

Seinan Gakuin and Private School Education in Taishō Japan (1912–1926)

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ABSTRACT: *In Taishō era Japan (1912–1926), there were very few middle schools in the entire country. Though education officials in Japan were successful in creating primary schools and had achieved a 96% attendance rate, education ended for all but the elites after six years. As Japan entered the modern era, this weakness could not be allowed to continue. However, the Japanese government did not have the resources to establish thousands of schools they felt were necessary. Therefore, they encouraged the creation of private schools wherever possible. This article chronicles the creation of one such institution—Seinan Gakuin, a private, parochial middle school in Fukuoka, Japan. The establishment of this institution was important for the city of Fukuoka and for Japan because it provided educational opportunities that would otherwise not have been available and because it was later expanded and eventually became one of the finest universities in Japan.*

The education reforms instituted by the Ministry of Education in Meiji-era Japan (1868–1912) were thorough and comprehensive. No public schools existed before 1868, but by 1912 literacy rates in Japan were among the highest in the world and primary school attendance rates reached 96% (Japan Ministry of Education, 1980). By any measure, education officials were extraordinarily successful on the primary level and successful, to varying degrees, at other levels. However, education officials were not content with the progress made at the middle school level and sought out ways to provide additional opportunities for middle school students as Japan moved into the teens and twenties. All Japanese children nationwide were required to attend primary school. But there was no such requirement for children of middle school age. Indeed, many areas struggled to support middle schools and a shortage of facilities existed nationwide. With the encouragement of education officials, private schools emerged to fill the void. This article chronicles the creation of one such institution—Seinan Gakuin, a private, parochial middle school in Fukuoka, Japan. The establishment of this institution was important for the city of Fukuoka and for Japan because it provided educational opportunities that would otherwise not have been available and because it was later expanded and eventually became one of the finest universities in Japan.

The vast majority of students in Japan did not attend middle school in the Taishō era (Japan Ministry of Education, 1980). Indeed, middle school became the point

at which wealthy and ambitious students were distinguished from their peers. Middle schools were the first stop for students being trained for positions of leadership in society. Because financial restraints limited the number of schools each prefecture could support and since attendance was not compulsory, each pupil was charged tuition. Those with the financial means and aptitude could continue, but most could not. In spite of this, the demand for more middle schools grew stronger. During the late Meiji and Taishō eras, the number of middle schools grew exponentially. In 1890, there were 55 middle schools nationwide; in 1912, 313; and in 1925, 502. Despite the increase in the number of schools, they were still only for the elite. Fragmentary evidence suggests that one boy in eight attended and women were only allowed to attend schools for girls (Takenobu, 1929).

In Taishō Japan, there were four different kinds of middle schools: three types of full-time schools and one type of night school. The most common was the *chūgakkō* which was for boys only. It was designed to prepare students to continue in higher education. The school for girls was *kōtō jogakkō*. It trained selected girls to fill their role in society and emphasized domestic duties. Academic standards were lower for girls than for boys. The vocational school was called *jitsugyo gakkō* and “served the primary function of training young people to handle specific technical jobs that required more training than that offered by the elementary and continuation schools” (Supreme Command of the Allied Powers [SCAP], 1948,

p. 71). Night schools helped to continue the education of middle school–age children already working.

Private middle schools constituted a large percentage of newly opened middle schools in the Meiji and Taishō eras. These institutions were highly regulated by the government. Before establishing a school, permission had to be obtained from prefectural and city officials. In the Taishō era, many conditions had to be met. Half the teachers had to possess a government certificate to teach. Two thirds of the teachers had to be employed at one school only. There were to be two teachers for every fifty pupils and no single class could have more than fifty students. Buildings had to meet government specifications. Reading recitation rooms had to be adequately lit by natural light. Dorms had to be built with access to sunlight. Each school had to have a gym, school equipment, and extensive grounds. The Ministry of Education even regulated the location of a campus, though geographic requirements were not made public. Generally, buildings could not be located in an area “where the morals and health of the students would be adversely affected.” Suitable dormitories, agricultural training grounds, and residences for teachers had to be provided. The minimum number of days the school could be in session was 230 and the maximum was 250. Finally, the sponsoring organization had to have the Japanese yen equivalent of \$1,500 US in capital (an amount that today would be approximately \$600,000) in order to obtain government recognition. Obviously, opening a middle school was no mean task (Dozier, 1914).

Many obstacles prevented foreigners from opening middle schools for boys in Japan. Primary among them was latent Japanese mistrust of foreigners, especially foreign Christians. Japanese officials questioned the motives, finances, staying-power, and education qualifications of foreigners. However, American clergy working in Japan felt strongly that education was important to their goals, and in spite of the difficulties, they opened boys’ middle schools all over Japan. For example, the year 1875 witnessed the establishment of the first two boys’ middle schools opened by American Christians. In conjunction with Meiji Gakuin, a school jointly run by the Northern and Southern Presbyterians, as well as American Dutch and German Reformed Church, a boys’ middle school was first established. The other opened in Kyoto under the sponsorship of the Kumiai Kyōkai and later came to be called Dōshisha University. By 1912, there were fifteen Christian boys’ middle schools in Japan. On the island of Kyushu alone, there were four boys’ middle schools directed by American Christians (Dozier, 1953).

No Christian organization in Japan in the early part of the century was as well-funded or staffed as it would have liked. Most, however, had an abundance of well-educated men and women who understood the importance of education. Christian families in Japan, though few in number, had no choice other than to send their children to public primary schools where attendance was mandatory and religious instruction was not allowed. However, as boys approached middle school age, they were given choices of different schools. The opportunity to instruct the children of Christian parents in a Christian environment could not be missed. Even with insufficient funding and personnel, many began the daunting task of establishing boys’ middle schools.

Southern Baptists joined a well-established trend late. Because they were also initially late in sending teams to Japan, they opened their boys’ middle school forty years after many of their co-religionists. There were already nineteen boys’ middle schools in all of Japan and four in Kyushu by the time they began their boys’ middle school (Inglehart, 1916). Southern Baptists traditionally emphasized evangelism and preaching and deemphasized social or medical ministries.

The absence of a boys’ school in 1913 was unacceptable to Southern Baptists working in Japan. Harvey Clarke, on the field since 1898, wrote that, “our dependence upon other denominations to do this training for us has kept us in an embarrassing position for too long. It has classed us among the weaker denominations in Japan, while we are second to none in ability in America” (Parker, 1991, p. 84).

Southern Baptists had sought to open a middle school for several years. As early as 1909, they sent requests to their Board asking for permission and support to establish a boys’ middle school. In the 1910 report to the Southern Baptist Convention they wrote:

Our mission thinks it is high time for us to begin the training of our Christian boys and girls. If we are ever to have Christian character developed in our young people it must be done in Christian schools. If Baptist schools are necessary in America, how much more are they necessary in Japan?

(Southern Baptist Convention [SBC], 1910, p.208–09).

There is no extant record of the Board’s reply. However, because they asked again the following year, they must have been refused. A year later, the English language

night school opened as a short-term education substitute for a boys' middle school.

The 1912 Report to the Southern Convention again emphasized the importance of opening a boys' middle school in Japan. They used a different approach to persuade their Board: money and competition. The Southern Baptist seminary moved to Tokyo and was combined with the Northern Baptist seminary, leaving the facilities in Fukuoka to be used by the English Language night school only and then not very extensively. A portion of the report reads:

A first-class academy for boys in the former Seminary building at Fukuoka is an immediate necessity. We have thousands of dollars invested in this plant which is, except for its use for the night school, lying idle. We have an ideal situation and free field in the most central and important city of Kiushiu [sic]. Other missions would have begun work here but have courteously deferred to us. We cannot play the dog in the manger, and yet to sell out and resign the inestimable advantages we have here would be little short of folly. (SBC, 1912, p. 247–48)

Despite such an eloquent plea, their Board again refused.

