PIONEERS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN JAPAN: HIRATSUKA RAICHÔ AND FUKUDA HIDEKO SEEN THROUGH THEIR JOURNALS, *SEITÔ* AND *SEKAI FUJIN*

by

Fumiko Horimoto

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Graduate Department of East Asian Studies

University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

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Fumiko Horimoto

Department of East Asian Studies

Hiratsuka Raichô's (1886-1971) statement, "In the beginning woman was the Sun," in the opening editorial of *Seitô* is generally regarded as the first Japanese "women's rights declaration." However, in January 1907, more than four years before the publication of *Seitô*, Fukuda (Kageyama) Hideko (1865-1927), one of the most remarkable activists in Japan's early phase of feminism, also published a magazine, *Sekai fujin* (Women of the World), aiming at the emancipation of women. While Raichô's *Seitô* started as a literary magazine among bourgeois and elitist women, Hideko's *Sekai fujin* was published with the assistance of male socialists. Both magazines fought against the traditional family system, which was tormenting women in those days. However, *Seito* had a larger impact on society partly because of the public criticism against the group members. This thesis studies the significance of the two magazines, the social background which gave rise to them, and the two outstanding activists in the Japanese women's movement, Hiratsuka Raichô and Fukuda Hideko.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In September 1911 Hiratsuka Raichô (her real name was Haru)[1] (1886-1971) and her four fellow alumnae published the first issue of *Seitô*,[2] with its powerful statement comparing women to the sun. It is partly because of this opening editorial that the journal left its name in history. Raichô's vigorous words move our heart even today, because Japanese people are particularly sensitive to nature and have a special feeling of attachment to the all-embracing sun. In the opening editorial she wrote:

> In the beginning, woman was the Sun. She was an authentic person. Today she is the moon. She lives by others, shines with the light of others; she is the moon with the pallid face of an invalid.
>
> Today, *Seitô* was born, which was created by the contemporary Japanese women's brains and hands.
>
> What women do today just incurs the laughter of contempt....
>
> We must restore our hidden sun. "Recover our hidden sun and our potential genius." This is our incessant cry toward our inner self, our insuppressible and ineffaceable desire, and the only final instinct embracing the whole personality....[3]

This address to women is generally regarded as the first Japanese "women's rights declaration", and has become the symbol of women's freedom. However, in January 1907, more than four years before the publication of *Seitô*, Fukuda

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[1] Raichô is a pen name used by Haru since she wrote the opening editorial of *Seitô*. It means a snow grouse. In this thesis, all personal names are listed with their surname coming first in accordance with Japanese custom.

[2] *Seitô* means Blue Stocking. This name comes from the literary group of new women in London in the middle of the eighteenth century. The group was sarcastically called the Blue Stocking Society because the members wore blue stockings.

[3] Hiratsuka Raicho, "Ganshi josei wa taiyo de atta – Seitô hakkan ni saishite" in the journal *Seitô*, vol. 1, no.1. Unless otherwise indicated, translations from Japanese are made by the writer of this thesis.

(Kageyama) Hideko[4] (1865-1927), one of the most remarkable activists in Japan's early phase of feminism, also published a journal, *Sekai fujin* (Women of the World). While the name *Seitô* appears in all standard historical texts as the first women's movement in Japan, nothing is mentioned about Hideko's activities. Why is one so famous and the other virtually unknown to most people today? What kind of person was Fukuda Hideko? Should we give more credit for her role in the liberation of women?

Actually, Raicho's *Seitô* did not start as a social movement, rather as a literary journal born from her soul searching journey, but *Sekai fujin* clearly aimed at raising the social status of women from the very beginning. The first issue of *Sekai fujin* announced its purposes and goals as follows:

> What are our reasons for publishing *Women of the World*? In a word, to determine the real vocation of women by extracting it from the tangled web of law, custom, and morality that are a part of women's experience. Then, we hope to cultivate among all of you a desire to join a reform movement founded on what will be the true mission of women....
>
> When I look at the conditions currently prevailing in society, I see that as far as women are concerned, virtually everything is coercive and oppressive, making it imperative that we women rise up and forcefully develop our own social movement. This truly is an endless enterprise; we have not reached our goals, but our hope is that this magazine will inspire you to become a champion of this [women's] movement.[5]

Thus, the slogan of this journal was the social emancipation of women. Based on

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[4] Her real name was Hide. In those days, *ko* was usually added at the end of a girl's name. Kageyama Hideko became Fukuda Hideko after she married Fukuda Tomosaku.

[5] Fukuda Hideko, *Sekai fujin*, vol.1 (Jan.1, 1907), translated by Sharon L. Sievers in *Flowers in Salt – The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983), pp.126-127.

this slogan, Hideko tried to deal with all the issues useful to this cause. *Sekai fujin*'s particular emphasis was placed on the emancipation of women from the feudalistic family system and the acquisition of political freedom. Women in those days were deprived of freedom both by the patriarchal family system and by the discriminatory laws. Not only were they bound to the house by the old Confucian morals, but they were also deprived of all political rights: Article 5 of the *Chian keisatsu hô* (Public Peace Police Law) of 1900[6] barred women from joining in political organizations and even attending political meetings. The revision of this law became the direct target of Hideko's activity. In her magazine she also reported the women's suffrage movements in other developed countries to encourage Japanese women. In addition, *Sekai fujin* carried many articles advocating freedom of love, giving hope to the women suffering the miseries and injustices inflicted upon them by society and the state. Even though Hideko was the actual chief editor, the contributors of the magazine included many male socialists, such as Sakai Toshihiko (1870-1933) and Kôtoku Shûsui (1871-1911). For this reason, *Sekai fujin* was subject to severe suppression by the government authorities, who were determined to extinguish any socialist movement. In 1908, because of the short essay entitled "Saisho no teki" (The First Enemy) written by the author whose pen name was Kakuda Meisaku (which incorporates the word meaning "revolution"), the magazine was charged with a violation against the Newspaper Ordinance[7] by the Metropolitan Police, leading to the prohibition of its sale. After the trial in the Tokyo District Court, the judgment was passed, which stated that the essay "Saisho no teki" disturbed social order by

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[6] I will discuss this issue in detail later.

[7] The Newspaper Ordinance was promulgated in 1875 to control the popular rights advocates' criticism against the government through newspapers and magazines.

discrediting the relation between parent and child, and master and servant. Heavy fines were imposed on the magazine, resulting in severe economic difficulties in managing the magazine. The magazine finally discontinued publication after publishing thirty-eight issues over a period of two years and a half, because of repeated suppression by the authorities.

On the other hand, what made the journal *Seitô* unique was that it was the first magazine in Japan that was written and published entirely by women.

The leader of the journal, Hiratsuka Raichô, was an intellectual with high aspirations. She continued to study even after graduating from college, seeking true spiritual emancipation. On the recommendation of Ikuta Chôkô (1882-1936),[8] Raichô decided to publish a literary magazine exclusively for women, together with her friends. Unlike *Sekai fujin*, *Seitô* initially did not aim at the economic and political liberation of women. Raichô's intention was to urge other women to restore their hidden talent and creativity. Even though some people spoke lightly of the magazine made by amateur girls, saying it wouldn't last more than three months, the publication of *Seito* created an "unexpectedly large" sensation among its readers. The journal had a great impact on the stifled society during the so-called "winter period" after the *Taigyaku jiken* (Great Treason Incident)[9], which was the culmination of the government's efforts to wipe out the social movement. The subscriptions to *Seito* poured in, and three thousand copies were sold next year, surpassing the original

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[8] He was giving lectures to the women's literary group to which Haru belonged.

[9] In 1910, the government arrested a large number of socialists after the detection of a scheme to manufacture explosives with the aim of assassinating the Emperor Meiji. This incident was trumped up by the state power determined to crush the socialist/anarchist movement. In 1911, twelve socialists were executed, including Kôtoku Shûsui, a leader of the socialist movement, who was not directly involved in the assassination attempt.

expectation threefold. The journal touched the heart of young women, because most of the articles dealt with the themes of great concern to them, such as love, marriage, and independence. The contributors to the magazine wrote about their sufferings and aspirations vividly based their own firsthand experiences. The magazine also provided women with opportunities for expressing their opinions toward society. In fact, the Seitôsha was an "open" society, inviting any woman who loved literature "irrespective of race" to be a member of the society.

However, the assertion to restore the women's ego as a human being clashed with the *Ie* or feudalistic family system, which was the fundamental basis for supporting the Emperor system. Thus, Raichô's self assertion became a potential threat to the existence of the society at the time.

The name *atarasii onna* (new women) was given to the women of *Seitô*. This word became a social phenomenon, appearing daily in newspapers. The Seitosha was severely criticized by the press for its members' behavior as new women. The publication of some issues was also banned by the Home Ministry because they were considered detrimental to the family system.

Ironically, it was because of the media bashing and the government's suppression that Raichô was socially awakened and the magazine took a new turn, becoming involved in the women's problem. For Raichô, the Sun declaration was her starting point as a thinker and activist in the subsequent women's movement. Thus, *Seitô* grew with the times, stimulated by the spread of education and journalism, and the government suppression.

In the case of Fukuda Hideko, she was first influenced by the *Jiyû minken undô*

(People's Rights Movement)[10] and subsequently by socialism. In contrast to Raichô, who was raised in a wealthy environment, Hideko had to face constant financial difficulties from her youth, and she was obliged to be a woman of action. The point of contact between Raichô and Hideko was the essay which Hideko wrote for *Seitô* at the request of Raichô. Because Hideko's essay advocated communism, the magazine was placed under a ban by the government authorities.

Seitô stopped publication in 1916, after Itô Noe (1895-1923) took over the responsibility of the journal from Raichô. Later, Raichô established the New Women's Association in 1918, together with Ichikawa Fusae (1893-1981) and others, and this time vigorously engaged in the women's movement, seeking women's suffrage and the revision of notorious Article 5 of the Public Peace Police Law.

In this thesis, I shall study the background of Japanese women's status, the two outstanding activists in the women's movement in modern Japan, Hiratsuka Raichô and Fukuda Hideko, and the significance of their magazines *Seito* and *Sekai fujin*. I shall also study the social background which gave birth to their magazines and the differences and similarities of the two magazines, looking at the roles played by education, journalism, Christianity, the People's Rights Movement, socialism, and the government's suppression.

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[10] This was a political movement seeking the establishment of a democratic national assembly, enactment of a constitution, and other reforms, standing in opposition to the despotic Meiji administration governed by the former warriors from Satsuma and Chôshu .

II. BACKGROUND OF JAPANESE WOMEN'S STATUS

In 1946 the new Constitution draft was submitted to the Japanese Diet, clearly providing political and social equality between men and women. Especially, Article 22 of the draft (Article 24 of the Constitution) stated that the family relation should be cultivated based on the individual rights of family members and essential equality between the sexes, instead of giving absolute power and authority to the head of a household (usually father or husband). One conservative member of the Diet strongly objected to this draft, saying:

> This constitution draft destroys the traditional family system at the roots, and changes it to the individualism based on husband and wife. As a result, the filial piety to parents which is the basis of morality will increasingly decline. According to this draft, the Kinship Law and the Inheritance Law will also be revised based on individual rights. Therefore, unless you are very careful, children will take wives against the parents' will, change their residences, use property against the parents' will, and divorce good wives against the parents' will. In this case, how can we maintain proper family education?[11]

Like this politician, there was a strong repulsion to the dissolution of the patriarchal family system among the leading figures in society. Why were they, including this politician, opposed to the real emancipation of women? He continued,

> The Japanese family system and the emperor system are closely related and they are the customs dating back to old days. The family system is so to speak the Japanese way continuing since the mythological age. It is thanks to this system that our culture has developed. Our political system is closely related to this family system.[12]

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11 Quoted in Inoue Kiyoshi, *Nihon joseishi*, new ed. (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1967), p.18.
12 *ibid.*, p.19

This Dietman rightly knows that the family system is the root cause of the subjugation of Japanese women to men and that it is linked with the Emperor system. He is quite wrong, however, to say that the Japanese family system has continued since the beginning of the world.

The Emperor system first appeared around the third century A.D. at the earliest, and it was three or four hundred years later that it became the national system governing most of the people in the Japanese Archipelago. Until around the second century, there existed no emperor system, no inequality between the sexes, and no special powers granted to the head of the household. Once the Emperor system was established, however, the Emperor, or the Shogun replacing the former, abused their power to rule the people, and the head of the family oppressed wives and daughters at will.

The so-called traditional Japanese family system was formed only three or four hundred years ago in the Edo period when the feudal system was completed, as the family system for the warrior class. This system was forced on to the working class people, who actually had a much freer family life than that of the samurai class.

Even though social inequality between men and women may now seem part of nature existing from the primitive age, it is not so, but a product made historically, Inoue Kiyoshi says. According to him, at first, no race of the world had any social discrimination against women. Men, women, and children all worked hard as long as they could. Because of low productivity, every member of the group had to cooperate with each other in hunting and fishing. All the production tools were shared by the whole group, including stone spears, bows and arrows, and fish nets. Women mainly

collected plant food. Their work was as important as that of men, who engaged in hunting. At the same time, childbirth and nursing had a much more important meaning than today because of the necessity of survival. The fact that most *dogû*[13] are made in the shape of a woman suggests people's strong wish for fertility.

The invention of agriculture brought about a great revolution in production in the primitive age. And it was women who invented agriculture. Women, who had collected plant food, passed their experience to their daughters. In the course of time, they had learned to distinguish what was good to eat from what was not. They gradually knew under what conditions plant seeds could grow well. As people came to settle down in one place, agriculture developed further, leading to the invention of letters and ironware and the birth of civilization. Thus, women became the mothers of civilization.[14]

With the rapid growth of agriculture, land became the important property for farming and living. As productivity increased, primitive communism was gradually destroyed for the following reasons:

First, with the increase in productivity, inequality in the distribution of wealth occurred among communities. Stronger tribes conquered weaker ones and began to exploit the members of conquered tribes as slaves.

Second, inequality also appeared within the community. Instead of all members cooperating with each other in hunting, people came to cultivate land and take care of domestic animals in small groups of close relatives. Thus, the family unit became more independent within the community.

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[13] *Dogû* are the unglazed earthenware figurines made in the Jômon period in Japan (10,500 B.C.E.-400 B.C.E.)

[14] Inoue, *Nihon joseishi*, p.25.

Third, the head of a family began to have special power within the family, and it was the father who became the head. As agriculture made progress, stronger physical power was needed to reclaim and till the land and to build drainage and irrigation facilities. Thus, the leading role in agriculture shifted from women to men. Besides, as agriculture became the most important way of production, more wars were fought between tribes, in the quest for good land and slaves as workers. On battlefields, too, men played a leading role. From here, male predominance over women was established in society and family, and common property was controlled by men who were the head of a family. This was the start of the private ownership system.

The fourth and the last reason was that childbirth and nursing became a private matter within the family, as soon as private ownership and the patriarchal family system appeared. Child care no longer was regarded as directly contributing to society. As a result, the social role of women was considered to be lower than that of men. Thus, social inequality between men and women and the subjugation of women to men began with the appearance of the patriarchal family and the private ownership system.[15]

Chinese records state that from A.D. 147 to 190 Japan was divided by civil war and anarchy until the rise of a woman ruler, Pimiko. This shows that women were not excluded from political power in ancient Japan. Pimiko ruled the country of Yamatai during the third century A.D. The Chinese History of the Kingdom of Wei (*Gishi wajinden*) relates as follows:

> The country of Wa (Japan) formerly had a man as ruler at the beginning of

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[15] *ibid.*, p.27

> the third century A.D. For some seventy or eighty years after that there were disturbances and warfare, and the people agreed upon a women for their ruler. Her name was Pimiko. She occupied herself with magic and sorcery, and was rarely seen by the people. She had a younger brother who assisted her in ruling the country. After Pimiko passed away, a king was placed on the throne, but the people did not obey him. Assassination and murder followed, and more than one thousand were slain. Then a relative of Pimiko named Iyo, a girl of thirteen, was made queen and order was restored.[16]

Of sixteen emperors who ascended the throne during the seventh century and the eighth century, eight were female emperors, two of them becoming emperor twice. It can be assumed that the status of women was similar to that of men from the descriptions of female deities in the myths and the numerous women rulers between the sixth and eighth centuries.[17] In the succeeding Heian period (794-1185), women's position in government offices was generally lower than that of men, but it seems Japan was a matrilineal society. Takamure Itsue proved the existence of matriarchal society in ancient Japan in her book.[18] According to her, until the eleventh century or so, the married husband and wife lived separately, the husband visited the wife in her home, and the children stayed with the mother. Such marriage residence custom enabled politically ambitious families, notably the Fujiwara family, to strengthen their position by marrying their women to heirs to the throne, because the contact with the son-in-law gave an opportunity for the father to exert control on his grandchildren.

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[16] Tsunoda Ryusaku, et al.. compilers, "The Earliest of Japan" in *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp.7-8.

[17] Paulson, Joy, "Evolution of the Feminine Ideal" in *Women in Changing Japan* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1976), p.2.

[18] See *Bokeisei no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Dainihon Yûbenkai Kôdansha, 1954).

Such matrilocal residence custom also provided some security for women with good connections., and women in the Heian period were allowed to inherit and retain property. It was also possible for Heian women to be financially independent, although they were dependent on men to conduct their business affairs.[19] At the same time, Heian women are noted for their literary achievements, including the world's first novel, *The Tale of Genji*, written by Lady Murasaki Shikibu.

With the ascendancy of the Minamoto clan in 1185 following the protracted civil wars, society became less structured, removing some of the culturally imposed limitations on the physical and mental activity of women. Unlike Heian aristocratic women, whose activity was strictly restricted by custom,[20] girls in the Kamakura period (1185-1333) were trained in the spartan virtues and learned to use weapons in accordance with the samurai ethic. The samurai's wife went to live with her husband and helped him manage the property. If he died, she inherited the property and functioned, as her husband had, as vassal to the lord. In this way, the freedom and strength of women grew, and the Kamakura period became a high point in the status of Japanese women.[21] According to *Azuma kagami*,[22] a wet nurse of Minamoto no Yoritomo was given a territory in Shimotuke province (present-day Tochigi prefecture) in 1187 from Yoritomo. The territory granted to a woman from the master or parents was distinguished from that of her husband, and was inherited by her children. It is significant that the Jôei Code clearly defined the rights of women to inherit and own

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19 Paulson, *Women in Changing Japan*, p.6. Women retained status by custom, not by law.

20 Women should not be seen by men other than their husbands and fathers, and even in their quarters they sat hidden by screens. Their activity was further hampered by layers of voluminous robes and floor-length hair.

21 Paulson, *Women in Changing Japan*, pp.7-9.

22 The official record of the Kamakura bakufu, which was edited by the bakufu vassals in the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century.

property.[23] More important, these rights were upheld in practice.

Hôjô Masako (1157-1225) is a good example showing the strength of women in the Kamakura period. She eloped with Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199), the founder of the Kamakura bakufu, rather than marry the high court official her father had chosen for her. After Yoritomo's death, Masako and her father set up a regency which became the real power behind the office of office of shogun. Masako, in effect, replaced the victorious Minamoto clan with her own Taira clan. Ironically, as the founder of the systems of Regents, she might be considered as the founder of feudalism as well.[24]

From the Muromachi (1392-1493)[25] and the Sengoku or Warring States[26] (around 1490-1590) periods, however, with the establishment of the feudal system, stronger power was given to the head of a family and the patriarchal system spread into society. As the marriage into a male family became common, women were increasingly subjugated to the "family," and the gender role division, "Men's place is out, women's place is home", became widely accepted. A woman could no longer appeal to the authorities for protection of her land. Formerly, the property had been divided up among all the children, but now one son was chosen as the chief heir. The other children received only small shares and, as a result, the individuals became weak and dependent on the chief heir. During the Sengoku period, women were married to lull

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[23] The Jôei Code was issued by the third Regent of the Kamakura bakufu, Hôjô Yasutoki, in 1232 to establish the standards primarily for the samurai society, so that fair trials be held without regard to the disputants' social status.

[24] Paulson, *Women in Changing Japan*, p.8.

[25] Even though the Muromachi bakufu officially continued until 1573, the central government lost its power after the Ônin War of 1467-77 and the succeeding period is called the Sengoku period.

[26]

suspicious opponents, and they were sometimes given as outright hostages. Mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives were passed from hand to hand to suit the convenience of their male relatives. Living in an age when only brutal force was valued, women learned to accept themselves as less valuable than men.

When the status of women was at this low ebb, Japan entered the Edo period (1603-1867), during which the status of women was finally defined. Wit the country unified under the military shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), a system was needed to fix the social order so as to preserve the status quo. Neo-Confucianism emphasized doing one's duty according to one's place and the need to maintain proper human relationships, such as lord/subject, father/son, husband/wife, and elder brother/younger brother relationships. This concept was particularly useful to the Tokugawa rulers who wished to establish a society based on the relationship between superior and inferior persons. Confucianism was officially adopted by Ieyasu.

In 1649 the Tokugawa bakufu issued the Keian Edict, which stated:

> Men should do farming and women should do weaving working late at night. Both husband and wife should work hard. Divorce the wife who neglects the husband, drinks a lot of tea, and likes to visit temples and shrines and go on excursions, even if she is good-looking.... Cherish the wife who takes good care of the household, even though she is not good-looking.[27]

The intention of the bakufu was to control every aspect of the peasants' life in order to collect as much rice as possible as land tax, because the rice production formed the foundation of the bakufu's economy. Peasants had to work hard, living on plain food and clothes. When they were hit by famines, they were often obliged to sell

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[27] Yoneda Sayoko, *Kindai joseishi*, vol..1 (Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 1972), p.15.

their daughters or wives in order to eat. It was often said, "If you squeeze peasants more, like sesame, they will produce more." Thus, peasants were considered to be just a tool to produce rice, and the wives and daughters of peasants were also a tool to help produce more rice.

The status of the warrior women was even worse. As the term "borrowed womb" (*hara wa karimono*) shows, they were a tool to give birth to children for the purpose of keeping a family line. Unlike peasant women who worked hard with their husbands to make a living, samurai-class women did not produce anything themselves and had no means of living other than doing everything as ordered by their fathers and husbands. Marriage was arranged by the master or parents in consideration of the family's social standing. Because the foremost purpose of marriage was to make an inheritor, the wife who did not have a child three years after marriage was often divorced. It was common for samurai to have mistresses to avoid the discontinuation of the family line. Thus, men were allowed to have as many lovers as they wanted.

The following story is another example showing how badly women were treated in the Edo period. When a servant girl gave birth to a baby boy by the master, she was sometimes imprisoned without proper food or clothes, or even killed, instead of being compensated for her "feat".[28] This cruel treatment comes from the idea: the baby is the master's and noble, but the womb is lowly. If the lowly mother is kept alive, the boy will long for her as he gets older, and this will disgrace the family lineage.

Furthermore, numerous moral books were written to bind samurai wives and daughters to the state of subordination. The most typical of such books was *Onna daigaku* (The Greater Learning for Women), which was based on Confucian ethics.

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[28] Itoya Toshio, *Meiji ishin to josei no yoake* (Tokyo: Chôbunsha, 1976), p.11.

The book is generally considered to have been written by the famous Confucianist Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714), but was actually a revision of Kaibara's book and even more feudalistic than the original. *Onna daigaku* became widespread from the middle of the Tokugawa period, supported by Kaibara's authority. The book instructed women that the great lifelong duty of women is obedience, saying that the woman has three ways of subordination: She has to obey her father when young, obey her husband after getting married, then obey the eldest son after the death of her husband. "She must look to her husband as her lord, and must serve him with all worship and reverence, not despising or thinking lightly of him."[29] The book concludes as follows:

> The five worst maladies that afflict the female mind are: indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy, and silliness. Without any doubt, these five maladies infest seven or eight out of every ten women, and it is from these that arises the inferiority of women to men.... Women's nature is passive (lit. shade). This passiveness, being of the nature of the night, is dark.... Such is the stupidity of her character that it is incumbent on her, in every particular, to distrust herself and to obey her husband.[30]

The idea of the Greater Learning for Women, which deprived women of any freedom and forced them into the state of virtual slaves, continued to have a great influence on Japanese society even after the Edo period.

Women's chastity was especially emphasized based on the subjugation of the wife to her husband. Article 48 of the *Kujigata Osadamegaki*[31] (Official Legal Decisions)

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[29] Chamberlain, Basil Hall, *Things Japanese (Onna Daigaku)* (Tokyo: Tokyo News Service, 1963), p.504.

[30] *ibid.*, p.507.

[31] The *Kujigata Osadamegaki* was issued in 1742 during the reign of the eighth shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune. This law corresponds to the present-day penal code.

stipulated that the wife who committed adultery be put to death. The servant who committed adultery with the master's wife was punished even more severely. He was dragged around the town before execution and the decapitated head was exposed at the prison gate. On the other hand, the husband who committed adultery was not subject to any punishment, and even if the husband killed the adulterous wife and her lover, the husband was exempt from punishment[32].

Regarding the divorce of commoners, it is said there exists a gap between the law and reality. At least legally, the husband could divorce a wife unilaterally: only the husband had a right to demand divorce, and the wife could not divorce or remarry without a letter of divorce from her husband. This letter was generally called *mikudari han* (three lines and a half), because it was usually written in three or four lines. The wife who remarried without this letter was punished for bigamy under the *Kujigata Osadamegaki*, but the husband who had a second wife without giving a letter of divorce to his ex-wife was just expelled from his residence. However, some relief measures were provided for the wives who sought divorce without a letter of divorce: they could take refuge in a temple called *enkiridera*.

The early years of the Meiji period brought about important changes to Japanese society which was awakened from the long sleep caused by the seclusion policy. The new government leaders adopted "revolutionary" policies: they dismantled the old class system and abolished the hereditary restrictions on occupation and residence. At the same time, Western cultures and ideas were rapidly introduced to Japan. This was quite significant for the development of human rights and women's rights. It was Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) who played the most prominent role in

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[32] Ôtake Hideo, *"Ie" to josei no rekishi* (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1977), p.139.

inspiring people with modern spirits. He infused a spirit of independence into the people who had became servile under the weight of feudalism. He urged them to overcome superstitions and adopt a scientific way of thinking. Fukuzawa, a founder of Keiogijuku University, published a book, *Seiyo jijô* (Conditions in the West), in 1866, based on his experience in San Francisco as part of the official mission to the United States for the ratification of the Harris Treaty[33]. One of his most important treatises, *Gakumon no susume* (An Encouragement of Learning), first published in 1872, begins with the famous words, "Heaven did not create men above men, nor set men below men". It is said the book was immensely popular among the people and sold a total of 3,400,000 copies in seventeen volumes.[34] This clearly shows how deeply people were interested in his books. Through his writings, Fukuzawa attacked Confucianism, traditional education, and the authoritarian government. In *Bummei-ron no gairyaku* (An Outline of Civilization), he criticized the family system for suppressing the spirit of independence. He severely attacked *Onna daigaku* in his essay *Shin onna daigaku* (A New Great Learning for Women), in which he advocated modern education for women and the right to inherit property. Fukuzawa Yukichi was born into a family of lower samurai from the province of Buzen in northern Kyûshû. As a young man, he was evidently frustrated by the restrictions of the feudal hierarchy. He wrote in his autobiography,

> the thing that made me most unhappy in Nakatsu was the restrictions of rank and position. Not only on official occasions, but in private intercourse, and

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[33] The Harris Treaty was signed in July 1858 with the United States, four years after Japan signed the Kanagawa Treaty of Friendship, which ended Japan's closed-door policy. The Harris Treaty was an unequal treaty, because Japanese tariffs were placed under international control and import duties were fixed at low levels, and a system of extraterritoriality was established. Japan signed similar treaties with Britain, France, Holland, and Russia.

[34] Murakami Nobuhiko, *Meiji joseishi*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1977), P.188.

> even among children, the distinctions between high and low were clearly defined. Children of lower samurai families like ours were obliged to use a respectful manner of address in speaking to the children of higher samurai families, while these children invariably used arrogant form of address to us.[35]

Another reformer, Mori Arinori, who later became the Minister for Education, established the Meirokusha[36] in 1873 together with Fukuzawa and other enlightenment thinkers. This society published *Meiroku zasshi* which introduced Western civilization to enlighten the public. Mori wrote *Saishôron* (Essay on Wives), in which he sharply criticized the Japanese family system. He asserted that the wife should have an independent character, and wrote, "In Japan, the husband is the master and the wife is almost a sold slave"[37]. He subsequently married Hirose Otsune, exchanging a Western-style contract, with Fukuzawa serving as a witness. The contract stated that the couple should respect and love each other and that the jointly owned property should not be rented or sold without mutual consent.[38]

Even though Fukuzawa, Mori, and other reformers seemingly made magnificent efforts for the emancipation of women, their activities had their limits: in real life, they could not practice what they preached. Mori subsequently dissolved his marriage, saying that "to attempt a marriage like that with an uneducated Japanese woman was my mistake".[39] After he took office as the Minister for Education in 1885, he completely discarded the stance of liberalism and respect for individuality, and did his

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[35] Quoted in Kenneth B. Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 2nd ed. (Lexington Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1978), p.80.

[36] The Meirokusha is the first modern learned society in Japan. The society was called "Meirokusha" because it was founded in the sixth year of the Meiji period.

[37] Quoted in Yoneda, *Kindai joseishi*, p.26.

[38] *ibid.*, p.26.

[39] Quoted in Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan*, p.83.

utmost to consolidate the nationalistic educational system to raise the loyalty toward the Emperor. As for Fukuzawa, he was against higher education for women, even though he strongly advocated equality between husband and wife in his books. Fukuzawa's own daughters later related that they were not given higher education, while he was very keen to provide the best education for his sons. Also, Fukuzawa did not respect the daughters' will in choosing their marriage partners.[40] Besides, in spite of his sharp attacks on the custom of keeping mistresses, he was less enthusiastic about abolishing the licensed prostitution which totally ignored women's human rights.[41] Thus, we have to conclude that the efforts made by Fukuzawa and Mori did not aim at the true emancipation of women.

The Meiji government also took some seemingly progressive measures toward women. In 1871, the government sent five young girls, ranging in age from eight to fifteen, to the United States, at the suggestion of Kuroda Kiyotaka, then vice-commissioner for colonial affairs. The purpose was to make them the future cultural leaders of Japanese women, as well as to show off Japan's "progressive" attitude to the West. One of the girls, Tsuda Umeko, founded Tsuda Women's College when she returned to Japan after spending eleven years in the United States.

In 1872, the compulsory education system was introduced, giving in principle an opportunity for the people to receive primary education regardless of gender. This was a great step forward from the previous Edo period, when it was widely believed women did not need education. However, the government's intention was not to

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[40] Murakami Nobuhiko, *Nihon no fujin mondai* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978), p.10.

[41] Murakami Nobuhiko, *Meiji joseishi*, vol.4, p.85. The licensed prostitution was the dark side of the Meiji government's policy. This system first occurred in the Muromachi period, developed in the Edo period, and flourished in the Meiji period. The existence of public prostitution means that the state openly authorized the slave trade.

emancipate women, but to educate girls so that they would raise able persons for the nation under the policy of *fukoku-kyôhei* (enriching the country, strengthening the military). The new feminine ideal of the Meiji era was the "good wife, wise mother" (*ryôsai kenbo*). Furthermore, even though the class system was formally abolished, the emperor and the imperial family as well as the nobility were given special privileges. The lowly people were nominally emancipated, but actually they were forced to live in a new and even harsher environment. And girls' school attendance was much lower than that of boys. Thus, the reforms pursued by the Meiji government were far from perfect, leaving a strong feudalistic nature behind, and women were not completely freed from the feudalistic suppression.

Nonetheless, whatever was the government's aim, women got an opportunity to open their eyes to society. This was the first step for women to win democracy and real equality between men and women.

III. FUKUDA HIDEKO AND *SEKAI FUJIN*

Now, let us look at the life of Fukuda Hideko, who spent her whole life fighting for the economic independence of women, women's suffrage, and later, as a socialist, for the emancipation of women from capitalism. Her autobiography, *Warawa no hanshôgai*, is an important record in understanding her life as well as the era in which she lived. I would like to trace her stormy life mainly based on her autobiography to understand how she came to publish *Sekai fujin* for the purpose of enlightening women and fighting for social justice.

1. Early Life of Kageyama (Fukuda) Hideko

Kageyama (later Fukuda) Hideko was born in Okayama in western Japan on October 5, 1865, three years before the Meiji Restoration. Her father, Kageyama Katashi, was a lower-class samurai. Like many other lower-class warriors, the Kageyama family had financial difficulties and made a living by running a *terakoya*[42]. As a girl, Hideko was greatly influenced by her mother, Umeko, who was a progressive person believing that "even women should have education and study as much as possible".[43] Umeko herself had learned Japanese and Chinese literature at the private school run by her father, and taught at the *terakoya* immediately after she married Katashi. She was a strong-willed person, and persuaded her husband to

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[42] Terakoya literally means "temple children's house", and was an elementary school institution for the children of commoners during the Edo period and the early Meiji period. Reading, writing and arithmetic were taught at terakoya.

[43] Murata Shizuko, *Fukuda Hideko* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), p.9.

give Hideko an education, even though he believed girls did not need education. Hideko entered a primary school which was founded in 1874 in Okayama under the Meiji government's new educational system. She did well at school and was widely admired in Okayama for her brilliance. She begins her autobiography, *Warawa no hanshogai* as follows:

> When I was eight or nine years old, I was praised as a bright girl at home, and loved by school teachers for my liveliness and naivete. When I was twelve, I was selected to make a lecture on Chinese history and Japanese history at the examination room in the presence of the prefectural education commissioners. I was so happy because this was a supreme honour and I was secretly proud that no one in the world is as bright as I.[44]

On the way to school, she was often called "*magahi*" by naughty boys, because she was dressed like a boy and had her hair bobbed to save time doing her hair. *Magahi* means a sham and the boys made fun of Hideko who looked like a boy.

After graduating from the primary school at the age of fifteen in 1879, she immediately began to work as a teaching assistant at the salary of three yen a month. In those days, the number of teachers was insufficient, as compulsory education was introduced all at once across Japan. Hideko was given the job because her grades were excellent. After the work at school, she gathered dozens of children at home and gave them supplementary lessons so that they could move up two grades a year, earning the gratitude of their parents.

In the early days of the Meiji era, which is called the *Kaimei-ki* (Enlightenment period), the school atmosphere was relatively free, and there was no textbook

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[44] Fukuda Hideko, "Warawa no hanshogai" in *Shakai shugi bungakushû* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1966), p.6

censorship yet. The books full of new Western knowledge, such as *Seiyô jijô* written by Fukuzawa Yukichi, were used as textbooks. With the rise of the People's Rights Movement, teachers talked about liberty and equality with ardour in the classroom, and students listened enthusiastically to their teachers.[45] Hideko therefore received such "new" education before the government strengthened control over education.

Because Hideko did not care about her appearance and acted like a boy, even though she was of marriageable age (around fifteen), worried Umeko made Hideko learn things deemed necessary for girls before marriage, such as the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, sewing, and paying the koto (a long Japanese zither with thirteen strings).

In 1880, when Hideko was sixteen years old, she received a marriage proposal from a certain family. Even though it was customary for a daughter to accept the marriage arranged by her parents, Hideko firmly refused to marry in spite of her parents' strong wish. She writes in her autobiography that "it is such a pity so many young girls today are forced by their parents to marry without love. At this moment, I had a deep-rooted determination to help those unhappy women acquire economic independence."[46] It seems Hideko was able to refuse to marry a man she did not like, because her salary from school helped the family finances. After this incident, Hideko was further devoted to her teaching work.

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[45] Yoneda, *Kindai nihon joseishi*, vol.1, p.43.
[46] Fukuda, *Warawa no hanshogai*, p.7

2. *Jiyû Minken Undô* and Hideko

The People's Rights Movement, which was raging across Japan, also swept into Okayama where Hideko was living. With the opening of the prefectural assembly in February 1879, people there began to talk about the establishment of the Diet. The popular rights movement in Okayama was characterized by the participation of a large number of commoners, such as wealthy farmers and merchants. In June of the same year, the members of the prefectural assembly held a meeting to discuss the way to open the Diet. With this popular rights boom, Hideko became interested in the political history of Western nations and the problems surrounding women. She was deeply impressed by a book on Joan of Arc translated by Kobayashi Kusuo, to whom she later became engaged. She made up her mind to be an Eastern Joan of Arc, a patriot like her. She later writes about the People's Rights Movement in Okayama as follows:

> "In Okayama, people have long discussed the people's rights with enthusiasm. My mother was an avid reader of the books written by Mr. Fukuzawa, such as *Gakumon no susume* and *Seiyo jijô*, and explained how badly the despotic government and the class system had harmed the good populace.... Under such circumstances, it was only natural that I began to study the problems of human society. Thus, I ended up making public speeches, bringing up the issue of human equality."[47]

Her mother had an immeasurable influence on Hideko throughout her life, but it was Kishida (later Nakajima) Toshiko (1863-1901) who played a definitive role in socially awakening her.

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[47] Fukuda Hideko, "Bôbo no kinen" in *Sekai fujin*, vol..33.

Kishida Toshiko was really the first woman who took action for the cause of women's rights. She was born to a wealthy merchant family in Kyoto. Like Hideko, she received the new education during the enlightenment period immediately after the Meiji Restoration. Her grades were outstanding and in 1879 she was called up to the Tokyo Imperial Court to give lectures on Chinese classics to the empress. After two years, Kishida resigned from her post, citing poor health as an excuse. Even though working for the court was extraordinary honourable at that time, it is easy to imagine that she could not stand the unbearably rigid court life full of conventionalities. After leaving the court, Kishida traveled extensively with her mother all over Japan. It was a time when the People's Rights Movement was at its height. During her travels, she met the leaders in this movement, and she immediately became involved in it.[48]

Her appearance on the political scene had a large impact on many women, including Hideko, across the country. Hideko listened to Toshiko's speech with deep emotion. Kishida was a very good speaker "with an electrifying effect on the audience"[49]. In her speeches she sharply criticized Confucian moral principles and advocated equal rights for men and women.[50] Hideko describes the deep impression

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[48] The period during which Kishida Toshiko was politically active was very brief, limited only to three years, 1882 through 1884, when she married Nakajima Nobuyuki (1846-1899), an activist of the People's Rights Movement, and withdrew from direct involvement in politics. However, she continued to write essays for *Jogaku zasshi* (Journal of Women's Education) published by Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863-1943). Iwamoto, a Christian, promoted women's liberation from a Christian standpoint, advocating the spread of women's education, monogamy, and the abolition of licensed prostitution. Both Toshiko and her husband were also baptized and became Christians. Their marital relationship was based on mutual love and respect. Toshiko died of tuberculosis at the age of thirty-seven.

[49] Fujieda Mioko, "Japan's First Phases of Feminism" in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Fujimura Kumiko (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1995), p.325.

[50] Kishida Toshiko was arrested and indicted because of her speech made in 1883 in Ôtsu, titled

given by Kishida's speech in her autobiography:

> Listening to her speech, delivered in that marvelous oratorical style, I was unable to suppress my resentment and indignation ... and began immediately to organize women and their daughters ... to take the initiative in explaining and advocating natural rights, liberty, and equality, ... summoning those of high purpose to the cause, so that somehow we might muster the passion to smash the corrupt customs of former days relating to women.[51]

Hideko, who was influenced by the popular rights ideas, was quick to become an activist herself. After Kishida left Okayama, the organization called *Joshi shimbokukai* (Female Informal Society) was founded in Okayama and Hideko became a member of the organization. At the political meeting held by this organization in April 1883, Hideko made a speech on "Human Equality", which won wild applause from the audience. In December 1883, she established a private school named *Jôkôgakusha*, with the members of the Female Informal Society. Hideko's house was used as the school, and Hideko and her mother made great contributions to the school. The following prospectus clearly reflects the ideals of the popular rights movement:

> (1) A Japanese woman usually does not pursue basic learning but learns only handiwork. This is why she can not educate her children properly after she becomes a mother and she is looked down on by her children. It is too late to start learning after she realizes that.
>
> (2) The daughters of poor families are busy working during the daytime. Even if they try to study using the little time available in the evening, there is no school to provide education for them.
>
> (3) The primary school children, who have no opportunity to review their lessons at home because their parents are illiterate, may forget what they

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"Hakoiri musume" (A Girl in a Box), which criticized marriage based on a patriarchal system.

[51] Fukuda, *Warawa no hanshôgai*, p.7.

learned at school and fail in exams.[52]

As the prospectus shows, this school was intended for women aged from six to sixty and primary school children. The school offered evening classes for working mothers who did not have time to study during the day time, because Hideko firmly believed that education was the only way to save women from misery. She also adopted many new teaching methods, like holding discussions on Saturdays to raise social and political interest. The textbooks were chosen in accordance with the wishes of students. The school attracted the people who welcomed new trends, and the number of students gradually increased.

In September of the following year (1884), however, the school was ordered closed by the prefectural authorities. This was because the teachers and students of the school participated in a summer evening gathering held by the Liberal Party.[53] The Meiji government had promulgated the Ordinance on Meeting (*Shûkai jôrei*)[54] in 1880, alarmed by the growing influence of the People's Rights Movement. This law prohibited soldiers, teachers and students from engaging in political activities, and required any political association/meeting to be notified to the government authorities. The law also gave policemen the right to break up meetings. Because of this law, people were deprived of the freedom of political assembly, association, and speech, and

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[52] Murata, *Fukuda Hideko*, pp.24-25.

[53] The Liberal Party was established in December 1881 as the first full-fledged political party in Japan with the rise of the People's Rights Movement. Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919) was elected as president and Nakajima Nobuyuki (1846-1899), who later married Kishida Toshiko, was elected as vice president. The Party aimed at expanding freedom and popular rights and establishing constitutional government.

[54] This law was used for the arrest of Kishida Toshiko. The authorities considered that her speech implicitly criticized the government and therefore was a political speech made without permission.

many political meetings were ordered to close by the policemen who suddenly appeared at the meeting place.

Hideko's disappointment and anger were immense, because the work to which she was devoting herself was unjustly suppressed by the government. Her anger was directed to the prefectural authorities who ordered her to close the school and also to the central administration which was supervising them. She thought this was no time to stay in a small town like Okayama. She should go to Tokyo to study national politics extensively and fight to eliminate the evil laws of the tyrannical government. Thus, she made up her mind to go to Tokyo to take action.

The Osaka Incident

At first, Hideko went to her relative's house in Osaka, because she knew many well-known members of the *Jiyûtô* (Liberal Party) would come to Osaka to attend the party convention[55]. There, she confided her determination to her friend, Kobayashi Kusuo, who, realizing her firm will, introduced her to Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919), president of the Liberal Party. Itagaki was impressed by Hideko's resolution and promised to look after her financially. Thus, Hideko began to attend a mission school, Shinsakae Girls' High School, near Tsukiji in Tokyo under the sponsorship of the Liberal Party.[56]

Soon, she became involved in the Korean reform movement, which has come to be called the Osaka Incident. This was the failed attempt initiated by members of the left wing of the former Liberal Party, such as Ôi Kentarô (1843-1922) and Kobayashi Kusuo. Their plan was to overthrow the Korean government supported by Ch'ing

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[55] The Jiyûtô, Japan's first national political party, was formed in October 1881. At this convention, the party voted for dissolution.

[56] Itoya Toshio, *Josei kaiho no senkushatachi* (Tokyo, Shimizu Shoin, 1975), p.122.

China in order to set up a "truly" independent nation for the Korean people. Hideko's role in this plan was to raise money and to carry explosives to Nagasaki, where the reformers were to leave for Korea. This plan, however, was discovered by the authorities and Hideko was apprehended by the police in November 1885, together with other fellow members. She was later sentenced to minor imprisonment for one year and a half.[57]

The Osaka Incident had a great influence on Hideko's later life. First, she became an instant heroine as the only woman involved in the incident and was idolized as "Japan's Joan of Arc" by journalists. Her trial attracted many observers, including women, with all the admission tickets handed out by early morning. Among the observers was Nobeoka Tameko, who later married Sakai Toshihiko (1870-1933).[58] Tameko later says that she was deeply impressed by Hideko at the trial and became interested in political matters. When Hideko was released from prison in February 1889 under an amnesty,[59] she was applauded by excited citizens with flowers and banners like a triumphant general. However, the significance of the Osaka Incident is questionable, because it is unlikely that Ôi's reckless attempt would have brought any real contribution to Korea. Even though Hideko's intention was sincere, the incident helped create the public opinion supporting the government plan to advance into the Korean Peninsula. Hideko herself writes in her autobiography that it was a big mistake for her to get involved in the incident "without much

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[57] *ibid.*, p.144.

[58] He was a socialist activist who published the weekly journal *Heimin shimbun*, together with Kôtoku Shûsui, opposing the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05.

[59] Hideko was released from prison by a decree of amnesty on the day when the Meiji Imperial Constitution was promulgated.

learning and carried away by emotion."[60] Another consequence of the incident was that the police authorities began to watch her as a potentially dangerous person. This must have been a heavy burden on her later life. Nonetheless, the Osaka Incident was a good example of Hideko's passion and vitality.

While in prison, she wrote of her determination to work for the expansion of women's rights and to correct misgovernment and bad laws. However, the environment surrounding women became increasingly harsh as the government turned more and more reactionary. With the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889, the government passed the *Shûkai oyobi seisha hô* (Law of Public Meetings and Political Associations), which prohibited women from joining a political association or attending a political meeting. This law was taken over as Article 5 of the *Chian keisatsu hô* (Public Peace Police Law) in 1990. Thus, Hideko's dream of women's suffrage and emancipation was shattered and the abolition of this article became the target of the subsequent women's movement.

Love, Marriage, and Bereavement

In her private life, Hideko also experienced bitterness. She had been engaged to Kobayashi Kusuo who was also involved in the Osaka Incident, but she was disappointed by Kusuo and other reformers who often went on drinking sprees drinking sake and bought geisha at the time they should have been fighting hard and sacrificing their lives. In fact, she lost patience with them for spending the hard earned money on buying prostitutes. Hideko nonetheless encouraged herself by saying to her, "How can I give up my work halfway? I am not dedicating my life to these fellows, but to the nation and countrymen." Thus, losing respect for Kusuo, she

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[60] Fukuda, *Warawa no hanshôgai*, p.9.

decided to break her engagement to him.

However, another love came to her unexpectedly. She received love letters from Ôi Kentarô while in prison. At first, she did not pay attention, but she was gradually attracted by Ôi and became his common-law wife. She gave birth to a son, believing his words that he would divorce his mentally deranged wife. However, she later found that he had become intimate with her best friend, Shimizu Toyoko (Shikin).[61] Hideko was filled with anger at both Ôi and Toyoko, and she finally decided to leave Ôi and live for her beloved son.

In January 1891, she opened a girls' vocational school in Tokyo, together with her family. The school was run by family members, her mother teaching calligraphy, Hideko and her bother teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, her sister-in-law teaching sewing, and her father taking charge of accounting. This school however failed because of the successive deaths of family members. First, her father died, followed by her aunt who was managing the household affairs, and then her brother died of pneumonia at the age of 34. Hideko was thus obliged to close school due to the lack of workers and the financial difficulties caused by frequent funeral services.

When Hideko was thinking of going abroad to rebuild her life, she encountered Fukuda Tomosaku, of whom she felt "as if she found a clear spring during the long journey on the desert." Tomosaku was from a wealthy farming family in present-day Tochigi prefecture. When he was about sixteen years old, he was forced to marry his cousin by his parents. With the rise of the *Jiyû minken* movement, however, he was influenced by the human rights theory and began to question the position in which his

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61 Shimizu Toyoko was also from Okayama, and was working for women's causes influenced by Kishida Toshiko. She later became a reporter of *Jogaku zasshi*. Her writing is also highly regarded.

family was placed. He sympathized with tenants and servants, and also became dissatisfied with the marriage forced by the parents. He finally decided to go to the United States, where he studied and earned a bachelor's degree in law from the University of Michigan. He was also influenced by the labour movement developed in America. After returning to Japan in 1890, Tomosaku attended a session of the first Imperial Diet with large expectations. However, he was deeply disappointed by the Diet and decided to launch social reforms through education, giving up political activities. Soon, he was involved in a public opinion magazine with a liberal stance.

About this time Hideko met Tomosaku through her acquaintances, and she was moved by his pure heart. Tomosaku divorced his wife and proposed to Hideko. The journalists made a great fuss over this marriage, saying "The son of *gônô* (wealthy farmer), Fukuda Tomosaku, marries the *joketsu* (amazon) of the Osaka Incident, Kageyama Hideko." In reality, Tomosaku was far from rich and was about to be disowned by his parents who were not pleased with Hideko because of her past.

Despite the opposition of Tomosaku's parents, the couple married and began a new life in Tokyo. Their life was not easy because they constantly suffered poverty. Nevertheless, Hideko writes in her autobiography that her marriage was filled with love and she was happy in spite of poverty. She even writes that she was much happier than the "wife of a wealthy family who leads a life of indignity without love."[62] Eventually, Tomosaku was disinherited and his younger brother became heir to the Fukuda family. After Hideko gave birth to their third son, Tomosaku was taken ill and died of neurosyphilis in 1900. Hideko was left alone at the age of 36 with her

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[62] She probably means Shimizu Toyoko, who later married a professor of Tokyo Imperial University. Hideko is bitterly criticized by Murakami Nobuhiko for slandering Toyoko under the fictitious name, because Murakami thinks highly of Toyoko.

children.

However, she was not discouraged. In 1901, one year after her husband's death, she established another school: a women's technological school. To keep this school, she founded the Japan Women Real Property Foundation, asking philanthropists to buy the products made by bursary students. Her idea was to exempt poor students from school fees and sell the products through the Foundation. Her consistent philosophy was that economic independence was indispensable to women's independence. She had learned through her own experience that many women fall into miserable circumstances because they are not economically independent. This was why she felt the necessity to provide vocational education for young women in needy conditions. The prospectus of the school states, "Real property means a real purpose. Everybody knows that poverty is the source of disorder. It is therefore essential to take measures for providing real property so that one can accomplish one's mission." Hideko's assertion was that women should learn a trade so that they could make a living even if they were to part from their husbands. It is not clear until when this school continued, because the recollection in *Warawa no hanshôgai* ends around here. Now let us see what kind of path Hideko would follow after that.

3. Socialism and Hideko

After the Jiyûtô voted for dissolution in October 1884, afflicted by internal discord and unable to control local radical groups, the Japanese opposition parties lost their militant power they used to have. With the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889, the People's Rights Movement became virtually dead, as the Constitution firmly

established the preeminence of *kokken* (state power) over *minken* (people's rights) in state policy. In 1990, the *Kenseitô* (Constitutional Government Party)[63], heir to the popular rights tradition, sold out to the former enemy Itô Hirobumi (1841-1909) by joining his new political coalition and thereby joining hands with bureaucrats, capitalists and landowners. Hideko was one those who were enraged by those "degraded" former Liberal Party members.

In late 1901, shortly after Hideko opened the women's technological school, a person moved to the house next to hers. This person was the socialist Sakai Toshihiko, from whom Hideko learned the basics of socialism. Sakai was an important member of a small socialist society. When the Social Democratic Party, Japan's first socialist party, was established in May 1901 by Kôtoku Shûsui (1871-19119) and others, Sakai was determined to enter the party. However, this party was banned by the government just hours after it was founded. In those days Sakai was working as a journalist for the Yorozu Chôhô (Complete Morning Report), a newspaper strongly critical of government policy. Under Sakai's influence, Hideko became interested in socialism. Sakai advocated legal equality between men and women, writing articles on women's issues in the Yorozu Chôhô.

In the autumn of 1903, when war with Russia seemed inevitable,[64] Kuroiwa Ruikô (1862-1920), the editor of the Yorozu Chôhô, reversed his stand and came out in support of war. In protest against this change, Kôtoku, Sakai, and Uchimura Kanzô (1861-1930)[65] resigned from the newspaper company. Kôtoku and Sakai organized

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63 The Kenseitô was formed in 1898 by the former Jiyûtô and Shimpotô (Progressive Party). The Kenseitô organized the first party cabinet in Japan with Ôkuma Shigenobu serving as the prime minister.

64 The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05.

65 Uchimura was a Christian and also a reporter of the Yorozu chôhô.

the Heiminsha (Commoers' Association) and in November 1903, they began publishing the weekly *Heimin shimbun* (Commoners' News), analyzing the government's domestic and foreign policies from both socialist and humanist perspectives. The first issue of *Heimin shimbun*[66] attracted world attention, selling out the initial five thousand copies and an additional three thousand copies. This was quite a large circulation in those days.

Through her association with socialist friends, Hideko became a humanistic socialist who aimed at the "relief of the poor in opposition to capitalism." Around this time (October 1904), Hideko published her autobiography *Warawa no hanshôgai* (Half My Life), which is often quoted in this thesis. This book is a candid record of her life of struggle until around 1901. She writes in the preface that she deeply regrets her past full of failures and errors, but she declares a new fight against the world and herself:

> When I look back on my past, I find it has been a succession of failures. But I have always fought; I have never once quailed because of failures in my life. Not only in the past and present, I shall also continue to fight in the future as long as warm blood flows in my veins. My mission is fighting – to fight the vices against humanity.

At the same time, this book has become an invaluable historical document describing the *Jiyû minken* movement, particularly the Osaka Incident. *Warawa no hanshôgai* was widely read when published: it was reprinted within a year and it ran into at least five impressions the next year.[67] In December of the next year, she

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[66] The weekly *Heimin shimbun* stopped publication on January 29, 1905 after it was banned by the authorities. The Heiminsha began to publish *Chokugen* (Plain Talk) on February 5, as a succeeding journal.

[67] Murata, *Fukuda Hideko*, p.99.

published another book, this time a novel, *Warawa no omoide* (My Recollections), which dealt with women's emancipation, antiwar sentiment, and Christian socialism. Even though this novel is not highly evaluated as a literary work, it is an important source for understanding Hideko's growth in ideas.

The problems of women in Japanese society were not initially a primary concern of the men who founded the Heiminsha. However, the members began to be interested in women's issues after reading foreign socialist literature and news. The association held lecture meetings for women under the name of "academic lectures," because women's participation in political meetings was prohibited by the Public Peace Police Law. The purpose of these meetings was to cultivate woman socialists and sympathizers by teaching them that socialism was the only solution to the problems surrounding women. Women awakened to "women's emancipation" came to gather around these meetings. One of those women was Kanno Suga, a lover of Kôtoku Shûsui, who was later executed together with him in the wake of the Great Treason Incident.

Hideko also visited the Heiminsha quite often, and through her association with young members, she learned about socialism and women's emancipation. Hideko was popular with the association members because of her cheerful and spirited character.

In January 1905, the Heiminsha women began a campaign for acquiring women's political freedom. They launched a movement to revise Article 5 of the *Chian keisatsu hô* which banned the political activities of women. *Heimin shimbun* often carried articles introducing the women's suffrage movement in foreign countries. The journal launched a campaign to collect signatures to petition the government for the

revision of the Public Peace Police Law. The petition was submitted to the House of Representatives, collecting more than five hundred signatures.[68] Hideko was not directly involved in this movement, but she was to continue the campaign later when she published *Sekai fujin*.

In the wake of the war with Russia, the government became increasingly intolerant of its adversaries and began to fine and imprison those who wrote or published articles in violation of the press regulations. Sakai, as the editor of *Heimin shimbun*, was fined and given jail terms. Unable to stand the government's oppression, the Heiminsha was disbanded in September 1905. The dissolution of the association also resulted from the antagonism between Christian socialists and non-Christian socialists. The latter began publishing *Hikari* (Flash) and the former began publishing *Shin kigen* (The New Age) on the advice of Kinoshita Naoe (1869-1937).[69] Hideko's lover Ishikawa Sanshirô[70] became the editor of the magazine and Hideko was also involved in it.

Influence of Christianity

Hideko was clearly interested in Christianity, and was in sympathy with Christian socialism. After her husband's death, Hideko began to attend Hongô church with Ishikawa to listen to the sermons by the preacher Ebina Danjô(1856-

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[68] *ibid.*, p.105.

[69] Kinoshita Naoe, a Christian social activist, launched the first universal suffrage movement in Japan and was sent in prison. He later became a journalist of the Mainichi Shimbun and actively reported the Ashio Mining Pollution incident. He was a founding member of the Social Democratic Party of 1901. He published a novel *Hi no hashira* (Pillar of Fire), opposing the Russo-Japanese War.

[70] Ishikawa was a *shosei* (student houseboy) living with Fukuda Tomosaku before Hideko married Tomosaku. Ishikawa, eleven years younger than Hideko, called her *nêsan* (elder sister) and helped and encouraged her after Tomosaku became insane due to illness. Ishikawa entered the Heiminsha through the intermediation of Hideko.

1937).[71] She also visited Uchimura Kanzô, a Christian, who lived in the neighbourhood.

We can probe into Hideko's ideas about Christianity by reading her novel *Warawa no omoide*. The protagonist Setsuko, Hideko's alter ego, was saved by Christianity when she was thinking of suicide in light of many difficulties. Setsuko became a devout Christian, and believed that people would surely be saved by God if they had strong faith in Him. However, she began to wonder why people were still poor no matter how hard they worked, and why there existed inequality in the world. Soon she developed her ideas as follows: When God created human beings, they were equal. Human beings are responsible for making society unequal. To correct this, people themselves should change society. In this way, Setsuko accepts socialism, and believes that socialism is the only way to realize an equal society. Setsuko's development of thought seems to be that of Hideko. When she wrote this novel, she probably had a naïve belief in Christianity and felt compelled to express her ideas on Christian socialism.

Christianity, particularly in the form of Protestantism, emerged as a progressive ideology supporting the growth of modern society,[72] and greatly contributed to Japan's modernization in the early years of Meiji. This was especially notable in the area of education for girls and advocacy of improved status for women. Most of the girls' schools established in the early Meiji years were started by foreign missionaries or by Japanese Christians. These schools sought to create "modern women," calling for the

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[71] He advocated Japanese-style Christianity, maintaining the continuity with Confucianism and Shintoism.

[72] Christianity was strictly prohibited during the Edo period, but the Meiji government lifted the ban after realizing that the prohibition negatively affected the negotiations on the revision of the unequal treaties.

independence of women based on humanitarian ideas. Christians also attacked the tradition of polygamy[73] and licensed prostitution, advocating monogamous marriage. In fact, many of women's movement activists in modern Japan were Christians, including Kishida Toshiko, Kanno Suga, and Yajima Kajiko(1833-1925), a founder of the Tokyo kyôfûkai (Tokyo Women's Reform Society).[74] Christianity thus had important effects on Japanese society.

Publication of *Shin kigen*

Thus, Hideko and Ishikawa came to publish a Christian socialism magazine, *Shin kigen*. This name means the New Age which will be opened by a Christian spiritual revolution. In addition to the publication of the monthly magazine, the Shinkigensha had sermon meetings at church every Sunday, and also held lecture meetings and informal social gatherings.

At the society's regular meeting held in April 1906, Tanaka Shôzô (1841-1913) explained the plight of Yanaka village in Tochigi prefecture. Tanaka, a former popular rights activist and now a sympathizer of socialism, had devoted half his life to the Ashio Mining Pollution incident, which was the first case of environmental pollution in Japan. This issue had drawn much public attention, because toxic substances from Ashio Copper Mine in Tochigi prefecture were ruining the fields along the river, threatening the life of residents in the region. Tanaka urged the government to take measures to ameliorate the problem. However, the situation did not improve, and the government finally decided to buy the village to make it a

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73 Even in the Meiji period, it was common for influential or wealthy men to keep mistresses, following the custom of the samurai class in the Edo period.

74 The Tokyo Kyôfûkai was founded in 1886 and actively campaigned against drinking and for the abolition of licensed prostitution. The society was also engaged in petition campaigns for the revision of the Criminal and Civil Codes.

reservoir for depositing copper poisons. Tanaka launched a vigorous campaign against this plan, but the government did not change the plan in spite of the opposition of villagers. He brought this issue as a social problem to the Shinkigen society, and the magazine decided to provide full support to his campaign

Hideko was deeply impressed by the enthusiasm of 64 year-old Tanaka who devoted himself to the fight. Tanaka often wrote letters to Hideko and other members of the society, describing the situation in Yanaka village. Hideko also wrote back to Tanaka and she continued to support him even after publishing *Sekai fujin.*

In November 1906, *Shin kigen* had to end its short life after issuing vol.13. This was because Ishikawa was urged by Sakai Toshihiko to enter the Heiminsha reestablished to publish a journal for the newly founded "Socialist Party of Japan".

4. Publication of *Sekai Fujin*

On January 1, 1907, nearly five years before the publication of *Seito*, Hideko published the first issue of *Sekai fujin* (Women of the World), with the assistance of Ishikawa Sanshirô and other former members of the Shinkigensha. It was a semimonthly magazine[75] with a form similar to the weekly *Heimin shimbun* and *Chokugen.* According to the memoirs of Ishikawa, *Sekai fujin* had a circulation of 1,000 to 2,000 copies. The price of the magazine was initially 4.5 sen (0.045 yen) a copy, but was raised to six sen from the twenty-second issue dated February 5, 1908.[76]

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[75] The magazine was scheduled to be published twice a month, the first day and fifteenth day of a month, but later changed to monthly publication due to managerial problems and the suppression by the authorities.

[76] Miyagawa Torao, "*Sekai fujin* kaisetsu" in *Sekai fujin – Meiji shakaishugi shiryôshû bessatu 1,* ed. Rôdô Undôshi Kenkyûkai (Tokyo: Meiji Bunken Shiryô Kankôkai, 1961) , p.III.

As mentioned in the Introduction, Hideko laid down the purposes and goals of this magazine in the front-page editorial. According to her, the reason for publishing the magazine was to "find women's talent and vocation and to inspire women to join a reform movement based on their natural talent". She urged the necessity for women to rise up and develop their own social movement because the "conditions currently prevailing in society are oppressing women's true nature." She hoped that the magazine would inspire women to engage in the difficult task of correcting the oppressive environment.

This opening address does not use a word "socialism" or state clearly the necessity of women's emancipation from the socialist standpoint. This was probably because Hideko and Ishikawa thought highly of the mission as a women's journal. The same is true of the announcement of *Sekai fujin*'s publication carried at the end of the last issue of *Shin kigen*. It says as follows:

> The mission of *Women of the World* is to accomplish the global emancipation of women. Therefore, the magazine should, first of all, work hard to introduce world ideas to women's society. *Women of the World* will report, discuss, and study the world political and social problems, religion, education, and literature from this standpoint.
>
> It will be the greatest honour for this magazine if it becomes a pioneer and inspirer of women's movement in Japan by carrying out its mission. Please wait and see who will be the chief editor of the magazine, what kind of people will write articles, and what movement will be launched.[77]

We could understand the goals of *Sekai fujin* through this article too, which was probably written by Ishikawa Sanshirô. He seems to have intentionally hidden the

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[77] *ibid.*, p.IV.

name of the chief editor, Fukuda Hideko to create interest among readers.

Assertions of *Sekai fujin*

Hideko came up with various ideas in publishing the first issue. A reproduction of Western painting depicting a flock of sheep and a shepherd girl was inserted in the center of the first page to create an international atmosphere. The magazine also carried pictures of Western women activists in subsequent issues. The title *Sekai fujin* at the upper right of the front page was hand-written by a Chinese revolutionary activist who was visiting Japan.

The contents of the magazine included opinions, comments, current events in Japan and abroad, short biographies of leading women activists in foreign countries, as well as practical articles on food, clothing and hobbies, literary works, and miscellaneous news including book reviews. The first issue of *Sekai fujin* carried articles written by the prominent figures of the times in order to give prestige to the magazine. The contributors to the first issue included Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919), the charismatic leader of the *Jiyû minken* movement, who wrote "Fujin no seiryoku" (Women's Power), Tanaka Shôzô who wrote "O-iwai" (Congratulations), Abe Isoo (1865-1949),[78] a Christian socialist, who wrote "Sekaiteki fujin no iden koto o nozomu" (I Hope International Women Will Appear), Sakai Toshihiko – "Fujin no tenshoku" (Women's Vocation), and Kinoshita Naoe – "Â, seinaru koi yo" (Ah, Sacred Love!). She also asked her friends and acquaintances from the popular rights movement days to write articles encouraging the publication of her magazine.

The slogan of the magazine was "women's emancipation". Even though she did not use the world "socialism" in her opening editorial, she declared the motto from the

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[78] Abe was also a major journalist of *Shin kigen*.

second issue, which said, "This magazine is a pioneer of the women's movement in Japan. Those who do not read this magazine are not true women". Under this slogan, Hideko tried to include in the magazine whatever she considered to be useful for achieving its goal.

Sekai fujin also emphasized freedom of love as a means for emancipating women. Many editorials and comments were about freedom of love and the subject matter of novels was often the tragedy caused by the patriarchal family system. For example, they wrote about a woman who was forced to marry a brother-in-law because her elder sister died, a woman who could not marry a man she loved because she came from *buraku* (literally, village),[79] and many women who were forced to marry for the sake of the family.

Usui Akiko asserts, in an essay titled "Risô no kekkon" (Ideal Marriage), that the real purpose of marriage is to make both men and women cultivate their moral character and a sound home can be built only through marriage based on true love.[80] Male contributors of the magazine, however, had different views on marriage. For example, Kôtoku Shûsui described himself as "in love with love, but not with marriage" because the "marriage restricts women's freedom." Women who respect freedom, he said, should have seven lovers through love, rather than have one husband through marriage.[81] Endô Tomoshirô argued that one should fall in love freely, not sticking to monogamy, because love is sacred.[82] Nonetheless, what they

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[79] *Buraku* is a region which is inhabited by people who are descended from *eta* and *hinin* (pariahs or outcasts), the lowest rank in the feudalistic class system. *Eta* and *hinin* were nominally emancipated by the Meiji Restoration, but their descendants continued to be discriminated against.

[80] *Sekai fujin* vol.10 (May 15, 1907).

[81] "Fujin shôkan" in *Sekai fujin,* vol.2 (January 15, 1907).

[82] "Ren'ai ni tsuite in *Sekai fujin*, vol.8 (April 15, 1907)

had in common was an emphasis on the relation respecting individuals and a repulsion toward the feudalistic family system.

What ideas did Hideko have on women's emancipation? Her wish was to work for the emancipation of world women, siding with the losers, the weak and defeated. She thinks poor women today must make a dual fight, against the rich and men, because they are a slave to both.[83] She says in the article it is necessary to first abolish the hierarchical discrimination against women before crying for economic emancipation. The urgent task was to revise the laws ill-treating and despising women.[84] In addition to the Public Peace Police Law which deprived women of political freedom, the Penal Code and the Civil Code were also discriminatory against women. Under the Penal Code, the husband could sue his wife for adultery to sentence her to less than two years in prison, but the wife was not allowed to bring an action against her husband who committed adultery. Under the Civil Code of 1898, the wife's adultery provided a reason for divorce, regardless of whether the partner was single or not, but the husband's adultery was overlooked if the partner was not married. Even if the husband committed adultery with a married woman, the divorce was not allowed unless the husband of the adulterous wife brought a charge against the husband and he was given a punishment. Furthermore, married women were classified as "incapacitated persons" (along with minors, the mentally ill, the deaf, dumb, and blind) in terms of property rights, inheritance rights, and parental authority. Hideko urged women to be aware of such discrimination against women and launch campaigns to revise these laws.

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83 "Fujin kaihô ni tsuite" *Sekai fujin*, vol.37 (June 5, 1909).

84 "Danjo michi o koto ni su" in *Sekai fujin*, vol.30 (November 5, 1908).

To encourage Japanese women's movements, *Sekai fujin* also introduced the women's suffrage movement developing in other countries. Especially in Britain, bills to revise the election laws were submitted to Parliament several times, but they were rejected each time. The women's suffrage movement later intensified and tens of thousands women participated in demonstrations, demanding the right to vote. Leading women activists crashed into Parliament to hold meetings or observe the sessions, resulting in their arrest. The magazine also introduced the status of women and suffrage movement in France, Germany, Russia, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Iceland, America, Persia, Switzerland, Holland, Ch'ing China, Australia, Canada, and South Africa.

In New Zealand, Australia, and Finland, women had already obtained the suffrage since 1893, 1902, and 1906, respectively. In Finland, particularly, nineteen women, including socialists, had been elected as members of Parliament thanks to zealous campaigns. In France, Denmark, and Iceland, women had been given the right to vote the city assembly members.

German women were not allowed to join political associations, and Austrian women could not attend political meetings, but the women's movement was actively developing in these countries too.

In August 1907, the first international socialist women's meeting was held in Stuttgart in Germany. *Sekai fujin* (vol.28) writes about this meeting that "it was a great shame to us comrades that Japanese women could not participate in the meeting. We will start vigorous activities from now, determined to send delegates to the next meeting."[85] It seems these articles helped to encourage the Japanese

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[85] *Sekai fujin* (September 5, 1908)

movements.

Campaigns of *Sekai fujin*

The magazine placed special emphasis on two campaigns: the revision of Article 5 of the Public Peace Police Law, which was the first step toward woman suffrage, and the Yanaka Village Relief Campaign.

Hideko writes of her determination to engage in the campaign to obtain women's political freedom as follows:

> Two years ago, the members of the Heiminsha asked me to participate in the movement to submit a petition to the House of Representatives for the revision of the Public Peace Police Law. However, I declined the offer, saying that such a movement should be left in the hands of younger people because I am a failure in life and have little learning or ability. Unfortunately, the petition movement failed, and I was deeply sorry about that.
>
> This year, however, I came to manage this magazine, and I felt the responsibility to work for the revision of this insulting law, as the first step to eliminate the fetters binding women. I therefore decided to devote myself to this work in cooperation with the members, Sakai Tameko, Kôtoku Chiyoko, and Imai Utako, who invited me to the movement two years ago.[86]

The movement was reported in detail in the magazine as it made progress. As in the previous case, several hundred petition forms were printed. Then, Hideko explained the purpose of the campaign in the magazine and gathered signatures by sending forms to sympathisers in the metropolis and in the country. Next, on January 21, 1907, she visited Ehara Soroku, a member of the House of Representatives, together with Sakai Tameko and Imai Utako. Ehara had helped the movement since the first petition of 1905. He assured them that he would make

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[86] "Undô nisshi" in *Sekai fujin* vol..3 (February 1, 1907).

the utmost effort to realize the petition this time.

Soon, signed forms arrived one after another from kindred spirits across the country. The petition gathering 223 signatures was handed to Ehara on February 11, and was approved in the House Petition Subcommittee on February 27. Then the petition was submitted for debate at the Petition Committee, and on March 16 the "bill to revise the Public Peace Police Law" was introduced to the Diet. This bill was to eliminate the clause prohibiting women from attending or promoting political meetings. It was passed almost unanimously at the plenary session of the House of Representatives, but the government commissioners opposed to the bill on the grounds that it would damage feminine virtue.

On March 27, Hideko and Sakai Tameko attended the plenary session of the House of Peers,[87] to which the bill was submitted. The bill was voted down by an absolute majority there. Hideko was outraged by the bigoted House of Peers. She wrote in the magazine that the bill was rejected by the "obsolete, out-of-date, and illogical oppositions, which came from the brain regarding women as slaves."[88]

The next year, another petition movement was launched by the magazine, but this time Hideko was unable to fully participate in it because she was taking care of her 83 year-old mother. The petition was rejected again at the House of Peers.

The Yanaka Village Relief Campaign was taken over from the Shinkigen society. The government and Tochigi prefectural authorities steadily proceeded with the plan to make Yanaka village a reservoir. Tanaka blamed the government for taking

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[87] The House of Peers constituted the Imperial Diet, together with the House of Representatives, under the Meiji Constitution. It represented the privileged class, and its members were from the Imperial family, the nobility, Imperial nominees, and large taxpayers.

[88] *Sekai fujin* vol.7 (April 1, 1907).

patched-up measures instead of undertaking the fundamental afforestation and riparian measures. He supported the villagers who refused to move out to keep the family estate. However, the number of villagers still fighting decreased to only sixteen families. On January 26, 1907, the land expropriation notice was issued in the name of Prime Minister Saionji Kinmochi (1849-1940) to force the remaining villagers to move out. Tanaka encouraged the remaining villagers to fight against the government and prefectural authorities. On March 14, Hideko visited Yanaka village with fellow members to console the villagers.

The village had enjoyed rich agricultural production, but since the village dike broke in 1902, the government had deliberately left it unrepaired. As a result, it became impossible to produce rice because of frequent floods. The villagers grew wheat during the summer for a living. However, when the villagers were making a small bank to protect the wheat field that year, a flood caused by heavy rain inundated the field. Now, the villagers had nothing to eat. *Sekai fujin* immediately asked for donations to help the Yanaka villagers.

The prefectural authorities finally started destroying the houses by force. The villagers were obliged to see their old houses knocked down right before their eyes. One week later, all the villagers were thrown out in the open with their household goods. They still kept their land by building make-shift huts. In August, another flood swept over the huts.

Hideko frequently visited Yanaka village with fellow members. She distributed the relief funds and clothing collected through the campaign. At this time the authorities increased their guard, and policemen began to tail the party who visited the village.

5. Government's Suppression and Discontinuation of the Magazine

The authorities had kept an eye on *Sekai fujin* since its publication. The magazine faced constant government suppression.

The readers of *Sekai fujin* seemed to be mostly socialists, and their sympathizers and family members, but the magazine staffers made efforts to expand readers. In the afternoon of January 24, 1907, a woman staffer brought some 200 copies of the first issue of *Sekai fujin* and handed them out to the students in front of the gate of a women's college in Mejiro. However, because of interference from the school authorities, the staffer had to turn back halfway.

Local readers living in the dormitories of girls' high schools and *joshi shihan* (women's normal schools) wrote to the editorial office, saying that they would stop their subscription to the magazine temporarily because of tough controls over *shugi* (socialism) by school authorities. It is said the dormitory superintendent made frenzied efforts to find the subscribers by asking the post office for help.[89] Such severe interference seems to have decreased the number of readers.

According to *Shakaishugisha enkaku daini* (Second Volume of Socialist History), the authorities designated the magazine as the successor of *Shin kigen*, and reported that "the leaders of this faction were three persons: Kinoshita Naoe, Ishikawa Sanshirô, and Fukuda Hideko. Later, correcting this record, they mentioned, "Ishikawa Sanshirô and Fukuda Hideko, a common-law couple, used to belong to the Kinoshita group, but the couple gained control of the magazine after parting from Kinoshita, and associated with Katayama Sen (1859-1933), Nishikawa Kôjiro (1876-

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[89] Murata, *Fukuda Hideko*, p.147

1940) and Sakai Toshihiko.[90]

Even though Hideko took charge of the editing, publication, and management of the magazine, the nominal editor/publisher was Ishikawa Sanshirô from vol.1 to vol.11, Kanzaki Jun'ichi from vol.12 to vol.28, and Ishikawa again from vol.29 to the last issue. It seems this was because other members tried to protect her from imprisonment in consideration of her situation as the mother raising three children.[91]

By 1907, the business boom after the Russo-Japanese War had cooled down, and signs of a financial crisis began to appear. As the number of bankruptcies and unemployed persons increased, labour movements intensified. In particular, the miners of the Ashio Copper and Besshi Copper Mines demanded wage increases and better working conditions. When their demands were rejected, they rose in revolt and the authorities dispatched the army to crush them. The socialists tried to support those labour movements. In February 1907, the government banned the Socialist Party of Japan, and in April prohibited the publication of the daily Heimin Shimbun. In January 1908, Sakai Toshihiko and other socialists were sent to prison for violation of the Public Peace Police Law, and in May, Nishikawa Kôjirô's Tokyo Shakai Shimbun was prosecuted for the press law violation. In June, in the so-called *Akahata* (Red Flag) Incident, fourteen socialists were arrested and nine were imprisoned, including Sakai Toshihiko and Ôsugi Sakae (1885-1902).[92] In July 1908, the Saionji Cabinet resigned and was replaced by the Katsura Cabinet, which was much more reactionary than its predecessor.

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90 Miyagawa, "*Sekai fujin* kaisetsu", p.V.

91 Murata, *Fukuda Hideko*, p.142.

92 These socialists were arrested because that they hoisted a red flag with the words "Anarchism/Communism" and sang revolutionary songs.

In such an oppressive climate, the magazine suffered the first suppression in September 1908 when the authorities bannd Ishikawa Sanshirô's *Kyomu no reikô* (Mysterious Light of Nothingness) published by the Sekai Fujin Society. The society was financially damaged by this incident. Then, *Sekai fujin* vol.28 dated September 5 was banned for violating Article 33 of the Newspaper Ordinance, because the essay "Saisho no teki" (The First Enemy) allegedly disturbed social order. This essay said, "The first enemy that we meet as soon as we enter society is the parents and master. Yes, the parents are the enemy of children, and the master is the foe of servants. If you really love justice and want freedom, you must beat your first enemy, namely, your parents and master." The author Kakuda Meisaku also said "if our parents or master oppressed us by using the power of money, we must raise a voice of resistance to them." The editor/publisher of the magazine was fined a total of 40 yen (20 yen as editor and another 20 yen as publisher) by Tokyo District Court. The prosecutor took the case to a higher court, and an even higher fine of 100 yen was imposed there. Although the magazine appealed, the same sentence was passed by the Supreme Court.

We are not sure who Kakuda Meisaku really was because it was a pen name. His essays also appear in *Sekai fujin* vols.23, 24, and 26. In the essay titled "Zuikanshû"[93], he argued that "labourers owned by capitalists, women owned by men, and children owned by parents are all proletarians. It is only after they rebel against capitalists, men, and parents, respectively that we can flutter the Red Flag of revolution high in the air." When this essay was published, no accusation was brought against the magazine. The fact that an essay with similar content was

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[93] *Sekai fujin* vol.24 (April 5, 1908)

severely punished five months later shows how the government's suppression intensified during this period.

Under the Newspaper Ordinance, any newspaper or magazine which wanted to discuss current events had to pay a guarantee of 500 yen to the authorities when starting publication. Because of the financial difficulties caused by the heavy fine, *Sekai fujin* was obliged to take back this money and become a *gakujutsu zasshi* (learned journal) from 1909. Accordingly, the magazine could no longer discuss current events. This was a heavy blow to the magazine. The journal became unable to comment on political matters, let alone support the campaign to revise Article 5 of the Public Peace Police Law.

In early 1909, Hideko suffered an unexpected misfortune: the death of her mother Umeko, with whom Hideko had shared joys and sorrows of life. Her mother was the pride and encouragement to Hideko in her difficult life. In memory of her mother, Hideko published a special issue, "Kageyama Umeko Kinengô," in commemoration of her mother as Vol.33 of *Sekai fujin.* The publication of this issue demonstrates Hideko's deep love and respect for her mother and her leading role in managing the magazine.

The suppression by the authorities continued even after *Sekai fujin* became a learned journal. The New Year issue (vol.32) was charged with exceeding the scope of a learned journal. A fine of five yen was imposed on the editor Ishikawa.

Vol.37 (June 5, 1909) was charged by the Metropolitan Police Department with including articles commenting on current topics. In particular, Hideko's "Fujin kaihôron" (Theories of Women's Liberation) and Abe Isoo's "Fujin to sanseiken" (Women and Suffrage) were harshly reprimanded. On July 5, *Sekai fujin* published

vol.38, which became the last issue, and three articles in the magazine, including Ishikawa's "Hakaba" (Graveyard), were charged with a violation against the Newspaper Ordinance. "Hakaba" was an essay lamenting that the world had become a dismal place like a graveyard because of commercialism. After the trial, Ishikawa was fined 100 yen and the publication of the magazine was prohibited by the Tokyo District Court. Later he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment by the Tokyo Appeal Court. *Sekai fujin* fell into severe financial difficulties due to the repeated suppression from the authorities. Thus, the magazine was obliged to cease publication after two and a half years of bitter struggle.

Now Hideko had to endure the imprisonment of Ishikawa, heavy fines, and further poverty. Hideko writes to Tanaka Shôzô about the distress she felt at that time as follows:

> As you know, now I get up five o'clock in the morning and spend the whole morning cooking and washing. Then in the afternoon I go peddling.[94] I am really sorry that I have to work so hard every day to make a living. This is all because of the heavy fines that I have to suffer so much.[95]

Hideko's later years were also ill-fated. In addition to extreme poverty, she had to part from Ishikawa, whom she ardently admired. After being released from prison, he decided to defect to Belgium to start a new life there. Shortly after, she fell ill with chronic beriberi in her solitary house. Under such circumstances Hideko's article "Fujin mondai no kaiketsu" (The Solution to the Women's Problem), appeared in the special issue of *Seitô*. Because of this article, the February 1913 issue of the

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94 She sold kimono fabrics to old acquaintances to make a living.
95 Murata, *Fukuda Hideko*, p.156.

magazine was banned. I will describe the article "The Solution to the Women's Problem" in detail in the next chapter.

Hideko ended her eventful life on May 2, 1927, at the age of 62. At the news of her death, two special policemen were sent to her house to confirm her death. Her funeral was attended by many socialist friends as well as former *Jiyû minken* activists who had been involved in the Osaka Incident.

IV. HRATSUKA RAICHÔ AND *SEITÔ*

Now, let us turn to the life of Hiratsuka Raichô, a leading Japanese woman activist well-known both in Japan and abroad for the publication of *Seitô* as well as for her later activities in women's movement and peace movement.

In contrast to the direct action taken by Fukuda Hideko, Raichô basically acted through her pen and developed her ego through internal cultivation. Her main concern was self-discovery and self-fulfillment. This difference comes from her character, and the era and the wealthy environment in which she was brought up. Let us trace her life to understand how she came to publish the journal, *Seitô*, which is widely known as the first women's movement in modern Japan.

1. Early Life of Hiratsuka Haru (Raichô)

Hiratsuka Haru was born in 1886 as the third daughter (the first daughter died young) of a respectable government official. Her father Sadajirô was from the samurai class in Kishû (present-day Wakayama prefecture in western Japan). After the Meiji Restoration, Sadajirô's father went up to Tokyo, abandoning the estate and the headship of the family. The new life in Tokyo was probably difficult for the family which left its hometown. Sadajirô noticed that the man who had good command of German was highly valued in spite of the low rank in the hierarchical military. Realizing the importance of the foreign language, he decided to study German and entered a language school. Because he was very capable, he skipped three classes and was about to graduate from the school when his father fell ill and he

was unable to pay the school expenses. He reluctantly decided to quit school, but the principal of the school sympathized with him and selected him as a teacher of the school.

Thanks to his German skills, he was rapidly promoted in the official world. Given credit for his language ability and legal knowledge, Sadajirô took part in the drafting of the Meiji Constitution which was modeled after the Prussian Constitution. He was hard-working and wrote his own books and translated many German books. Sadajirô married Tsuya at the age of twenty-two. He went to Europe as a member of the Board of Audit in 1887, one year after Haru was born. There, he was very much impressed by the Western way of living, like many Japanese who visited the West during the "enlightenment" period, and brought back a lot of souvenirs from Europe, such as sewing machines, Western clothes, dolls and toys for his wife and daughters. He brought his "Western taste" to his family life, especially his taste for Western civil life. Raicho recalls her early life in her autobiography:

> On Sundays, my family often went out together. Nowadays it is common for the family to go out on holidays but in those days it was not a common practice. We went to Ueno Zoo, Asakusa, Botaical Garden in Koishikawa, and Dangozaka for chrysanthemum-viewing, according to the season.[96]

Sadajirô often played games and cards with his young daughters. Thus, Raicho had a happy childhood. She did well at school; she was usually at the top of her class. Her only weakness was that she could not speak or sing loudly because of vocal organ trouble.

Even though Sadajirô was civilized and a good father, he was also a typical Meiji

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[96] Hitarsuka Raichô, *Ganshi josei wa taiyô de atta* vol.1 (Tokyo: Ôtsuki Shoten, 1971), pp.37-38.

man. He was a firm believer in the Emperor and Confucian ethics. Every morning he read aloud the divine message and the Imperial rescript. He respected the Imperial Family deeply and was also the embodiment of loyalty and filial piety. On the other hand, her mother Tsuya was brought up in *shitamachi* (the district where many merchants and artisans live in Edo). As a child, she learned *tokiwazu* (a school of *jôruri*) and was an accredited master of *tokiwazu* music. Because it was not customary for samurai women to learn *tokiwazu* or *samisen* (three-stringed Japanese banjo) and Sadajirô, who was from a samurai family, did not like the townspeople's music, she stopped dancing and singing after she married him. Like many other Meiji women, she always lived in compliance with her husband' will. She disciplined her children strictly, but it was she who always supported Raichô behind her father's back when she later published the magazine *Seito.*

Awakening of Ego

After graduating from the primary school, Haru entered the Ochanomizu Girls' High School in Tokyo, which was chosen by her father. Haru did not like this school, which was under the direct control of the Ministry of Education. She found the classes boring, because the education there aimed at making a good wife, wise mother, based on feudalistic and Confucian ethics. Raicho's self-consciousness gradually developed in her girls' high school days. She boycotted *shûsin* (moral training) classes because she felt most "repelled" by moral teaching. Unconscious resistance was born against her father who became increasingly "bureaucratic" as his position in the official world rose. The clash of opinions came for the first time when Sadajirô refused to allow Haru to climb Mt. Fuji, saying "Nonsense, such a place (Mt. Fuji) is

not for women and children".[97] Haru was deeply shocked by these words, and wished to climb the mountain without permission if she had had the money.

After graduating from Ochanomizu Girls' High School, she entered Japan Women's College, in spite of the opposition of her father, who now said "Higher education will make girls unhappy".[98] This attitude reflects the change in the Meiji government's policy toward women. During the so-called *kaimei-ki* (civilization and enlightenment period) after the Meiji Restoration, the government leaders encouraged people to introduce Western customs and life style, but they became increasingly nationalistic by the middle of the Meiji period, particularly after the victorious Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95.[99] With the change in government policy, Haru's plan to study English met with strong opposition from Sadajirô, who had sent his wife to an English school some time ago. However, thanks to her mother's intercession, her father finally allowed her to go to college on condition that she study domestic science, instead of English literature.

Reflecting the growing nationalism, Haru's family also underwent changes. Her mother, who used to wear Western clothes and Western hairstyle, now wore kimono with *marumage* (Japanese hairdo with an oval chignon toward the back of the head). Haru and her sister also changed their clothes and hairstyle to the Japanese way.

Raichô recalls her father's library decorated with Western rugs, a table and chairs, and a hanging lantern brought back from Europe. However, by the time Haru went

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97 *Ibid.*, p.120.

98 Hiratsuka, *Ganshi josei wa taiyô de atta* vol.1, p.133.

99 Japan defeated Ch'ing China, which was dubbed a "sleeping lion." The victory of this war gave rise to a strong sense of nationalism among Japanese people, especially after the Triple Intervention, in which Germany, Russia, and France demanded that the Japanese government renounce possession of the Liaotung Peninsula which had been ceded by the Treaty of Shimonoseki signed in 1895.

to Ochanomizu Girls' High School in 1898, these Western furnishings had disappeared, and the oil painting depicting a half-naked Western woman, hung on the wall of the living room, had been replaced by the Imperial Rescript on Education.[100]

The government promulgated the Girls' High School Ordinance in 1899 based on the good wife, wise mother principle. The Education Ministry's policy was to teach girls the skills useful to real life, such as sewing and housework, rather than giving them scholarly knowledge. Of the forty graduates from Ochanomizu Girls' High School, only a few students went on to upper schools. In those days, many people, including Sadajirô, believed higher education was not necessary for girls.

Zen Practice and Scholarly Life

Japan Women's College was established by Naruse Jinzô (1858-1918) in 1901.[101] Naruse, a pious Christian, founded this college to bring the new higher education to girls. He emphasized self study and creativity, denouncing the rote learning of formal education and talked to students with fervor. Like most other students, Haru was deeply impressed by Naruse's lectures on life, world and religion, and she became his ardent admirer. However, one year after entering college, she began to feel disappointment in school and also in Naruse. Thereafter, to find the meaning of life by herself, she pored over various kinds of books on religion, philosophy, and ethics, including the Bible. She was so devoted to reading books that she was treated as a heretic by other students.

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[100] This was issued in 1890 to spread nationalistic educational philosophy, which emphasized filial piety, loyalty and patriotism based on the Confucian family system.

[101] In the previous year, Tsuda Umeko founded a women's college offering a course for teachers of secondary schools. A private medical school was also founded in 1900. There were also government-sponsored normal schools which produced mainly primary school teachers. The education offered women at most colleges was equivalent to junior college.

Around this time, Tanaka Shôzô was vigorously fighting against the Ashio mining pollution, and Uchimura Kanzô, Kôtoku Shûsui, and Sakai Toshihiko were advocating antiwar ideas in the Yorozu Chôhô, opposing the Russo-Japanese war. However, unlike Fukuda Hideko, Haru was indifferent to these social and political developments, which seemed to her the "events happening in a far, far world".[102] This was partly because of the school policy of keeping the students away from actual society. She was only interested in inquiring into her inner life. Her preoccupation was questions such as "What is God?", "What is the self?", or "On what do people live?"

In search of answers, Haru attended the Bible lectures and went to Hongô church to listen to the sermons by Ebina Danjô. At the time he was very popular among students, but Haru was not much impressed by his sermons. She found him too eloquent to touch her heart, which was seeking the "true" God. She was not quite convinced by the Christian ideology, and became estranged from the church.

In this way, Haru was absorbed in the world of books in college days. One day, when she was in the third year, she visited a friend, Kimura Masako, in the hall of residence and happened to find a book in her room. It was a book on Zen. While riffling through the pages, she was taken aback by the sentence, "Do not seek *taidô* (basic moral principle) outside but seek it inside your heart." She felt this was a "revelation" to her who was wandering about the world of ideas. Soon, she began to practice Zen meditation in a small hermitage called *Ryôbôan*. The *kôan* (catechetical question for meditation) given by the master was "What is your innate honour before your parents were born?"[103] After six months' hard practice, she finally attained the

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[102] Hiratsuka, *Ganshi* vol.1, p.168.

[103] *Kôan* is a question that can not be understood or answered with rational thought. Its purpose is to break through rational patterns of thought to the clarity of intuitive enlightenment.

essence of Zen, called *kenshô* (understanding one's true character), and was conferred an *anmyô* (Buddhist name), Ekun, by the master. *Kenshô* opened up the true *taidô* which she had sought and sought.[104] She felt great mentally and physically, and walked around Tokyo with her friend Kimura. She later says that she was spiritually at the highest point around this time. It is difficult to say what Zen Buddhism meant to Raichô in her later life, but her views on life and philosophy are definitely influenced by it and we can not avoid this issue when we talk about Hiratsuka Raichô. She continued *zazen* (Zen meditation) all her life. We can imagine she cultivated her concentration, intuition, and decision power through Zen meditation, but on the other hand, it may have further developed her introspective and idealistic disposition.

In March 1906, Haru graduated from the domestic science department of Japan Women's College. Because she was not interested in domestic science at all, she wrote a graduation thesis entitled "History of Religious Development", summing up her three years' spiritual history. This unusual essay was accepted without being questioned, and she managed to graduate from college at the age of 20.

After graduation, she decided to study English and Chinese classics. She entered Joshi Eigaku Juku (Women's English School) in Kôji-machi without telling her parents, because she wanted to read more English books in the original. She also attended the lectures on Chinese literature because she felt it necessary to read Zen books. She paid her school expenses with the allowances given by her mother and earnings from her shorthand work. Haru had learned stenography in her college days because she wanted to pursue what she really wanted after graduating from

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[104] Hiratsuka, *Ganshi* vol.1, p.187.

college, as an independent person, by working as a stenographer as a means of living.[105]

In 1907, she began to attend another English school, Seibi Joshi Eigo Gakkô, quitting Joshi Eigaku Juku whose classes she found too rigid and boring. At the new school, a women's literary group, *Keishû bungakukai*, was established by Ikuta Chôkô, who was teaching at the school, and Haru joined this group. Among the lecturers of this group was Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), who was a well-known poet at the time and later wrote a powerful poem for the first issue of *Seitô*, encouraging Japanese women's advance into society.

On the advice of Ikuta, Haru read a wide variety of literature, from foreign literature, including novels written by Turgenev and Maupassant, to Japanese literature, including *Man'yôshû* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves), *Kokinshû* (Collection of Ancient and Modern Times), *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji), *Makura no sôshi* (Pillow Book), and *Tsurezuregusa* (The Essays in Idleness). Haru seemed to be stimulated by the brilliant Yamakawa Kikue (1890-1980)[106], who was also a member of *Keishû bungakukai*.

Thus, Haru spent all her time reading and practicing Zen meditation in a temple. It may sound strange that she could lead such a free and unrestrained life at a time when higher education was deemed unnecessary. The fact that her elder sister married and the Hiratsuka family had an heir may have helped Haru enjoy more leniency from her parents who had "absolute confidence" in her. She was given "the

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105 *ibid.*, p.180. However, she did not have to earn a living because she was living with her parents.

106 Yamakawa was a prominent activist in women's movements. She established a socialist women's organization, Sekirankai, in 1921 and engaged in women's liberation movements from the standpoint of socialism.

maximum freedom" by her parents for a girl of that day and age.[107] This was a period in which Haru cultivated her rich intellect and her brilliant wit which were to be released in the opening editorial of *Seitô*.

The Shiobara Incident

The Asahi Shimbun dated March 25, 1908 reported the incident known as the Shiobara Incident under the headline, "Bachelor of Arts novelist and women's college graduate attempt double suicide with a rise of Naturalism."[108]

According to this newspaper article, Hiratsuka Haruko, the second daughter of Hiratsuka Sadajirô, a section head of the Board of Audit, ran away from home around nine o'clock in the evening on March 21, and the family requested the police to search for their missing daughter. Haruko was caught by a policeman while she was wandering around Obana Pass in Shiobara village, hand in hand with her lover Morita Sôhei (his real name is Yonematsu) (1881-1949). Haruko's mother, together with Ikuta Chôkô, went to Shiobara to pick her up.

The newspaper further wrote:

> Haruko is by nature a strong-minded and beautiful lady. Her grades at school were excellent. After graduating from Japan Women's College, she further studied English and Zen, without paying any attention to marriage. Then she found a kindred spirit in a novelist teacher Morita and became intimate with him. However, he had left his wife and children in his hometown, and the couple chose to commit double suicide, discouraged about the future. This is the extraordinary news typical of rising Naturalism.

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[107] Hiratsuka, *Ganshi* vol.1, p.192.

[108] In Japan, Naturalism was introduced around 1900, and naturalistic literature was established by Shimazaki Tôson's *Hakai* (Breaking of Commandment) and Tayama Katai's *Futon*. This type of literature, characterized by the resistance to conventions and disclosure of social injustice, played an important role in creating modern realism and formation of the ego.

The article, which included some guesswork, was placed on the center of the general news page. This treatment shows how sensational the incident was at the time. People were particularly surprised because the parties concerned were from the privileged class: Morita was a landowner and graduate of Tokyo Imperial University and Haru was a daughter of a high-ranking official.

Now let's look at this incident. The above-mentioned *Keishû bungakukai* decided to publish a circular magazine on the recommendation of Ikuta Chôkô. Haru wrote her first novel, "Ai no matsujitu" (The Last Day of Love). This novel was about a young heroine who decided to part from a lover and become a teacher in the country to support herself.

The publication of the novel took an unexpected turn. One of the lecturers, Morita Sôhei, sent Haru a long letter stating his impressions on the novel in January 1908. This led to a personal association and eventually, to the attempted double suicide in snow covered Shiobara on March 23. Morita was 28, and Haru was 23 years old.

This was a rather mysterious incident as Natsume Sôseki (1867-1916), Morita's master and a leading novelist in modern Japan, said: "I do not understand it at all. This was nothing but 'playing with fire'. In my understanding, both of them looked serious but in reality they were just playing a game."[109]

It is questionable whether Haru really wished to kill herself. She seemed to be a strange girl to Morita. She sometimes looked provocative, but rebuffed him when he made advances to her. She accepted his challenge, which said, "There is no other way to love you but by killing you. I kill you, but I do not die. I am an artist and

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[109] Quoted in Ide Fumiko, *Hiratsuka Raichô – kindai to shinpi* – (Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1987), p.48.

novelist. I must ascertain what changes I would undergo after killing you. Therefore, I will take flight as far as I can."[110]

Haru left a note at home, which said, "I have accomplished the system of my life. I fall down because of my own 'cause', and not forced by others."[111]

These is no denying that she was in love with Morita, but it seems she was rather thrilled to act as she wished and step into an unknown world. Ide Fumiko says that Haru was enjoying increasing freedom of mind after achieving *kenshô*. She was so curious to "know everything" that she even played with death.[112] She tested herself and the man to see what he could do to her. She knew this was a safe bet.

Because of this reckless action, however, Haru had to face severe criticism from the world. Japan Women's College eliminated her name from the list of alumnae. Her father was advised to retire from government service because of the scandal. However, she did not care a bit what other people would say about her, although she felt sorry for causing troubles to her parents. To avoid the persistent inquiry of mass media and the curious public eye, Haru decided to leave home and moved to a room in Enkakuji temple in Kamakura.

2. Birth of *Seito*

The idea of publishing a literary magazine made entirely by women came from Ikuta Chôkô, who, sensing Haru's unusual talent, encouraged her to pursue intellectual development and creative impulse. When Ikuta suggested his idea to

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110 Hiratsuka, *Ganshi* vol.1, p.226.
111 *ibid.*, p.231.
112 Ide, *Hiratsuka Raichô*, p.63.

Haru, she was not much interested in it, because she did not intend to make a career as a novelist. She talked about this plan with her sister's friend, Yasumochi Yoshiko, who was looking for a job after graduating from the Japanese literature department of Japan Women's College. Yasuko leaped at this opportunity, saying, "Let's do it together. I will do anything I can."[113] Haru decided to go ahead, encouraged by Yasumochi's enthusiasm. The funds for publishing a magazine were provided by Haru's mother, who agreed to pay the expenses from the money set aside in preparation for Haru's marriage.

Once she made up her mind, Haru started on a lively course of action. She wrote the prospectus and draft articles of association for the Seitôsha. The purpose of the magazine was "to produce women geniuses by inspiring women to awake from the idle slumber and demonstrate their natural gifts."[114] Haru believed that the woman's superior characteristics are obscured by the social circumstances and that she should show her innate abilities by removing such weights.

The founding members of the Seitôsha were Raichô, Yasumochi, Kiuchi Teiko, Nakano Hatsu, and Mozume Kazuko. Kiuchi and Nakano were the graduates of Japan Women's College, and Mozume was an alumna of Ochanomizu Girls' High School. All of them were middle-class intellectual women close to Raichô. Nakano was an editor of the bulletin for the nurse's association and was a *shokugyô fujin* (career woman) at the time. These five founding members worked hard to ask women writers to contribute articles for the magazine, collect the articles, negotiate with the printing office, and find advertisers.

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113 Hiratsuka, *Ganshi* vol.1, p.293.
114 *ibid.*, p.296.

Haru wrote the famous opening editorial "Ganshi josei wa taiyô de atta" (In the beginning, woman was the Sun) at a stretch on the night before the deadline as if the water had gushed out from the open floodgate. This essay was a cry for the emancipation of self. She used the pen name Raichô for the first time when she wrote this essay. Raichô, which means a snow grouse, is a bird living in the mountains of the Japan Alps, standing aloof from the world. This pen name became so famous that she is usually called Hiratsuka Raichô after the publication of *Seitô*.

The opening message of *Seitô* is widely regarded as the first women's rights declaration and has become the symbol of women's freedom However, Raichô did not "even dream" the essay would later have any effect on Japanese women's liberation movement. What she had in mind was that the woman should first be conscious of herself as an individual. Raichô's idea was that a spiritual revolution is necessary for the woman to awake as an individual and to fully emancipate the ego. For this purpose, woman should dig up this valuable self from inside and establish her ego as a full human being by removing internal and external pressures.

Meaning of the Sun

In the opening editorial, Raichô repeated the phrase, "In the beginning, woman was the Sun. Today she is the moon," as if it were a refrain. What did she mean by the Sun when she compared women to it? Westerners, like Sharon Nolte, may think the Sun that once was woman is the goddess Amaterasu, greatest in the Shinto pantheon, and mother of the divine imperial line.[115] On the other hand, many people point out the influence of the German philosopher Friedrich W. Nietzsche (1844-1900)

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[115] Nolte, H. Sharon, *Liberalism in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p.98.

on the essay. Raichô was interested in Nietzsche from her college days and she would have read his book *Also sprach Zarathustra*, translated into Japanese by Ikuta Chôkô in April 1911, in which the rhetoric of the sun and the moon is often used. In fact, Zarathustra's words that women are rash and frivolous are quoted in the essay. According to Nietzsche, the sun is the image of hopeful ideals and the moon symbolizes the sick egoism.[116]

However, Raichô strongly denies that she borrowed Nietzsche's rhetoric of the sun and the moon. She says she sympathized with Nietzsche's thought because it was similar to what she experienced and learned though Zen meditation.

Takamure Itsue says Raichô's "declaration of women's rights" is very Japanese and is "the voice coming from *josei saishi*, women's rituals which were held in primitive Japan (ideology of primitive communist society)."[117] Primitive society was based on common property, without "family" units. All adult men were called fathers, adult women were mothers and all boys and girls were called children. Children were nurtured jointly and all housework was shared. People built small shrines on mountain passes to worship the sun, and young and old of both sexes directly touched the mystery of universe. This was an affectionate and peaceful society. The gift hidden in Japanese women would reappear in a new primitive form, transcending the process of equal rights for men and women to be brought by the present capitalistic society. This ability to foretell the reappearance of women's gift is the very "heavenly revelation inside us". According to Takamure, Raichô did not know this, but she had sensed it. Her statement is very intuitive and abstract, but it is full of power and

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[116] Ide Fumiko, *Seitô no onnatachi* (Tokyo: Kaien shobô, 1975), pp.38-39.
[117] Takamure Itsue, *Josei no rekishi*, vol.3 (Tokyo: Dainihon yûbenkai kôdansga, 1958), p.261.

conviction. No Japanese woman had ever spoken with such dignity and confidence.[118]

Raichô herself says in her autobiography that the Sun – *daienkôtai* (big luminous body) in Zen, repeated in the opening editorial, symbolizes the source of life, and "We must show our hidden Sun and our hidden talent" means the wish to fully recover women's lost talent – creativity. She says, "The difference between human beings and animals is that we have concentration power. Thanks to this wonderful concentration power, human beings can study the source of life and draw out a limitless ability."[119] However, women have lost this concentration power in the course of their long history and have become spiritless and dependent. Raichô therefore urged women to recover this power by their own efforts and to show their potential ability. Thus, she encouraged women to bring about an internal revolution, placing hopes on women's future. This call to women became a herald of emancipation for the suffering women bound by old morals.

Unexpected Sensation

The first issue of *Seitô* was published on September 1, 1911, two years after Fukuda Hideko's *Sekai fujin* ceased publication. As mentioned above, the government intensified its oppression of the socialist movement which had started after the Sino-Japanese war, and in January 1911, the authorities dealt the socialists a decisive blow with the *Taigyaku jiken* (Great Treason Incident). As the socialist movement became increasingly radical, Christians, intellectuals, and students gradually increased their distance from socialism, even though they had supported or

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118 *ibid.*, p.262.

119 Hiratsuka, *Ganshi* vol.1, pp.335-336.

cooperated with it at its early stage. They developed their own thought, separating them from socialism. Thus, there existed a clear discontinuation between *Sekai fujin* and *Seitô*.

When the magazine raised the voice of "self assertion" from the women's standpoint, it created an unexpectedly large sensation. Even the fact that the journal was created entirely by women attracted a good deal of attention in those days. It had a striking cover designed by Naganuma Chieko, who later married Takamura Kôtarô (1883-1956), a famous poet and sculptor. The cover depicted a Greek-style standing woman with long braided hair in an exotic decorative lay-out.

The poem on the first page written by Yosano Akiko, the queen of *tanka* (31-syllable Japanese poem) in Meiji Japan, was a vigorous celebration of women's future. Her poem "Sozorogoto" (Wandering Thoughts) uses the metaphor of a rumbling volcano long dormant in a mountain to symbolize the power of women:

> The day the mountains move has come.
> I speak, but no one believes me,
> For a time the mountains have been asleep,
> But long ago they all danced with fire.
> It doesn't matter if you do not believe that,
> But people should believe this:
> All the sleeping women
> Are now awake and moving.

This poem, coupled with Raichô's opening editorial, is widely loved by the Japanese people and has a symbolic meaning encouraging women's advance into society. The poem has also become a hallmark of international feminism.[120]

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[120] The poem was read at the 1985 meeting in Nairobi commemorating the United Nations International Year of Women.

The magazine attracted many women writers isolated in the male-dominated literary world, as well as young intellectually-conscious women, as a place to express their assertions toward society. Letters and subscriptions to the magazine poured into the Seitôsha office from young readers who were deeply moved by the magazine. The circulation was initially expected to be one thousand copies, but one year later, it increased to three thousand. At the same time, the number of members and supporting members of the society also rapidly increased, because the magazine opened its gate to those who were interested in literature. The articles of association were as follows:

> Article 1. The purpose of this society is to develop women's literature, let women display their innate talents, and produce women geniuses some day.
>
> ...
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> Article 5. The society shall accept as the members of the society, regardless of race, any women writers, would-be women writers, and women literature lovers who support the purpose of this society. The society shall accept distinguished women writers who support the purpose of the society, as the supporting members of the society. The society shall accept men who support the purpose of the society as guest members, only if they earn the esteem of the members.[121]
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> ...

Thanks to this appeal, at the end of 1911 fourteen new members joined the society and by February of the next year the society had fifty-seven members and supporting members combined. *Seitô* also won important support from established women writers, including Yosano Akiko, and Tamura Toshiko (1884-1945), who wrote for the first issue. The society also included women tied to the mainstream or Japan's literary community by kinship and marriage: Mori Shigeko, the wife of novelist Mori

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[121] Ide, *Seitô no onnatachi*, pp.16-17.

Ôgai (1862-1922), Koganei Kimiko, Mori's younger sister, and Kunikida Haruko, the wife of novelist Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908). These supporting members agreed to write for the magazine with virtually no manuscript fees. Thus, the magazine made a good start. Raichô realized the heavy responsibility brought by the unexpectedly large response to he magazine. She wrote in "From Editorial Office" of *Seitô* at the end of 1911:

> We will become newer, more beautiful, powerful, bigger, and stronger day by day. We have a future which will evolve endlessly. We must continue to take a self-assertive attitude. We must go straight on taking a thoroughly rebellious, negative, and fighting attitude... We must get over the peak of self-assertion which rises high in the distance, however difficult it may be...[122]

Even though *Seitô* was a coterie magazine, there is no denying Raichô was the centripetal force of the magazine. Many young members joined the society attracted by Riachô's charm, thought, and ability, including Odake Kazue (she was usually called by her pen name Kôkichi) and Itô Noe.

Emergence of New Women

On July 30, 1912, the Emperor Meiji passed away, and the Meiji era came to an end, replaced by the new era Taishô. However, it seemed to be a distant event to the *Seitô* members. Virtually no articles were written about the death of the Emperor in the magazine.

In those days, the words "new women" were frequently used by the mass media, along with "women of the new era", "awakened women", and "women pursuing novelty." It is said that it was Tsubouchi Shôyô (1859-1935), a distinguished novelist

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[122] Ide, *Hiratsuka Raichô*, pp.85-86.

and playwright at the time, that used the words "new women" for the first time. He used these words in a lecture titled "New Women in Modern Drama" given in Osaka. In this lecture, he introduced the heroines of modern drama, such as Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House.* Tsubouchi asserted: "The independence of women was the worldwide trends after the invention of a steam locomotive, and the era would soon come when women would push men aside and step forward as if termites destroy the foundation of a house."[123]

In November 1911, the Bungei Kyôkai (Literary Association) led by Tsubouchi presented *A Doll's House*, starring the beautiful young actress Matsui Sumako (1886-1919) and directed by Shimamura Hôgetsu (1871-1918). This controversial production, with a strong performance by Matsui and the explosive message of the play, created an immediate sensation in a society where women had few, if any, rights.

It is hard to imagine today, but whether actresses were necessary or not aroused controversy then, because, in Kabuki, female roles had traditionally been played by male actors. The realistic performance of Matsui playing Nora settled this question, bringing women actresses to the stage again after a three-hundred-year banishment. A group of "new women" was being formed by the women who bravely jumped into this new profession. Nora became synonymous with these new women, and it was soon to be associated with the Seitôsha members.

Since the first issue, *Seitô* had carried translations of Western works. The first issue included Merezhkovskii's "On Hedda Gabler" translated by Raichô, and the second issue carried the "Joint Review on Hedda Gabler." *Seitô* published a special number on *A Doll's House* in January 1912. "Supplement Nora" took up two thirds of

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[123] Ide, *Seitô no onnatachi*, p.119.

the whole issue, carrying articles about Nora, including Sumako's pictures and comments. One of the powerful comments was written by Ueno Yôko. She wrote an article titled "From *A Doll's House* to the Women's Question", in which she said,

> "Ah! I know hundreds of millions of women are enduring the treatment much worse than the one Nora experienced. Nora's self-awareness is the world women's self-awareness. Or rather, I wish it to be that way. The moment Nora became conscious of herself, her suffering and hard fight began. Nora would really need a strong will. ... Nora's future is our future.[124]

Ueno Yôko became a member of the Seitôsha immediately after the first issue of *Seitô*. She was married to a naval officer and moved to various places as his post changed, from Fukui, to Sasebo, Kamakura, Kyoto, and Nagoya. However, she continued to teach at girls' school in new places. She talked about *Seitô* in classes and openly criticized the Ministry of Education's policy on girl's education. One of her former student was Oku Mumeo, who later participated in the foundation of the New Women's Association in 1918 and devoted herself to raising women's status. Oku says she was deeply influenced by Ueno's teaching.

Another article on Nora was written by Katô Midori, who was married to a critic. She participated in the group from the beginning, and mostly wrote novels for the magazine, while working as a journalist of the Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun (Tokyo Daily News). She said, "Nora strikes us women who are straying in this transitional period. Nora's self-awareness is a big question of today rather than of tomorrow."

Yasumochi Yoshiko wrote "Nora's questions are also Helmer's questions, as well as social questions, which will ultimately lead to religious questions. We should

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[124] *Seitô*, 2.1 (January 1912).

consider *A Doll's House*, associating with our daily life, rather than just as a drama."

In contrast to other members' views, Raichô is sharply critical of both Nora and the drama itself. She wrote an article titled "Nora-san e" (Dear Nora) as follows:

> Dear Nora,
>
> Japanese women cannot quite believe that a woman acting so instinctively and blindly was the mother of three children, and not a young girl of fourteen or fifteen.
>
> Nora, you did not have a double life which every human being has. You did not have a peaceful world in which you look at yourself as an onlooker.... The slamming of the door behind you was a high-spirited act. But once outside, you would find yourself in total darkness.

What was important to Raichô was the relief of one's own spirit. She was concerned for Nora's future because her decision to leave home was based not on the discovery of her true self, but on an incomplete self-knowledge that could not lead to real freedom and independence. This sharp criticism of Nora may be partly attributable to Raichô's lack of experience as a married woman.

In spite of these moderate opinions on Nora, the Seitôsha members were labeled "Japanese Noras" after the publication of the special issue on the drama.

3. Slanders and Suppression against *Seitô*

Seitô was placed under a ban for the first time on April 18, 1912 because of Araki Ikuko's novel, "Tegami (Letter)". This novel is written in the form of a letter from a married woman to her young lover. The author Araki was a unique figure among the initial members of the society, who were mostly graduates of women's colleges. She was running a lodging house for the students of Waseda University, which also served

as an inn. She was a "literary landlady", who was interested in literature, and was invited to be a member of the Seitôsha by Yasumochi whose mother happened to stay in her inn. The hotel business was the family business, and she had been working since she was seventeen years old. Raichô says Araki was "a typical woman who had a bold and free life" while engaging in the family business.[125] The lodge for students failed in the early days of *Seitô*, and she began to help Tamana Inn managed by her mother, where social activists gathered. It seems the novel was written based on her personal experience, for she was intimate with a literary youth from Waseda University.[126] In this novel, Araki wrote without reserve about the joy of a secret meeting with her young lover. The novel is still attractive today for its fresh sensation and sensuality. The subject of the novel was "adultery" which could constitute a crime for a married woman and her partner under the Meiji Civil Code. Araki boldly challenged the marriage system, saying, "There is nothing more strange than the relation between husband and wife. Love is treated as if it were a very convenient machine. Those who deal with it adeptly are called virtuous women or wise wives."[127]

The Seitôsha was not greatly affected financially by the ban because most of the copies had already been sold when policemen came to the office to seize the remaining copies. However, because of this incident, one of the founding members, Mozume Kazuko, was obliged to leave the society because of her father's anger, and the Seitôsha office, which was on the premises of the Mozumes, moved to a Zen temple. From this time, Mozume began to use a pen name Fujioka Kazue and continued to

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125 Hiratsuka, *Ganshi*, vol.2, p.355.
126 *ibid.*, p.354.
127 *Seitô*, 2.4 (April 1912).

write articles for the magazine.

Ironically, it was because of the slander against the magazine that the name *Seitô* became widely known to the general public and Raichô was socially awakened. The scandal was triggered by two trivial incidents: one is called the "*goshiki no sake* (five-coloured liqueur) incident" and the other the "*Yoshiwara tôrô* (Yoshiwara excursion) incident."

The first incident was triggered by the article written by Odake Kazue (Kôkichi). She was fascinated by a five-coloured liqueur, an exotic rainbow-coloured drink made by floating layers of different liqueurs one upon the other, at a bar while out soliciting advertisements for the magazine. She then published a story about a "beautiful young boy" who visited Raichô after having accepted such a drink. The press spread rumours that Raichô had taken a lover, and created an even greater scandal when they realized it was Kôkichi herself who was infatuated with Raichô.

The second incident occurred when Raichô, Kôkichi, and Nakano Hatsu visited the Yoshiwara, the old licensed pleasure quarter of Tokyo. They were taken by Kazue's uncle, a renowned artist of the time, and spent on night there talking about *Seitô* and eating sushi with *oiran* (courtesan). The ostensible reason for the visit was to learn about the lives of women in Yoshiwara, but what prompted Raichô to go there was probably mere curiosity. This excursion became a big scandal and the Seitôsha was severely criticized by the media for its behaviour. The Yorozu Chôhô dated July 10, 1912 wrote about this incident, carrying an article titled "*Seitô* new women, seeking equal rights with men, spend night of pleasure with a Yosiwara prostitute."[128]

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[128] The Yorozu Chôhô was a "progressive" newspaper, but it seems to have had a conventional view on women.

The Kokumin Shimbun featured the "new women", revealing the private life of the Seitôsha members for four days from July 11 for mere entertainment purposes.[129]

It was Odake Kôkichi who played the leading role in those two incidents. She was a free spirit and a very creative young woman, whose relationship with Raichô has often been described as lesbian-like. Kôkichi adored Raichô, and Raichô herself admits her affection toward Kôkichi, calling her "my boy". Raichô later tells about her impression of Kôkichi, "I thought she was a liberated person by birth and did not know any conventionalities."[130] Such lesbian-like love became easy prey for the mass media. Even Kôkichi, who was generally considered reckless, later wrote about the power of newspapers. