

MICHI KAWAI, JAPANESE EMIGRANTS AND NISEI

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Michi Kawai (1877-1953), as an activist, educator, and founder of Keisen Girls' School in Tokyo, strove to maximize social opportunities for herself as well as Japanese emigrant women and American women of Japanese descent in the transpacific arena.¹ Her active leadership role in the Japan Young Women's Christian Association (JYWCA) and Keisen, among other activities, positions her to be one of the major influential figures in empowering girls and women through school and social education during the first half of the twentieth century.

Research on Kawai has mainly focused on her pacifist and religious philosophy and its perceived influence on her work, especially in the establishment of her school. Moreover, most of the academic research has concentrated on Kawai's work in the Japanese national context both ideologically and in the field of education.² Having received a westernized education from an early age to college, however, Kawai's background and interests naturally stretched beyond Japanese borders. Kawai was an independent woman who repeatedly traveled overseas and played an active part in sending Japanese emigrant women across the Pacific and receiving American women from the U.S. This paper examines Kawai's ideals and efforts concerning Japanese women emigrating to Hawai'i and the West Coast of the U.S. and the daughters of Japanese migrants, or Nisei women, living in the Americas coming to study in Japan.³ This paper also aims to illuminate Kawai's international perspective, or more specifically transpacific perspective, in regard to Japanese and American women travelling between Japan and the U.S.

In terms of Kawai's racial/ethnic perception, researcher Hisaaki Takeuchi claims that Kawai demonstrated a less imperialistic view towards Taiwanese and Chinese (but not quite so towards Koreans) and

was critical towards Japan and Japanese on occasion, compared to Inazo Nitobe or other intellectuals of her time. Takeuchi also notes that Kawai's worldview was not entirely Eurocentric; however, her logical weakness laid mostly in her lack of in-depth analysis in her interpretation of political affairs.⁴ Instead of considering Kawai as being completely naïve in her political outlook, I argue that her rhetoric and social perception was consequently effective in advancing her career and activities. Intentionally or not, Kawai successfully established herself and her work with her distinct ideology based on her Christian faith and resources against the backdrop of transpacific issues.

Kawai's Background

Kawai was born to Kikue and Noriyasu Kawai in Ise Yamada in now Miye Prefecture. According to Kawai's autobiography, her mother, Kikue, was a daughter of the village master and had learned silkworm raising, spinning and weaving, and performed other such manual labor common to a typical farmer's daughter. Kawai's father, Noriyasu, was registered at birth to become the priest of the Imperial Shrine at Ise Yamada but later lost his position as priest due to the government's retrenchment. Facing economic hardship, the Kawai family moved to Hakodate on the southern coast of Hokkaido when Kawai was aged nine. After moving to Hakodate, Kawai was introduced to Christianity through her uncle and father both of whom had newly converted. Kawai recalled that her father began reading from a "big book," the bible in Japanese, and "[t]his new study satisfied more than his scholarly tastes, it fed the hunger of his soul."⁵

At the age of ten, Kawai entered the boarding department of a Methodist mission school where she received her formal education in both English and Japanese. Later, Sarah C. Smith, a Presbyterian missionary, took Kawai and several other girls to Sapporo as her students at Hokusei Girls' School. There, Kawai met and was taught by intellectual Inazo Nitobe, whom she recalled had "the most enduring influence on [her] life."⁶ After refusing Nitobe's suggestion that she

should apply for a scholarship to study at an American college, Kawai went to Tokyo with the Nitobes who arranged for her to stay in the home of Umeko Tsuda.⁷

Once in Tokyo, Kawai realized that her “previous close association with foreigners had given [her] a freedom in speaking English which was far beyond the ability of any of the young ladies who came to study with Miss Tsuda.”⁸ As the second recipient of the American Scholarship for Japanese Women, Kawai went to the U.S. and attended Bryn Mawr College for six years from 1898 to August 1904.⁹ Upon her return to Tokyo, Kawai began her teaching career at Tsuda College, where she met Caroline Macdonald whom she had met earlier at one of the YWCA’s summer conferences in New York. Macdonald, who was in Japan at the request of the World’s YWCA to organize a national association in Tokyo, persuaded Kawai to help her in organizing the YWCA of Japan. Kawai began as a volunteer worker, giving all her spare time to “this venture which [she] so heartily believed in.”¹⁰ From its inception, Kawai was a central figure in the formation and development of the JYWCA, which initially defined itself as an organization with the purpose of developing the health, social affairs, knowledge and sensibility of young Japanese women.¹¹ In November 1905, the inaugural ceremony of the first city association, the Tokyo YWCA, began with Tsuda’s opening remarks followed by speeches by Caroline Macdonald, Shigenobu Okuma and a few others.¹² Kawai, at the age of thirty-five, was the first Japanese general secretary of the national JYWCA from 1912 to 1925. During her general secretary years, Kawai traveled to Taiwan, Korea and the U.S., which consequently helped define her ideals and shape her activities.

After quitting the JYWCA for reasons not quite clear, Kawai went to Europe and the U.S. by herself from 1926 to 1927. It is during this period of her life that Kawai seems to have expanded her outlook on world affairs in terms of Japan’s political standing, her sense of bonding with the Chinese people whom she began to consider as same “God’s children” through some of her activities supporting China and her foremost and absolute trust in God. After her return, Kawai founded Keisen, a private school for Japanese girls, in spring 1929 and was president from the first year to her death in February 1953. Kawai began

Keisen with nine students and oversaw its growth develop into a high school and junior college.

Educating Issei Women through the “Emigration Work” of the JYWCA

In 1915, the JYWCA received “mandatory advice” from the national board of the YWCA in the U.S. to inspect and study the “problem of Japanese female immigrants” on the American Pacific Coast. It may be assumed that the advice from the U.S. national board decisively made Kawai stop by the West Coast on her way to the YWCA training program in New York.¹³ Consequently, Kawai’s trip initiated the JYWCA’s official emigration work. The emigration work conducted by the YWCA in Japan subsided in 1920 as the Japan-U.S. “picture bride” era came to a halt.¹⁴

From around 1915 to 1920, emigration work included the distribution of information and advice to Japanese women emigrants, or Issei, by the YWCA at Japanese port cities, such as Yokohama and Kobe to help make their migration experience “successful.”¹⁵ According to an estimate of the Yokohama YWCA in 1915, between one to two hundred women were sailing abroad each month.¹⁶ From the perception of the JYWCA leaders, or secretariats, emigrating Japanese women were purportedly uneducated and ignorant of modern Western styles of living, and in desperate need of “proper” instructions by the YWCA.¹⁷

