan (Kobe College, 1976, p. 206).

Furthermore, from 1889, Mine Saitō (née Morishima, who later co-founded Futaba Nursery with Yuka Noguchi) studied abroad at the California Kindergarten Training School (Tezuka et al., 1992, p. 414). Also, Umeko Tsuda, who had become a professor at Kazoku Girls' School (Peeresses' School) after returning from study abroad during the first stage, embarked on a second study abroad in 1889, this time as a privately-funded student. She studied at Bryn Mawr College in the United States and visited other schools to study their arrangements before returning to Japan (Takahashi, 2002). She later founded Tsuda College and provided opportunities for international activities to Japanese women through English education (Shibuya, Uchida & Yamamoto, 2015).

3.3. *The third stage: Establishing women's higher education in Japan, 1890-1909*

The third stage witnessed the rise of nationalism after the First Sino-Japanese War. After profiting financially in the war, Japan had almost completely incorporated modern paradigms in the areas of education, bureaucracy, and the professions. After the victory in the Russo-Japanese War, Japan began to feel national pride in acknowledging itself as being the member of modern nation states. Domestically, reactionism combined with nationalism, the Imperial Rescript of Education (*Kyōiku Chokugo*) was issued in 1890, and the subject of Morals (*Shushin*), based on Confucianism, was introduced in school curricula. At the same time, in the latter half of this stage, higher education institutions for women were established one after another, and study abroad programs to raise future leaders were promoted in earnest.

As for government-funded study abroad programs, Tetsu Yasui, one of the first graduates of the Higher Normal School for Women and who became an assistant teacher there, was ordered by the Ministry of Education to study abroad in the United Kingdom to study pedagogy and domestic science in 1896. However, more emphasis was put on becoming familiar with the general state of female education in the United Kingdom. Later, when Hideo Takamine became the President of the Higher Normal School for Women (Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women (THNSW) from 1908), he endeavored to improve the domestic science and physical education curricula to train female secondary school teachers. He sent Akuri Inokuchi, another graduate, to the Normal Institute of Physical Education in Boston and introduced Swedish gymnastics, which had become popular in Europe, into the school's physical education curriculum. Also, in 1902, he sent Sumi Miyakawa to the United Kingdom to study housewifery and appointed her as a professor of domestic science of Women's Higher Normal School after her return (Ochanomizu University, 1984, pp. 83–84).

In 1899, Kō Andō (née Kōda) was sent to Königliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin from Tokyo Music School to study violin, becoming a professor at the school after her return. She was Japan's first professional violinist. In 1906,

Ayako Kanbe was also sent to Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique in Paris; she became assistant professor on return and participated actively in holding concerts (Tezuka et al., 1992, p. 302; Tokyo University of Arts, 1987).

On the other hand, privately-funded study abroad programs also provided female students with opportunities. Kobe College continued to send students abroad throughout this period. In 1890, Toshiko Hirata was sent to Mount Holyoke College in the United States, and she served as a teacher at Kobe College on return. Toshiko Hirata was also the first successful female candidate in the Ministry of Education's English teaching license exam for secondary school teachers (Kobe College, 1981, pp. 205-206). Fujiko Tsukamoto was sent to Wilson College and the University of Pennsylvania, also in 1890 (Kobe College, 1981, pp. 210-211), and Hana Ibuka (née Ōshima) to Mount Holyoke College in 1891 (Kobe College, 1981, p. 213). They both majored in natural science and later taught science at Kobe College after returning to Japan. Umeko Tsuda, who founded Tsuda College, raised funds for scholarships mainly among her friends from Bryn Mawr College on her second study abroad in the United States, and founded the Japanese Scholarship to provide for Japanese women's study abroad in the United States with the support of the Morrises, a Philadelphia family of good standing. This scholarship made it possible to send Japanese women to Bryn Mawr College: Michi Matsuda, a graduate of Dōshisha Girls' School in 1903 (Shibuya et al., 2015, pp. 234-237); Michi Kawai, a graduate of Hokusei Girls' School in Hokkaido, in 1898; and Ai Hoshino, a graduate of Tsuda College, in 1903 (Shibuya et al., 2015, pp. 238-241). From then on, many graduates of higher education institutions for women including Tsuda College used the scholarship, and later became female professors and presidents of women's colleges in Japan.

Furthermore, Jinzō Naruse, the founder of the JWC, established in 1901, sent graduates to the United States to nurture future teachers for the college. Tsuruko Haraguchi entered Columbia University in 1907 and received a doctorate in psychology in 1912; Hide Inoue, who later became the fourth president of Japan Women's College, studied housewifery at Columbia University and the University of Chicago from 1908.

3.4. The fourth stage: Raising female professionals, 1910-1929

The fourth stage coincides with the so-called Taishō Democracy, which was marked by democratic and liberal tendencies in political, social, and cultural spheres and the importation of Western liberal ideas. During this period, having been on the side of the victors in World War, Japan finally found its place as a modern state among the Western countries. It was also around this time that, with the establishment of the League of Nations, the need was recognized to develop international professionals, just like Inazō Nitobe, who could engage with professionals from other countries. The fourth stage witnessed the further increase of interest in female higher education, and the continuation of study abroad programs to train future teachers for higher education institutions for women. The specialized areas studied by those female study abroad students now included new subjects still developing in the West. Also, some students achieved high scholarly recognition by obtaining doctorates.

