

No Madame Butterflies :
The American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women
〔蝶々さん〕イメージを払拭して
ー日本の女子高等教育を支えた米国婦人奨学金ー)

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SUMMARY IN JAPANESE : プッチーニのオペラ「蝶々夫人」は、1904年ミラノのスカラ座でデビューして後、ワシントン、ニューヨーク、その他の地で上演を重ね、観客を魅了してやまなかった。マダム・バタフライはさながら日本婦人のステレオタイプとして欧米人のイメージの中に定着していくかのようにみえた。開国後半世紀を経た日米間でも、好奇心にあおられたアメリカの婦人たちが服従に呻吟する日本婦人に特別の関心を寄せれば、逆に、日本の婦人たちは自由を享受するアメリカ婦人に驚きの目を見張るのであった。しかし、このような相互イメージに確かな根拠があったわけではない。事実、すでに長年にわたって日米婦人の文化交流を育み、築き上げ、日本の女子高等教育の発展に不滅の足跡を印した人たちがいた。この特殊な関係は、津田梅子とフィラデルフィアの著名なクエーカー、メアリ・H・モリスの友情に端を発し、1892年、日本婦人のための米国婦人奨学金として結実した。

士族津田仙の次女梅子は、1871年、岩倉使節団の欧米巡察に際し、七歳で最年少の開拓使海外留学生として、のちに彼女の良き協力者となった山川捨松（後年の大山巖公爵夫人）、永井繁子（後年の瓜生外吉男爵夫人）ら四名の少女と共に、十年の予定で米国に派遣された。ワシントンの日本公使館書

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記官チャールズ・ランメン氏方にあずけられた梅子は、市内の私立学校に学び、1882年、アーチャー・インスティテュートの高等学校を卒業して帰国したが、日本語を忘れてしまっていた。翌1883年、梅子は伊藤博文家に家庭教師として招かれ夫人と令嬢たちに英語を教えた。1885年に華族女学校が創設されると、梅子は伊藤氏の推薦で教職に就いた。

ワシントン滞在中に知り合ったミセス・モリスは、開校して間もないプリンマー・カレッジに梅子を迎えようと奨学金を整えていたが、梅子は1889年、在官のまま、選科生として入学した。梅子の生涯に転機が訪れたのは、翌年夏のことである。華族女学校の教師で同僚のアリス・ベーコン宅に泊まり、日本女性に関する著述を助けていた梅子は、将来日本の女子高等教育の開発に力を尽くす決心を固め、アリスに私塾創設の希望を打ち明けた。梅子の計画を聞き、奨学金募集の相談をうけたミセス・モリスは、1891年、自ら募金委員長となって活動を開始した。梅子もフィラデルフィアの善意の婦人たちに流暢な英語で話しかけ、日本婦人の立場を説明するとともに、米国の大学で教員として養成された日本婦人は必ずや、その恩恵を、自国の女子教育発展に積極的に役立てるであろうことを強調して協力を訴えた。

こうして設立された奨学金の米側委員会にはプリンマー・カレッジの二代目学長で梅子にとって模範の師であったトーマス女史も名を連ねていたし、ミセス・モリスは社交性と善業を兼ね備えたエリート女性を次々にスカウトして役職につけた。梅子が選科を修了した1892年には、目標の8,000ドルが達成された。帰国した梅子は日本委員会を設立し、奨学金受給者の選考に当たった。基金の利子で3~4年毎に一人の学生が送られる計画であった。1893年から1941年の間に11人が留学し、帰国後は女子高等教育に貢献した。中でも、星野あいと藤田たきは、梅子が1900年に創立した女子英学塾(現在の津田塾大学)の学長として梅子の遺志を継いだ。奨学金は1976年、発展的に解散したが、約20,000ドルの基金財産はプリンマー・カレッジに寄贈され、新たに日本女性および日系アメリカ女性のための奨学金設立資金となった。日米婦人によるこの文化的絆は、「蝶々さん」イメージを払拭して余り有るものであった。

Since the opening of Japan to the West in 1853-54, American and Japanese women have joined in mutual fascination. The geisha legend captured the attention of Victorian women, piquing a curiosity fed by reports from missionaries newly arrived in Japan.¹ Subjugation of Japanese women was of particular interest to women's circles, especially those who saw themselves as working for the emancipation of all women. The Madame Butterfly syndrome, introduced by John Luther Long's 1898 short story and popularized by Puccini's 1904 opera, would titillate audiences, perpetuating a stereotype of Japanese women.² For their part, Japanese women, in the late 19th century, marveled at the freedoms and opportunities they believed their American sisters enjoyed. Seeing the wives and daughters of American diplomats, missionaries and entrepreneurs in the streets and shops of treaty ports reinforced that impression.

Neither of these feminine images was completely valid but that did not occur then to interested onlookers on either side of the Pacific. Such imagery was fortunate, in any case, because it forged the links of cross-cultural gender interaction which were of lasting importance for the progress of Japanese women's higher education. Probably no more than 250 Japanese women attended U.S. women's and coeducational colleges prior to World War II, but this mere handful became a vanguard whose influence as Japanese women leaders far surpassed their numbers.³

Among this group, 11 Japanese women were the recipients of an American women's Scholarship for Japanese Women between 1893 and 1941, a scholarship privately funded and administered by a group of American women in Philadelphia. These women from two different cultures shared in universal cognition: notions of gender inequality bound them together. In a world distrustful of women's ambitions, they recognized a need for female bonding. By encouraging their Japanese sisters to aspire to ambitious educational ideals, the American women validated those goals for themselves and for all women; the Japanese women, for their part, proved that the desire to be freed from sexist ignorance and repression was not exclusive to Western culture.

Many of these scholarship students became notable Japanese women, but they were more than leaders--they were dual ambassadors

of Japan and the United States. Their education had profound implications for the development of female education in Japan, but almost as importantly, their internationalism would contribute to the success of the occupation of Japan since their American experiences anticipated cultural misunderstandings and helped to ease sensitive relationships between victor and vanquished. Their role as mediators during the occupation was an expedient forced on them by political necessity, but their role as models for other Japanese women in the first half of the 20th century was consciously designed and shaped by a charismatic Japanese woman and a group of committed American women who were dedicated to "the elevation of woman in Japan."⁴

The history of this unique relationship between American and Japanese women is written in the minutes of the meetings of the scholarship committee which were donated to Tsuda College in Japan by the granddaughter of the chairman of the founding committee, Marguerite Wood MacCoy.⁵ A friendship between Tsuda Umeko and MacCoy's grandmother, Mary Harris Morris, a prominent Philadelphia Quaker, launched the Scholarship for Japanese Women, as it came to be known, in 1892.⁶

Tsuda Umeko, even today a symbol for Japanese women, led the way in women's higher education and was founder of one of the most prestigious women's colleges in Japan. At 7 years old in 1872, she had been the youngest member of the Iwakura Mission, a delegation consisting of virtually the entire Meiji government, which brought with it a number of Japanese students to the United States for study.⁷ Tsuda, along with four other Japanese girls, was included in the group in a somewhat transparent gesture intended to symbolize the willingness of the Meiji leaders to experiment with female education and show that Japan was rapidly progressing towards modernization. The Meiji Empress received the young girls in a personal audience before their departure, an act seen as giving official approval for female education.⁸

Two of the older girls returned to Japan within the first year, but Tsuda, along with Yamakawa Sutematsu and Nagai Shigeko, remained to be educated in the United States. Tsuda lived in Washington with Charles Lanman, secretary to the Japanese Legation 1871-82, attended private schools in the city, and graduated high school from Archer