The idea to begin emigration work at the YWCA in Japan eventually brought about the establishment of the Instruction Center for Women Going Abroad [*Tokōfujin kōshujo*] within the Yokohama YWCA in October 1916, when official emigration work was begun with the support of the national committee. The Instruction Center, under Kawai’s leadership along with the dissemination of her writings, aimed to instruct Japanese emigrants so that they would be better accepted by the host community in the U.S., or at least that was the official rhetoric supporting the effort. According to the official statement of purpose, because the women going abroad were lacking “appropriate discipline

and knowledge” of migration, they were causing “difficult problems,” probably pointing to the political tensions arising on the West Coast. The statement declared that educators and wives of community leaders in California had insisted on creating a program to train emigrant women and explained that the national YWCA in the U.S. had expressed its concern over this matter.¹⁸ The JYWCA seems to have acknowledged the significance of the emigration work among other activities and thus prioritized it.¹⁹

With regard to beginning emigration work at the Yokohama Association, in May 1916 Mary C. Baker of the Yokohama YWCA declared:

The ladies of the Association are very anxious to begin emigration work and are waiting for Miss Kawai and Miss Matthew’s return [from abroad]. They very much wish the Yokohama Association could be independent like Tokyo and are hoping to raise funds by memberships to justify that step by the time Miss Kawai returns.²⁰

In November 1916 a “finance campaign” was conducted with \$1500 to \$2000 as the goal.²¹ Evidently, the Yokohama Association was enthused about beginning the new emigration work. In initiating and developing the emigration work, the secretariats of the YWCA expected national general secretary Kawai to play a vital role, which she did. The emigrants, at least in the beginning, were mainly instructed by Kawai, national general secretary Margaret Matthew, national office secretary Ruth Ragan, secretary of the Tokyo Association Florence Patterson, Itoko Yoshida, Sadako Suzuki and another foreign staff worker.²² In particular, Kawai contributed immensely in developing the emigration work. During her extensive tour of Japan, Kawai spoke on religious and educational issues regarding women in Japan, but she also gave lectures on “the Japanese problem which exists in California.” Apparently, the first time she spoke on the topic of Issei was in late 1916 in Osaka.²³ The full-fledged support given by the national committee may exemplify the lack of personnel and, more importantly, the importance of the activity for the JYWCA.

Some of the earlier JYWCA projects, such as the boarding project as well as the traveler's aid project, which was designed to protect and guide women traveling alone in Japan, may be considered as the ground work for the organization's later international work.²⁴ The boarding house project, considered as one of the first activities conducted by the Tokyo YWCA, began in around 1905 with renting two old houses located in what is now Bunkyo Ward.²⁵ Remaining documents show some of the ways the JYWCA internationalized the traveler's aid. Hence, with earlier experiences in aiding domestic migrants and travelers, the emigration work of the YWCA in Japan was not conducted on an entirely new terrain.

The majority of the emigrating women were "picture brides." The Japanese process of emigration for an average picture bride, or a woman who entered the U.S. as a newly-wed of a migrant, was described in detail in one of the YWCA reports. According to the YWCA in Japan, first the husband-to-be wrote from somewhere in the U.S. to his parents or relatives in his homeland, asking them to arrange a marriage for him, as he had supposedly earned and laid up enough money to support a wife. The match was made and the bride was legally married to her husband, by the transference of her name to his family register.

Next, the bride applied for a passport to the local police station. After receiving her passport, the bride came to the port from which she expected to sail to be medically examined for trachoma and hookworm.²⁶ The hotel-keeper was her guardian, guiding her to the examination hall and to the shops, and making "fat commissions." If the bride passed her physical examination, she sailed within four to five days. If not, she had to undergo medical treatment and wait for another examination. During the intervening time she either returned home, as the YWCA saw preferable, or remained at the hotel. Some women had to wait one to three months before being finally admitted.

Upon arrival in the U.S., the bride went to the immigrant detention center, where she was examined again for the same diseases, and was also crossed-examined with her husband to make sure that she was the bride of her husband. After they had both passed rigid examinations, they were allowed to go to their new home. It was during her period of waiting at

the port of departure and detention at the port of entry, that the YWCA secretariats and staff workers saw their opportunity with the brides.²⁷ At the Japanese port cities, the secretariats worked to bring the emigrants to the Instruction Center to give instructions. At the same time, the secretariats spent their time at the ports in order to talk and distribute their publications. Besides these two available time periods at the ports, the YWCA secretariats managed to take advantage of the bride's time spent on the ships to reach out to them through the work of the ship matrons.

At the Instruction Center, the women who were expecting to sail to the U.S. were offered a preparatory course for free. The course, which ran for a week, consisted of six hours of morals for women abroad, five hours of precautions on board and when disembarking, five hours of beginner-level practical English, six hours of foreign customs and traditions, six hours of domestic chores such as western cooking and washing, three hours of personal health and hygiene, and two hours of childrearing abroad. The classes began at nine in the morning and ended at three in the afternoon. The women were able to begin attending any day of the week.²⁸ All in all, the emigration work of the YWCA in Japan mostly consisted of disseminating information, talking to the women and enlightening them about the Christian and "modernized" ways of America life, assuring ship matron service mainly to women sailing across the Pacific as third class passengers, and introducing reliable individuals, or the Japanese YWCAs, in the U.S.

Interestingly, one of the pamphlets, *Tips for Women Going Abroad* [*Tokōfujin kokoroe*] published under the name of the Instruction Center, was made prior to September 1915, before the official inauguration of the center. When the center began its operation, an eight-page brochure entitled *The Instruction Center Guide for Women Going Abroad* [*Tokōfujin kōshujo gairan*] was published under the name of the newly founded center. The brochure briefly explained the Instruction Center's purpose and outlined its program for the emigrants. By late 1917, the JYWCA produced another publication which was probably intended for distribution to Japanese women on both sides of the Pacific. The pamphlet was eight *sen* per copy and it was possibly the pamphlet the Japanese YWCA in San Francisco had asked Kawai to write.²⁹ Besides

the special publications intended to “help” emigrating women, Kawai personally wrote a number of articles, some in form of a drama skit, in the Japan YWCA’s magazine.³⁰ All reading materials published by the JYWCA were in Japanese.

In her autobiography, Kawai stated that the emigrants in general represented a cross-section of the lower-middle class in Japan. In 1915 Kawai gave her description of the emigrants in the following way:

...a hair-dresser, a middle-aged geisha and a dancing mistress, all with Japanese coiffure and clothes; a group of dancing girls going to the Exposition; several older country women; a refined looking mother with two children; wives who had been sent for by their husbands: some who were returning from visits in Japan; and a few “picture brides.”

As for the picture brides, Kawai saw them as coming “mostly from the country communities.” She continued that they “looked queer, even to [her]; for no one had told them that their huge pompadours stuffed with ‘rats’ had long since gone out of style in America, and that their efforts to beatify themselves with an excessive use of powder resulted only in giving an impression of uncleanness.”³¹

Based on what Kawai saw during her trip to the U.S., a serial report written by Kawai appeared in the JYWCA magazine from October 1916 to March 1917.³² Kawai entitled the articles “Are Japanese Women Successful in America?,” and began her description of emigrant women by categorizing them into four groups: women who would marry fishermen or farm laborers in the countryside, women who would marry urban laborers such as small shop keepers, women who were already married, and, lastly, single women. Most of the women, according to Kawai, came from the rural areas of Japan, and were ignorant of American customs and likely to appear rude to and offend middle-class white women, some of whom were trying to befriend them.