As for the government-funded students, the THNSW sent Tokuyo Nikaidō to the United Kingdom to study gymnastics in 1912 (Ouinkai, 1940, pp. 304-305). There were also study abroad programs aiming at concrete research achievements. In 1914, Kono Yasui was sent to study cytology at the University of Chicago and Harvard University in the United States (Ouinkai, 1940, pp. 285-286), while in 1921 Chika Kuroda was sent to the University of Oxford as an overseas researcher (Ouinkai, 1940, pp. 286-287). Yasui and Kuroda were both graduates of the THNSW's graduate course. Nara Higher Normal School for Women was established in 1908, and the school's Professor Kiyo Ochi and Assistant Professor Kotomo Tsutsumi were sent to the United States and the United Kingdom to study housewifery in 1920 (Tsuji, 2010, pp. 282, 283).

The number of privately-funded students also increased during this period. Kobe College had the largest number of study-abroad students, sending them to the three sister colleges (Radcliffe College, Lake Erie College, and Rockford College) and Mount Holyoke College, as well as Bryn Mawr College, Oberlin College, the University of Chicago, and Columbia University, where they studied natural science, English literature, music, theology, and social welfare. According to the compiled school history, their number exceeded 27 in this period (Kobe College, 1976, pp. 299-301, 310-317). On their return, they served as teachers at Kobe College and mission schools around Japan, as well as independent private institutions for women's higher education. In addition, Tamaki Uemura, a graduate of Joshi Gakuin, a mission school, studied philosophy at Wellesley College from 1911 (Tezuka et al., 1992, p. 151). Tsuda College sent Taki Fujita to Bryn Mawr College to study biology in 1915 and Yoshi Kasuya to Wellesley College to study English literature in 1919. Fujita and Kasuya later served as presidents of Tsuda College (Tsuda College, 1960).

The JWC also sent students to train teachers for the college and develop female researchers with a view to obtaining degrees, including doctorates. Yoshiko Shōda studied at Columbia University from 1910 and received a master's degree in social work in 1923; Tano Jōdai (1886-1982) studied at Wells College in the United States and received a master's degree in American literature in 1917; Tomi Kōra (née Wada) received a doctorate in psychology from Columbia University in 1922; Hiro Ōhashi studied at the University of Chicago and received a doctorate in botany in 1926; Ume Tange received a doctorate in chemistry (nutrition science) from Johns Hopkins University in 1927 (Shimada, 2010, Ch. 2). Shōda played an essential role in establishing the Department of Social Welfare (the first in Japan) at JWC, while Ōhashi and Jōdai became presidents of the college after World War II.

As a new trend in this fourth stage, more Japanese women, influenced by the rise of international cooperation in the West after World War I, studied abroad with the purpose of conducting international exchanges. This type of student joined international women's organizations, which were mainly organized in Japan by those who studied abroad during the third stage or the female educational institutions that sent them. They started to play a role in international exchanges during their time abroad, through international conferences and as leaders of Japan's next generation in female social activities, such as philanthropy, medical activities, humanitarian

aids, peace movements, and women's rights movements that had begun in other countries (Nakamoto, 2018, Ch. 6; Nakajima & Sugimori, 2006, pp. 193-195).

4. Transnational experiences of two women educators: Sumi Miyakawa and Tano Jōdai

This section will examine some of the typical characteristics through which government-funded and privately-funded women's study abroad programs in the third and fourth stages were differentiated. Since the Meiji government started sending women abroad in the first stage, the largest number of women studied abroad in the third and fourth stages to develop women's higher education, either with government funds or with private funds. In particular, this section focuses on two female educators among those who studied abroad during these periods: Sumi Miyakawa (later Ōe, 1875-1948) who studied abroad at the government's expense in the third stage and Tano Jōdai (1886-1982) who studied abroad on a private scholarship in the fourth stage.

Sumi Miyakawa was a teacher at the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women (THNSW) and one of the first female students who studied abroad by government order to develop the curriculum for training female teachers of public girls' high schools. Her study abroad experience and career had some typical characteristics of government-funded study abroad.

Tano Jōdai was a teacher at the Japan Women's College (JWC) and studied abroad, funded privately, in the fourth stage. The JWC was the largest independent women's college comparable to the THNSW, and was responsible for sending the largest number of teachers to study abroad in the fourth stage. Jōdai's study abroad experience and career differed substantially from Sumi's.

4.1. Sumi Miyakawa (1875-1948)

Sumi Miyakawa was one of the pioneers of Japanese female education who studied abroad during the third stage of women's study abroad discussed above. After her return to Japan, she first served as the professor of domestic science at the THNSW, and later founded her own institution, the School of Domestic Economy, Tokyo (*Tokyo Kasei Gakuin*)⁹.