Institute in 1882. She returned to Japan later that year, as did her countrywomen, by now graduates of Vassar College.⁹ She and her two friends rapidly became aware that the government's interest in female education flagged when faced with a choice between the education of women and the education of men who would staff the ranks of its expanding bureaucracy and fuel the industrial and military machine which it envisioned would propel the country into the modern era. Girls were educated at the elementary level but prospects beyond that were bleak. Although the government had established Tokyo Women's Normal School to train teachers in 1874, only a few government high schools for girls existed in the country when Tsuda returned to Japan.¹⁰ Missionaries educated girls at the secondary level, but suspicion was directed at their religious and social motives, and anti-Western sentiments were voiced openly. Older female students, government graduates as well as those from missionary schools, were ridiculed in public; newspapers gleefully published cartoons depicting educated women as overdressed frumps.¹¹

The Iwakura girls' American educations made them a curiosity but their skills could scarcely be put to use in a climate unreceptive to advancing women or female education. Moreover, during the decade spent in the United States, Tsuda had forgotten the Japanese language; she was essentially unemployable. Yamakawa Sutematsu and Nagai Shigeiko were married within a year but Tsuda persisted in seeking a career. She became tutor in 1883 in the household of Ito Hirobumi, an important member of the Iwakura Mission and first prime minister of Japan. In 1885, she was appointed a teacher of English in the newly opened Peeresses' School in Tokyo at Ito's recommendation.¹²

Tsuda had been introduced to Mary Harris Morris by an American missionary friend of her father when she lived with the Lanmans in Washington.¹³ It is likely that she made her American friends aware of her limited opportunities in Japan and her desire for further American education. Morris helped to arrange a scholarship for Tsuda in 1889 at the recently opened Bryn Mawr College. Although the offer came officially from Bryn Mawr President James E. Rhoads, M. Carey Thomas, first dean of the college, must have figured in the decision since Rhoads conferred with her on all important matters.¹⁴ M. Carey

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Thomas became one of the founding members of the Japanese Scholarship Committee and acted as liaison between the college and the committee.

As a special student for two and a half years at Bryn Mawr, Tsuda distinguished herself in biology, chemistry and English. In the summer of 1890, she helped Alice Mabel Bacon, who had also taught at the Peeresses' School in Tokyo, in the writing of *Japanese Girls and Women*.¹⁵ During this time Tsuda reached a turning point in her life and determined to direct her future efforts toward the higher education of the women of Japan, although her plans were in a seminal stage. Over the next year she began to develop these plans, using the networking skills she had observed in American women's circles. She must have recognized that the struggle for women's higher education in the U.S. was being realized through pressure brought to bear by women's groups and similar opportunities could be opened for Japanese women through American women's efforts.

The prominent women of the Philadelphia area, particularly those with a Quaker background or exposure to Quaker ideals, supported women's higher education in the late 19th century. The exoticism of Japan had captured the imagination of Philadelphians over a decade earlier when the Japanese government sponsored the most expensive pavilion at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition, making a lasting impression on the millions who visited it.¹⁶ Protestant missionaries, some from Philadelphia, had established a firm foothold in Japan by the 1880s after 350 years of hostility toward Western religion.¹⁷ Philadelphia women were active in missionary societies, privy to the mass of correspondence crossing oceans between missionaries and their supporters at home. Missionary letters, which spoke of women's conditions, were avidly read, discussed, and often published in contemporary journals. As word of Tsuda's embryonic plans began to circulate in Philadelphia circles and those networks linked with them in other cities, interest in helping this very unusual young woman heightened. The Philadelphia women were drawn by an opportunity to meet with a woman of Tsuda's background, a woman who had access to the highest social circles in Japan.¹⁸

Tsuda's fluent English and captivating personality must have

fascinated her audiences. In her speeches, which Carey Thomas helped her to write, Tsuda outlined the position of women in Japan. The time was ripe for women's progress, Tsuda said, and focused attention on the positive effects of U.S. college training for Japanese teachers because she believed that these women would be more able to transmit the benefits of such an education to their country-women. Closing her speeches directly and to the point, she said: "I regard the intimate association with American girls and the glimpses obtained of woman's position in American homes and woman's work in the world, as one of the most important points of this higher education. . ."¹⁹

Unlike most of her audiences, Tsuda was well aware that education for their daughters in missionary institutions was not attractive to the majority of middle and upper level Japanese families. Although some church groups were making progress in the education of Japanese girls and women, they were subject to constant scrutiny and severe criticism, even by their own country-women.²⁰ As Tsuda's academic mentor, Dean Thomas understood the ambiguities inherent in a missionary education. In a letter to her companion Mary Garrett, in which she spoke of helping Tsuda to write her speech, she outlined the scholarship's administrative composition and remarked: "Thus it will be out of the hands of the missionaries."²¹ In order to expand women's opportunities, education in Japan needed to be secularized, a strategy Tsuda would later use in founding her own school.

At the outset, the scholarship was not to be limited to teacher education only; medical and vocational training were also to be options. The scholarship was to be administered by a permanent lay board, not connected to an individual college or institution; Bryn Mawr, the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania and Drexel Institute were cited as possible venues for the Japanese women. A goal of \$8,000 was set to fund an endowment whose income would be used to administer the scholarship and a plea for subscriptions was made. Even before that goal was reached, it was already contemplated that \$10,000 would need to be raised to provide an additional year of preparation in the U.S. before the recipient entered college.²²

The minutes of the meetings of the American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women (AWSJW) do not describe the actual formation of

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the committee which was to nurture and finance Japanese students for the next eight decades. However, committee members came from the three Protestant sects in Philadelphia already active in missionary work: Episcopal, Presbyterian and Quaker.²³ No reason is given in the AWSJW Constitution for the interdenominational complexion of the committee although it could be speculated that each of these Philadelphia missionary groups was well aware that unless a native teaching staff was developed, the mission schools might not only decline but fail altogether. Training Japanese women as teachers was an obvious solution to that concern. Interestingly, the denominations represented were those considered socially elite in Philadelphia and the Presbyterian and Episcopal members prevented the scholarship effort from appearing to be "too Quaker."

With the exception of Carey Thomas, the founding members were little known--matrons and single women who were interested in aiding Japanese women toward higher education while hoping to spread Christian influence in what they saw as a heathen country. They were active in their churches, in the missionary societies; one, perhaps more, was involved with the Women's Christian Temperance Union. But probably most important, they were generous financial supporters of fashionable worthy causes, an outward sign of social standing as obvious then as it is today. Many of their families shared business and social connections; a number of husbands were on Haverford College's Board of Managers and most of them, if not all, were Republican. None of these women seem to have attended college themselves although some may have attended female seminaries. Many of them married in the 1870s and began to raise families. There is no suggestion that any of them were involved in women's suffrage or women's rights organizations; and it is probable that they maintained a low profile with respect to women's issues.²⁴ Somewhat equivocally, the scholarship program allowed them to make a conventional gender statement while, at the same time, their program attacked Japanese conventions for women. The committee served as a social outlet with certain prestige and membership afforded the women access to educated circles, if only vicariously.

