Japanese Feminism's Institutional Basis: Networks for a Social Movement

Early Japanese Women's Movement, late 19th Century Japanese History, Christianity, Institutional and Social Networks, Women's Magazine *Jogaku zasshi*, Women's Association *Tôkyô Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai*, Girls' School *Meiji Jogakkô*

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Summary

This article focuses on a certain phenomenon within the early Japanese Women's movement and seaks to interpret this specific according to a modern sociologist theory of network analysis. In the mid 1880's, for a certain time, a women's magazine, a girls' school and a women's association, all of them pioneers in their fields, built up a unique network community. The three institutions shared mutual goals and were committed to each other's activism; their common ideological base being Chrisitianity, the members of all three "institutions for women" had many things in common, like their views on education, or on the relation between men and women. Within the rather liberal atmosphere of the early Meiji urban society these institutions struggled to create and educate a "reformed, better" modern Japan(1), and for this commitment focused on women: girls' education and women's position in society and also in marriage were the main fields of interest for their activism. The specific of this network is the diversity of its members' personal relations: these were friendship and kinship relations, but also teacher-student relations, sometimes mixed with each other, forming a tight social network that was sustained over many years.

1. Introduction

This article depicts a specific of the early Japanese women's movement: the connections and relations between three outstanding institutions "for women" in the early Meiji period, and the unique accumulation of personal relations between the maintainers and protagonists within these

institutions that formed a singular social and institutional network. And, although this fact is in part already historical 'common sense'[2], the complexity of the network has not yet been described in full, nor has it been depicted as a specific that formed the basis of the Japanese women's movement. The institutions that formed this interlink are:

1) the early Japanese women's magazine *Jogaku Zasshi*,
2) the private girls' school *Meiji Jogakkô*,
3) the women's organization *Tôkyô Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai*.

These three institutions shared similar goals, and its members both leaders and supporters worked together on occasions of seperately but also commonly organized events or assemblies; they were not only personnally acquainted (in a friendship relation), but sometimes also in a kinship relation with each other. In this special combination the members of these three institutions formed a tight social network community. To stress the relation, or in other words, the effect of the social movement these three institutions contributed to, this article intends to focus on the importance of the personal ties and networks between the people involved in these institutions. The theoretical basis I want to place my assumptions here is the exceptional, multi-level approach by Diani/McAdam (Diani / Mcadam 2003) who in a joint research of sociologists and political scientists on the patterns and structures of social movements, tried to define various methodological approaches to this phenomenon in general. As Diani states:

> Few would deny that social networks are an important component of social movements. [...]Approaching movements as networks enables us to capture their peculiarity vis-à-vis cognate forms of collective action and contentious politics better than current dominant paradigms. Social movements[...]are distinctive because they consist of formally independent actors who are embedded in specific local contexts (where 'local' is meant in either a territorial or a social sense), bear specific identities, values, and orientations, and pursue specific goals and objectives, but who are at the same time linked through various forms of concrete cooperation and/or mutual recognition in a bond which extends beyond any specific protest action, campaign, etc. We get closer to a social movement dynamics the more there is a coupling of informal networks, collective identity, and conflict [...][3].

Diani / Mcadam use the term "interorganizational links" to explain the importance of various kinds of persons / groups and institutions / organizations who interact on the basis of a common goal, and stress the importance of various types of these linkeages. In his conclusive article Diani (2003: 306–314) gives definitions to each type that could be specified and analysed; and it will be shown below that the network complex depicted in this article applies to one of the densest type of network Diani sets up in his typology[4].

However, in declaring the network cooperation described in this article as the base for the Japanese women's movement and calling this the "institutional basis" of that movement, I do not

intend to imply that these were the actual beginnings of the Japanese women's movement, nor was this the beginning of a feminist discussion, or consciousness, in Japan. If one were to look for an actual starting point of a women's movement it would lie back in 1878, when the widow Kusunose Kita's activism gave a starting impact on the "Woman Question" (*fujin mondai*) becoming one of the top issues of the time and subseguently discussed both in the developing People's Rights Movement and in public media[5]. It was by this vivid Kôchi woman in her mid-fourties that the issue of women's suffrage came up as a practical claim staked by a woman, and not, as in the case of the early 1870's (male) intellectual discussion about women's status and woman's place in modern civil society in general brought up by the *Meirokusha* group – yet the first to start a feminist discussion in Japan. Yet, in the sequel of the publication of Kusunose's letter the question of women's suffrage was made an issue within the People's Rights Movement by Ueki Emori, one of the movement's leading theorists[6]. Kusunose had meanwhile committed herself to the People's Rights Movement and from 1879 on travelled around Kyûshû, giving speeches claiming women's right to vote. But it was in the early 1880's that the first famous woman activist appeared, challenging more than Kusunose the male dominated discourse on the "Woman Question", criticizing the male-dominated society and customs profoundly: this was 19-year old, highly educated Kishida Toshiko from Kyôto who was to become one of the leading women intellectuals of her time. She had joined the People's Rights Movement in 1882, and together with her mother travelled around Shikoku and gave public speeches on the "Woman Question"; she questioned, like Kusunose, the exclusive rights of men in society; women's traditional, "insufficient" education and their "locked-up" existence inside the house. Kishida was influenced by Western liberal thought, and is said to be especially inspired by Millicent Fawcett; therefore she saw at the roots of women's public exclusion their education. In the sequel, she took up the reform of girls' education as the key to achieving the "Extension of Women's Rights" (*joken kakuchô*) – a key phrase during this time of the early 1880's public discourse on women, as well as the claim for "Women's Reform" (*fujin kairyô*). These two catchphrases became the incentive to the three institutions "for women" depicted here.

2. The Women's Magazine *Jogaku Zasshi* (『女学雑誌』)

The *Jogaku zasshi* was the successor of the first modern[7] women's magazine *Jogaku shinshi* (『女学新誌』, 1884–85)[8], and carried on her predessesor's ambition to devise an ideal image of womanhood according to the ideas of its two editors, Kondô Kenzô (近藤賢三, 1855–1886) and Iwamoto Yoshiharu (巌本善治, 1863–1942). Both men were close friends since their studies under the Christian reformer and educator Tsuda Sen, were fervent Christians believing in the worth of education, and engaged themselves in the then up-to-date topic of public discussion: the Woman Question (*fujin mondai*). They committed their magazines solely to that end and drew an image of a modern Japanese woman freed from the bounds of feudal (Confucian) moral norms and who could develop more freely through a liberal education, find a stable psychological

base in the Christian belief and fulfillment in either marriage and family life, or in working for the good of the society, e. g. as a teacher.

In addition to his commitment of writing on women, as well as promoting women writers and women journalists access to the public, the editor Iwamoto, after the early death of his colleague Kondô, worked out a tight cooperation with the private Christian girls' school *Meiji Jogakkô* and the women's association *Tôkyô Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai (Kyôfûkai)*. This cooperation was carried out mainly by extended reports on the two other institutions in his journal on the one hand, and a close network of personal relations mostly within a small but active circle of predominately Christians[9], on the other hand. Like these, his belief meant to him a new attitude towards life in general, and a possibility for their personal development. And like most of the early Meiji period Japanese Christians he believed strongly in education and a personal commitment to the community in order to change society for the better. In Iwamoto's case – as this was too a specific of (mostly) American missionaries in Meiji Japan and the immense number of mission schools for girls they founded – girls' (and women's) education stood at the focus of his activities.