Although Miyakawa was born into a farmer's family in Nagasaki prefecture, she received an extraordinarily rich education under her parents, who believed in the power of education to improve the lives of their children. Miyakawa's family moved to Tokyo when her father, who worked for Thomas Blake Glover, a Scottish merchant who supported the new Meiji government, in Nagasaki, was transferred to a new post in Tokyo. Miyakawa first went to the local Tomoe Elementary School (1880-1886). Miyakawa decided to earn a living by teaching and studied at Toyo Eiwa Girls' School (1889-1894), a famous mission school in Tokyo. In those days, becoming a women teacher with knowledge and skills of English was very useful to make her

⁹ The English translation is drawn from «Miss Sumi Miyakawa, Head of the School of Domestic Economy, Tokyo». In Tuke (1939, p. 160).

own living in Japanese society since the number of such women teachers was very small. However, at the same time, the ability to use English was also important for it opened new career and possibilities in an international scale. Miyakawa received a fare English education and character-building instruction based on Christian values, and engaged in Christian charitable activities in the liberal atmosphere of the school. Her aspiration for Christian mission inspired by female foreign teachers was so strong that she converted to Christianity and was baptized (Ohama, 1978, pp. 3-42).

4.1.1. *Study abroad experience*

Miyakawa pursued higher education at the THNSW (1897-1901) to improve her teaching skill, which brought her an opportunity to study abroad as a government-funded student. All graduates from the THNSW were required to teach at a designated location for two years after graduation. Miyakawa volunteered to teach at Okinawa Normal School and Okinawa Girls' High School, which were thought to be challenging. With her enthusiasm for Christian missionary work, she engaged actively in teaching in the classroom as well as in modernizing students' lifestyles in general, focusing on issues such as the refinement of manners, haircutting, and public health. Miyakawa also participated in church activities at Okinawa Methodist Episcopal Church over the weekends. Her contemporaries were very aware of Miyakawa's fine English language skills obtained from attending a missionary girls' school, and her passion for educational reform in Okinawa. As a result, Miyakawa was appointed one of the government-funded female study-abroad students on the recommendation of Hideo Takamine, and Shigeru Narahara, the Governor of Kagoshima Prefecture (Ohama, 1978, pp. 45-80).

Miyakawa's study abroad in the United Kingdom consisted of two periods, the government-funded period (1902-1905) and the privately-funded period (1905-1906). The Ministry of Education directed Miyakawa to study abroad for three years to acquire knowledge and skills in domestic science and scheduled her departure for October 1902. Her study abroad was aimed at promoting the nationwide introduction of domestic science courses in girls' high schools and at improving the training of domestic science teachers at the THNSW, which founded an Arts Course in 1899. In order to fulfill the government's directions, Miyakawa attended Battersea Polytechnic in London (1903-1905) in order to focus on the study of domestic science both in theory and in practice. Miyakawa's reports¹⁰ to the Ministry of Education show that she attended classes of cookery, needlework, laundry, housewifery, hygiene, chemistry, first aid, and theory of education (Miyakawa, Reports from January 1903 to August 1906).

Although Miyakawa's government-funded study abroad ended in 1905, the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) prevented her from sailing back to Japan. In light of these circumstances, Miyakawa extended her study abroad by private means for an additional year (1905–1906) in order to study public hygiene and

¹⁰ Miyakawa, S. (1903-1906). Sumi Miyakawa's reports of study abroad and related documents, January 1903 – August 1906. Miyakawa's reports were written several times during her study abroad. The reports will be abbreviated as Miyakawa, Reports from January 1903 to August 1906.

dormitory life in the Public Health Course at Bedford College in London (established in 1895). Miyakawa's reports note that she attended classes on the Public Health Act, physiology, chemistry, physics, and bacteriology and obtained a certificate of Sanitary Inspector at the end of the course (Miyakawa, Reports from January 1906 to July 1906, pp.47-48).

In addition to her study at the above-mentioned institutions, Miyakawa followed the advice given by women educators such as Tetsu Yasui and E. P. Hughes, the first Principal of Cambridge Training College (1884-1899) and actively observed the society and culture that shaped British homes. From as early as March 1903, Miyakawa attended educational lectures and conferences, stayed in several English middle-class homes, visited museums and factories, and also various types of schools in UK and the Continent during holidays and vacations (Miyakawa, 1983; Sekiguchi, 1999).

It is noteworthy that Miyakawa was one of the first Japanese female students to participate in international conferences, such as the World Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), during her study abroad. Since the 1890s, the World YWCA had been interested in propagating Christianity and promoting education and social work to young women in the East. Following the visit of Annie M. Reynolds, the General Secretary of the World YWCA to Japan, the Founding Committee was formed with Stella Fisher as its chair. In 1905 the Japan YWCA, whose primary focus was to promote the international exchange of Japanese women, was established, and the Founding Committee was transformed into the Central Committee of Japan YWCA. The Tokyo YWCA, with Umeko Tsuda acting as its president, was also established in the same year to encourage the YWCA's local activities. Both organizations relied on the participation of students and staff of women's higher educational institutions. Miyakawa, a devoted Christian, attended the third World YWCA Conference in Paris in May 1906 to witness the affiliation of the Japan YWCA to the World YWCA (Japan YWCA, 2005b, pp. 32-38).

4.1.2. *After study abroad*

After returning from her study abroad, Miyakawa devoted her life to modernizing Japanese female education, especially with a view to promoting domestic science and domestic economy teaching, until her death in 1948. First, Miyakawa endeavored to improve the training of domestic science teachers in girls' high schools as the professor of domestic science at the THNSW, her alma mater (1906-1925). As the state-led educational concept of *ryōsai kenbo* was introduced into the curriculum at the THNSW, Miyakawa sought not only to improve the academic standard of domestic science but also to establish her own version of domestic economy as «the education for statesmanship» (Ohama, 1978, p. 138). In her book, *Sanbō shugi* (1912), Miyakawa compared and contrasted the merits and demerits of society and education in UK and Japan by focusing on the «three bō's» (*sanbō*): wives (*nyōbō*), guns (*teppō*) and religion (*seppō*). Miyakawa demanded Japanese people not merely to imitate British education and lifestyles but to integrate them with Japanese traditions to form lifestyles and values suitable for the homes of «modernized Japan». In order to modernize Japanese lifestyles, she advocated the need to raise

modern housewives through domestic economy education. Following the British example, Miyakawa tried to teach domestic economy both in theory and in practice. However, she was unable to apply the results of her study abroad because she often encountered stiff resistance from both her male superiors and female colleagues at the THNSW. Therefore, the holistic «domestic economy» education she dreamed of could not be realized until she founded her own institution, the School of Domestic Economy, Tokyo in 1925 (Ohama, 1978, pp. 127-151).

While actively serving as a professor at the THNSW, Miyakawa promoted the internationalization and development of women's education by participating in networks of Christian intellectuals based at Protestant Yumicho Hongo Church in Tokyo. Yumicho Hongo Church, started by Danjo Ebina in 1886, was located near Tokyo Imperial University and THNSW and recruited many male and female members from the two higher educational institutions. The centenary book of the church clearly notes that its core members during the late 19th and the early 20th centuries were young intellectuals who acted as leaders of the society and/or higher educational institutions (*One hundred years of Yumicho Hongo Church* (1986) Yumicho Hongo Church, pp. 20, 432). Following her attendance to the World YWCA Conference in Paris in 1906 (Miyakawa, «Reports from January 1906 to July 1906», p. 41), Miyakawa supported the Japan YWCA and the Tokyo YWCA at the local level and endeavored to promote social activities and international cooperation to Japanese women by serving as an instructor of the Tokyo YWCA's summer school in 1907 (Ohama, 1978, pp. 147-148, 157-158).

4.2. Tano Jōdai (1886-1982)

Tano Jōdai is famous for her contribution to the international peace movement as the head of the Japan branch of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)¹¹ and for her later appointment as the sixth president of Japan Women's University (formerly JWC) (1956-1965). She studied abroad twice, in 1914-1917 and again in 1924-1927.

Jōdai was born to a village headman's family in Shimane prefecture as the second daughter in 1886. Jōdai's parents had very liberal views, emphasized the importance of education for Japan's future development, and were eager to give their daughter a good education. Jōdai's mother was interested in English education, as foreigners had started living outside the foreign settlements after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Jōdai encountered English language and Christianity at a public girls' high school in Matsue, where she studied between 1900 and 1904. She decided to further her study in the Department of English literature at the JWC between 1906 and 1910. Founded by Jinzō Naruse in 1901 with Wellesley College in the United States as its model, JWC was the largest private women's college, and was supported by politicians and celebrities, including the prominent philanthropist Ei'ichi

¹¹ WILPF was founded in 1919 in Switzerland with 16 countries represented and was known as the first international women's peace movement. It was derived from the International Congress of Women in 1915 at The Hague, Netherlands, in which European and American suffragettes gathered to oppose to World War I. The League called for international disarmament and an end to economic imperialism and supported measures to provide relief for refugees and European Jewish community.

Shibusawa (1840-1931). Jōdai lived in the Gyōsei dormitory under the supervision of Elinor Philipps, a British missionary who served as the professor of English in the JWC. Although Philipps had taught at Newnham College, Cambridge with a doctorate in Biology, she came to Japan as a missionary. Jōdai learned everyday English as well as Western manners and became baptized, joining the Anglican Church through Philipps (Shimada, Nakajima & Sugimori, 2010, pp. 31-32).

4.2.1. *The first study abroad experience*

Graduating from the JWC in 1910, Jōdai became a teacher of the Preparatory Course of the Department of English literature. Jōdai gained the trust of the President Jinzō Naruse as a female English teacher of the next generation. Jōdai hoped to study abroad to further her career. Although being the smallest department in JWC, the Department of English literature was highly important since most JWC graduates, who experienced study abroad afterwards, had been educated in this department. Some of the graduates from this department studied abroad following Naruse's educational policy of «Be a Japanese women's leader with worldwide views», and later became presidents of the JWC, as well as famous scientists and social activists in Japan.

Jōdai's first opportunity to study abroad came from Inazō Nitobe through Elinor Phillips. Nitobe promoted women's higher education and became the first president of the Tokyo Woman's Christian College in 1918. He encouraged Jōdai to obtain a master's degree in English literature at Wells College in Aurora, New York, after his inspection of women's colleges in the US as the first Japan-US Exchange Professor in 1912 (Jōdai, 1984, p. 117). Thanks to Nitobe's efforts, Jōdai secured a scholarship and studied at Wells College from 1912 to 1917. She learned American history, American literature, as well as Western history and philosophy, which enabled her to deepen her understanding of the social and cultural background of literature. Outside the college, she joined a literary club and attended some meetings of the suffragist's movement, where American and European suffragettes and students gathered and debated. This experience in female transnational social activities inspired her. In 1917, she wrote her master's thesis on English literary criticism in the 19th century.