Next to Tsuda Umeko, Mary Morris was most responsible for



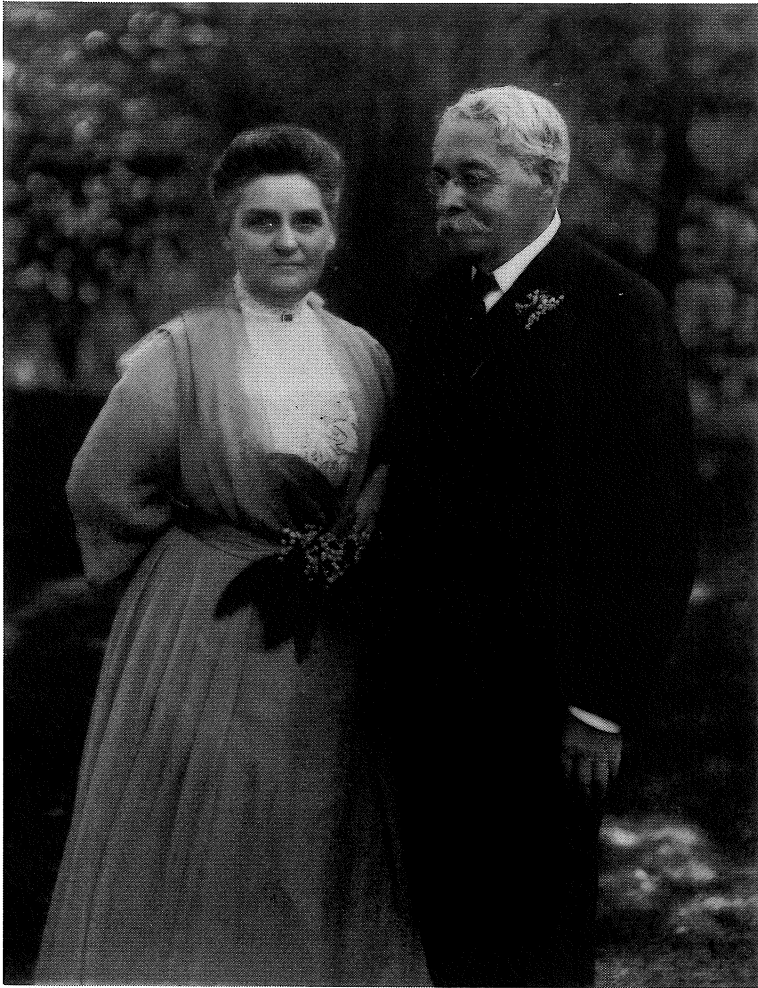
MARY MORRIS, OVERBROOK, PA.

First to lead in organizing Philadelphia W. F. M. A.

Mary Harris Morris, Chairman of the American Women's Scholarship For Japanese Women. The girl on the left is Marguerite Wood MacCoy, donator of the Japanese Scholarship papers to Tsuda College.

Source: *Friends' Missionary Advocate*, April 1899

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Calvin and Mary Byrne Pardee on their Golden Wedding Anniversary,
June 4, 1917

Source: *Calvin Pardee 1841-1923*

promulgation of the scholarship. Chairman for 32 years, it was she who often sustained the committee through early financial setbacks or crises when a student's personal, academic or medical problems threatened the existence of the scholarship altogether. Morris was president of the Women's Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia (WFMA), established in 1882. The aim of this branch of the Quaker missionary societies was to teach the gospel in foreign lands, not by sending preachers, but by supporting schools where scholars would have the opportunity to learn about the gospel. She and her husband, Wistar, who was known for his benevolence to charitable causes and institutions, befriended Japanese students and opened their home to them. Mrs. Morris was concerned about the lack of missionary zeal Quakers had shown toward Japan. She helped to finance the Friends' Mission School in Japan, which educated Japanese girls, and the Morrises visited the school in 1890. Wistar Morris died in early 1891, and the couple's daughter died three months later.²⁵ It would seem that Mary Morris plunged into the scholarship venture to carry on the family tradition of benevolence while using it as a distraction from her understandable sorrow.

It is likely that Mary Morris nominated or approved of many of the members of the original Philadelphia Committee. Through her husband's family and his business connections with the Pennsylvania Railroad and local coal mines, as well as his presidency of the Board of Managers of Haverford College, she had access to the most active social and philanthropic circles in the city. The women she chose were a Philadelphia elite who combined good works with sociality, a conspicuous feature of late 19th century upper middle class women.

At least two members could trace their roots to the early colonial era. As a descendant of Benjamin Franklin, Frances Sergeant Pepper lent immediate prestige to the committee. Pepper, the wife of Dr. William Pepper, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, became treasurer of the scholarship fund.²⁶ Mary Morton Haines, an unmarried daughter of the Quaker Haines family which had settled in Philadelphia in the late 17th century, was appointed secretary. Mary Haines also was a member of the WFMA of Philadelphia and worked as a teacher at the Friends' Mission School in Tokyo from 1893-95.²⁷

Two founders were linked through their husbands' associations with the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia. Anna Monroe Baird, wife of Baldwin founder Matthew Baird, acted as chairman pro tem in late 1892 when Mrs. Morris journeyed for the second time to Japan.²⁸ Elizabeth Perkins Converse's husband followed Baird as president of the company in 1909. John Heman Converse, a self-made successful Yankee from Vermont, invited male Japanese vocational students to train at the Baldwin Works just as they did at the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.²⁹ An elder in the Presbyterian Church at Bryn Mawr, Converse supported missions in Japan, Korea and Alaska, a shared family interest.³⁰ After Mrs. Converse died in 1906, her daughter Mary was elected to the committee.

Philanthropy was an essential virtue among Philadelphia area businessmen and their wives. Deborah Brown Coleman's husband founded Lebanon Furnaces, introduced anthracite coal into iron manufacturing, and built churches in two towns. G. Dawson Coleman died in 1878; when Mrs. Coleman joined the committee she was running the family business with the aid of her sons and sons-in-law. She was probably not that unique for her time but still sufficiently remarkable to evoke comment in her husband's formal biography.³¹ As quite frequently became the case, Coleman's daughter Anne also joined the committee after her mother's death in 1895.

Three other committee members were also prominent in philanthropic circles. Hannah M. Jenks was an excellent candidate for support of fund-raising projects; her husband William H. Jenks left an estate of \$2,500,000 when he died in 1909, acquired through partnership in Randolph & Jenks of Philadelphia.³² Equally attractive for membership was Mary Lukens Strawbridge, a Quaker whose husband was founder and senior partner of Strawbridge & Clothier Department Stores, still in existence in the Philadelphia area.³³ Mary Byrne Pardee could call on the resources of the anthracite coal company, A. Pardee & Company in Hazelton, Pennsylvania, when members were asked to supplement their annual subscriptions. Pardee was a Presbyterian and an active member in the Women's Christian Temperance Union.³⁴

Several members of the committee were unmarried. One, Frances



The Sargent Portrait of Carey Thomas
Source: *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr*

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Miss Thomas always wore academic dress to AWSJW Meetings
Source: *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr*

Bennett, ran a school which accepted Japanese students, although there is no mention of its name or location in the minutes. Another, Quaker Margaret Newlin, lived in the same upper middle-class district of Philadelphia as did most of the other members, but little other than that is known about her background. In the case of Julianna Wood, an active Quaker member of the committee for 32 years, a history can be constructed from her mother's will and her unmarried brother's biography. Wood's father was also a manager of Haverford College and was involved in manufacturing, utilities and banks.³⁵ The lives of the unmarried members are markedly less documented than married members, who at least can be traced through their husband's biographies. Women who did not choose to marry were mainly anonymous statistics.

For one unmarried member, however, documentation was abundantly available. Martha Carey Thomas would become president of Bryn Mawr College shortly after the scholarship was under way. One of the first female graduates of Cornell University and a summa cum laude Ph.D. from the University of Zurich in 1882, Thomas was perhaps as much a role model for Tsuda Umeko as Tsuda, herself, would become for educated Japanese women in the 20th century. With typical audacity, Thomas had proposed that she become the first president of Bryn Mawr upon completion of her European studies but she had to settle for the position of dean when the college opened in 1885, despite the numbers of her male relatives who were founding members of the Board of Trustees. The first woman dean in the United States actually helped to design the buildings, decided on curriculum content, and hired faculty at Bryn Mawr since President Rhoads encouraged her taking on direction of the college.³⁶ During most of her active years as president of Bryn Mawr, Thomas supervised the Japanese scholarship students personally, regularly attended AWSJW meetings, and consulted with the committee regarding the students' preparatory education, as well as reported to them on academic problems and achievements.

Another woman, although not actually a founder, played a large role in the early years. Philadelphia diarist Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines became corresponding secretary of the committee while her

daughter was in Japan but was not elected a member until 1895. Reflecting the web of associations among committee members, she was also secretary of the WFMA and correspondent for Philadelphia to the *Friends' Missionary Advocate*, the national publication of Quaker missionary societies. A talented and prolific writer, Haines' diaries, notebooks and letters provide glimpses into the inner workings of the committee when precedents were set, as well as into the dynamics of women's culture not registered in the minutes of formal meetings. It was to Haines that the committee often turned when personal problems with the recipient arose; much of the early correspondence between Philadelphia and Japan, when the committee was learning to operate, was carried on between Haines and Tsuda. It was she who hosted the first scholarship student upon arrival in Philadelphia and looked after many of the students who followed.

One of the primary obligations of the members of the committee was to "extend to the successive holders of the scholarship, whenever possible, the hospitality of their own Christian homes."³⁷ They, perhaps even more than Tsuda, understood the value of social linkages; furthermore, the presence of a Japanese guest would have lent a touch of exoticism to any gathering. As might be expected, a strong Christian atmosphere prevailed in all the committee's transactions as well as their homes. Each meeting was opened with a reading of a passage from the Bible often followed by recitation of the Lord's Prayer or, as happened more frequently in later years, a minute of silent prayer was observed.³⁸

Practically speaking, however, the financial obligations of members were more important for the success of the scholarship than their social responsibilities. The annual dues members paid essentially covered the student's personal expenses in the early years when the endowment fund was limited. The income from the original \$8,000 was not sufficient to do more than cover tuition nor did it prove to be more adequate when the endowment was raised to \$10,000. The minutes of the meetings conducted throughout the first 40 years of the scholarship are permeated with requests for additional funds. Almost every other year brought fresh pleas for further contributions or pledges.³⁹ In addition, money was raised outside the committee;

sometimes public meetings were held to arouse interest in the scholarship and solicit contributions to the endowment.⁴⁰

As might be expected, many of the requests for substantial donations occurred not long after financial crises in the country at large, probably reflecting the drop in interest rates or the value of investments in the endowment fund, which forced the committee to use part of the principal to pay tuition fees. The financial crisis of 1907 prompted a practical solution to personal funding problems of the students; the committee voted to increase their annual dues and to increase the membership to 21, more than doubling revenues.⁴¹ In later years, they developed a "contributing member" category for "those who are not able to attend the meetings but are willing to show their interest in the work of the Committee by giving an annual contribution."⁴²

The scholarship was mainly administered by a small core of the membership—an inner circle of Morris, Thomas, Wood, Converse, and both Haines women in the early days—working closely with the preparatory school mistresses whose responsibility it was to prepare the recipients for Bryn Mawr College and keeping in regular correspondence with Tsuda in Japan.⁴³ Almost from the first meeting on April 9, 1892, there were members who seldom attended the sessions, supporting the scholarship on a social and financial basis but often participating in the decisions of the committee only through correspondence. This became the case more and more as the committee became comfortable with their administrative responsibilities.

A core group, resembling the Philadelphia inner circle, was established in Tokyo shortly after Tsuda returned home in the autumn of 1892. This committee, hereafter called the Japan Committee, was charged with the task of selecting the recipient and ensuring an "opportunity for the widest usefulness" of such an education. Tsuda appointed four men and three women, maintaining an equal balance between males and females since she, of course, became chairman of the committee. All Japanese members had to be approved by two Christian ministers and were to "be such as are anxious for the spread of Christianity and the elevation of woman in Japan."⁴⁴ Tsuda invited people with Western associations who were active in educational circles to lend prestige to the committee. The three women in the group,

including her friend Nagai Shigeko, later Baroness Uriu, had been educated in the U.S. By accident or design, Tsuda tactfully included members connected with both government and private Japanese schools, but she was never to invite a teacher from a missionary school to join the committee.

A notice of the scholarship was printed in several publications, including *Jogaku Zasshi*, the women's education magazine whose publisher was a committee member.⁴⁵ Candidates for the scholarship were to be unmarried, between the ages of 17 and 30, have fluent English, and possess "a zeal and readiness to give to others on her return what she had acquired, and to use this knowledge to elevate the position of Japanese women."⁴⁶ Only teacher training was stipulated in the advertisement although that exclusion had been pointedly deleted from the original draft of the constitution.⁴⁷ Duration of the scholarship was advertised as four years, but an extra year was to be allowed for preparation, and competitive examinations were required. The Philadelphia women already believed that an extra year of preparation was essential but Tsuda, purposely vague, was reluctant to stress a five-year sojourn. Neither she nor the Philadelphia Committee, who were sent a written translation of the Japanese notice, realized then that many of these provisions were to form the bases for conflict between the two groups.

The scholarship was to be open to "all Japanese women," but the English language requirement narrowed the candidates more than the Philadelphia women could foresee. Few other than those educated in missionary schools would have been sufficiently proficient in English to enter an American preparatory school at once. It was more likely that a Japanese Christian, or a young woman familiar with missionary circles, would be chosen, although the Philadelphia Committee avoided specifying that the recipient must be a Christian. This careful omission suggests that they welcomed non-Christian candidates, and later reiteration of this principle suggests that there were founding members, but probably not the inner circle, who believed that proselytization was as important as education.⁴⁸

A great deal of interest was generated in the scholarship but only eight applications were received. This was not unexpected since Tsuda

had warned the Philadelphia Committee that there would not be many applicants for the first time "as Japanese girls are very timid."⁴⁹ Since traveling expenses and outfit were to be financed by the candidate's family, several applicants withdrew when they could not find financial support.

The successful candidate, after five days of competitive examinations in Tokyo, was both a missionary school student and a Christian: Matsuda Michi, a graduate of Ferris Seminary in Yokohama, then attending graduate classes at Doshisha Girls' School in Kyoto.⁵⁰ She was 24 years old, Presbyterian, and from a non-samurai family in southern Japan. Remarkably, most of her earlier life was lived at school, away from her family. She was also past the age considered suitable for marriage in Japan.⁵¹

After crossing the Pacific to Seattle, Matsuda traveled to Philadelphia by train. She arrived in the middle of the night because of train delays and no one was at the depot to meet her, forcing her to depend on the kindness of strangers and causing serious embarrassment to the committee.⁵² After a two-week stay with Margaret Haines, she was placed in Ivy House, a school in Germantown, Pennsylvania under the tutelage of Miss Stevens, its founder and principal. Haines negotiated a reduction in tuition with Stevens, who eventually became a Committee member.⁵³ Since that expenditure itself absorbed all the scholarship income then available, the committee members raised nearly \$300 additional to cover incidental expenses for the 1893-94 school year.⁵⁴ Funds were raised a second year when it became clear that more preparation would be necessary to pass Bryn Mawr's rigorous examinations.