Moreover, Kawai declared that the emigrants had no desire to improve their lifestyle, and even the few educated Japanese women seemed to have relapsed into a helpless state of uncivilized ignorance.

Kawai pointed out that the children of the migrants were learning English and the mothers who did not understand English were being looked down upon by their own children. According to Kawai, women who emigrated without the necessary knowledge concerning American manners were criticized for their indiscretion and recklessness; therefore, she discouraged making hasty decisions to leave Japan. Kawai stressed the misery of the Japanese migrants living under harsh and unsanitary conditions in the U.S., and even referred to the current situation as an embarrassment because the migrants themselves seemed to be content with their dismal condition.³³

The major expectations Kawai and the JYWCA laid out for the Japanese women included observing manners and a sensible dress code so as not to shock or offend middle-class Americans. Furthermore, the women were instructed and expected to maintain sexual purity, condemn adultery and stay away from gambling, all of which purportedly led to destructive consequences. Also, the prioritization of striving at domesticity, instead of greedily earning money outside the home, was repeatedly stressed as an important concept the women were expected to follow.³⁴

In the pamphlet *Tips for Women Going to the U.S.*, the items women were recommended to obtain for their journey were described.³⁵ The women traveling across the Pacific were instructed and expected to follow a basic code of conduct and appearance in order to uphold the reputation of Japanese women. It stated that since American fashion underwent rapid changes, the emigrants were advised to take only basic clothes and to find what they needed in the U.S.

In addition, the women were advised to take long socks and even wear socks under a *tabi*, or Japanese socks, and told to take shoes other than *geta*, or wooden clogs, along with cosmetics, gloves, underwear, sleepwear and more than a dozen handkerchiefs. Their baggage would preferably be a leather trunk or a rattan box. Also, the pamphlet explained that before embarking, the women must undergo a medical examination.

The women were expected to live up to a “civilized” code of conduct once they left the ports of Japan. For instance, when on board

the ship women were instructed not to expose themselves too much. They were forbidden to expose bare legs and feet when in a kimono, keep an untidy hairstyle, laugh or giggle for no reason, enter a man's cabin or men's bathrooms, dwell at length on their personal matters with a stranger, exchange handkerchiefs with others for fear of transmitting viruses, and they were expected to have a shawl when in a kimono with a slim sash. The pamphlet also described the process of entering the U.S. once they reached Angel Island. The women were encouraged to contact the local YWCA secretariats in San Francisco and Seattle.

The importance of preparing for travel was emphasized to the emigrant women in a drama skit written by Kawai and published in the monthly Japanese YWCA magazine in the summer and fall of 1917. Entitled in English as "The Foreign Etiquette One Should Know," the skit was a serial drama in which an educated Japanese madam resident of New York chaperoned three emigrating women sailing on the same ship to the U.S. Regarding appearance and clothes, in the voice of the Japanese madam well aware of American customs, Kawai carefully explained the basic clothing items the emigrant women, traveling as third class passengers, were advised to take to the U.S. When one of the emigrating women asked if she should travel in western clothes or a Japanese kimono, it was explained that western clothes were preferred only if they were decent looking in the eyes of an average American. Tailoring a western outfit in Japan, in particular in rural areas, might be too expensive and also if it were made in a dreadful out-of-style look it would make the Japanese women seem foolish, which had to be avoided at all costs, it was explained. Thus, if the women could not obtain a decent blouse and skirt, it was recommended that they should instead wear their Japanese clothing.

While pursuing assimilation notions in the choice of clothing for emigrating women, Kawai, perhaps aware of the emigrants' material and financial burdens, forged existing Japanese resources with the newly introduced western style. Kawai's decision that the emigrant should prioritize a simple Japanese look over a western outfit totally inassimilable to the standard American fashion, however, should not be read as her affirmation in ethnic pride or multiculturalism. Kawai was

consistently conscious of the perceptions of Japanese migrants held by the general American public and leaned on what middle-class Americans seemed to favor. In judging the presence of Japanese women migrants, Kawai was immersed in a set of values held by Christian, middle-class Americans and she applied such Anglo-centric ideals to migrant resources in a practical way, as in choosing a Japanese outfit over a western dress.

Kawai left an interesting passage in her autobiography concerning her own wardrobe for traveling to the U.S. for the first time in the summer of 1898. “Mrs. Nitobe took charge of preparing my wardrobe,” recalled Kawai, and she continued to describe how Mary Nitobe chose materials for blouses and handed over some of her own grey Quaker dresses to Kawai. “Perhaps [Mrs. Nitobe] sensed my disappointment because the colors were not brighter and the patterns grayer, for she told me that modest girls in America wore only plain, simple clothes,” wrote Kawai. After receiving a challis dress from an Evangelistic American worker in Tokyo, Kawai observed that her meager outfit was complete. She noted, “for traveling and street wear I had three grey woolen dresses with separate skirt and basque, three or four cotton blouse, the challis dress and a sailor hat.”³⁶ For school and parties Kawai intended to wear her Japanese clothing. Apparently, Kawai was content with her practical choice of clothing, which seems to mirror the instructions she gave the emigrant women years later.

Educating Nisei Girls at Keisen Girls’ School

Keisen initially offered five years of schooling for elementary school graduates and in February 1935, the school received from the Department of Education official permission to add an advanced course of two years—a junior college department. The fundamental principle underlying Kawai’s educational ideal was Christianity, international study and horticulture, which Keisen in the present day continues to introduce as the three pillars of the “Keisen spirit.”³⁷ Kawai apparently developed her ideology to establish her school by incorporating her interpretation of internationalism, along with Japanese womanhood and her Christian

faith.

More specifically, Kawai's perception of world affairs was not tainted in ultra-nationalism and she managed to comprehend world politics through her religious belief, which was consequently tied to the resources and means necessary in building her school. Kawai seemed certain that if "Christianity first teaches us self-respect, it next teaches us respect for others, regardless of race or rank; for all human beings are God's children."³⁸

In terms of the faculty members, Kawai insisted that they be Christians. "It goes without saying that [the teachers] should be more than mere instructors with keen minds and great knowledge. If they are privileged to be co-workers with God, they must be themselves truly Christians," Kawai stated.³⁹ On religious grounds, Kawai was able to find purportedly sensible meanings to persisting world affairs and probably the most support for her school.