4.2.2. *After the first study abroad*

As soon as Jōdai returned to Japan in 1917, she became the first Japanese female professor at the Department of English literature at the JWC. She lectured on American literature, the first of such lecture series in Japan, as the topic was less known among Japanese male scholars who mostly focused on British literature. She taught not only American poets and literary criticism but also American history and history of American literature, which helped explicate the background of American literature. She also introduced a class on current events, with discussions held in English, based on the lesson practice at Wells College. She encouraged her students to obtain broader and deeper understanding of international issues by using pamphlets sent by Nitobe, who had become an Under-Secretary General of the League of Nations (Nitobe, 1920). Jōdai's educational policies throughout her

time at the JWC focused on understanding the foundations of foreign culture and history through English literature and to develop international sensibilities necessary for international exchange. Her policies were informed by the strong impression left upon her by women's social actions in the US and her participation in a women's society for promoting world peace in Japan. In 1916, Naruse was invited to join the first international female peace movement from the commission of the International Congress of Women, which was held to protest World War I at the Hague in 1915 and would later become the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in 1919. Naruse and his friend Nitobe gathered international Japanese women including Umeko Tsuda, who studied abroad in the first and second stages, Michi Kawai, who studied abroad in the second stage, and Jōdai, as well as other teachers at the JWC for this movement¹². They established the Women's Peace Society in Japan (*Fujin Heiwa Kyokai*) in 1921. The society joined the WILPF as its Japanese branch in 1924 (Nakajima & Sugimori, 2006, pp. 64–74; Shibahara, 2014, pp. 67-68). When Jane Addams, the WILPF's first president visited Japan in 1923, she strongly encouraged Jōdai to participate in the international female peace movement, and indeed Jōdai proceeded to serve as a liaison with the international WILPF (Shibahara, 2014, pp. 73-75).

4.2.3. *The second study abroad experience*

While Jōdai gained academic credentials through her first study abroad, her second study abroad brought her international status through the WILPF. Nitobe recommended her for study abroad at Michigan University to obtain a doctorate, as he secured a scholarship for Oriental women from Michigan University through his acquaintances (Nitobe, 1923). In 1924, Jōdai moved to the US and studied American literature at Michigan University (Hastings, 2013, p.205). However, the next year she gave up the course at Michigan. She met Jane Addams again at Hull House in Chicago in 1924 and attended a summer school in Harvard University as well as meetings of the WILPF's Chicago branch in 1925.

She moved to the UK to study British literary criticism at Newnham College, Cambridge between 1926 and 1927, thanks to the recommendation of her old teacher at the JWC, Elinor Philips (Shimada, Nakajima & Sugimori, 2010, p. 88). During her study in Newnham, she gained a broader international perspective through the WILPF's network and the League of Nations in Geneva where Nitobe had been serving as an under-secretary general.

In 1927, she attended the fifth international congress of the WILPF held in Dublin, as the only delegate of the Japan branch. While she was the only Japanese delegate, she gave the first speech on the Japanese women's activities to promote world peace, anti-militarism, anti-economic imperialism, and peace education in Japan at the congress (Sandell, 2015, pp. 59-64). Through her interactions with

¹² Naruse was an activist for world peace and the leading founder of the association Concordia in Japan and the US in 1912. The association Concordia, which aimed for «concord and cooperation between classes, nations, races and religions», were supported by Asian, American and European male scholars. cited by Kenjo (2018). Many JWC students including Jōdai seemed to be influenced by Naruse's peace thought through his lectures and writings.

delegates from other countries, she was inspired by the WILPF's transnational belief in «solving international issues not through fear of authorities and representing parochial interests but from humanity's perspective» (Jōdai, 1927). After the congress, she moved to Geneva in Switzerland and attended the WILPF's summer school as a lecturer representing the Japan branch. She also studied about the League of Nations by sitting in on conferences and going to the library, while she stayed at Nitobe's house for three months. She returned to Japan with Nitobe in 1927.

4.2.4. *After the second study abroad*

After returning to Japan, she became the head of the Department of English literature at the JWC and also an international secretary of the WILPF's Japan branch. As international relations were worsening between the late 1920s and 1930s because of Japan's invasion of China, her experience during the second study abroad program encouraged her to put greater efforts toward world peace movements. She established the student chapter of the League of Nations at the JWC to encourage students to learn about international situations and to experience international exchanges with foreign students, while also supporting a young scholar to study abroad at Wells College in 1927. She also liaised with the International WILPF, assisted famine relief works for Chinese women in 1930, and supported the campaign for disarmament by the WILPF's Japan branch (Shimada, Nakajima & Sugimori, 2010, pp. 90, 211; Sandell, 2014, Ch. 4, 5).

4.3. *Analysis*

This section summarizes the similarities and differences of the two forms of study abroad experiences of the two Japanese women presented above. Whether government-funded or privately-funded, the main aims of such study abroad were to expand and to improve education at their alma mater which supported their study abroad. Both women returned to their alma mater to serve as teachers after their study abroad, and both possessed extremely high English language skills, as well as being Christians with deep familiarity with Western culture. After acquiring new academic knowledge and skills through their study abroad, female study abroad students were able to expand their career dramatically and become professors of their alma mater. They expanded the curricula offered there in their capacity as pioneers of female education. In addition, both women participated in international women's social movements such as the YWCA or the WILPF because their experience abroad enabled them to follow international trends.