This meant for the magazine's contents a clear focus on various topics concerning women in general; and is to be seen most prominently in the magazine's name itself: *jogaku*, "women's learning", a name that stands paradigmatically for both Iwamoto's philosophy and his social commitment. The concrete meaning of this term created by Iwamoto himself is explained in one of the magazine's leading articles, *Jogaku no kai* (「女学の解」, *"The meaning of jogaku"*)[10], and could be sketched briefly as any possible knowledge of relevance for women, starting from women's history, women's rights, and girls' education. He believed that education had so far been an institution elaborated for men's needs only, and women's different specific needs have throughout history been neglected, and called for the necessity of founding a new education especially for women:[11]

> I will venture to explain here the two characters *jogaku*, and in doing so I feel the responsibility of pointing out what the *Jogaku Zasshi* hopes to achieve. [...] *Jogaku* means 'a science concerning women'. In other words, it is a science that investigates the principle *(dôri)* of all things that concern women such as their mind and body, their past and their future, their rights and their position [in society, N.W.], and all the things that they need at present. [...] But how come there is the necessity to found such a new science? I say: from ancient times on women have, sadly, been expelled from paradise and were forced to their annoyment to live in a world of darkness; that they have complained but their voices could barely been heard in the world of Light. In the old times there were surely many learned men and great politicians, but most of them have the human species [called] 'woman' *(josei to ieru ichi-jinshu)* set outside of their calculations, have not made use of their brains, have not thrown them into the scales of right, have ignored them completely and hardly ever taken them into consideration. [...] They have with their eyes only seen

men, and in their hearts forgotten the women[12].

The modus of speech in this excerpt is, as it is typical for this time and its literati – enlightened, educated people regarding themselves as educators and missionaries for the bettering of Japanese society – rather formal and "stiff". And yet the historical dimension of the author's consciousness is remarkable; according to his broad view of women's neglect his definition of the term "women's learning" is broad and fundamental, too.

Iwamoto's image of a "modern woman", or of womanhood in general, was that of an educated and emancipated (Christian) woman, in marriage being to her husband a loyal and equal partner with both intellectual and practical (childrearing and housekeeping) abilities. This ideal was explained by Iwamoto from various angles in the journal's leading articles like the one cited above[13]. The image itself is influenced strongly by Anglo-American Puritanism, and stood in sharp contrast to the at that time still predominating Confucian ideal of womanhood especially binding within the higher strata of society that demands that a woman obey and serve her husband and his family rather than propagating the free development of her personal abilities. In addition to this image of ideal womanhood in the *Jogaku Zasshi*, as a matter of logic followed the claim for the Christian ideal of monogamous marriage which meant at the same time criticism of the institutions of concubinage and legalized prosititution. Yet another new ideal being presented in the magazine was that of a harmonious (nuclear) family with close emotional bonds that was called '*hômu*' (after the English "home"), accompanied by partly open criticism of the extended families of the Japanese higher classes and their (Confucian) value system, the so-called *ie*. It was this combination of presenting a new ideal of womanhood and girls' education, marriage and family (life) that made the *Jogaku Zasshi* appear totally new to its readers:

> "Among all the things that introduced to the young women of that time the new Western culture and the discussion about women's rights in the widest sense of the meaning, the *Jogaku Zasshi* has to be mentioned. This magazine was edited by Iwamoto Yoshiharu-*sensei* of the [girls' school, N.W.] *Meiji Jogakkô* with devotion and enthusiasm; in it, women's rights, the abolition of prostitution and of alcohol, as well as girls' and children's education were being discussed; there were literary essays and poems and articles on housekeeping and hygiene – it is certainly no exaggeration to say that the complete new women's culture of the Meiji period has its roots in this magazine. Every time the *Jogaku Zasshi* arrived from vibrant Tôkyô at my house and I opened its red cover, the overwhelming scent of culture made my heart beat faster." (Yoshioka Yayoi)[14]

According to this focus the magazine seemed to serve not only to enlightening or educating, but sometimes also to rather "missionizing" ends: prominent figures of the Japanese Christian community like Uemura Masahisa, Tsuda Sen or Tamura Naoomi published their articles there[15]; the magazine held "prize essay" writing contests on selected topics – the participants were

mostly students of Christian girls' schools – and organized assemblies in the Christian community of Tôkyô – one-day symposiums with prominent speakers on topics related to girls' education or the role and meaning of Christianity in everyday life. In doing so the magazine together with its publishing company *Jogaku Zasshi sha* (managed also by Iwamoto) appeared as a sponsor for various events or assemblies for women's causes, private Christian girls' schools and the still young Japanese Antiprostitution movement.

From 1890 on the magazine focused more and more on the topic of literature, promoting young writers, both women and men, in publishing their works. The young Shimazaki Tôson, Kitamura Tôkoku and Kunikida Doppo had their literary debut in the *Jogaku Zasshi*, as well as the later famous woman novelist Miyake (née Tanabe) Kaho or the until recently almost forgotten women writers Shimizu Shikin and Wakamatsu Shizuko. Not only did the magazine offer and positively encourage young women – students of girls' schools like the young Tanabe Kaho, or women journalists, translaters or poetesses like Shimizu or Wakamatsu, in the possibility of publishing their works; but employed from 1892 on the main women contributors to the magazine as editorial staff; among one of the first professional women journalists was alongside Shimizu Shikin and Wakamatsu Shizuko also the former political activist in the People's Rights Movement, Kishida Toshiko.

3. The Private Girls' School *Meiji jogakkô*(明治女学校)

The founding of the private girls' school *Meiji Jogakkô* ('Meiji Girls' School') was perhaps the first common enterprise of the Protestant network community of Tôkyô; a successful one, too, as the school existed from 1885 until 1908 and, compared to the main body of the Christian girls' and mission schools founded in the early Meiji period, lasted relatively long.

After the Edict on Education, *Gakusei*, was pomulgated in 1872 declaring a compulsory education of four years of elementary school, a large number of especially private Christian girls' schools was founded – a development that continued until well into the 1880's. Many of these new schools were Protestant mission schools[16] directed by either American or British missionaries or, as in the case of the *Meiji Jogakkô*, by Japanese Christians. Prostestantism, after the suspension of the ban on the Christian religion in Japan in 1873, was in fact for several years the leading intellectual and spiritual force in the changes that brought Meiji Japan a modernization according to the model of the West. And the missionaries – mostly from Anglo-American or European Reformed Churches – regarded education, and especially girls' education, as an important factor for their mission work. So did their Japanese disciples, but combined their belief in Christianity being the "better" religion for a modern community based on equality of the people with the subjects of public discourse brought up by the People's Rights Movement: „Extension of Women's Rights" and „Women's Reform".