They continued to apply pressure to their Board in an attempt to establish a boys' school. They voted to assign John Rowe, who served from 1906 until his death in 1929, the responsibility for forming an academy. He worked in this capacity until his wife Margaret, on leave in America, became so ill that they doubted if they could return to Japan. After Rowe left, C. K. Dozier was assigned the responsibility. Dozier believed that a boys' school was "absolutely essential" (Parker, 1991, p. 84). Dozier periodically corresponded with their Board and convinced the administration in America of the importance of a school.

Beginning in 1914, their Board began asking specific questions about the procedure for opening a boys' school. Dozier asked for \$2,000 to begin the process. They responded with queries about lesser amounts. It is clear from the August 14, 1914 letter that Dozier was well-informed about the difficulties and expenses of establishing a school. He even knew the going salary for teachers was \$15 per month for uncertified instructors and \$50–60 per month for experienced, certified teachers. He responded to their queries in this way: "there is no use to begin a school unless we expect to make it equal in efficiency and reputation to the government schools." It is clear that their Board had neither an idea of the expenses of such a school, nor of the importance of education in Japan. A lesser amount of funding would

not facilitate the establishment of a boys' middle school (Dozier, August 24, 1914).

Meanwhile, Japanese Christians and non-Christian residents of Fukuoka were becoming impatient with the Southern Baptists. Dozier had shared their team's vision of a Southern Baptist middle school with the residents of Fukuoka. There was only one other middle school in the city and non-Christians were therefore also interested in the venture. Nevertheless, their Board could not guarantee the funding. This discouraged both the team and the Japanese Christians in the area. One Japanese is quoted as saying, "Baptists are always behind" (Dozier, August 24, 1914). Undaunted, Dozier and the Southern Baptists continued to press their demands.

In the fall of 1914, their Board began to show interest in the boys' middle school in Fukuoka. They wanted to know the requirements for government recognition. The prerequisites outlined above constituted an impressive list. More importantly, a large number of the requirements had already been met or could easily be met in a short period of time by the team. The old seminary facilities could be used to house the school. Several certified Japanese Baptist teachers had expressed an interest in teaching at a boys' school. What was missing was \$1,500 capital.

In January of 1915, the Board sent a letter to Dozier giving permission to the team to found a boys' school. They sent \$1,600 as capital and promised \$30,000 for buildings. The Board specifically wrote, "the Mission will attempt to finance the school out of the appropriations already made for 1915, without calling upon the Board for any further appropriations for this object." All other expenses were to be covered by the team members themselves if any more were needed (Dozier, December 9, 1914).

The approval letter arrived in January, too late to get permission and open the school in April, the normal start of the new school year. The team voted to postpone the opening until April of 1916. This would allow them ample time to prepare the facilities, hire teachers, advertise for students and give them an entrance examination. The one year delay allowed Dozier to hire qualified teachers and lay the foundation for a fine boys' middle school.

The team voted to hire Inohiko Jo as principal. Jo was a graduate of Kyoto Imperial University and was dean of a government middle school in Kumamoto. Important to the team, he was Baptist and intended to enter the ministry full-time upon retirement from teaching. The Board approved of Principal Jo and thought well of the work of Dozier for suggesting him. Their Board also reminded Dozier to rely on the Japanese as much as possible stat-

ing, “we should work with this in mind always.” Sadly, Jo contracted tuberculosis soon after he assumed the position and was only useful thereafter as a consultant. He resigned in July 1916 (Dozier, August, 3, 1915).