Several differences in their experience are also apparent. On the one hand, Sumi Miyakawa's government-funded study abroad in the third stage of Japanese women's study abroad aimed specifically to expand domestic science teacher training in girls' high schools, in contrast to those in the first stage which aimed to introduce a wide variety of Western cultural concepts. The government firmly controlled the experience and career of individuals who studied abroad with government funding. It is characteristic of the government-funded study abroad program that

the appointment of Miyakawa and the aim of her study abroad were, unlike Jōdai's, controlled by officials of the Ministry of Education and that Miyakawa held a leading post at the government-funded women's higher educational institution to diffuse modern and national domestic science education after her study abroad. However, simultaneously, Miyakawa's writings and her engagement in Japan & Tokyo YWCA activities while serving at THNSW show her agency and ability to transfer knowledge shared among Western intellectuals of the 19th and the 20th centuries to Japanese women.

On the other hand, privately-funded study abroad programs possessed different characteristics. First, the aims were more individualised, varied, and distant from state policies, although still linked to the educational policies of the private institutions which supported them. Jōdai aimed to develop the teaching of English literature in her institution by her study abroad, hence she utilised her study abroad career by serving as the professor of the college of English literature instantly after her return to Japan. Her study abroad experience was flexibly incorporated into curricular and extracurricular activities at the JWC. In addition, Jōdai's second study abroad, based on the trend of international cooperation after the WW1, was influenced by the institutional support of her alma mater which aimed to raise women's international activism and by the personal support of Japanese intellectual such as Inazo Nitobe. By attending international WILPF conferences, Jōdai expanded her international career and devoted to introducing practical English education in JWC. Jōdai's case shows that the educational policies of private institutions aimed at broader social participation of women and that they tended to bring new international trends into their education.

5. Conclusion

The first half of this article aimed to analyze the four stages of study abroad of Japanese female students between the 1860s and the 1920s. 'The first stage: Introducing Western manners and values, 1868–1879' covers the period in which a new government system was built, following the Meiji Restoration. The number of study abroad students rapidly increased in the Meiji era. Among them, girls and women were expected to learn Western manners and lifestyles. 'The second stage: Transferring Western useful knowledge and skills for the construction of the modern state, 1880-1889', saw the establishing of the modern nation-state system. Female study abroad students were expected to study «feminine» subjects. Privately-funded study abroad programs were started by girls» mission schools supported by Christian networks. In 'The third stage: Establishing women's higher education in Japan, 1890-1909', the number of higher education institutions for women increased. Such institutions supported the female study abroad programs in the aim of improving the teacher training in such institutions. Both government-funded and privately-funded female study abroad programs developed during this period. In «The fourth stage: Raising female professionals, 1910-1929», female study abroad programs continued to improve the teacher training in women's higher education institutions. The variety of subjects studied extended to include new subjects still developing in America and Europe. Some students started to achieve high scholarly recognition by

obtaining degrees at the end of their study abroad. In addition, more female students were influenced by the rise of international cooperation after World War I during their study abroad.

Based on the understanding of the above four stages, the latter half of this article examined the transnational experience of two female educators who had experienced the government-funded and privately-funded study abroad. Sumi Miyakawa experienced her study abroad in several different ways. First, her study abroad was directly linked to modern nation-state building in Japan. The government-funded female study abroad programs started as a national project to introduce a variety of Western cultures and academic knowledge in the first stage and tended towards strengthening the cultivation of leaders of female education after the second stage. Although the THNSW, which supported Miyakawa's government-funded study abroad, was one of the most prestigious women's higher educational institutions, the major subjects of their study abroad programs were limited to domestic science, physical education, music, and science. This suggests a gendered context of state-controlled female education. Second, through her study abroad, Miyakawa also seemed to show agency to widen and to deepen her transnational experience. Besides attending schools to learn the teaching of domestic science, Miyakawa actively observed the modern lifestyles and wider cultural, educational and social background of domestic science education in the UK and Europe. She decided to extend her stay to learn scientific public health. She also engaged in women's Christian activities during and after her study abroad.

Compared to Miyakawa, Tano Jōdai's privately-funded study abroad had more flexible and broader aims. Privately-funded study abroad programs, which had started from the second stage, allowed their students to study various academic disciplines and promoted Japanese women's social participation. First, Jōdai's study abroad aimed at improving the academic teaching in her alma mater by introducing the study of the English literature. Second, Jōdai participated in the international women's peace activities during her second study abroad and seemed to realize the importance of Japanese women to participate in international cooperation and cultural understanding. Her experience may have influenced her acting both as educationist and as WILPF activist after her return to Japan. Furthermore, Jōdai's case suggests the close relationship between women's private higher education institution and women's international organisation in Japan.

There are some areas which require further research. First, the long tradition of privately-funded study abroad in girls' mission schools needs further investigation. Second, the accumulation of case studies is required to fully uncover the experiences of both government-funded and privately-funded study abroad. Third, the variety and complexity of transnational study abroad experience in the stage four, the 1920s' requires further analysis. By accumulating such research, the hypothesis drawn from the idea of four stages of female study abroad in Japan and the two biographical analysis of female educators will be made explicit.