There were no precedents the committee, or Matsuda, for that matter, could follow. More than once Tsuda Umeko's extensive American education and familiarity with the culture led them to make false assumptions. Nor did they seem to realize how expensive it would be to support a student. From the beginning Margaret Haines visited Matsuda every month to deliver her allowance of \$12, which was supposed to cover all her expenses.⁵⁵ Haines mentioned in her diary that Stevens was concerned about Michi's "extravagances," but it would have been the need for extra fund-raising which prompted a series of

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letters that went back and forth between Philadelphia and Japan regarding Matsuda's spending habits.⁵⁶ Misunderstandings, some cultural, others social, occurred, but few of these matters were reported to the general committee; rather, they were discussed within the inner circle and by letter with Tsuda. The entire committee was informed, however, by Stevens that Matsuda had never been taught to sew. Stevens wrote to them: "Strings and safety pins take the place of stitches [for Matsuda]."⁵⁷ Astonished by her lack of housewifery, the Philadelphia women were determined that she should be able to look after herself and arranged for sewing lessons during the summer vacation.

Planning holidays and summer vacations became one of the group's more important functions, particularly in the early years. They left academic matters to the educators, Thomas and Stevens, but organizing the students socially was reserved for them and their network of friends in the Philadelphia area and along the East Coast. The scholarship offered the young Japanese women an extraordinary academic opportunity while the social propensities of the committee permitted the recipients to experience a wide spectrum of American culture, albeit in middle and upper middle class circles.⁵⁸

There is no doubt that the committee was very positive about the scholarship notwithstanding the difficulties encountered with their first scholar. Their meetings were imbued with a sense of purpose. In 1897, they insisted that Matsuda complete her degree despite Tsuda's fear that setting a precedent of five or six years absence from Japan would frighten future prospective candidates and despite having to support a second student in 1898-99.⁵⁹ The members would continue to insist that the A. B. degree be a primary goal of the scholarship while the Japan Committee, represented by Tsuda, was not convinced that completion of a collegiate education was essential when length of stay intimidated many favorable applicants. Tsuda herself did not hold a Bryn Mawr degree so, somewhat paradoxically, did not think one absolutely essential for the scholarship recipients.

The scholarship was an unusually personal undertaking, unlike administration of scholarships and grants offered today. The committee designed an international program and effectively operated it in an

era when overseas communication was in a primitive state. Of singular importance, the Philadelphia women aided the recipients in making a rapid adjustment to an alien culture. The committee met officially several times each year, especially in the first decade of the program when basic questions of the recipients' preparatory education, social engagements, school holidays, health and wardrobe requirements needed protracted discussion. In addition to inviting the students into their homes and introducing them to a wide variety of experiences, they often formed close friendships with them. Almost all of the students developed a strong bond with one or more of the committee members. The Japanese scholars, for their part, contributed to further understanding of their native country on a plane which diplomacy and trade relations seldom can penetrate. Their American education offered them a set of prestigious credentials and permitted an independence rare in Japanese culture.⁶⁰

These positive results were not achieved without a certain degree of anxiety, misunderstanding, trial through error, ambivalence and dissension. Most problems were those of acculturation or due to lapses caused by transoceanic communication. The committee's experience with the first recipient taught them much about the difference of nuance in English between an American and Japanese speaker, where meaning is not always transmitted absolutely. Their second student, Kawai Michi, encountered fewer problems, probably because she was not the first charge of the committee, but also because she had previous exposure to Americans and their culture.⁶¹

Serious misunderstandings began to arise between Philadelphia and Japan, however, with the third student, Suzuki Utako, who was already at school in Philadelphia when she was awarded the scholarship. Her candidacy in 1903, possibly suggested by Alice Mabel Bacon who brought her to the United States from Japan, provoked discussion among committee members who were concerned that a direct appointment by them would subvert the Constitution's provision that the recipient should be chosen by the Japan Committee.⁶² The Japan Committee did approve Suzuki's candidacy but Tsuda expected her to stay at Bryn Mawr for no more than two years. A protracted correspondence after those two years resulted in disagreement between

Philadelphia and Tsuda, while vacillation among the committee members themselves ultimately resulted in Suzuki's recall to Japan before finishing her degree.⁶³ What the committee did not know then was that Tsuda had a fresh candidate already in mind, Hoshino Ai, who eventually would become her successor at Tsuda College.

About this time the competitive examinations for the scholarship became controversial as well; the Philadelphia Committee believed these were a prerequisite even though they were waived for Kawai and Suzuki. When Philadelphia requested a clarification, Tsuda pointed out to them in a letter that the constitution did not spell out the requirement.⁶⁴ The committee conceded the Tsuda interpretation but there must have been residual disagreement. Examinations were given periodically but such an inconsistent policy would have disturbed the organizational sensibilities of some members.

Preparation of the candidate for college also became a bone of contention. Once Tsuda established her Joshi Eigaku Juku (English Girls' School) in Tokyo in 1900, which gained government approval for post-high school English language instruction, she offered to prepare future recipients of the scholarship for one year at a cost of \$500. The committee turned her down, influenced by Stevens who insisted that two years preparation in the U.S. was an absolute necessity.⁶⁵ Tsuda's motives were prompted by her belief that more candidates would be attracted to the scholarship if the expected period away from Japan was lessened, but the committee may have interpreted her gesture as self-serving, a way to obtain further funds to aid her own school, to which many of the Philadelphia women were already contributing. There is no indication, however, that the committee questioned whether Stevens' motives were equally self-serving.

A further rebuff came to Tsuda two years later when Dr. Motora of the Japan Committee visited Philadelphia with a request from her that they should be granted authority to "always choose a student for the scholarship from Miss Tsuda's school or at least . . . from among the friends of the Committee in Japan." When put to a vote, the membership refused, saying they felt "that such a limitation would greatly interfere with the educational usefulness of the Scholarship and it is the desire that every girl in Japan should have an equal opportunity of

competing for this scholarship.”⁶⁶ There was an inherent contradiction in the scholarship since some members continued to believe its purpose was evangelical rather than emancipatory.

Tsuda became convinced that applicants already enjoying a Western-oriented secondary education in Japan would be more successful in the United States, especially if they had been educated under the high standards she had established. But, again, some members of the committee might have seen her proposal in a negative light. She must have been deeply hurt by the Philadelphia women's refusals, and she could not fail to take them personally. It had been through her personal efforts that the scholarship was launched in the first place, and she felt a proprietary interest in its administration. In 1906, Tsuda began to suffer from the chronic diabetes which would afflict her the rest of her life, and for a number of years she had been subject to asthma attacks. Establishing Joshi Eigaku Juku had taken its toll physically and mentally, while the implied criticisms of the Philadelphia Committee affected her emotionally. In April 1907, during a visit to Philadelphia, she asked to be released from chairmanship of the Japan Committee, citing as her reason the adverse criticism which might arise when her students were granted scholarships, especially if upon their return from America they taught at her school, as the recipients usually did.⁶⁷ She nominated Uriu Shigeko, whose husband now ranked as admiral in the Japanese Navy, to replace her. She continued as secretary, however, effectively running the Japan Committee without the encumbrance of title as its chairman. During these years the committees in Philadelphia and Japan sometimes seemed to be working at cross-purposes. Still, they shared the ultimate goal of improving the position of Japanese women, and they respected each others' prerogatives even if sometimes they were suspicious of each others' motives.

Educational ideals in Japan underwent a series of changes in the second decade of the 20th century. Although training in the U.S. had been prized for both men and women, after 1910 the ideal overseas education for a male student was European, but American training for women continued to be admired.⁶⁸ In this period, however, higher education for Japanese women at home became attainable as the government established a number of “semmon gakko” schools, which

were roughly the equivalent of junior colleges. Tsuda's own school was designated a *semmon gakko*. (Ironically, a number of these schools evolved from the mission schools of the 19th century.) However, it was still the dream of many Japanese women students to have an American education, which was certainly of higher standard than any available in Japan, and there is no doubt that one of the attractions was the freedom women expected to enjoy in the United States. Women's circles in Japan were kept apprised of the accomplishments of their American-educated sisters and many of the most successful teachers as well as the best "wives and mothers" came from American colleges.⁶⁹

The successes of the recipients of the American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women were evident to their countrywomen. Matsuda Michi [1899]⁷⁰ became professor of English and later dean of Doshisha Women's College in Kyoto. Her successor, Kawai Michi [1904], taught at Tsuda's school and acted as secretary of the Japanese Young Women's Christian Association in 1916. She founded Keisen Jogakuen (Keisen Girls' School), now a Japanese women's college, in 1929 and developed an ancillary horticultural college at the height of World War II. Kawai served on the Education Commission after the war and worked in the Ministry of Education to develop a blueprint for postwar Japanese women's education.⁷¹ Hoshino Ai [1912] also became a teacher at Joshi Eigaku Juku, as did many other recipients when they returned to Japan. Hoshino succeeded her mentor as president of Tsuda College in 1929.⁷² Hitotsuyanagi Maki, the fifth recipient, resigned the scholarship after a bout of typhoid fever but she eventually helped her American husband, Merrel Vories, to establish the Omi Brotherhood which included several non-denominational schools and a hospital in the Omi district of Japan. The next scholarship student, Fujita Taki [1925], became president of Tsuda College in 1962 after an illustrious career as a professor at Tsuda, as vice chairman of the National Women's Suffrage League of Japan, as director of the Women and Minors Bureau in the Ministry of Labor, and as the first woman member of Japan's United Nations delegation. Fujita, who lives in Tokyo, was awarded the First Class Order of the Sacred Treasure by Emperor Showa in 1984.⁷³

Other recipients were perhaps less visible than these leaders but,

nevertheless, their contributions to women's higher education were exemplary. Suzuki Utako taught at the Peeresses' School for more than 20 years and served on the Japan Committee. In a report to Philadelphia, Tsuda said of Suzuki: "Her work brings her in contact with the older conservative Japanese families who will later have influence in Government affairs."⁷⁴ Uchida Fumi [1920] became a teacher of English in the Higher Normal School. The first recipient who chose to marry and have a family, Uchida did research into how English should be taught to Japanese children. Ban Hannah [1930], professor of English at Aoyama Gakuin Junior College, also married. Ban published articles in Japanese journals on Hemingway, Steinbeck and Willa Cather. Nakamura Shizu [1935] retired recently from teaching at Tsuda College where she influenced several generations of postwar Japanese women. Matsuoka Yoko [Swarthmore 1939] suffered discrimination because of her American education but eventually was able to establish a literary career. Most radical of the scholarship recipients, Matsuoka founded Fujin Minsei (Women's Public Welfare Club) and worked as assistant to Edgar Snow, director of the Japan-China Friendship Association.⁷⁵ Yamaguchi Michi, a protegee of Kawai Michi, trained at the Ambler School of Horticulture (now part of Drexel University). Yamaguchi, the only recipient who took a non-classical course, was repatriated from the U.S. in 1942 after war was declared but managed to finish her two-year course, allowing her to head up the horticultural school Kawai later opened.

It cannot be mere coincidence that the more publicly successful of the scholarship students were those who remained in the Tsuda circle, and by extension, in the American-Japanese network formed by the two committees. Tsuda's school gave the recipients who taught there the opportunity to practice the skills they acquired at Bryn Mawr in a climate which prized their education and nurtured their ambitions, regardless of the negative conditions around them at home. The network formed around the nucleus of Tsuda Umeko by the younger women when they returned to Japan provided an enveloping female support system as well as a social prop for their Westernized tastes.

Across the Pacific, the American women continued to monitor the careers of their protegees. Matsuda returned for graduate work at Bryn

Mawr in 1908, her expenses raised by Tsuda's 1892 classmates and supplemented by individual donations from the Philadelphia Committee.⁷⁶ Kawai, who became chairman of the Japan Committee in later years, was supported by the Philadelphia Committee in her YWCA activities. She frequently made trips to the United States and attended scholarship meetings in Philadelphia.⁷⁷ Hoshino spent a post-graduate year at Columbia College; part of her expenses there were defrayed by individual committee members.⁷⁸ All of the recipients were expected to report to the committee annually regarding their progress. Not all fully complied, but the American women followed their careers with proprietary interest, prodding the more reluctant correspondents to communicate more regularly.

The complexion of the Philadelphia Committee changed over the years, as it would have to with an undertaking of such longevity, but it is remarkable that so many of the founding members were active well into the 20th century. Mary Morris and Julianna Wood were involved for 32 years; others served for lesser but, nonetheless, considerable periods of time. Marjorie Wood MacCoy, who became a committee member in 1909 and chairwoman when her grandmother died in 1924, headed up the committee until the scholarship was dissolved in 1976. When founding members died they were replaced by women who were equally committed to the Japanese Scholarship; turnover in membership was relatively slight for an organization of this type.

The minutes of the American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women break off in April 1928 and, so far, it has been impossible to locate the record of the ensuing years. The extant minutes, however, combined with autobiographical reminiscences of the scholarship students themselves, permit a unique glimpse into interaction between American and Japanese women for the purpose of education and promotion of feminine independence which transcended cultural mores and national identity.

Although the scholarship lapsed during World War II, it was revived in 1949, mostly for graduate study, pointing up the wider opportunities for higher education that women in Japan enjoyed after the war.⁷⁹ In 1976, the Philadelphia Committee disbanded, and a gift of nearly \$20,000, the balance of the endowment, was donated to fund

a new scholarship for Japanese women or American women of Japanese descent at Bryn Mawr College. Four generations of Japanese scholars had been educated to serve their native country, a prodigious return on an initial investment of \$10,000.

The coterie of Philadelphia women who contributed financially and emotionally over 80 years to the remarkable success of the scholarship program produced chrysalides of Japanese women whose education inspired and motivated their countrywomen and whose example denied Butterfly imagery. It could not have failed to occur to members of the committee when they heard the strains of Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* or listened to the plaintive lyrics of the popular ballad, "Poor Butterfly" (1916), that there was no comparison between the achievements of their scholarship recipients and that concept of repressed Japanese womanhood. The American women's efforts were not simply altruistic: in funding and administering the Scholarship for Japanese Women they established a new component of philanthropic activity within woman's sphere and underscored the universality of higher education for all women.