In the fall of 1915, Dozier alone began negotiations with the authorities to get approval for the boys’ school. The process was long, detailed, and arduous and lasted into 1916. The education bureaucracy was so complicated that the team decided to hire a Japanese specialist to help complete the paperwork and to negotiate with the authorities. It took two weeks to make out the itemized list of holdings and requirements the officials needed to begin the application process. Dozier later indicated that the list need not be complete in order to get approval, only that the officials wanted to be sure the team had carefully measured the cost of a school. The only major obstacle they encountered was with the endowment. Private schools were required to use interest from the endowment to cover running expenses. The team only had a promise from their Board to send the money at some later, undetermined date. Since there was only one other middle school in Fukuoka (population 100,000), the authorities were anxious to see the establishment of another. They were thus very trusting and on February 7, gave temporary approval for two years pending the remittance of the \$30,000 by 1917 and the acquisition of more suitable land. A Ministry of Education spokesman wrote, “we would be glad to welcome another school if it would not fold up after a few years” (Dozier, February 9, 1916).

The team decided on a name for the school. It was to be called Seinan Gakuin, (Southwest Academy). There were already Christian schools in selected cities in Japan. One was named Tohoku Gakuin (Northeast Academy) in Sendai, and the other was in Kobe and named Kansai Gakuin. Seinan Gakuin would thus complete the line of Christian schools running from the North East to South West. After the team chose the name, they drew up a monogram and designed uniforms (Dozier, 1953).

The remaining task to be completed was finding students. This was not difficult because hundreds of students were turned away from the government schools yearly. At the middle school in Fukuoka, only 190 of 600 boys who applied were accepted yearly. Seinan Gakuin advertised in the leading newspapers and pasted posters in public places all over Fukuoka. The community response to the school was overwhelming. Hundreds of boys applied. Seinan Gakuin limited the age of prospective students to fifteen years. With this provision in place, the examination was administered to 119 students. The test must not

have been very difficult because 111 boys passed and 109 enrolled. There were eleven teachers, including Dozier. Later, after the opening of the school, others “begged to be let in” (Dozier, April 16, 1916). On one day in late April, over thirty boys were turned away.

The opening exercises for the school were held on April 11, 1916. City and prefectural officials attended and gave speeches. The governor sent a representative. The mayor made a “fine speech.” A brigadier general of the army was present. Administrators from many government schools attended. In all, more than 200 people were present. The team was pleased. However, the risk was great. Failure would mean humiliation and the loss of face for many (Dozier, April 16, 1916).

The school had hardly opened when Dozier began seeking funds to enlarge the facilities. In his letter to their Board announcing the opening of the school, he requested an expanded budget. Seinan Gakuin needed the \$30,000 endowment promised. Dozier, acting in his capacity as treasurer and temporary principal, also requested money to relocate the school. According to the provisions the government officials established for opening the school, the old seminary facilities would be sufficient for two years only. Even at the opening of the school, he complained about the lack of space (Dozier, April 16, 1916).

Seinan Gakuin was costly and continued to incur opening costs. The school asked for \$1,000 more in 1917 than in 1916. The extra money was needed to sustain the school, not enlarge it. Dozier indicated in his August 3, 1916 letter that after adding up the costs, no further budget cuts could be made. When their Board did not produce the one thousand dollars, Dozier became nervous. Dozier had assured the educational authorities that they would move and/or upgrade the present facilities. They needed to purchase land in time to build before the end of the two-year grace period. Dozier’s pleas for the promised funding became impassioned. In every extant letter to the Board for the next few months, he pleaded for the promised monies (Dozier, August 3, 1916).

After many months of searching for a Japanese principal, the trustees elected Dozier as permanent principal of Seinan Gakuin in February of 1917. Four graduates of Imperial Universities had been interviewed for the position. All declined the job. This gave Dozier the title as well as the responsibility of principal.

The promised funding from the Board had not materialized in the first year of Seinan Gakuin’s existence. The community recognized that it might never come. As a result, the number of students that entered the second year

was substantially lower than in 1916. Roughly one third of the students that entered in 1916 had dropped out. With only 75 new students entering, the total enrollment was 143. If new grounds and buildings could not be secured soon, the school would not survive (Dozier, n.d.).