6. References

- Aoyama, N. (1949). *The biography of Tetsu Yasui*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten (in Japanese).
- Department of Education. (1937). *Fifty-eighth annual report of the Minister of State for Education 1930-1931*. Department of Education Tokyo, Japan.
- Duke, B. (2009). *The history of modern Japanese education: Constructing the national school system, 1872-1890*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Fuchs, E., & Vera, E. (Ed.). (2019). *The transnational in the history of education*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave macmillan.
- Fukaya, M. (1966). *The education of good wife, wise mother*. Tokyo: Reimei Shobo (in Japanese).
- A Great Encyclopedia of Christian History of Japan*. (1998). Tokyo: Kyobunkwan (in Japanese).
- Goodman, J. (2017). Research trends in British history of education: Gender, transnationalism, agency. *Journal of children's studies of Nishikyushu university*, 8, 110-122.
- Hastings, S. A. (2012). *Traveling to learn, learning to lead: Japanese women as American college students, 1900-1941*. In Freedman, A. Miller, L., & Yano, C. R. (Eds.), *Modern girls on the go: gender, mobility, and labor in Japan* (pp. 193-208). California: Stanford University Press.
- Ishii, N. K. (2004). *American women missionaries at Kobe College, 1873-1909: New dimensions in gender*. New York: Routledge.
- Ishizuki, M. (1992). *The history of the studying abroad in Japanese modernization*. Tokyo: Chuokoron-sha (in Japanese).
- Johnston, L. L. (2005). *Contributing to the most promising peaceful revolution in our time: The American women's scholarship for Japanese women, 1893-1941*. In Walton, A. (Ed.), *Women and philanthropy in education* (pp. 298-319). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Japan YWCA. (2015a). *One hundred years of Japan YWCA 1905-2005: Towards the self-reliance of women*. Tokyo: Japan YWCA (in Japanese).
- Japan YWCA. (2005b). *One hundred years of Japan YWCA 1905-2005: Timeline*. Tokyo: Japan YWCA (in Japanese).
- Japan Woman's University. (2001). *An encyclopedia of Japan Women's University: The track of the 100 years from the founding*. Tokyo: Domesu Publishers (in Japanese).

- Jōdai, T. (1927). The report of attendance at the congress of WILPF in Dublin. *The Home Weekly: the News letter*, 891. Tokyo: Japan Women's College (in Japanese).
- Jōdai, T. (1984). *The collection of writings by Tano Jōdai*. Tokyo: Editorial Board of The Collection of Writings by Tano Jōdai (in Japanese).
- Kenjo, T. (Eds.). (2018). *The challenge of the association Concordia and Ei'ichi Shibusawa*. Kyoto: Minerva Publishers (In Japanese).
- Kobe College. (1976). *Kobe Jogakuin College 100 years chronicle, general remarks*. Kobe: Kobe College (in Japanese).
- Kobe College. (1981). *Kobe Jogakuin College 100 years chronicle, detail*. Kobe: Kobe College (in Japanese).
- Kohiyama, R. Y. (1992). *As our God alone will lead us: The 19th-century American women's foreign mission enterprise and its encounter with Meiji Japan*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press (in Japanese).
- Koyama, S. (2012). *Ryōsai kenbo: The educational ideal of 'good wife, wise mother' in modern Japan*. Boston: Brill.
- Kwassui Girls' School. (1929). *Kwassui 50 years chronicle*. Nagasaki: Kwassui Girls' School (in Japanese).
- Marshall, B. K. (1994). *Learning to be modern: Japanese political discourse on education*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Miyakawa, S. (1903-1906). Sumi Miyakawa's reports of study abroad and related documents, January 1903 – August 1906. Tokyo Kasei Gakuin University Museum (in Japanese).
- Nakamoto, K. (2018). *The adolescent education for girls of YWCA: The focusing on the activities in Tokyo YWCA in 1920's and 1930's*. (Unpublished PhD Thesis). Toyo University, Tokyo (in Japanese).
- Nakajima, K., & Sugimori, N. (Eds.). (2006). *Women's peace movement in the 20th century: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Japanese women*. Tokyo: Domesu Publishers (in Japanese).
- Nimura, J. P. (2015). *Daughters of the Samurai: A journey from East to West and back*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Nitobe, I. (1920). The Letter from Inazo Nitobe to Tano Jōdai in January 9. Tokyo: Naruse Memorial Archive (in Japanese).
- Nitobe, I. (1923). The Letter from Inazo Nitobe to Tano Jodai in June 21. Tokyo: Naruse Memorial Archive (in Japanese).