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Key to Abbreviations in Footnotes

BMCA	-	Bryn Mawr College Archives
JSC	-	Japanese Scholarship Committee - Minutes of Meeting
JSF/TCA	-	Japanese Scholarship Files - Tsuda College Archives

- MVWH - Margaret Vaux Wistar Haines Papers -
Wyck Papers, American Philosophical
Society, Philadelphia
- UTC/TCA - Umeko Tsuda Collection -
Tsuda College Archives

Notes

- 1 Harold S. Williams, *Foreigners In Mikadoland* (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1983. First printed 1963.), p. 106.
- 2 John Luther Long, *Madam Butterfly; Purple Eyes: A Gentleman of Japan and a Lady; Kito; Glory* (New York: The Century Company, 1898).
Giacomo Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* was based on the David Belasco play derived from Long's story. The opera premiered at la Scala on Feb. 17, 1904 and was performed in Washington in 1906 and at the Metropolitan Opera in 1907.
- 3 John W. Bennett, Herbert Passin, Robert McKnight, *In Search of Identity* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1958). Footnote, pp. 338-339.
The numbers are estimated based on several sources because reliable statistics are scant for prewar Japanese women students. Also, see p. 274.
- 4 Quotation from "Constitution: American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women," JSC: pp. 3-4. Very little has been written about the role of women in the Occupation but an interview with Maki Yukiko, a Wellesley-educated Japanese, at the start of this research project led me to believe that American-educated Japanese women played an important part in the immediate postwar era in Japan. [Interview with Yukiko Maki, Oct. 25, 1983.] This impression was confirmed by conversations with other Japanese women. Moreover, Japanese women --and not necessarily only the American-educated--were more likely to be employed by the Occupation since most Japanese men were prohibited from such employment because of their wartime associations.

- 5 The Minutes of the Japanese Scholarship Committee and nearly all of the correspondence in regard to the scholarship are held at Tsuda College Library, 2-1-1 Tsuda-machi, Kodaira-shi, Tokyo 187, Japan.
- 6 Umeko Tsuda legally changed her name from "Ume" on Nov. 5, 1902.
- 7 The government established by the Restoration of 1868 consisted for the most part of young men who had overthrown the Tokugawa Shogun in the name of the Emperor Meiji (1868-1912). The Iwakura Mission was essentially a fact-finding tour of the United States and Europe, during which the members studied government structures and constitutions.
- 8 *Tsuda Umeko Monjo* (Tokyo: Tsuda-juku daigaku pub., 1980), pp. 78-79. The adoption of Western customs, and in this case, the attention paid to female education, was all part of a strategy intended to lead to the abolition of the unequal treaties which were forced upon Japan after Perry opened the country to the West. The issue of the unequal treaties was at the center of Japanese diplomatic and domestic politics during the rest of the 19th century.
- 9 There is no biography of Tsuda Umeko in English. Two biographies and anthologies were written in Japanese by professors of Tsuda College. These eulogistic accounts are listed in the additional bibliography. A short history of Tsuda's life in the U.S. is found in Katharine McCook Knox, *Surprise Personalities In Georgetown, D.C.* (Washington, D.C.: W. Lynnwood Cook: Service Printing Company, 1958). The Tsuda College anthology, *Tsuda Umeko Monjo* (1980) contains diary entries, letters and articles by and about Tsuda Umeko. A popular article "Ume Tsuda's Story" by Christine Chapman, a writer for *The International Herald Tribune*, was published in *Winds* magazine, Oct. 1987. Nearly all the literature dealing with modern Japanese women contains references to Tsuda.
- 10 Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers In Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), p. 104.
- 11 Margaret E. Burton, *The Education of Women in Japan* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1914), p. 66.
- 12 The Peeresses' School, founded in 1885, educated daughters of the nobility. In the iconography of the period housed at the Meiji Memorial Picture Gallery in Tokyo, the Meiji Empress, as patroness, is shown making a visit to the school.
- 13 "Japan and Bryn Mawr," *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin* Spring 1973: 2. The missionary friend mentioned in this article was probably Mrs.

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- Anna (William C.) Whitney, mother of Clara Whitney Kaji. See Clara A.N. Whitney; M. William Steele and Tamiko Ichimata, eds., *Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1981), Introduction, p. 19.
- 14 Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), p. 113.
 - 15 Alice Mabel Bacon, *Japanese Girls And Women* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company: The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1892). Tsuda Umeko is mentioned in the Preface. Bacon, the daughter of New England clergyman Leonard Bacon, helped Tsuda open her school in Tokyo in 1900. This book went through several printings in the U.S. an updated version, with an additional chapter written after Bacon's 1900-02 visit, spoke about improvements in Japanese women's conditions and the hope for the future.
 - 16 Haru Matsukata Reischauer, *Samurai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 203.
 - 17 Edwin O. Reischauer, Albert M. Craig, *Japan: Tradition & Transformation* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1978), pp. 158-159.
 - 18 In addition to teaching English to Prime Minister Ito's wife and daughter and appointment to the faculty of the Peeresses' School in Tokyo, Tsuda Umeko was the daughter of Tsuda Sen, a former samurai, who had visited the U.S. and was well known in his homeland for his modern viewpoints and achievements.
 - 19 Tsuda Umeko, "The Education of Japanese Women," *Tsuda Umeko Monjo* (1980) pp. 18-28. Two of the speeches are reprinted in this anthology. One speech appears to have been reported in a newspaper or journal but the publication is not identified.
 - 20 Mary Crawford Fraser, Hugh Cortozzi, ed. *A Diplomat's Wife in Japan* (New York, Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1982), p. 164. Fraser, the American wife of the head of the British Legation in the 1890s, was severe in her criticism of the missionary system, although she knew that few secular options existed for girls in Japan.
 - 21 M. Carey Thomas to Mary Garrett, Feb. 11, 1891. BMCA.
 - 22 *Report of the Committee of the American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women*, JSF/TCA. No date.
 - 23 These were the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions (Episcopal), Women's Foreign Missionary Society/Philadelphia (Presbyterian), and The Women's Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia (Quaker), which later came to be known as "The Japan

- Committee.”
- 24 See Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 87. Hunter said that historians of the mission movement suggest that male members of missionary boards feared that women's missionary efforts masked women's suffrage and women's rights activities. Although Hunter was speaking about missionaries in China, it is possible that missionary women's associations at home had hidden agendas as well.
 - 25 See *Friends' Missionary Advocate* Vol. XV (Apr. 1899) No. 4: 57-60 for a history of the group's associations with Japan. Also see *Prospectus Women's Foreign Missionary Association of Friends of Philadelphia*, Quaker Archives Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA. For information about the Morris family's relations with Japanese students see Asao Iguchi, *Nitobe Inazo* (Tokyo: Seibido Shuppan, 1984), p. 81. For Morris' involvement with the Friends' Mission School see MVWH Diary, Oct. 26, 1894 and *Friends' Missionary Advocate* Vol. IX (Aug. 1893) No. 8: 126. For published information about the Wistar Morris family, consult *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Biography* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1919), s. v. "Morris, Wistar," by John W. Jordan LL. D., XII: 117-119.
 - 26 Francis Newton Tharp, *William Pepper MD, LL. D* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1904), pp. 70-71. Also, letter from Georgiana Ziegler, Curator, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Louise W. Demakis, Jan. 25, 1988.
 - 27 *Friends' Missionary Advocate* Vol. VIII (Aug. 1892) No. 8: 125.
 - 28 *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Biography*, s. v. "Shakespeare, Dr. Edward Oram," XX: 9. Dr. Shakespeare was the husband of the Bairds' daughter Mary Louise, and it is in this listing that information on Anna and Matthew Baird is found.
 - 29 Neno Utsurikawa, "The Status of Japanese Students in America Past and Present," *Education* 33 (Nov. 1912): 146.
 - 30 *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Biography*, s. v. "Converse, John Heman," X: 289-293.
 - 31 *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Biography*, s. v. "Coleman, G. Dawson," XVIII: 54.
 - 32 "Dictionary of Quaker Biography" (Typescript), Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library, s. v. "Jenks, William Henry 1842-1909."
 - 33 "Dictionary of Quaker Biography," s. v. "Strawbridge, Justus Clayton

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- 1838-1911.”
- 34 C. Pardee Foulke and William G. Foulke, *Calvin Pardee 1841-1923* (Philadelphia: The Pardee Company, 1979), p. 3, 68. Also, telephone interview with William G. Foulke, Mrs. Pardee's grandson, Mar. 21, 1988.
- 35 “Will of Julianna R. Wood, June 20, 1881,” Wood Family Papers, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library. Also, *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Biography*, s.v. “Wood, Walter 1849-1934,” XIV: 297-301.
- 36 Lawrence R. Veysey, “Martha Carey Thomas,” *Notable American Women*, ed. Edward T. James (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971) 3: 446-50. *Alma Mater*, pp. 111-118, passim. See Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1947), pp. 136-138 for a discussion of Carey Thomas' role in the foundation of Bryn Mawr. The interpretation that Thomas was a role model for Tsuda is the author's.
- 37 “Constitution: American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women,” JSC: p. 6.
- 38 Silent prayer was introduced in 1923. JSC: May 24, 1923, p. 235.
- 39 Between 1893 and 1921 there were sixteen requests for funds--in some cases, rather substantial, in addition to the annual dues each member was expected to pay. Members paid dues of \$10.00 per annum until 1911 when they were raised to \$15.00.
- 40 JSC: Jun. 16, 1899, p. 68.
- 41 JSC: Oct. 23, 1909, pp. 128-129; Dec. 7, 1909, pp. 131-32.
- 42 JSC: Nov. 10, 1925, pp. 265-266.
- 43 Note that these women, with the exception of Thomas, were officers of the committee; their successors would be equally active.
- 44 “Constitution,” JSC: pp. 3-4.
- 45 Tsuda Umeko to Julianna Wood, Jan. 9, 1893, JSF/TCA.
- 46 *Notice to all Candidates for the American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women*, Articles V, VI, VII, XII, XVII. TCA.
- 47 JSC: Apr. 9, 1892, p. 11.
- 48 This is a speculation based on two letters--Tsuda to Thomas (5/20/98 UTC/TCA) which takes exception to the notion that the first scholarship recipient observe missionary work and a reply from Thomas (8/19/98 M. Carey Thomas Collection, BMCA). Tsuda wrote “. . . the scholarship is to fit teachers, and give them educational advantages, not to prepare them for missionary work. . .” Thomas, who had informed

- Tsuda of the plan, replied that she and Miss Stevens, the principal of the school which prepared the students for Bryn Mawr, agreed with her. Carey Thomas would have considered the educational value of the scholarship of primary importance as would the Quaker women, especially in view of the published aims of the WFMA (see p. 11 above). The evangelical potential for the scholarship seemed to be more attractive to the non-Quaker members; however, it was Morris who put the original plan before the committee, apparently at the prompting of a missionary in Japan (Tsuda to Thomas 5/20/ 98).
- 49 Tsuda Umeko to Julianna Wood, Dec. 7, 1892, JSF/TCA.
- 50 Both schools had missionary associations. Ferris was started by Miss Mary Kidder of the Reformed Church, and Doshisha was supported by the American Board for Foreign Missions. See Otis Cary, D.D., *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Protestant Missions Volume) (New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1909. Republished, 1970: Scholarly Press).
- 51 Tsuda Umeko to Julianna Wood, May 5, 1893, JSF/TCA.
- 52 MVWH Diary: Sep. 11-12, 1893.
- 53 Margaret W. Haines to Tsuda Umeko, Sep. 14, 1893, JSF/ TCA.
- 54 JSC: Jan. 15, 1894, pp. 24-25, p.27; Apr. 17, 1894, p.30.
- 55 MVWH Diary, Feb. 1, 1894.
- 56 Abby Kirk to Tsuda Umeko; Jul. 21, 1894, Aug. 13, 1894. UTC/TCA.
- 57 Mary E. Stevens to Julianna Wood and Mrs. Robert Haines, May 15, 1895. JSF/TCA.
- 58 The minutes do not identify specific organized social occasions but the students' published writings refer to various invitations. In the case of Matsuda Michi, Margaret Haines' diary frequently makes mention of dinner invitations as well as longer stays for holidays and summer vacations. Kawai Michi, the second recipient, was hosted by several founding members and sometimes spent summer vacations with Mary Morris; a succeeding member of the committee, Mrs. William T. Murphy, daughter of the youngest naval officer in Commodore Perry's Japan Fleet, raised money for Kawai's trip to Europe in 1903. See Michi Kawai, *My Lantern* (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, Oct. 1939), p. 92.
- 59 JSC: p. 250. (Insertion of letter: Mrs. Baird to Japan Committee, Apr. 8, 1897.)
- 60 The overall study revealed that in most cases both parents supported a recipient's desire for an American education or a widowed mother encouraged her daughter. The scholarship offered a social and eco-

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- conomic solution to family concerns for unmarried daughters or daughters who might be expected to support a widowed mother.
- 61 Kawai Michi was the protege of Dr. and Mrs. Nitobe Inazo. Nitobe was a Western-educated Japanese with enormous influence in Japan; his portrait is currently depicted on the 5000 yen Japanese banknote. Mrs. Nitobe was a Quaker, the former Mary Elkinton of Media, Pennsylvania.
- 62 JSC: May, 1903, pp. 88-89.
- 63 JSC: Apr. 28, 1906, pp. 110-111.
- 64 JSC: Jan. 29, 1906, pp. 105-106.
- 65 JSC: Oct. 23, 1902, p. 86.
- 66 JSC: Nov. 16, 1904, p. 94.
- 67 JSC: Apr. 15, 1907, pp. 121-123.
- 68 *In Search of Identity*, pp. 42-44.
- 69 For discussions of a desire for an American education, see Michi Kawai, *My Lantern*; Yoko Matsuoka, *Daughter of the Pacific* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1952); and Sumie Seo Mishima, *My Narrow Isle* (New York: The John Day Company, 1941).
- 70 Year of graduation.
- 71 In addition to *My Lantern*, Kawai published *Sliding Doors* (Tokyo: Kasai Publishing & Printing Co., 1950). With Ochimi Kubushiro she also published *Japanese Women Speak* (Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934). The latter book is an outline of achievements and ambitions of Christian Japanese women but it is also somewhat of an apologia for the Manchurian Incident.
- 72 Hoshino published an autobiography in Japanese. Hoshino Ai, *Shoden* (Tokyo: Chuo Koron Jigyo Shuppan, 1960).
- 73 Fujita Taki's semi-autobiographical work was also published in Japanese. Fujita Taki, *Waga Michi: Kokoro No Deai* (Tokyo: Domesu Publishing Company, 1979). Information about the lives of the recipients after Bryn Mawr was pieced together from a number of sources, but the 1973 "Japan and Bryn Mawr" article fairly accurately covers the later history of the prewar scholarship students in one source.
- 74 JSC: Oct. 13, 1913, pp. 159-160.
- 75 Matsuoka Yoko's autobiography was written after World War II. Yoko Matsuoka, *Daughter of the Pacific* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1951; Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1973).
- 76 JSC: May 20, 1908, pp. 126-127.
- 77 JSC: Jan. 4, 1911, pp. 136-137; Nov. 10, 1925, p. 263.

78 JSC: May 21, 1918, pp. 202-207.

79 The ultimate irony is that the Occupation opened all Japanese universities to women in 1947, when it was not until well into the 1960s that certain male American institutions were opened to American women.