Finally, in 1917, the property where the seminary had been and where Seinan Gakuin had opened its doors the year before was sold for \$13,000. Also, a special plea for funding Seinan Gakuin was issued at the Southern Baptist Convention in New Orleans. Money that was collected from this meeting was applied directly to moving needs. The Convention managed to raise \$6,000. With this money, combined with the money from the sale of the old seminary property, the team bought five acres of land just on the outskirts of Fukuoka in the “New West” section. They moved several of the old buildings to the new property and erected a new building. In January 1918, classes met in the new facilities. No mention is made about the disruption of classes. Ironically, walled defenses built to repel the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century were discovered on this property. Now foreigners owned the land (Parker, 1991).

The team eagerly sought to get government recognition for the school. Without it, the school would not grow and would never become a first-rate institution. Since recognition was contingent upon meeting most of the requirements previously listed, Dozier began the process of acquiring needed lab equipment and teachers who could instruct students in the use of them. This was the last remaining barrier to government recognition.

In the meantime, only a small group of new students entered the school in April of 1918. Including the new boys, only 174 attended the school. Getting government recognition proved difficult because lab equipment continually became more expensive due to inflation. The government raised teachers’ salaries. In order to keep up, Seinan Gakuin also had to raise salaries. The increases were substantial. The salaries of teachers who earned less than ¥30 per month were raised 20% and teachers who earned ¥30–60 were raised 15%. As Dozier related to T. B. Ray, “the cost of living was very much higher than two years ago” (Dozier, July 27, 1918). Financial struggles continued.

There is no extant record of how the team or the Board found the needed funding; nevertheless, the lab equipment was secured before the new school year began. As a result, the entering class of 1919 was very much larger and of better quality than all the years except 1916. Ninety students were admitted. This made for a total of 250 pupils attending Seinan Gakuin. Very soon after the

start of the school year, the Ministry of Education recognized the school, and Seinan Gakuin’s future was secured (Dozier, March 14, 1919).

Securing government recognition gave many advantages to graduates of Seinan Gakuin. Three of the most important were the postponement of military service for pupils, qualification for entering government service after graduation, and the privilege of taking higher government school exams. For teachers and administrators, recognition meant raising the entrance requirements and through that, becoming a more prestigious institution (Dozier, n.d.).

Seinan Gakuin College

No sooner had Seinan Gakuin secured government recognition for the middle school than Dozier began dreaming of opening a college department. The Japanese phrase *senmon gakkō* was most often translated in the Taishō era as “college.” These were specialty schools and most closely resembled American junior colleges. The course of study was three years. According to government ordinance, these institutions were to teach science and art of a higher order. They were also to stress personal character and general development. For most students, *senmon gakkō* were to be the last schools attended before entering the work force (SCAP, 1948).

In 1920, there were 100 *senmon gakkō* in Japan. In 10 years time that number would double to nearly 200. About half were private institutions, one third were government institutions, and the rest were controlled by cities or prefectures. These schools were designed to train skilled workers for industry. Many graduates would become technicians, plant managers, and junior engineers; others would go into commerce. Still others would become para-professionals in the fields of medicine or agriculture. Some colleges taught liberal arts, but most did not. Those that taught liberal arts were preparatory schools for the Imperial universities. Since enrollment in *senmon gakkō* was about three or four times greater than the Imperial universities, most students ended their studies there (SCAP, 1948).

Fewer Christian organizations operating in Japan had opened colleges than had opened middle schools or kindergartens. In spite of fewer regulations imposed on private schools at the college level, there were only seven Christian colleges in Japan in 1920. Aoyama Gakuin was the first to be opened in 1883 by the Evangelical Association, the Nihon Methodist Kyowai (both associa-

tions of unnamed Methodists), and another Methodist organization. The second was opened in Sendai at the Tohoku Gakuin in 1892 by the German Reformed Church of the United States. During the post-World War I expansion, Southern Baptists were to open their own (Inglehart, 1920).