The *Meiji Jogakkô* was founded in September 1885, by an affiliation of Pastor Kimura Kumaji's (木村熊二, 1845–1927) private Christian school and the Sunday school for children led

by his wife Tôko (木村鐙子, 1848–86). Iwamoto Yoshiharu, who had just one month before founded the magazine *Jogaku Zasshi*, along with Tsuda Umeko (津田梅子, 1864–1929), who had just three years before returned to Japan and started teaching English at the Peers' School for Girls *(Kazoku Jogakkô)* in Tôkyô, as well as leading member of Tôkyôs Protestant community Uemura Masahisa, had helped in the founding of the school that aimed to be a truly Japanese Christian school, in contrast to the many Mission schools existing. Other public persons who helped in the founding of the school were Kimura Tôko's younger brother Taguchi Ukichi[17], an entrepreneur and journalist, and his close friend, the liberal publicist and politician Shimada Saburô (島田三郎, 1852–1923), a Christian who also was a frequent contributor to *Jogaku Zasshi*. This "school committee" rented a building, a former samurai's estate, in central Tôkyô's Kôjimachi district at Kudanzaka, near the new Yasukuni Shrine. Kimura Tôko became the school's principal, but after her sudden death in December 1886, Kimura Kumaji took over the post, together with Iwamoto as co-rector. From 1887 on Kimura Kumaji withdrew more and more from the school's management, and Iwamoto, though not becoming the official director until 1892, was practically leading the school alone. He put all his passion and effort into the school, striving to realize his ecucational ideals which he in theory had developed or had discussed in his magazine. In an early issue of *Jogaku Zasshi* Iwamoto had explained his discontent with the lack of possibilities for a "proper" schooling for girls, and wrote in the leading article *The necessity of girls' schools*:

> I think, if not first the methods of girls' education are settled, one cannot feel at ease about the future. [...] I do not wish to say anything concerning the system of primary school education. But apart from these, are there any public high schools for girls? And do the private girls' schools offer an education that is appropriate to the issues of the present-day *(yoron)*? What makes me feel especially sad, is the fact that all this is not the case presently; that [girls' education, N.W.] tends to be either the traditional education in Chinese studies, or Western Studies as is the custom in North America and Europe, and I feel deep pain for there is not yet a perfect girls' school *(kanzen no jogakkô)* that is able to educate the women of Japan[18].

This leading article appeared in fact a fortnight after the founding of *Meiji Jogakkô*, and it was followed by a detailed description of the newly founded school. Subjects of instruction at *Meiji Jogakkô* were English (taught by Tsuda Umeko), Chinese studies, Japanese and English literature (taught by the poets Kitamura Tôkoku and Shimazaki Tôson), essay writing (taught by the writer and journalist Shimizu Shikin), history, mathematics, science and geography, but also sports, arts, book-keeping, housekeeping, childcare and hygiene. As can be seen from this wide variety of subjects the school tried to give its students an overall education, modeled after Iwamoto's ideal of a broadly educated woman who was not only prepared for housekeeping and childrearing, but also for an economically independent life supporting herself as a typist, a book-

keeper or a teacher[19]. From the time of its founding the school experienced a rush of applicants with 45 students enrolling in the month of its opening[20]. The school rapidly became more and more popular, so that the directory staff had to rent space in neighbouring buildings, and finally moved the school building two times for lack of space. The students at *Meiji Jogakkô* lived in a dormitory together with some of the women teachers; every morning before classes started, Iwamoto would give a speech on various topics, and after classes there were many different joint activities carried out by the students, like literary circles or special events for the annual Christian celebrations, e. g. Christmas. Former students at the school reported on the unusually liberal and motivating atmosphere in both school and dormitory[21]. Famous graduates include the journalist and school director Hani Motoko[22] and the poetess Nogami Yaeko, a later member of the *Seitôsha* group around Hiratsuka Raichô and Yosano Akiko.

The personal link forming the social network between the magazine *Jogaku Zasshi* and *Meiji Jogakkô* was primarily represented by the personal union of magazine editor and de-facto-school director, Iwamoto Yoshiharu. At the same time, teachers at the 'Meiji Girls' School' often contributed to the magazine or eventually even took over leading departments or functions concerning the magazine's editorial work. The above-mentioned Shimizu Toyoko (also known by her pen-name Shikin) for example, a People's Rights Movement activist since 1888[23], moved to Tôkyô in 1890 and was through a Christian woman activist for the People's Rights Movement and leading member of the women's association *Tôkyô Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai*, Sasaki Toyoju (佐々城豊寿, 1853–1901), introduced to Iwamoto Yoshiharu and the Christian community of the Shitaya Church in Yotsuya, Tôkyô. Shimizu enrolled in the "Meiji Girls' School" and at the same time started to teach Essay *(sakubun)* there. From November 1890 on, she additionally took over a part of the editorial department within *Jogaku Zasshi*, and in that became one of the first full-time employed women journalists in Japan. Her first project was a series of interviews with politically or socially active women, but she also published essays on women's social and political commitment and on girls' education, as well as prose. Her novel "*Koware yubiwa*" ("Broken Ring") published in *Jogaku Zasshi* in 1891 made her a famous writer overnight[24]. Other teachers of *Meiji Jogakkô* like Tsuda Umeko or Aoyagi Yûbi, both English teachers, contributed also to the magazine. The latter, like Shimizu, became an editorial staff member in 1893, until in 1903 when he took over the editorship of the magazine from Iwamoto.

Not only did *Meiji Jogakkô* teachers contribute to Iwamoto's magazine, its students, as well as students of other (Christian) girls' schools, were also among the regular contributors to the magazine since its founding. The texts written by these schoolgirl contributors – most of them between twelve and sixteen years old – range from obvious school assignments like short essays or poems to free essays, translations or comments on current topics. One famous schoolgirl contributor was Tanabe Tatsu, or Tatsuko (there was no convention for women to add the name suffix *–ko* yet), later known as renowned novelist Miyake Kaho (三宅花圃(田邊竜子), 1868–1943)[25].

But the close ties between the magazine and the school can not only be seen in the journal's contributors, but are also apparent looking at the actual space news and reports about girls' schools occupy in the journal as a whole. As a matter of fact the *Jogaku Zasshi* reported in detail on any event or news from "Meiji Girls' School", like examination and holiday dates, special occasions like seasonal festivals, or listed up each year's graduates. Furthermore the magazine published this 'operational data' about many other Christian girls' schools of the time, as well as on the state-approved teacher colleges for girls *(Joshi shihan gakkô)*, and reported accurately on newly founded (or closed) girls' schools. The magazine therefore built up a unique information pool on girls' schools, and it might not be an exaggeration to state that the magazine strove to form a data pool on girls' education throughout the country.

4. The Women's Organization *Tôkyô Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai* (東京キリスト教婦人矯風会)

The second institution closely linked to the journal *Jogaku Zasshi* is the women's organization *Tôkyô Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai*, the "Tôkyô Christian Women's Temperance Association". This association is – as can be guessed from the name already – in fact the Japanese branch of the U.S.-American WCTU (*Women's Christian Temperance Union*), whose secretary, Mary Clement Leavitt (1831–?)[26], had been sent on a missionary tour around the world and had arrived in Japan from New Zealand in June 1886. She found herself warmly welcomed by the Christian community of Tôkyô, namely Tsuda Sen, Kimura Kumaji and his wife Tôko, as well as Iwamto Yoshiharu. Not only did Mary Leavitt stay with the Kumaji's, but was also invited to give speeches at various Protestant churches in Tôkyô, and was sponsored to travel through Japan to speak on the subject of temperance. Each of her steps was reported on in detail by *Jogaku Zasshi*, and some of her lectures and speeches were translated into Japanese and published in the journal, too. In the sequel, in most of the cities where Mrs. Leavitt had spoken on temperance, local temperance associations, "*kinshukai*", were founded. Back in Tôkyô, in August of 1886, together with Kimura Tôko and her Christian women's association of the Shitaya church, Mary Leavitt also initiated the founding of an official Japanese branch of the WCTU, and on the 6th of December 1886 the *Tôkyô Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai* was founded. This association, the *Nihon Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai*, still exists today and constitutes the oldest women's association in Japan. And although it listed some honorary male members (namely the four men who had helped in its founding: Kimura Kumaji, Shimada Saburô, Taguchi Ukichi and Iwamoto Yoshiharu), it was the first group to be organized and directed by women alone. The association held democratic staff elections, stated its members in lists, and elaborated the association's manifesto and its rules and regulations.