Besides facing Japanese nationalist regulations—especially tightened during the pre-war years—Kawai was aware of other challenges in spreading Christianity, especially to girls, in Japan. As national general secretary, Kawai observed that when a Japanese girl was converted and became a Christian, the immediate difficulty she had to deal with was marriage. According to Kawai, since few Christians were in Japan, one could not easily find a suitable Christian man for every Christian girl. Kawai explained the typical hardship of a converted girl leading an independent life, and pointed out that a daughter was usually not able to disobey her father's choice of a husband, even if he was not a Christian. Kawai continued to explain:

In the first place there is not given to every girl training or education that she can set her own livelihood. In the second place, a woman receives no property from her father, and she has no means to start with. Third, the old training of Japan has not given her any individualism, and therefore she does not know how to set for herself. Fourth, she has no chance to meet men, and so she has no way of judging others in her choice of suitors. Lastly, there may not be any Christian man of social standing that is in her Christian

community. She may be in an upper class, and all other Christians in a working class, for instance, and vice versa.⁴⁰

Referring to one of the girls who was converted despite her chosen husband-to-be's strong opposition, Kawai noted that the girl "must bear the cross and devote her life to bringing her atheist husband to faith in Jesus Christ. What a big task, and what a heavy cross God has laid upon her frail shoulders, but we know that she will always be strengthened by her Saviors." Kawai commented that it was marvelous to see the courageous girl "so resigned and calm and trusting."⁴¹ Obviously, Kawai was aware of social repudiations and the hardship some of the girls faced when following their faith, but promoted Christianity nevertheless.

Kawai's faith in spreading Christian teachings to Japanese girls did not diminish over the years. In 1948 in an essay entitled "Japanese Girls of Yesterday and Today," Kawai declared, "[h]ad women known that their true mission was to nourish their families with the spirit of world brotherhood and world peace, Japan would never have had this dreadful war."⁴² Resentful for not being able to prevent the war and the military tribunal ordeal, Kawai summarized in the following way: "But how could Japanese women of the old school get the idea of human solidarity and world peace when Christianity was unknown to them! We cannot judge them too harshly."⁴³ Not surprisingly, Kawai resorted to the alleged universal truth of her faith as the ultimate solution for attaining her ideal world and presented non-Christians as more or less helpless.

Fascinatingly, Kawai connected the horticultural aspect of educational training with increasing assurances for the future of Japanese girls. In a letter defining the purpose of establishing her school, Kawai wrote that one of the features of the school was to provide adequate horticultural instructions along with the regular school curriculum, and eventually build a girls' agricultural school. According to Kawai, urban girls could be taught to enjoy horticulture as a hobby, while the girls from the rural areas would benefit from the scientific teaching of agricultural chemistry and, simultaneously, girls, married or single, intending to go to the overseas colonies as well as girls seeking professional work in the agricultural field would benefit from such educational training. In an era

when political commitments and demands were pressing, Kawai sought cultural and religious aspects of learning as an alternative reassurance, but also explored and was willing to test an entirely new field of horticulture and agriculture as practical means to support and enrich a woman's life.

In an English pamphlet introducing the school in the mid-1930s, it was stated that in the future the school plans to build "training courses for women who [were] to live in countries other than Japan, thus enabling them to contribute toward educational, social and home life wherever they [might] go."⁴⁴ It may be argued that Kawai's international background and earlier experience at the YWCA in working with Japanese emigrants may have influenced her decision to train Keisen girls anticipating overseas migration. Kawai had expressed her intention to train prospective women colonists at her school as early as 1928, a year before the school's establishment.⁴⁵ Interestingly, for Kawai, colonialism was rhetorically about building the "Kingdom of God on earth" rather than expanding Japanese militaristic imperialism.

From August 1934 until the end of that year, Kawai toured and lectured in the U.S.⁴⁶ The lectures and visits, made with Miya Sannomiya, who at the time worked at the Tokyo YWCA, hoped to "better acquaint the Japanese people here [in California] of the Nisei life in Japan."⁴⁷ Although Kawai did not perceive going to Japan as the solution to all difficulties facing the Nisei, or an American child of Japanese migrants, in the belief that "[t]he world [needed a] real pioneer in every field of economic, social, national, and international life," she addressed the Nisei to "[c]ome to Japan when [they could]...and let [them] work together to solve [the Nisei's] problems."⁴⁸

Around the mid-1930s, the Nisei, mainly from California and Hawai'i, began to arrive, and in 1935 the Department for Foreign Students was added to Keisen. The Department for Foreign Students offered a two-year and one-year intensive course mainly for Nisei who had a high school diploma. Due to the Pacific War, the Department for Foreign Students was officially closed in March 1942, but thereafter Nisei and other foreign students were still able to enter Keisen's regular course if accepted.⁴⁹

Approximately 125 Nisei and Japanese students born abroad

studied at Keisen during the seven years of the department's operation.⁵⁰ In the official alumnae directory which listed all the students who received a diploma as graduates of the department, there are 95 names listed.⁵¹ Naturally, there were Nisei who were enrolled in the school for a certain period of time, but did not graduate from Keisen. Also, some Nisei entered the regular course according to their language abilities and these students' names would not be listed under the department. During their time at school, the majority of Nisei students lived in one of the dormitories on campus.

At Keisen, besides taking the curriculum of the Department for Foreign Students, the Nisei were encouraged to work on special projects that were closely related to them. The project to survey the Nisei students in Tokyo was suggested by Kawai to the Class of 1939.⁵² Approximately 1300 questionnaires were sent out and about one-third were answered and returned.⁵³ The survey revealed background information on the Nisei in the Tokyo area including their age, sex, birthplace, educational and religious affiliations and their purpose of coming to Japan. When the study was completed, the final report was distributed in California. A copy was available for 25 cents by writing to the Japanese YWCA Los Angeles.⁵⁴ Kawai and the other leading organizations believed collecting and delivering information was relevant in supporting Nisei education, and the publication was apparently well-received. In the summer of 1939, photographs of the Keisen survey committee appeared in the *Rafu Shimpō*.⁵⁵

Noteworthy is the fact that an active Keisen-network existed in California. The young Nisei who received part of their education in Japan were building and reinforcing transpacific ties. The graduates of Keisen in California had a Keisen alumnae association [gakuyu kai] and their activities ranged from entertaining friends of Kawai and presenting guests visiting or returning to Japan with canned goods which were to be taken back to Japan with them.⁵⁶ General meetings for graduates and former students of Keisen were announced in the *Rafu Shimpō*.⁵⁷ It demonstrates that the Nisei involved in the alumnae had an overall beneficial experience in Tokyo or else they would probably not be involved in activities connected to the school even after returning home.

Moreover, the Keisen network in California illustrates the fact that Californian Nisei went to Tokyo to study and returned in rather collective numbers. Although those who spent the war years in the U.S. most likely experienced incarceration, the alumnae directory of 1991 indicates that most of the Nisei graduates resided in California with a few in Hawai'i.