Southern Baptists were quite happy with the hard-won success of Seinan Gakuin middle school. In 1919, plans for opening a college were some time in the distant future. Events beyond its control however, pushed Southern Baptists to consider a college department more quickly. The impetus for this acceleration was the threat of competition from another group of American Christians. In Japan during the early part of twentieth century, there was an understanding among American Christian organizations to respect the territory of other Protestant organizations. Indeed, there was a high degree of cooperation between most of these groups. However, American Methodists decided to open a higher school (college) in cooperation with at least one other Christian group in Fukuoka. Of course, the Southern Baptists were incensed by this breach of comity. The Unionists, as they were called, assumed that the Southern Baptists would surely support this venture. When they did not, and in fact actively fought it, the Unionists appealed directly to the upper administration of the Southern Baptists. They, too, instead of cooperating, were so offended by the arrogance of the letter that they became even more vehemently opposed to the opening of another school. T. B. Ray wrote on December 24, 1919,

Mr. Scott's [a representative of the Union School] manner is rather a condescending one in dealing with the enterprise you represent. He does not face the real [section illegible] and bases his argument upon the fact that they have a number of academies that will supply students to their Union School. The presumption is that you will not have students, even though you should found your High School [college] in Fukuoka and therefore, they would be justified in coming in. (Ray, December 24, 1919)

Immediately, Dozier opened a dialogue with the educational authorities concerning establishing a college. The Unionists had already been in contact with the educational authorities. Instead of the warm reception and encouragement he found when he began the process of opening Seinan Gakuin, the authorities suggested that he join the Unionists. The Mayor of Fukuoka said there was no need for two such schools. Nevertheless, in July of

1920, Southern Baptists voted to add a college and seminary department to Seinan Gakuin (Dozier, n.d.).

Five acres of land adjacent to the middle school grounds were purchased. Before building could commence on the college, Seinan Gakuin had to secure government permission. Not even one pine tree could be cut down without this. In order to get permission, the team had to have a \$40,000 endowment. On this occasion, the Board was able to allocate the funds. On February 17, 1921 the Ministry of Education granted permission to Seinan Gakuin to open the college department. This came with no time to spare. The first class of middle school students was to graduate in March. Only 28 out of an original class of 109 in 1916 graduated. Thirteen Seinan middle school graduates joined 17 others to form a freshmen class of 30 students (Dozier, November, 3, 1920).

Seinan Gakuin College had two departments: the School of Literature and the School of Commerce. The course of study was to be four years. Those who entered the School of Literature were preparing to enter the Seminary that was to open in 1923. For the first time in Seinan Gakuin's history, Dozier was not leading the school. He left for the United States in June of 1919 (SBC, 1922).

This study of the establishment of Seinan Gakuin reveals several interesting glimpses into Taishō era education and Southern Baptist goals. Southern Baptists sought to open a boys' middle school for two major reasons. Traditional forms of evangelism were not effective in Japan. Because of this, Christians in Japan could not find people willing to listen to their message. One way they could find people who would listen was to give them something they wanted: education. Another reason, and perhaps more important, was the need to prepare young Japanese men for the ministry. This was the primary reason given to Southern Baptists for opening a boys' middle school. They were in the right place at the right time to open a middle school because the community needed one.

In 1916, the state of education in Fukuoka was very poor. Only a minute percentage of the middle school-age boys had the opportunity to attend school. Before Seinan Gakuin opened, only 190 boys in a city with a population of 100,000 entered the government school annually. This was an extremely low figure. It is certainly understandable then that city officials would allow foreigners to educate their children, even though most Japanese officials thought the guidance of boys' education was of foremost importance to the future of the nation and should be led by Japanese alone. Despite official misgivings, the city was desperate.

The Southern Baptists were not just interested in establishing a school; they sought to establish a superior school. Although the Taishō period was relatively free of the suspicion of foreigners that marked the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) and some years of the Meiji period, most Japanese still did not embrace Christian ideals. American Christians working in Japan wanted a degree of respect and prestige they did not enjoy. One way to realize this was to build a first-rate institution that the community could not help but admire.

As Seinan Gakuin was struggling to attract students for the first years of its existence, it could not be very selective about the level of students admitted. Indeed, it admitted most students that showed even a small degree of promise. However, as it became clear that Seinan Gakuin would not soon close and after it received government recognition, it became more selective and usually admitted a smaller percentage but a larger number of students of those who applied. Table 1 gives more specific details.

By being more selective about admitting students, securing government recognition, buying new land, and building new and very impressive facilities, Seinan Gakuin came to have a superior reputation in the community.

Southern Baptists also sought to impress their Board regarding the quality of students at Seinan Gakuin. It is clear from the correspondence that they believed their Board would be pleased with the school if the best students attended. Dozier wrote in several of his letters that the quality of students would rise if Seinan Gakuin received the funding to build new facilities, secured government recognition, or had a better faculty. The graduation rate of the first class bore out Dozier's argument. Only 28 of 105 students endured to graduate five years later.

A natural outcome of developing a good reputation was the alienation of poor and less talented individuals. The Ministry of Education, city officials, the Board, the team working in Fukuoka, parents of students and prospective students, and Dozier all wanted a superior middle school in the city. In addition, people are most comfortable associating with those with whom they can identify. All male Southern Baptist missionaries not only had graduated from college, but also seminary. They were highly educated for their time and often came from middle class families. Designing a ministry directed at middle to upper-middle class students was thus natural to them. The Gospel applied to all, however. It was unfortunate that the poor were excluded from this most important ministry, yet Southern Baptist education mirrored the Japanese education system of the time.

Table 1. Percentage of Students Admitted by Year

Year	Number of		Percent
	Exam Takers	Students	
1916	119	105	93
1917	NA	75	NA
1919	NA	90	NA
1920	158	94	59
1921	320	120	36
1922	317	148	47
1923	270	91	34

There is some question about the ability to proselytize even within the confines of Seinan Gakuin. The government sought to control as much of the curriculum as possible and in an 1899 announcement, prohibited religious instruction during school hours for any government school and government-recognized school. Christians all over Japan did not take this seriously and continued to ignore the rule. The Ministry of Education became aware of this and in 1916, forbade religious instruction in any school building. In order to overcome this restriction, many schools built chapels just off school property and strongly suggested their students attend. This was all but required in most Christian educational institutions (Ion, 1993).

The rules applied to Southern Baptists as well. While the documents do not explicitly say that a chapel needed to be built beside the campus, implicit evidence does exist. Shortly after Seinan Gakuin moved to its present location and was awarded government recognition, Dozier wrote requesting funds for a chapel. This circumvented regulations, but it also kept their Board and the team happy and therefore allowed for the continuation of the school.

The best evidence of how well the school was received in Fukuoka was the promptness of government permission to open the school. While the process was detailed and lengthy, when all the requirements were met, the team opened the school. Also, because the city was so desperate, they even waived several regulations. At the opening ceremony for the school in 1916, many officials and dignitaries were present. By their attendance, they were sanctioning a Christian school.

Finally, the best way to gauge the impact of the school on Fukuoka is to look at the alumni roles. Some of the graduates of the first few years proved highly successful in the academic, religious, and business worlds. In 1925,

Sadamoto Kawano finished his course of study and eventually returned to become President of Seinan Gakuin. That same year Seizo Inoue graduated and later became a pioneer broadcast engineer and local historian. The following year, Kosaku Kase finished, became a successful businessman and eventually became President of Seinan Jo Gakuin (the women's school opened a few years later). The successes of early graduates were many and varied. Some others became newspaper publishers, professors, authors, wealthy businessmen, and theologians. A 1934 graduate, Masayuki Nagatsuka, even became the deputy mayor of Fukuoka. Most of the early graduates, however, became clergy. Several became President/General Secre-

tary of the Japan Baptist Convention. Many more well-trained clergy must have labored in relative anonymity (Seinan Gakuin Daigaku Dosokokai, 1992).

The Southern Baptists set out to establish a first-rate institution, to prepare men for the Ministry, and to train Christian men to contribute to the development of Fukuoka and Northern Kyushu. In this, Dozier's dream became a reality.

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