- Ōe, S. (1983). *Nyōbō, seppō and teppō: Sanbō ideology*. Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center. (Original work published in 1912) (in Japanese).
- Ochanomizu University. (1984). *Ochanomizu University 100 years chronicle*. Tokyo: Risosha (in Japanese).
- Ohama, T. (1978). *Mrs Sumi Ōe*. Tokyo: Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Kouenkai (in Japanese).
- Ouinkai (Ed.). (1940). *The history of the Ouinkai*. Tokyo: Ouinkai (in Japanese).
- Passin, H. (1982). *Society and education in Japan*. Tokyo: Kodansha /New York: Harper & Row.
- Popkewitz, T. S. (Ed.). (2013). *Rethinking the history of education: Transnational perspectives on its questions, methods, and knowledge*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Raftery, D., & Clarke, M. (Ed.). (2017). *Transnationalism, gender and the history of education*. London: Routledge.
- Research and Statistics Division, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Government of Japan. (1980). *Japan's modern educational system: A history of the first hundred years*. Tokyo: Ministry of Education, Science and Culture.
- Sandall, M. (2015). *The rise of transnational women's activism: Identity and sisterhood between the wars*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Sasaki, K. (2002). *The process of expansion of higher education for women in prewar Japan: A dynamic interaction among institutions, students and government*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press (in Japanese).
- Sasaki, K. (2019). The history of the Ouinkai- the alumni association of the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women: A milestone in Japan's education for women. *History of Education*, 48(2), pp.233–253.
- Sekiguchi, T. (1999). Development of domestic education in Sumi Ooe' s Thought. *Formation of humanity and culture: annual report of Department of Education-Culture-Information Science, Nara Women's University*, 3(3), pp.61-71 (in Japanese).
- Shibanuma, A. (2004). Sumi Ōe and Battersea Polytechnic. *Bulletin of Keiwa College*, 13, 239-252 (in Japanese).
- Shibahara, T. (2014). *Japanese women and the transnational feminist movement before World War II*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Shibuya, R., Uchida, M., & Yamamoto, Y. (2015). *A record of the Japanese scholarship 1893-1976: The first study abroad program for Japanese women*. Tokyo: Bunshin Publishers (in Japanese).

- Shimada, N. (2010). The influence on American education on the founding of Japan Women's University: How studying in the U.S. influenced Naruse Zinzo and his students. *Studies in English and American literature*, 45, 61-78 (in Japanese).
- Shimada, N., Nakajima, K., & Sugimori, N. (2010). *Tano Jōdai: The pioneer in women's higher education and peace movement*. Tokyo: Domesu Publishers (in Japanese).
- Takahashi, Y. (2002). *The social history of Umeko Tsuda*. Tokyo: Tamagawa University Press (in Japanese).
- Tezuka, A. & National Education Center (Ed.). (1992). *The compendium of the passengers in the last days of the Tokugawa Shogunate and Meiji era*. Tokyo: Kashiwashobo (in Japanese).
- Tocco, M. (2005). Made in Japan: Meiji Women's Education. In Molony, B., & Uno, K. (Eds.), *Gendering modern Japanese history*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women. (1937). *Life of the Japanese woman of TO-DAY*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.
- Tokyo University of Arts. (1987). *Tokyo University of Arts 100 years chronicle: Volume 1 Music*. Tokyo: Ongakunotomo-sha (in Japanese).
- Tokyo Woman's Christian University. (1968). *Tokyo Woman's Christian University 50 years chronicle*. Tokyo: Tokyo Woman's Christian University (in Japanese)
- Tomita, H. (Ed.). (2005). *Biographical dictionary of Japanese travelers to the Occident, 1551-1897*. Tokyo: Nichigai Associates (new edition) (in Japanese).
- Tomita, Y. (2016). Ōe Sumi (1875–1948) and domestic science in Japan. In Cortazzi, H. (Ed.), *Britain & Japan: Biographical portraits* (IX, pp. 331-44). Kent: Renaissance Books.
- Tsuda College. (1960). *Tsuda College 60 years chronicle*. Tokyo: Tsuda College (in Japanese).
- Tsuji, N. (2010). *The change of the aims of the studying abroad in Japanese modernization: The actual condition of the government students abroad*. Tokyo: Toshindo (in Japanese).
- Tsujimoto, M., & Yamasaki, Y. (Eds.). (2017). *The history of education in Japan (1600–2000)*. London: Routledge.
- Tuke, M. J. (1939). *A history of Bedford College for Women 1849-1937*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Umetani, N. (2007). *The government employed foreign teachers*. Tokyo: Kodansha (in Japanese).

- Uno, K. (2005). Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations of «Good Wife, Wise Mother» before 1931. In Molony, B. & Uno, K. (Eds.), *Gendering modern Japanese history*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Yamamoto, H. (Ed.). (1931). *Ferris Waei Girls' School 60 years chronicle*. Yokohama: Ferris Waei Girls' School and Ferris Waei Girls' School Alumni (in Japanese).
- Yamasaki, Y. (2015). Tetsu Yasui and transcultural influences in educational reforms for women. *Bulletin of the Research Institute for Linguistic Cultural Studies of Mukogawa Women's University*, 26, 101-121.
- Yokohama Kaiko Memorial Center. (1998). *The explanatory illustrations of the Yokohama foreign settlement*. Kanagawa: Yurindo (in Japanese).

7. Notes on contributions

This article has been inspired by Dr. Keiko Sasaki's idea of the four stages of female study abroad programs in Japan. «Introduction», «4.3. Analysis» and «Conclusion» were written by Yuri Uchiyama & have been revised with cooperation of Dr. Sasaki and Dr. Sayaka Nakagomi. While Sections 2 & 3 owe mainly to the work of Dr. Sasaki, Uchiyama contributed in completing 3.4. The fourth stage'. As for Section 4, Dr Nakagomi is in charge of Sumi Miyakawa's part and Uchiyama is in charge of that of Tano Jōdai. The three co-authors would like to show their gratitude to the three reviewers who had given supportive and inspiring comments & advice.

Acknowledgment: This work was supported by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) KAKENHI Grant Number 18K02323 and 19K14108