Historian Eiichiro Azuma states that Keisen's curriculum rendered the internationalist ideal in a gendered manner. Specifically, "the school's instruction," in Azuma's words, "limited Nisei women to the feminized realm of family and culture. In lieu of history, politics, and other contemporary social issues, Keisen students learned traditional aesthetics like flower arranging and the tea ceremony, basic womanly etiquette, and the 'arts' of Japanese sewing, dyeing, and cooking."⁵⁸ It may be argued that instead of blindly pursuing particular political adherences, Kawai sought an alternative in dealing with political conflict by fostering an appreciation for cultural heritages, and her students most likely followed her thinking.

In addition, Kawai's religious faith proved to be a significant element in creating her ideals and work. The Nisei were naturally influenced. A Nisei, Aiko Kuromi, reiterated Kawai's emphasis on the importance of having faith in a transnational perspective. Kuromi declared:

In addition to attaining the necessary Japanese language and culture which also includes the intangible "Nippon Spirit," or Japanese Spirit, the girls of Keisen have found ways to make themselves faithful and to transmit to others a better understanding of the Christian faith.

The above passage resembles the idea that transmitting Christianity was vital for the Nisei in leading their transpacific lives that were built on both American and Japanese backgrounds. The Nisei concluded that the "Second Generation" girls at Keisen were "indeed indebted to Miss Kawai for her endless endeavor" in educating and preparing the Nisei for their lives in Christianity.⁵⁹ It was not unusual for the Keisen Nisei students to repeatedly state what Kawai perceived as the role of the Nisei

students in bridging the U.S. and Japan in religious harmony during the years leading up to the Pacific War.

One of the more recent school publications regarding the Nisei is the book entitled *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students*, compiled by the Keisen Historical Committee and published in July 2005. The book compiles the transcripts of actual interviews of twenty-one former students, five phone interviews, ten replies to a written questionnaire and four memoirs. The questionnaire, which was a list of twenty basic questions, was given to the interviewees prior to the interview.⁶⁰ Through the close reading of the voices, what becomes apparent is the influence of Kawai and her teachings on her students.

Evidently, Keisen's Historical Committee places Kawai in a transpacific context and, in the opening sentence of the preface, declares that "Like her mentor, Inazo Nitobe, Miss Michi Kawai always aspired to be 'a bridge across the Pacific.'"⁶¹ It is interesting that Kawai herself is portrayed as a symbolic bridge by the Historical Committee. In addition, the Historical Committee repeatedly applies a similar bridge idea to the Nisei in the publication. As explained in the preface, the Nisei "found themselves in the interstices between the two countries and two cultures. As a result of this, Miss Kawai strongly encouraged them to act as little bridges between Japan and America."⁶² The Nisei voices reveal how their experiences at Keisen, and, broadly speaking, in Japan, have crystallized over the years. Legitimized as one of the official publications of the school, the Nisei present some of the ways in which Kawai, Keisen and Tokyo life had left an impact on their lives and thoughts.

Kawai fully supported the Keisen girls' furthering education in the U.S. and the Nisei coming to her school. She proudly acknowledged that, as of 1939, already three alumnae had gone to America to study in colleges there. Also, two years earlier, two upper department girls had received the honor of being delegates in the JASC at Stanford University, and another two were crossing the Pacific in order to attend the 1939 conference at the University of Southern California, being among fourteen delegates selected from 139 applicants, according to Kawai.⁶³

Moreover, from Kawai's writings it is evident that the Nisei were seen as being inherit to the cultures of both Japan and the U.S. Kawai

recalled one of the graduation ceremonies and as she handed the diplomas to the twelve Nisei girls who had come “to study the culture of the land of their forefathers, a silent prayer ascended from [her] heart that, wherever they [went] and whatever they [did], each may show herself to be [a] worthy heir of the two cultures of the East and of the West.”⁶⁴

Kawai advocated her own interpretation of the bridge concept on various occasions. During her speaking tour in the U.S. in the fall of 1934 sponsored by the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, apparently an interdenominational program intended to bring the message of global Christian missions to the churches in America, Kawai was asked to represent Christians in Japan and explain some of their work to Americans. She was also a guest at local Nikkei YWCAs in the U.S. and spoke before the general Nikkei, or Japanese American, community. In one of her speeches, Kawai mentioned the two differing objects awaiting to be bridged and that “there [were] two ways of associating [themselves] with things foreign; one form [was] curiosity, which [said], ‘How strange!’ and one form appreciation, which [said], ‘How interesting!’”⁶⁵ The Nikkei were told that they must not forget to cultivate the habit of appreciation towards everything beautiful, noble and wonderful of other nations.

Reflecting Kawai’s efforts, one of the Nisei who had attended Keisen recalled, “[w]e received spiritual training, which was the important part of Keisen education.”⁶⁶ All in all, Kawai’s opinion was clearly transmitted in the transpacific intellectual community during the prewar years, and was especially well received by a portion of the Nikkei population. Clearly, the bridge idea, encompassing various aspects, functioned as a major ideological backbone in defining and giving cultural meaning to the Nisei’s assimilation to America and Japan. In other words, the general bridge notion not only supported the transpacific voyage of the Nisei, it also encouraged the Nisei’s assimilation to Japanese culture and language in the U.S. Particularly in the American domestic realm, the bridge notion was an ultimate symbolic justification of the Nisei learning and practicing Japanese language and customs.

Through the voices speaking across time for over more than half-a-century, the Nisei retold, as much as their memories allowed, their

experiences of coming to Tokyo and attending Keisen in *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students*. According to what the Nisei retold, in most cases, the parents had decided to enroll their daughters at Keisen, and almost all the students had neither met nor personally knew Kawai before attending the school. Usually, one of the parents had learned of Kawai from a relative or acquaintance. Providing a Christian education for their daughters seemed to be a major factor in the decision to select Keisen.

Lily Takayanagi from Riverside, California, where her Christian parents had a farm, came to Keisen after graduating from high school. She recalled, “[m]y parents decided for me to come,” and she continued, “I wanted to go to college in America, but my father heard Toyohiko Kagawa speak about education and decided to send me to Japan to study.” Another Nisei, Matuyo Katagiri, came to Keisen in July 1938 from Montebello, California where her parents grew flowers. After pleading to be sent to college in the U.S., Katagiri was told to go to Japan by her father who believed that “girls should not be educated.” Denying an “American” education, yet still sending his daughter to a school in Tokyo, Katagiri explained that that was her father’s decision. She recalled, “[m]y father had a Christian friend who [knew] of Miss Kawai. He had a strong influence on [her] father,” who was apparently a Buddhist. Katagiri “cried all the way to Japan” and had an interview with Kawai, who was “reluctant to accept [her] because she was from a Buddhist family.” According to Katagiri, Kawai eventually permitted her enrollment. Katagiri stated, “Miss Kawai’s faith and enthusiasm was the best influence in my life.” In Katagiri’s words, “[t]he greatest impact of the study at Keisen, in Japan, was that we became able to communicate better with the issei group at home.” Her interest in Christianity grew at Keisen and she was baptized in the U.S. at the age of fifty. Katagiri stated: “I am the only Christian in my family. My in-laws opposed it, but my own family supported me.”⁶⁷