The association's first president was the Christian Yajima Kajiko (矢島楫子, 1833–1925), who together with the above-mentioned Sasaki Toyoju was one of the central figures in realizing Kimura Tôko's efforts to found a Japanese branch association to the WCTU. These two exceptional

women were the leading figures of the *Kyôfûkai* for many years. Yajima Kajiko from Kumamoto left her violent husband and was forced to leave her children behind, too, when she came to Tôkyô in 1872. At age forty, she started to attend a teacher's college. Working at a Christian primary school she became acquainted with an American teacher-missionary, and through her was introduced to Christianity. Both through her work and her belief she became deeply involved in Tôkyô's Christian community and was one of the leading founders of the *Kyôfûkai* association[27]. Sasaki Toyoju was, like Iwamoto's wife Wakamtsu Shizuko[28], a former student at the Christian girls' school *Ferris Seminary (Ferisu Jogakkô)*, and between the two women, though with different interests and reasons for their social commitment, were obviously personal ties. Also, Sasaki was politically interested and active; she was accqainted with Ueki Emori, had worked with him, and could later draw him to contribute to the *Kyôfûkai*'s activities for the abolishment of legalized prostitution. She held the posts of the association secretary and editor of its journal *Fujin Kyôfû Zasshi*.

In contrast to the American WCTU, the main field of interest and the activities of the *Kyôfûkai* were not so much in the field of temperance, due to Japanese social reality which did not regard alcohol as a source of social problems. The Japanese branch association rather took up the subject of legal prostitution and the custom of concubinage[29], since especially the educated and socially active Christians conceived this issue as a major social problem. But it was also one of the big issues of the time: Not only had the learned members of the *Meirokusha* group in the mid-1870's raised the question of monogamy and discussed it in their journal *Meiroku zasshi*[30], but also through an urgent case of the young Meiji government being compromised over the question of slavery and human trafficking in the so-called *Maria Luz* incident *(Maria-Luz-gô-jiken)* of 1872[31], did some prefectural governors, notably the governor of Gunma, set up a dispute to question the system of legal prostitution. After this incident all prostitutes became per law "free" persons, but in fact could neither escape their dependence on their employer, nor their exploitation through the system of debts to work out, so in effect their situation did not change. On this point of legal ambiguity the *Kyôfûkai* would concentrate all its efforts, striving to achieve a concrete situation via a legal solution, and so continuously issued petitions to the government to abolish prostitution by declaring it illegal.

In this effort the *Kyôfûkai* was supported by the Protestant community of the Shitaya church and the Christian circle around Iwamoto and his journal *Jogaku Zasshi*, which again served as an important medium for spreading the women's association's mission. Even before, Iwamoto had not only stressed in his journal the importance of founding a women's association, but collected and reported, as he did with the girls' schools, in detail on any women's association throughout the country. His sources of information being the major newspapers like *Hôchi Shinbun*, *Tôkyô Mainichi Shinbun* or *Chôya Shinbun*, he again created an information pool on women's associations, especially vividly carried out from shortly before the founding of the *Kyôfûkai* until the peak of its anti-prostitution activities around 1892. And again, as in the case of the "Meiji Girls' School", shortly before the founding of the *Kyôfûkai*, he published a leading

article on the newly founded women's organization he sought to support with all his might:

> We learned that shortly before, some committed women have assembled and set up a plan to found a women's association for moral reform in Tôkyô. More than forty women met on the 9th of last month in the assembly hall of *Tora-no-mon* and decided on the founding of this association, and appointed seven women to organize the founding, and therefore there is hope that the above-mentioned association will assume its activity in the near future. I have in issue No. 21 of *Jogaku zasshi* from April 25th published a leading article called "Mighty Women's Associations" *(Yûryoku-naru fujinkai)*, where I wrote that it was desirable for the women of Japan to join their powers and found one big women's association. Since then many women's associations at various places have been founded, like a "Women's Social Club" *(Fujin Kôsaikai)*, a "Women's Friendship Association" (*Joshi Shinbokukai*), or a "Women's Conversation Club" *(Fujin Danwakai)*. And although there is gratitude in my heart [in learing about such things, N.W.], I feel, in hearing that this "Women's Moral Reform Society" *(Fujin Kyôfûkai)* is going to be founded with the aim of reforming women's habits *(jofû)* and vowing to fulfil this task with sincere faith and eager persuasion, a true and great joy I have never felt before[32].

At the same time, later in the same leading article, Iwamoto integrates his personal idea of a "mighty women's association" (that being the title of a previous leading article in issue No. 21 of *Jogaku zasshi*) into his overall ideal of the promotion of "women's learning" *(jogaku)* and the "extension of women's rights" *(joken kakuchô)*:

> There are nowadays indeed many women's matters *(joji)* that ought to be reformed. First of all prostitution must be abolished. Next, women's rights *(joken)* must be extended greatly. A legal system that allows women to inherit [wealth and property, N.W.] must be established as soon as possible. Moreover, the wedding and divorce laws must be favorable to women. Measures for girls' education must be worked out thoroughly. Laws that regulate women's employment exchange must be set down in detail. [...] One must say that those committed to the education of Japan's women are now at the center of many things [that need to be done, N.W.]. Therefore, now is the time where the necessity of a mighty women's association is reaching its peak. The "Women's Reform Society" that is actually being established at present must be prepared to face this necessity[33].

Yet, not only did Iwamoto allow the *Kyôfûkai* space in his journal, or continue reporting on the association's activities and "lend out" his journal *Jogaku Zasshi* as the the association's quasi-organ, he also printed the *Kyôfûkai*'s two manifestos *(shuisho)* in the *Jogaku Zasshi*[34]. Additionally, he organized lecture assemblies where prominent members of Tôkyô's Christian community, and associated politicians (such as Ueki Emori) held speeches on temperance. As

it was not possible for a woman at that time to act as an editor, Iwamoto was also registered as the official editor of the association's journal, *Tôkyô Fujin Kyôfû Zasshi ("Journal of the Tôkyô Women's Temperance Association")* that was in fact edited by Sasaki Toyoju from April 1888[35]. In 1893, the *Kyôfûkai* affiliated with all its branches and the existing "Temperance associations" *(Kinshukai)* to found the nation-wide organization "Japan's Women's Temperance Association" *(Nihon Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai)*.

5. The sustaining personal network

As could already be seen above, the personal connections between the girl's school, the women's magazine and the women's association are concentrated in the figure and the activities of the editor-school director Iwamoto Yoshiharu. In his person are united both, the actual as well as the ideological goals of all three institutions, and he could therefore be called the heart of this network complex. Many of his friends, students and acquaintances supported not only him, but also knew and supported each other, and Iwamoto could also manage to integrate non-Christians who were not affiliated with either of the three "institutions for women", for example the politician Ueki Emori, into the network's activities. One typical example of a woman who, like Iwamoto, had an active commitment in all three institutions – the journal, the girls' school and the women's association – was the outstanding Ogino Ginko (荻野吟子, 1851–1913), Japan's first woman gynaecologist. In 1886, she was baptized by Pastor Ebina Danjô (海老名弾正, 1856–1937), one of the leading figures of Tôkyô's Protestant community. Alongside practicing as a gynaecologist, she also taught hygiene at the "Meiji Girls' School" and worked as the school's doctor, and additionally published on hygiene or specific medical matters in the *Jogaku Zasshi*, while also being an active member of the *Kyôfûkai* since its founding in 1886.

