tique of Buddhism by feminist thinkers but a significant work that offers a new viewpoint to contemporary thought.

Lastly, I would like to raise a point about the use of the Japanese word *sei* in this book. It is sometimes unclear whether the word is used to mean gender, sex or sexuality. I find a certain Japanese vagueness when one word expresses all three concepts. In the process of analyzing the vagueness of the meaning of the Japanese word *sei*, feminist thinkers might possibly discover new forms of discrimination related to gender.

『アメリカ婦人宣教師—日本の背景とその影響』
[As Our God Alone Will Lead Us: The 19th-Century American Women's Foreign Mission Enterprise and Its Encounter with Meiji Japan]
小檜山ルイ
Kohiyama Rui
Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1992.

Reviewed by Mitani Takayasu, Matsuyama

IT IS NO EXAGGERATION to say that the modern education of women in Japan was begun by Protestant missionary women. In particular, the involvement of American women is remarkable; they founded many schools for women throughout the country—the so-called "mission schools." Most of these schools, while struggling through rough times, have consistently undertaken the education of women from the early Meiji period to the present. Some of these institutions have developed into comprehensive schools which include colleges. It is impossible to overrate the contributions to modern Japanese education made by these women.

There are major obstacles, however, in trying to learn about the scope of their work. Although each school has records of the accomplishments of individuals and compilations of collected letters, there is no published work that "places in history the group of people called women missionaries explaining [their accomplishments] as social fact." (p. 1) This book should be noted for the remarkable job it has done in filling that very gap in modern Japanese Protestant history and for the author's command and skilled analysis of the great amount of source material.

Kohiyama is not a theologian. Graduating from International Christian University (ICU) and going on to obtain her master's degree in American studies at the University of Minnesota, she then returned to her alma mater to continue study at the doctoral level. She is strongly interested in feminism. This book is a somewhat abbreviated version of the doctoral dissertation she submitted to ICU. The author's viewpoint as a student of American studies constitutes the prime characteristic of the book. Previous research concerning missionaries has concentrated on their "evangelizing" and "faith"; the central themes were theology and dogma, their manner of faith in God and the manner of their calling. Here the author does not interest herself in such theological aspects. She has tried to focus on the women missionaries' sense of morals, outlook on women and education "not by explaining the existence of women missionaries in terms of Christianity, but rather by [regarding] the broader social and cultural context [they came from] with Christianity as a base." (p. 6)

Even missionaries are products of their own time. Their faith and calling cannot be discussed apart from the sociohistorical background of the time. Why did so many women missionaries come to Japan all the way from across the Pacific and so soon after the Civil War? In order to find the answer, we need an analysis of the women's mission societies that sent and supported them. We must also understand the cir-

cumstances of the American churches of that time and, further, the peculiar view of women in nineteenth-century American society. Nor can we overlook the relationship between perspectives on life and work held by relatively highly educated middle-class women and those held by women missionaries. Seen through the light of this broad and multifaceted understanding, we must dismantle our stereotypic impressions of "pious Christian women who resolutely crossed the seas and accomplished great works as the founding of women's schools" and see the actual lives of these people who women and missionaries.

Let us examine concretely the component chapters of this book. The first chapter positions participation in overseas mission work by women within the context of the history of white middle-class nineteenth-century American society and primarily the northern regions of the United States. In contrast to the men working in the materially oriented society, these nineteenth-century middle-class women, identifying themselves as "truly feminine" by being "pure, obedient and domestic" as well as "pious," were relegated to the home as "housewives" in the name of gender-based role divisions. From this position, however, these women strengthened their own standing and increased their social voice as "protectors of virtue."

Kohiyama describes the process of the birth and development of the nationally based American Women's Foreign Mission Enterprise, which became the parent organization that sent women missionaries overseas. During the period right after the Civil War, with its ensuing industrialization and urbanization and further expansion of the frontier, the male work force was short; as though to make up for the gap, there was an increase in the number of single women who worked at low wages. With the expansion of public primary school education, there was an increase in the number of women teachers. It is not possible to separate these phenomena from the professional choices made by women missionaries.

The second chapter focuses specifically on the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church. The author provides details of its organization, philosophy and policies; we learn that its growth during the twenty years from 1870 relied on the unremunerated services of the leisured class of urban married women. Pure and obedient, and pious, these women-of-the-home had spiritual goals that transcended the secular world and they worked with great dedication and deep love for their families, sparing no self-sacrifice. They were capable and useful but had to be unobtrusive and cooperative.

In the third chapter, we see how this ideal of nineteenth-century American woman was expected of wives of overseas missionaries and, by extension, how it influenced the way women missionaries were supposed to behave. Yet single women were expected to be professionally capable beyond the above-mentioned heroine-like qualities. Because they could not be ordained, women missionaries could not be involved in the glorious work of founding churches, training pastors and translating the Bible; all they could concern themselves with was education, medical care and direct evangelism. (p. 145) These women found an outlet for their activity in the backward condition of women's education in Japan.

In order to comprehend the real lives of women missionaries, it is necessary to analyze closely the work of specific persons. Kohiyama relates what women of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed denominations—particularly Mary Kidder and Maria True of present-day Ferris Jogakuin and Joshi Gakuin, respectively—tried to convey and cultivate in Japan in the early Meiji period. Because of the restrictions on

their activity, women missionaries had a difficult time. They were limited not only by the discrimination against women in premodern Japanese society but also by the conservative view of women held by their male missionary colleagues. Sometimes they were unavoidably the targets of criticism and confrontation by married women missionaries. At the same time, the image of "Republican motherhood" developed in America was also the ideal sought by Japanese women. Missionary women showed that they would remain within the confines of the conservative thinking about women in their own country but, simultaneously, they expanded to the maximum degree possible the scale of their ideals.

What was the result of the work of these women missionaries? After analyzing those who sent them and those who came to Japan, we need to analyze the part played by those who received them. Without that, the totality of the women missionaries' work cannot be grasped. The last chapter introduces three Japanese women who received direct tutelage from women missionaries. Two are the beloved students of Mary Kidder: Wakamatsu Shizuko, translator of F. H. Burnett's Little Lord Fauntleroy and the first writer to use a colloquial literary style; and Sasajo Toyohisa, an early activist in the Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union. The founder of that Union, Yajima Kajiko, had been greatly influenced by Maria True.

These Japanese women were social activists, each with her own style. Concurrently, they had limits—the very limits experienced by the women missionaries. The missionary women voluntarily kept their characters in check and internalized the image of being very able but restrained, assertive but kind. But in terms of evangelical strategy in their mission work in Japan, there were times when they had to stand in confrontation to the missionary men. Their "womanhood" always swayed between a conservative posture and the practical demands that could only be realized by breaking out of that conservatism. This same tension could be seen in the Japanese women they taught. Some became radical activists, seen by others as "hussies." In many cases, American womanhood was understood only as a model for the Japanese "good wife and wise mother."

The difference between nineteenth-century American womanhood and the Japanese "good wife and wise mother" is that of having or not having a sense of "piety" toward an absolute being transcending the secular world. A "good wife and wise mother" can preach about morals that should be observed in any religion, even Christianity. (p. 286) Such an ideal can be easily altered, however, according to the convenience of the government in power. This is very clear when we note how, in a later period, the "mother of a warring nation," one obedient to the state, came to embody "good wife and wise mother." Here lies the difference with "Republican motherhood." Nonetheless, it is a fact that the American women missionaries contributed in major ways to the higher education of women in Japan and to their psychological selfhood and economic independence. They also cultivated women's sense of social responsibility.

Kohiyama has succeeded in making a comprehensive and epochal presentation of the work of American women missionaries active in the early Meiji period from the perspective of feminist history; the abundance of sources to document what has been set forth is staggering. How have the seeds sown by these women been reaped now, one hundred years later? How does their influence stand now? by and large, almost all Christian churches in Japan are rather cool toward the "feminist movement" and it is clearly true that the dedicated service rendered in churches by the women—in all their "purity, obedience and

humility"—is seen as the practice of their "faith." Such matters have yet to be addressed and must be taken up. Kohiyama's book is very valuable for it can guide us towards that task.

Mary Jane Forbes Greene (1845–1910), Mother of the Japan Mission: An Anthropological Portrait, Volume 30 in *Studies in Women and Religion*

Marion Kilson

Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991. x + 132pp. Photographs, appendices, bibliography, and index.

Reviewed by Alison Young, Tokyo

MODERN HISTORICAL scholarship has increasingly recognized that the lives of women comprise half the picture of human history. Considering that the story of her great grandmother, Mary Jane Forbes Greene, must surely be worth telling alongside the already published biography of her husband, Kilson became interested in reconstructing the life of this Meiji Era woman who was cofounder of the Japan Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in 1870. In approaching the subject as an anthropologist, Kilson's intent is to present her life story as representative of the other women of her generation who participated in the foreign missionary movement, thus illuminating the general through the particular.

The preface begins with an honest appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of this particular study within the scope of its late nineteenth-century historical context, as well as the methodological problems encountered because of limitations in the sources available for research. It goes on to offer a brief historical overview of studies portraying the experiences of American Protestant women in the foreign missionary movement. This grounding in the modern history of scholarship on Protestant women does much to put this modest study in context. Without this setting, its straightforward anthropological approach would make less compelling reading.

Chapter One provides a brief history of Protestant missionary activity in the Meiji Era and sets the scene for the forty-one year period of service the Greenes spent in Japan. Their arrival in 1869 coincided with the opening of Japan to foreign influences, and their newly formed Japan Mission rode the crest of Japanese interest in Christianity through the 1880s. From this high point they witnessed the sudden and radical decline in membership in the churches they had helped to found, ending in widespread indifference to Christianity expressed by the majority of Japanese people they had come to convert.

Details of Mary Jane Greene's life are unfolded, beginning with references to her early family life and educational experiences. Kilson undertakes a reconstruction of her worldview and major life themes, drawing on such sources as college essays, journal entries, letters and other relevant material from the period. A coherence is achieved by this approach, for rather than presenting a simple chronology of life events, Kilson's aim is to construct a picture of her subject within the world in which she lived.

The picture is rounded out by treatment of significant relationships in her life, including her husband and eight children, with whom she corresponded regularly after they returned to the U.S. for schooling as teenagers. Also examined are relations with the women and men within their missionary community and contacts with friends and supporters in America, as well as friendships with Japanese people in many contexts. Kilson has gleaned from Greene's letters and journal entries an inter-