Also in regard to the Nisei’s relationship to her world, a Nisei referred to the bridge notion by using the ambassador imagery. Alice Susuki told how she worked (most likely as a volunteer) at a hospital later in her life “to serve as an ambassador of good will” and continued

to explain that she “visited patients from Kenya.” Although Susuki mentioned the language learning aspect to have had an impact on her life after Keisen, she also noted that Keisen had “helped [her] as a person,” which probably encouraged her to bridge what she considered necessary.⁶⁸

For one of the Nisei, her transpacific voyage opened a new career path for her. Kiyō Kaneko was recruited as a faculty member when she visited Keisen during her stay in Japan as a *kengakudan* [tour] member. A Nisei from Los Angeles, Kaneko had graduated from UCLA, majoring in home-economics and had applied for a teaching position in the U.S. but was not hired most possibly because of being Nikkei. In California, Kaneko had heard Kawai speak, but had not met her until Kaneko’s friend, Florence Tamiko Matsumoto, who at the time was teaching western sewing at Keisen, had decided to leave Keisen. Matsumoto introduced Kaneko to Kawai and, in 1936, Kaneko went to an interview with Kawai, who hired her on the spot. At Keisen, Kaneko taught western sewing and English conversation for two years to the upper grades of the regular course and advanced course. Obviously, the circle of transpacific Nisei connected to Keisen was tightly knit. As for her memories of Kawai, Kaneko stated, “[i]f [Kawai] saw something not acceptable, she helped the person with the problem to solve it. She also helped the picture brides going from Japan to America. Miss Kawai was always willing to help when she saw the need.”⁶⁹

The majority of the Keisen Nisei returned to the U.S. after “a special delivery message came from the American Ambassador Grew to Miss Kawai to send [the Nisei] back to the U.S.” According to one of the Nisei, Kawai had told the Nisei that the decision to go back to America was up to the Nisei and their parents.⁷⁰ Ruth Sumiko Kacho, a Nisei who enrolled at Keisen in 1938 and remained in Japan through the war, recalled, “[a]t the urging of Kawai *sensei*, I applied for a position at the Overseas Broadcasting Station Radio Tokyo as an English announcer and was hired in March of 1943.” After working for the radio station, Kacho entered the American Department of the Ministry of Trade and Industry in Occupied Japan.⁷¹ During the war years and what followed, the Nisei’s transnational education led to practical work, though limited to a handful

of Nisei mostly with bilingual skills.

Conclusion

In September 1919, the JYWCA began to receive thank-you letters from the Issei for the emigration work. Evidently, the JYWCA reconfirmed its evangelical aspect of emigration work to be resonating among the Issei. The JYWCA proudly reported that an Issei who was given a book on Christianity to read on the boat, immediately asked a friend to take her to church once she reached Los Angeles.⁷² To varying degrees, the Issei women themselves were obviously influenced by the emigration work. Kawai and the other secretariats in Japan were apparently finding satisfactory results of their influence on the emigrant women.

As for the Keisen Nisei, in reviewing the interviews of the Nisei graduates, despite variances, the Nisei who attended Keisen seem to have left the school with quite distinct marks of religious or spiritual learning which apparently had remained with them throughout the years. For some of the Nisei's parents, the fact that Keisen was a Christian school was an important factor in making the decision to send their daughters. Even those without strong religious backgrounds at the time they had decided on Keisen seem to have absorbed Kawai's beliefs by the time they left. It is evident that the tight-knit interdenominational network was one of the sources that brought the Nisei to Kawai's school. Some of the interviews, surprisingly, reveal how interconnected the Japanese church leaders and Nikkei were in a transpacific community.

Kawai's career, as leader of the JYWCA and president of Keisen, was to a great extent based on the financial and moral support gained from American individuals and organizations, and this probably was a restraining factor for her not to take strict political sides. For Kawai, and possibly for the majority of her students, the bridge ideal was a metaphoric alternative solution to the political tension building between Japan and the U.S. Furthermore, Kawai strongly resorted to her religious faith that purportedly solved any political conflict as well as

misunderstandings.

In 1934 Kawai wrote:

Without entering into a discussion of political problems or explanation of the events in Manchuria and Shanghai, the writer wishes to emphasize the difficult position in which Japanese Christians, and especially Japanese women, who are promoters of international peace and harmony, have been placed.⁷³

According to Kawai, such “promoters” were closely watched and severely criticized by the non-Christian advocates in Japan, as well as by the Christian community outside of Japan. Kawai declared that they were not without individuals “who [stood] firmly against war, and who work[ed] and pray[ed] for the peace of mankind.” Moreover, they were proclaiming that Christianity was “the only power to cement true patriotism with true internationalism, because the life-blood of Christianity is Jesus Christ, who by his Cross showed that love alone can save the individual, the country, and the world.”⁷⁴ In a similar note, in May 1937 Kawai stated, “Christian international fellowship is the only hope for the salvation of world peace, and to that end, I should be well taught and guided in order to escape from the danger of the blind guiding the blind.”⁷⁵

In Kawai’s mind, a Christian education seems to have been the ultimate key in realizing mutual amity on national and personal levels. According to Kawai, the basic principle of Christian education was spiritual, which she defined as “character, personality, a creative mind, a sacrificial life.” Furthermore, she declared that the very best and worthiest service was that of love which asked for no recompense and, being able to provide such service, purportedly stood for a truly independent life for any girl. Kawai was extremely critical of “many rich and educated mothers around [her] who consider[ed] any career except marriage useless and even harmful to their daughters” because “a girl who [wanted] to be self-supporting, or who [desired] to work outside of the home [belonged] to a poor class.” She continued to criticize “the timeworn ideals of womanhood” that women should be “good wives

and mothers and nothing else.”⁷⁶ Interestingly, Kawai condemned the interpretation of wage-earning to mean a woman’s independence and stressed that the spiritual basis was the most important element for independence. Evidently, Kawai viewed herself as not only a teacher but as an evangelist realizing the “foundation work for ushering in Kingdom of God on earth.”⁷⁷

In Kawai’s words, “[i]n these days pleas for international friendship and peace often sound hollow and hypocritical, if not visionary, when the daily papers [reported] facts and evidences of the rising tide of rivalry and war spirit both East and West.” She declared as follows: “you women of the West, we of the East, should remember that the smoke-screen is artificial and temporary, while the Sun of peace and love beyond the screen is divine and eternal.” Kawai concluded that if people had “faith in the ultimate victory of all good, if we [loved] and [served] God and our neighbors as Christ commanded us, surely international peace and goodwill [would] ultimately crown humanity.”⁷⁸

Kawai did not take a strong nationalistic stand on any particular issue dealing with international relations. It was not that Kawai was politically indifferent, but where the rhetoric of nationalism or any other political interpretation seemed to fall short, Kawai managed to substitute her faith and religious interpretation to make sense of what was happening around her. Her seemingly strategic reliance on the ideology of Christianity and transpacific network and resources fully served Kawai in pursuing her ideals in teaching girls and women during turbulent years.

notes

This paper is a modified version of part of my doctoral dissertation, “Besides the Letters of Transit: The Cultural Baggage and Identities of Transpacific Nikkei,” the Graduate School of Tsuda College (March 2010).