But the most striking characteristic of this "personal and institutional network" was the combination of friendship *and* kinship relations that contributed to the solid bonds between all three institutions and the Protestant community of Tôkyô. In the center of this complex network are the three families Yajima, Ebina and Yuasa. Yajima Kajiko, the *Kyôfûkai*'s first president, was an aunt of Ebina Miyako (海老名みや子, 1872–1952) who was married to Pastor Ebina Danjô. Ebina Miyako had studied at Niijima Jô's *Dôshisha* in Kyôto, where she was also baptized. After her marriage she moved to Tôkyô and became an active supporter of the *Kyôfûkai* where she was one of the association's founding members and held the post of treasurer. Her husband gave speeches at the association's special assemblies, and was also a frequent contributor to Iwamoto's *Jogaku Zasshi*. Ebina Danjô then again was a close friend of Pastor Yuasa Jirô (湯浅次郎, 1850–1932), who too had been baptized by Niijima Jô, and was a very active and successful supporter of the Antiprostitution movement in Gunma, where he held the post of Clergyman and, in the early 1890's, was, along with Uemura Masahisa, one of the founders of the YMCA in Tôkyô. Together with his wife, Yuasa Hatsuko (湯浅初子, 1860–1935), he positively supported the *Kyôfûkai* led by Yajima Kajiko – who was also Hatsuko's aunt[36]. The Yajima family was

apparently unusually liberal (taking into consideration the relatively high appreciation of traditional, rather conservative values held by old Kumamoto families like the Yajima's), accepting their daughter Kajiko back after she had left her husband in 1868, four years before she went to live in Tôkyô. Also, Kajiko's sisters Tsuseko (the mother of Ebina Miyako) and Hisako (the mother of Yuasa Hatsuko) allowed their children an unusually free education, sending their daughters to the renowned *Kumamoto Yôgakkô* led by the Janes couple to receive a western-style education, and to become baptized and study English. Hatsuko had since 1883 lived with her aunt Yajima Kajiko as a helper and co-worker for the administrative work at the "Sakurai Girls' School", where Yajima was employed at the time. In 1886, she married pastor Yuasa, and the couple stayed about one year in Gunma, returning to Tôkyô in 1887, when Hatsuko joined and supported her aunt again, becoming an active member of the *Kyôfûkai*. Yuasa Hatsuko, née Tokutomi, was also the elder sister of the journalist - writer brothers Tokutomi Iichirô (Sohô) and Kenjirô (Roka), both as well graduates of the *Kumamoto Yôgakkô* and *Dôshisha*. And to close the circle, the elder of her two brothers, Tokutomi Sohô, married the *Kyôfûkai*'s secretary Sasaki Toyoju's younger sister; and the young writer Kunikida Doppo, English teacher at *Meiji Jogakkô* and contributor to *Jogaku Zasshi*, married Sasaki's daughter Nobuko[37].

But also apart from these marital bonds between members of the three institutions and of the families involved in them, it is striking that the *Kyôfûkai*'s management itself "stayed in the family", namely in the hands of the above-mentioned Yajima and Yuasa families, for a leading member of the *Kyôfûkai* until well into the 1960's was Kubushiro Ochimi (湯浅初子, 1860–1935), a grand-niece to Yajima Kajiko, as she was Yajima's niece's (Ôkubo) Otowako's daughter, and a niece to Yuasa Hatsuko[38].

Conclusion

The editor, school director and passionate champion for the women's cause Iwamoto was not the only, but perhaps *the* central figure in the institutional network described above. His personal commitment is also an outstanding example of a phenomenon found often among Meiji Chrisitian intellectuals: he combined his belief with an active commitment and social work in the framework of the "Woman Question". Brought into Japan via literature from the West, this "Woman Question" was transferred onto the political stage by the People's Rights Movement and, after a period of theoretical fights, began to be put into practice by the Christian intellectuals and educators from the mid–1880's. Since that time, many smaller or larger-scale movements for the general expansion for women's rights began to develop. From the late 1880's, following the example of the pioneer *Jogaku Zasshi*, many women's magazines were founded[39]; and socially committed Christians achieved positive results in their work. Unlike Iwamoto, who as a pioneer of higher girls' education had to fight many years for the government's approval of his school, other Christian educators were successful in maintaining their schools and eventually received official status as a university. Tsuda Umeko for example, founder of the private girls' school *Joshi Eigaku Juku* ("English School for Girls") in 1900, received for her school, the renowned *Tsuda-*

juku Daigaku, the official status as a women's university in 1948. With the support of Meiji politicians, educator Naruse Jinzô (成瀬仁蔵, 1858–1919) who founded the Christian girls' school *Baika Jogakkô* (presently *Baika Joshi Daigaku*) in Ôsaka, founded Japan's first women's college, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkô*, which also in 1948 received official status as a private university (the present-day *Nihon Joshi Daigaku*).

Through the influence of Christianity, many aspects of Japan's traditional culture and value system had been questioned radically, and through the social commitment of foreign and Japanese Christian missionaries, pastors and educators these radical changes concentrated mainly in the fields of girls' education and the debate on women's status, women's place in society, and the role they were to play there *and* also in the family. The "Woman Question" in Meiji Japan was indissolubly bound to the questions of woman's place and role in marriage and family; Christian intellectuals and educators disapproved strongly of the traditional family order and the customs of traditional marriage, and propagated a modern family consisting of a two-generation family based on emotional bonds, de facto an import from the West.

Also, the complexity of the network described above proves that there was an organized movement for women's emancipation which formed a broad social movement developing in various fields of activism, e. g. education, temperance, or women's legal status. This network as has been described here existed with tight and, gradually over the time, slightly looser ties, for about twenty years. It began to dissolve slowly after Iwamoto's withdrawal from the journal *Jogaku Zasshi* in 1903 (and its final suspension one year later), and the closing of the "Meiji Girls' School" in 1908. Yet, as has been shown above, people who were involved in the network complex on a rather "secondary" level – as e. g. as former students of the girls' school or as short-time members of one of the three institutions rather than primary as its direct sustainers – carried on the basic community's ideas. As was shown, that was the case with Hani Motoko and her ideal of and practical work for a free and comprehensive education for girls, or in the case of Sôma Kokkô and her life also for the good of others / the community, in helping challenged artists and political activists. The only "surviving" part of the network is the still active and socially engaged women's organization *Kyôfûkai*. Yet, as it is the case with all historic entities, this organization is often being juged by researchers according to present-day measures, and is at the extreme end of the measure scale being described as a modest to conservative assembly of mainly middle-aged bourgeois housewives. On the other hand, feminist historians criticize the *Kyôfûkai*'s moral itself – acting immoral though claiming to be a "Moral Reform Society", criticizing the rigid stance it took in its fight for the abolition of legalized prostitution towards the prostitutes themselves. And although concerning especially this respect the *Kyôfûkai*'s value system proves indeed problematic and cannot be understood easily, nor approved of completely today, this organization took outstanding ventures in challenging Meiji Japan's legal framework so unfavourable for women, and could mobilize to an amazing degree "human resources" throughout the country apt to share their views and join their efforts for their social work.

Through this tradition of an organized, institutionalized movement, the *Kyôfûkai* still today forms undoubtedly an indispensable part of the basis to Japan's women's movement.

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(1) To clearify the rather difficult ideological frame, claiming "a better education", "a better position in life for women" was meant in the sense of "better than just pushing any Western "civilized" ideal, custom or law onto Japan and calling this "modernization", like it was the case with most of the Meiji government's policies and also with the efforts of many of the Western missionaries and educators. But also "better" in the sense of "better than it used to be in Tokugawa Japan, during feudal times", where within the higher strata of society (especially the warrior class) the relations between people, and in particular between men and women, were clearly defined and, compared to Western Christian Societies, neither liberal, nor free. Yet, within the circle of these three institutions depicted here there was an understanding that not every aspect of Japan's traditional culture was "bad" or "barbarian", as many Meiji literati and politicians tried to explain

(of course, so that their work of "modernization" according to the model of the West would be accepted more easily). And in fact, women's position in Tokugawa Japan was not so low after all apart from the corset of the Confucian culture. Cf. here the vast body of literature e. g. to comparative family studies (e. g. *Shirîzu hikaku kazoku*; published by Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1991n), detailed historical research on "women's issues" like e. g. the history of divorce in Japan (most recommendable TAKAGI Tadashi's study *Mikudari-han – Edo no rikon to onna-tachi*, Tôkyô, Heibonsha, 1999), or gender-focused historical research like ÔGUCHI Jirô (ed.): *Onna no shakaishi – ie to jendâ o kangaeru* (Tôkyô, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2001), UJIIE Mikito et al. (eds.): *Nihon kindai kokka no seiritsu to jendâ* (Tôkyô, Kashiwa shobô, 2003), or OCHIAI Emiko (ed.): *Tokugawa Nihon no raifukôsu – rekishi jinkôgaku to no taiwa* (Kyôto, Minerva shobô, 2006).

(2) For the vast body of research in Japanese cf. e. g. NOHEJI 1984, FUSHIMI 1984, and KANEKO 1999, who describes the kinship relations of the Yajima and Tokutomi families (ibid., pp. 66–87). However, Western scholars hardly ever worked on the beginnings of the Japanese women's movement; apart from the substantial work by Sharon Sievers (SIEVERS 1983), and a solid but not very detailed description by Vera Mackie (MACKIE 2003). Especially American researchers focus on the Bakumatsu and early Meiji periods: James Huffman examines the history of Japanese media (James HUFFMAN (1997): *Creating a public. People and press in Meiji Japan*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press), Anne Walthall describes the political activism of the famous poetess-activist Matsuo Taseko – an until then almost unknown figure of modern Japanese history in the West (Anne WALTHALL: *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman – Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration*, Chicago, The University of Chigaco Press, 1998); and Rebecca Copeland works on the almost-forgotten Meiji poetesses Wakamatsu Shizuko, Shimizu Shikin and Miyake Kaho (COPELAND 2000) – all three of them starting their literary career in the women's magazine *Jogaku zasshi*.

(3) Cf. DIANI / MCADAM 2003: 301.

(4) Cf. DIANI / MCADAM 2003: 307–313. Diani gives the "movement clique" ("a decentralized, reticulate network, where all nodes are adjacent to each other"), "policephalous movements" ("a centralized, segmented structure"), "centralized, nonsegmental networks" ("a wheel-shaped network"), and "segmented, decentralized networks" ("a largely atomistic style of action [...], difficult even to think of a network in this case"); arranged in the order of decreasing density of the network. There might be more patterns possible especially between the two high density types of network; and in fact I doubt the network I am depicting in this article should be classified in the densest type of network, the "movement clique" – but in fact that definition is the closest to it.

(5) There is not much research on Kusunose Kita (楠瀬喜多, 1833–1920), but her famous letter of complaint is printed in the material collection *Nihon Fujin Mondai Shiryô Shûsei* (Tôkyô: Domesu shuppan, 1988ff). Sumiya Etsuji gives a brief but sustaining biography (SUMIYA Etsuji: *Jiyû minken josei senkusha – Kusunose Kita, Kishida Toshiko, Kageyama Hideko*; Kyôto: Bunseidô, 1948). Kusunose Kita had written a letter to the prefectural government in Kôchi in september 1878, where she complained that since she was a widow and being officially the head of the household *(koshu)* she was required to pay taxes, but was not allowed to vote at the communal level, a right that male heads of the household were granted. Her letter caused something of a sensational uproar and was printed in newspapers nation-wide, and although she gained the support of some politicians, one prominent figure being Ueki Emori, finally her claim was turned down. This incident however gave grounds to a starting discussion on women's rights and women's legal position in general within the framework of the new Meiji state – the supporters of an egalitarian position being the minority, however. Cf. MITSUI 1963: 15 for the depiction of an argument in a parliamentarian's meeting on the case "Kusunose Kita"; or SOTOZAKI 1986 and 1963.

(6) For Ueki's feminism see e. g. Mitsuhiro SOTOZAKI (1976): *Ueki Emori to onna-tachi* (Tôkyô, Domesu shuppan).

(7) Since the mid-Tokugawa period there existed a vast variety of so-called *jokunmono* (女訓物), that served predominantly the moral education of women, and in which the at that time ideal image of womanhood and its values were being conveyed. At the same time these small booklets also gave practical information on women's healthcare during pregnancy or on economical housekeeping (cf. e.g. KUWABARA 1990).

(8) For a more detailed description of both magazines cf. WELLHÄUßER 2004; for the *Jogaku shinshi* there is so far no further research published in English and also hardly any in Japanese, as it is mostly cited only in connection with *Jogaku zasshi*.

(9) These Christians were for the most part members of a not further specified Reformed Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Church or the Methodist Church. Only in the case of very prominent persons of the Meiji period is it known which church they belonged to; e. g. Niijima Jô's belief was Congregational, Nakamura Masanao's Methodist, or Uchimura Kanzô – before he founded the Non-church movement (*Mukyôkai undô* 無教会運動) – and Nitobe Inazô were baptized Methodist-Episcopalian.

(10) It is the leading article of issue No. 111 of *Jogaku zasshi*, dated May 26th, 1888.

(11) For a precise explanation of Iwamoto's idea of *jogaku* cf. NOHEJI 1984: 103–122.

(12) Iwamoto Yoshiharu: *Jogaku no kai*, in *Jogaku Zasshi* (JZ) No. 111, 26th of May, 1888, pp. 1–2. All citations, if not noted otherwise, have been translated by the author of this article who sought to stick as closely as possible to the stiff and formal style of expession. It is an interesting detail that Iwamoto uses here the "(world of) light-dark" metaphors to explain his idea of the historical neglect of women by men – the very same metaphor that Hiratsuka Raichô would use in her most famous poem "*Genshi, josei wa taiô de atta*" ("*In the beginning, woman was the sun*") as an opening poem-motto for her newly found journal *Seitô (Bluestocking)* nearly 25 years later, in 1911.

(13) To illustrate this just a brief selection of his leading articles' titles shall be given here: *The necessity of girls' schools* (JZ No. 4, Sept. 10th , 1885); *Advice fot mothers, and on raising a child with love* (JZ No. 14, 15, Feb. 5th, 15th, 1886); *Women and Christianity* (JZ No. 36, 38, 39, Sept. 25th – Oct. 25th, 1886); *Women's participation in politics and higher girls' education* (JZ No. 43, Dec. 5th, 1886); *The Women's Question* (JZ No. 55, March 12th, 1887); *To the wives* (JZ No. 78, Oct. 1st, 1887). Iwamoto is interpreted in present-day research as the founder of the *ryôsai kenbo* ("Good wife and wise mother")-ideal; yet his view on women was far more complex, as can be seen only from this short list of titles of leading articles in the early years of *Jogaku zasshi* until 1887. Of course, when the political atmosphere in the country grew more and more nationalistic and conservative following the proclamation of the constitution in 1890, Iwamoto, too, gradually narrowed his formerly broad and open view and showed a growing tendency to stress woman's role within the family, as a wife and mother. Nevertheless, his early idea of an equal participation of women in society should not be forgotten, nor be underestimated. Kiyoe Noheji, an expert on *Jogaku Zasshi* and its editor Iwamoto, states clearly: "The feudal and nationalistic idea of *ryôsai kenbo*, against which Iwamoto had fought with all his might, eventually became the main stream idea in girls' education and became a powerful [educational goal, N.W.], whether people wanted it or not" (NOHEJI 1984: 156).

(14) Yoshioka Yayoi (吉岡弥生, 1871–1959) was born into a medical doctor's family in Shizuoka, and with the support of her father, from 1889 on visited a private medical school in Tôkyô. After her graduation she obtained the medical license, but first continued her studies at the Medical school *Shisei gakuin* where she met her future husband, the school's director with whom she worked for women's promotion to medical studies. In 1900, facing a new ban on women students at medical schools, she founded a women's department

within her husband's *Shisei gakuin*, the "Tôkyô School for Women Doctors" (*Tôkyô joi gakkô*), which was at that time the only school that would accept women medical students, and which gained official college status in 1912. For her biography see e.g. KANZAKI Kiyoshi: *Gendai fujin den* (Tôkyô, 1940), pp. 107–274, from where the citation above is from (ibid., p. 145).

(15) Uemura Masahisa (植村正久, 1857–1925) was not only a leading Christian of the time, but also an influential intellectual and literate (cf. esp. the 7-volume collection *Uemura Masahisa to sono jidai*, ed. by SABA Wataru (Tôkyô: Kyôbunkan: 1937–1938, 1967, 1976). Tamura Naoomi (田村直臣, 1858–1935) was a protestant pastor and gained unhappy celebrity through his essay *The Japanese Bride* (*Nihon no hanayome*), 1892, a harsh critique of traditional Japanese marriage practices that caused him life-long suspension from his profession as a clergyman. Tsuda Sen's (津田仙, 1837–1908) vivid interest in girls' education found its most prominent expression in sending his 7-year-old daughter Umeko to live with a host family in the U.S.A., and among the many girls' schools he helped to establish he also founded the girls' branch of the Aoyama Gakuin in 1878. He was also an active supporter of the Japanese Antiprostitution movement and committed himself to the education of blind and speech-impaired people.

(16) Most of these Mission schools evolved from private Sunday schools or language schools the Christian missionaries had established, and many of them were to last long, until today, as is the case e. g. with Tôkyô's Rikkyô University or the renowned Aoyama Gakuin Daigaku, Yokohama's Kyôritsu Women's University and Ferris University, or with the women's college Kôbe Jogakuin. Many of these early Mission schools for girls gained in late Meiji or early Taishô the semi-official status as a "normal school for girls" (*jogakkô*), before becoming state-approved (women's) universities. However, at about the same time, through the advice of the American David Murray (1830–1905), one of the official foreign advisors employed in the Ministry of Education (*Monbushô*), the Meiji government in 1874 started to establish teachers's colleges for girls (*joshi shihan gakkô*) in every prefecture. Overall, possibilities and institutions for a modern girls' education enlarged significantly since the mid 1870's. However, due to tution fees and the general custom especially in rural areas to not educate the daughters (as their task was to marry and be working housewives and farmwomen), girls' school attendance in general did not rise until the early 1920's. Cf. here the detailed study on the development of the Japanese schooling system and the school attendance as a case study of two primary schools in Tôkyô by Masakatsu ÔKADO (2000), *Minshû no kyôiku keiken* (Tôkyô, Aoki shoten).

(17) Taguchi Ukichi (田口卯吉, 1855–1905) had in 1879 founded the first economics magazine in Japan, *Tôkyô Keizai Zasshi*, modeled after the British *Economist*. He held a debate with Iwamoto (printed in both magazines, *Tôkyô Keizai Zasshi* and in *Jogaku Zasshi*) on Iwamoto's ideal of "women's learning" – the so-called "*jogaku ronsô*" ("Debate on [the term] *jogaku*") in May and June 1888. Taguchi was not baptized, but had for a time been interested in Christianity; and had due to the close relations to his brother-in-law Kimura Kumaji, relatively good connections to the Protestant community of Shitaya.

(18) Iwamoto Yoshiharu: *Jogakkô no hitsuyô*, in *Jogaku Zasshi* (JZ) No. 4, 9th of October, 1885, pp.62–63. In this short quotation one can already grasp an important factor in Iwamoto's educational ideal: to establish a "purely Japanese-style Christian" education for girls. He appreciated the Western influences and himself was a committed reader of Western liberal thought (Mill, Fawcett) and esp. German pedagogics (Fröbel, Pestalozzi). Yet he believed firmly that there were elements in Japanese culure that were worth keeping, and should be combined with selected "good" elements from the Western culture, like e. g. Christianity. Consequently, Iwamoto was a fervent critic of the broad, unquestioned acceptance of *any* kind of Western influence, and the often thoughtless abandonment of Japanese traditions rival to the new Western influences, at was a common attitude among many Meiji decision-makers and politicians.

(19) In the early 1890's Iwamoto founded a separate branch of the *Meiji Jogakkô* where more practical job

training education for typists and book-keepers would be carried out. This branch of *Meiji Jogakkô* was, unlike the school itself, acknowledged by the government and the graduates from this school could actually find work; however, as for teacher training there was no authorization by the state and graduates could not obtain official teaching certificates.

(20) *Jogaku Zasshi* No. 18 (March 15th, 1886): *'Meiji Jogakkô'*, rubric „News" (*Shinpô*).

(21) One former student of *Meiji Jogakkô*, the writer and café owner Sôma Kokkô (相馬黒光, 1876–1955) describes the atmosphere at the school very vividly in her autobiography (cf. Sôma Kokkô: *Mokui – Meiji Taishô ki bungaku kaisô*, Tôkyô: Hôsei daigaku shuppankyoku, 1961). After her graduation, Sôma Kokkô also worked at the school as a teacher for a time. The figure of Sôma Kokkô is actually a very interesting example for the many graduates of *Meiji Jogakkô* who – presumably because of the special ecucation they received – led quite unusual, independent lives and committed themselves to various kinds of social activities. After her marriage together with her husband she opened a bakery-café in Tôkyô, the famous and still-existing *Shinjuku Nakamura-ya*; she was interested in literature and among her guests in the café were many literati. In holding special assemblies she founded her famous "Nakamura Salon". Also she hosted and protected the activist of the Indian independence movement, Rash Behari Bose (1886–1945), who later married her eldest daughter Toshiko, and the blind Russian poet Vasilij Erosxenko (1890–1952). Besides, Sôma Kokkô was a niece of Sasaki Toyoju, an active member of the Protestant community in Tôkyô and a friend of Iwamoto. Fujita 1984: 155–202, dedicates a chapter to her in his comprehensive study on *Meiji Jogakkô*.

(22) Hani Motoko (羽二もと子, 1873–1957) was a Christian, and is famous for being one of the first women journalists – she was a regular full-time staff member of the *Hôchi shinbun* company – as well the founder of the still existing women's magazine *Fujin no tomo* in 1908. She combined, like many Meiji Christians, an individual life with quite harsh breaks in between, sustained by a fervent belief in her social commitment on which she always focused. In 1921, together with her husband who was also a journalist, she founded the private girls' school *Jiyû gakuen* where the couple offered a unique place for girls' education.

(23) Like Kishida Toshiko and her close friend Fukuda (Kageyama) Hideko before, Shimizu travelled the Kansai Region and gave speeches on the political participation of women. She was acquainted with the leading People's Rights Movement activist-theorist Ueki Emori and wrote, along with 12 other – at the time apparently the most prominent – politically active women, of whom today are known as "famous" only Kishida Toshiko and Sasaki Toyoju, one of the forewords to his book *"Tôyô no fujo"* ("The Women of the Orient") which was published in 1889. During the editorial work for the book's publishing, Shimizu became acquainted with Sasaki Toyoju, later one of the leading figures of the women's association *Fujin Kyôfûkai*.

(24) This novel is published in the series *Shisô no umi* e, in vol. 20, *Ai to sei no jiyû – 'ie' kara no kaihô*, ed. By Esashi Akiko, Tôkyô, Shakai hyôronsha, 1989, pp. 20–33; as well as in Shikin's collected works, *Shikin zenshû*, edited by her son Kozai Yoshishige (Tôkyô, Sôdo bunka, 1983).

(25) For Miyake Kaho, see Copeland 2000: 52–98.

(26) The exact dates concerning Mary Leavitt are not clear. In issue No. 58 of *Jogaku Zasshi* from April 2nd, 1887, a relatively detailed biography of Mary Leavitt is noted, and the date of her birth is given. Ruth Bordin states that for her missionary work to spread the idea of temperance throughout the world, Mary Leavitt traveled 43 countries in seven years, being supposedly the most travelled woman of her time. In 1891 she returned to the U.S. and was made honorary president of the *World Women's Christian Temperance Union* (cf. Bordin 1990: 88).

(27) A short biography of Yajiima Kajiko is written in *Nihon Fujin Kyôfûkai Hyakunenshi*, pp. 87–90. Her colleague and friend, the missionary Mary True (1840–1896), was a very committed and active pastor's

widow in the Christian community of Kyôbashi. Yajima worked with her for many years at the *Shinsakae* mission school for girls that later merged with the "Sakurai Christian Girls' School" (*Sakurai Jogakkô*). This "Sakurai Girls' School" was located in Tôkyô's Kôjimachi district and therefore close to the Christian community of Kimura Kumaji's and Iwamoto's *Meiji Jogakkô*. This would have been one of the factors of how Yajima became acquainted with the Protestant community of the Shitaya Church. Yajima's baptism was in 1879 in the Shinsakae Church in Kyôbashi, at the time when she worked as head of the dormitory of *Shinsakae Jogakkô*, directed by Mary True.

(28) This notable woman does not deserve to appear only in a footnote, but due to given limitations to this article I will refer to my previous article on women literati (WELLHÄUßER 2004), and to the study of Rebecca Copeland on women writers of Meiji Japan (COPELAND 2000). Here, I wanted to mention Wakamatsu Shizuko because of the personal ties between her and Sasaki, another important piece to the jigsaw puzzle on personal relations within Tôkyô's Protestant community.

(29) Concubines were not only registered in the *koseki* household register directly after the legal wife, but also their children would be legal heirs to the family property. That law was abolished in 1913, but the custom of taking in concubines would continue in the upper strata of society; with the escape route of registering a concubine now as an adopted daughter, instead of a "second wife". The writer Enchi Fumiko gives a moving description of such a family and the trouble and pain of a wife being forced to endure this kind of family life in her novel *Onnazaka*, where the protagonist had to choose her husband a concubine who was to live with the family, officially serving as a maid ("The Waiting Years", translated by John BESTER, Tôkyô, Kôdansha, 1971).

(30) Notably in the articles *Saishôron* (「妻娼論」, "*On wives and prostitutes*") by Mori Arinori, published from May 1874 to May 1875, and Tsuda Mamichi's article *Haishôron* (「廃娼論」, "*On the abolition of prostitutes*") from the October 1875 issue of the journal (founded in March 1874). Cf. here especially the profound research by William R. BRAISTED (1976): *Meiroku Zasshi, Journal of Japanese Enlightenment*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, University of Harvard Press.

(31) This famous incident is noted in many sources of Meiji (women's) history, cf. e. g. MITSUI 1963: 7 (who gives the name of the ship as「マリア・ルイズ」or「マリア・ルス」), TANAKA 1975: 83n, or SIEVERS 1983: 13n.

(32) Iwamoto Yoshiharu: *Fujin Kyôfûkai*, in *Jogaku Zasshi* (JZ) No. 41, 15th of November, 1886, p. 1. The assembly hall of Tora-no-mon belonged to the Protestant church *Tora-no-mon kyôkai*.

(33) Op. cit., p. 2.

(34) The two manifestos were published with about a year's difference between them; the first most likely being written by the association's secretary, Sasaki Toyoju, and the second signed with Yajima Kajiko's name, being apparently the official one. Other media than *Jogaku Zasshi* like the *Chôya shinbun* published this second manifesto, too. Both manifestos are printed in *Nihon Kirisutokyô Fujin Kyôfûkai Hyakunenshi*, pp. 50–55.

(35) This journal was reprinted by the publisher Fuji Shuppan in 1958, and still continues today. Kyôto's Dôshisha University, as well as Kyôto's communal '*Women and Youth Center "Wings"*' (*Wings Josei to Seinen Sentâ*) for example hold this magazine with all its backnumbers.

(36) Yuasa Hatsuko and Ebina Miyako were the daughters of different sisters of Yajima, being the second eldest daughter out of nine children of the Yajima family. Hatsuko's mother was Yajima's younger sister Hisako (fourth daughter), and Miyako's mother was Yajima's younger sister Tsuseko, the Yajima family's third daughter.

(37) Concerning Sasaki Nobuko, the novelist Arishima Takeo left a memorial for her in his novel *Aru Onna* (1919, "A Certain Woman", translated into English by Kenneth STRONG (Tôkyô, Tôkyô University Press,

1978).

(38) For an overview over the extended Yajima family cf. KANEKO 1999: 68. Yajima Kajiko's younger sister Hisako (married to Tokutomi Ikkei) had seven children; Tokutomi Roka and Sohô being the eldest and the third son; all following children were girls: Hatsuko, who married Pastor Yuasa, and Otowako, who married Pastor Ôkubo, were born fourth and fifth child before the two youngest sisters. Concering Otowako's daughter Kubushiro Ochimi, her autobiography *Haishô hitosuji* (published in 1973 by Tôkyô's Chûô kôron sha) is interesting and indispensable material for a close insight into Kubushiro's life and her almost life long work for the *Kyôfûkai*.

(39) A detailed study on the history of Japan's women's journals has been published by Kindai Josei Bunka-shi Kenkyûkai (ed.): *Fujin zasshi no yoake*, Tôkyô, Ôzorasha, 1989.

(40) The bibliographical notes will be noted, for both the foreign and the Japanese literature, in Roman alphabet transcription.