¹ Kawai interchangeably used Michi and Michiko as her first name. As for Keisen’s English name, in the past, the school has interchangeably used the following names: Keisen Girls’ School, Keisen Jo Gakuen and Keisen Jogakuen.

² See Keiko Kimura, *Kawai Michi no shōgai: Hikari ni ayunda hito* [The Life

of Michi Kawai: A Person Who Walked in the Light], Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002; Yoshiko Isshiki, "Internationalism in Michiko Kawai and her Faith 1-3," *Keisen Jogakuen College Bulletin* 3 (1991-01) 90-76, 5 (1993-01) 3-25 and 6 (1994-01) 3-17.

³ For the latest historical account of the Japanese YWCA see Japan YWCA, *Nihon YWCA 100 shi: Josei no jiritsu o motomete, 1905-2005* [The One Hundred Years of Japan YWCA: Seeking Women's Independence, 1905-2005] (Tokyo: Japan YWCA, 2005).

⁴ See Hisaaki Takeuchi, "Thought of 'Peace and Education' in Prewar Japan: The Formation of the Thoughts of Michi Kawai," in *The Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, University of Tokyo* 30 (1990): 43-52.

⁵ Michi Kawai, *My Lantern* (1939; Tokyo: Keisen Jogakuen, 1991), 31.

⁶ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 43.

⁷ At the time, Tsuda had recently returned from the U.S. having graduated Bryn Mawr College.

⁸ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 61.

⁹ The scholarship committee was headed by Tsuda. After Kawai returned from the U.S. she taught history, translation and English at Tsuda College. See Kawai's autobiography, *My Lantern*, 116.

¹⁰ JYWCA 2-31, *Tokyo Young Women's Christian Association, 1915*. The manuscripts obtained at the Japan Young Women's Christian Association National Headquarters Archives will be noted with the abbreviation JYWCA and call number. Some of the manuscripts do not have a title. Unless otherwise stated, the reports and letters written by the foreign secretaries are in English and they were most likely sent to one or more of the following offices: the National Board of the YWCA of the U.S., the Dominion Council of the YWCA of Canada, the World YWCA in London.

¹¹ See the Japan YWCA's mission statement in the magazine *Meiji no joshi* [Young Women of Japan] 4, no. 8 (September 1907). The title literally translates as "women of the Meiji Period." The English title of this magazine is provided by the Japan YWCA. In 1912 the Japanese title was changed to *Joshi seinen kai*, but the English title remained the same.

¹² See Japan YWCA, *Mizu o, kaze o, hikari o: Nihon YWCA 80 nen, 1905-1985* [Of Water, Wind, Light: The Eighty Years of the Japan YWCA] (Tokyo: Japan YWCA, 1987), 34-35. On May 12, 1906 the Japan, China and Portugal YWCAs officially became members of the World's YWCA. Caroline A. Macdonald (1874-1931) was a Canadian who spent almost her entire working life in Japan, performing a significant role in the establishment of the Japan YWCA. The expansion of the YWCA to non-Western countries brought her

to Japan. For a detailed biographical account of Macdonald's life see Margaret Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself: Caroline Macdonald of Japan* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995).

¹³ Yokohama YWCA, *Tokōfujin kōshujo gairan*, 1. In her autobiography Kawai mentioned that certain officials of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, whom she had consulted, approved of an investigation and promised to help in any way possible.

¹⁴ This shows that Kawai and other leaders of the Japan YWCA were primarily concerned with emigrants sailing to North America and not to Latin America whose flow continued after 1920.

¹⁵ For more details on YWCA's work with emigrants, see Mutsuko Yokota, *Tobei imin no kyoiku: Shiori de yomu nihonjiniminshakai* [The Education of Immigrants Going to the U.S.: Japanese Immigrant Society Read by Pamphlet Guides] (Tokyo: Osaka University Press: 2003); Kei Tanaka, "Japanese Picture Marriage in 1900-1924 California: Construction of Japanese Race and Gender," (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 2002); Kei Tanaka, "Japanese Picture Marriage and the Image of Immigrant Women in Early Twentieth-Century California," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 15 (2004): 115-138; Kei Tanaka, "Education for 'Picture Brides' in Early Twentieth Century Japan and California: Construction of Race and Gender of Japanese Women," *Shakai kagaku* [Social Science], 68 (January 2002): 303-334.

¹⁶ JYWCA 2-35, *Report of Mary C. Baker, General Secretary Yokohama, Japan, for the year 1915*.

¹⁷ When Christian notions enhancing the logic behind a worldwide sisterhood seemingly is the energizing force for the YWCA crusade, the missionaries' beliefs and words need to be accepted at face value. Although the religious drive and its rhetoric seem to be crucial to the identities of the YWCA and its secretariats, they will not be treated as an abstract set of philosophical positions.

¹⁸ Yokohama YWCA, Tobeifujin kōshujo [The Instruction Center for Women Going Abroad], *Tokōfujin kōshujo gairan* [The Instruction Center Guide for Women Going Abroad] (Yokohama: 1916), 1.

¹⁹ JYWCA 2-101, *Proposed Plans Y.W.C.A. in Japan for Following Six Years*. According to this source most likely produced in 1917, approximately a year after beginning emigration work at Yokohama, the national committee of the Japan YWCA proposed to bring in eight new Japanese and four foreign secretariats to be in charge of emigration work over the course of six years.

²⁰ JYWCA 2-37, *Report of M. C. Baker to the National Committee, 13th May 1916*.

²¹ JYWCA 2-47, *Foreign Association News, December 1916, Japan*.

²² See Yokohama YWCA, *Tokōfujin kōshujo gairan*, November 1916.

²³ See *Joshi seinen kai* 15, no. 1 (January 1917): 57.

²⁴ Japan YWCA, *Mizu o*, 68-71; JYWCA 2-30, *The Young Women of Japan, April 1915*. In 1914 the Traveler's Aid work was begun at Ueno Station, and later expanded to other stations.

²⁵ See Japan YWCA, *Mizu o*, 45-49. According to Japan YWCA, the main reason for the initiation of this project had to do with higher education for girls.

²⁶ According to JYWCA 2-100, *Report for January-April, 1919*, there were thirteen emigrant hotels in Kobe at the time the report was written.

²⁷ JYWCA 2-100, *Report for January-April, 1919*. A report submitted by Helen F. Topping to either the World's YWCA or the YWCA in the U.S., or to both. More than one page is missing.

²⁸ See Yokohama YWCA, *Tokōfujin kōshujo gairan*, November 1916.

²⁹ JYWCA 2-51, *The Young Women of Japan*; the English pages of the *Joshi seinen kai* 14, no. 10 (November 1917); Michiko Kawai, "Kawai sōkanji no raishin" [Correspondence from National General Secretary Kawai], *Joshi seinen kai* 12, no. 8-9 (September 1915): 441-448.

³⁰ See Michi Kawai, "Tobeisha no shiori" [Reminder for Immigrant Women], *Joshi seinen kai* 14, no. 6 (June 1917): 279-283; 14, no. 8 (September 1917): 436-439; 14, no. 9 (October 1917): 515-517; 14, no. 10 (November 1917): 565-568. The English title originally given to this series of articles was "The Foreign Etiquette One Should Know."

³¹ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 137.

³² See Michiko Kawai, "Tobei fujin wa seikoshitsutsu ariya" [Are Japanese Women Successful in America?], *Joshi seinen kai* 13, no. 10 (October 1916): 548-553; 13, no. 11 (December 1916): 611-615; 14, no. 1 (January 1917): 15-19; 14, no. 2 (February 1917): 77-80; 14, no. 3 (March 1917): 141-144. Also, Kawai "Tenshitō no ichinichi [A Day at Angel Island]," *Joshi seinen kai* 12, no. 8-9 (September 1915): 437-441.

³³ Kawai, "Tobei Fujin," *Joshi seinen kai* 13, no. 10 (October 1916): 548-553.

³⁴ See Kawai, "Tobeisha no shiori," *Joshi seinen kai* 14, no. 6 (June 1917): 279-283; 14, no. 8 (September 1917): 436-439; 14, no. 9 (October 1917): 515-517; 14, no. 10 (November 1917): 565-568.

³⁵ Yokohama YWCA, Tokōfujin kōshujo [Instruction Center for Women Going Abroad], *Tobeifujin kokoroe* [Tips for Women Going to the U.S.], no date. It may be estimated that this was published as early as September 1915 since Kawai referred to it around that time. See Kawai, "Kawai sōkanji no raishin" [Correspondence from National General Secretary Kawai], *Joshi seinen kai* 12,

no. 8-9 (September 1915): 441-448. There was possibly more than one version of the pamphlet with the same title.

³⁶ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 63-64.

³⁷ For example, Keisen's website (<http://www.keisen.ac.jp/>, accessed September 30, 2015).

³⁸ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 168-169.

³⁹ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 229.

⁴⁰ JYWCA 2-4, 1912 [1913?], *Report from Miss. Kawai*.

⁴¹ JYWCA 2-4, 1912 [1913?], *Report from Miss. Kawai*. Kawai was referring to a Japanese girl who had attended Kawai's Bible class for nearly four years and had recently participated in the summer conference where she decided to become baptized.

⁴² Michi Kawai, "Japanese Girls of Yesterday and Today," in *Culture through English*, compiled by the Christian Education Association in Japan (Tokyo: Aikusha, 1948), 26-27.

⁴³ Kawai, "Japanese Girls of Yesterday and Today," 29.

⁴⁴ Keisen Jo Gakuen Historical Committee, 68, English Pamphlet (1937).

⁴⁵ See Keisen Jogakuen, *Keisen Jogakuen gojūnen no ayumi* [The Fifty Years of Keisen's Progress] (Tokyo: Keisen, 1979), 26-27.

⁴⁶ This trip was probably made in response to an invitation from the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, which was an interdenominational program seeking a representative from Japan to speak on Christian activities in Japan. For more information see Kawai, *My Lantern*, 194-197.

⁴⁷ *Kashu Mainichi*, December 14, 1934; January 4, 1935. In California, under the sponsorships of the Japan-American Athletic Club, San Pedro Baptist Church, Pasadena Union Church, YWCA, Japanese Women's Federation and the Japanese American Citizens League, Kawai came into contact with the Nikkei community.

⁴⁸ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 200.

⁴⁹ See Ryo Yoshida ed., *A History of Transnational Education of the Japanese Immigrants in the U.S., 1877-1945* (Tokyo: Nihontosho Center, 2005) and Ryo Yoshida ed., *Transnational Education for Japanese American Nisei* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2012).

⁵⁰ See Keisen Jogakuen, *Keisen Jogakuen gojūnen no ayumi*, 158-159.

⁵¹ Keisen Jogakuen, *Kaiin meibo* [Membership Directory] (November 2001), 246-248.

⁵² Keisen, *The Nisei*, Preface v.

⁵³ Keisen, *The Nisei*, Preface v-vi.

⁵⁴ *Rafu Shimpo*, December 28, 1939.

⁵⁵ *Rafu Shimpo*, July 21, 1939; July 23, 1939.

⁵⁶ *Rafu Shimpo*, April 25, 1940.

⁵⁷ *Rafu Shimpo*, January 28, 1940.

⁵⁸ Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 143.

⁵⁹ Keisen Girls' School, *Keisen News* 23 (July 1940).

⁶⁰ See Keisen Jogakuen, Historical Committee, *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students* (Tokyo: Keisen Jogakuen, 2005). The book has been published in two languages, with English printed on the left page and the Japanese translation printed on the opposing page.

⁶¹ Keisen, *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students*, 6-8.

⁶² Keisen, *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students*, 12.

⁶³ Michi Kawai, *My Lantern*, 216.

⁶⁴ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 214.

⁶⁵ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 201. See also Keisen Girls' School, *Keisen News* (July 1935). Kawai visited sixty cities in the U.S. from Maine to California speaking on the activities of Japanese women along educational and religious lines.

⁶⁶ Historical Committee, Keisen Jogakuen, *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students* (Tokyo: Keisen Jogakuen: 2005), 20.

⁶⁷ Keisen, *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students*, 50-54.

⁶⁸ Keisen, *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students*, 94-99.

⁶⁹ Keisen, *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students*, 46-50.

⁷⁰ Keisen, *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students*, 102-103, 124-125.

⁷¹ Keisen, *The Voices of Keisen's Former Japanese-American Students*, 192-205.

⁷² JYWCA 2-107, *Report for May to September, 1919*, Helen F. Topping. This report was dated September 13, 1919.

⁷³ Michi Kawai and Ochimi Kubushiro, *Japanese Women Speak: A Message from the Christian Women of Japan to the Christian Women of America* (Boston: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions: 1934), 168.

⁷⁴ Kawai, *Japanese Women Speak*, 170-171.

⁷⁵ Keisen Girls' School, *Keisen News* 8 (May 1937). An article by Michi Kawai entitled "Outward Bound."

⁷⁶ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 226.

⁷⁷ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 227.

⁷⁸ Kawai, *My Lantern*, 202-203.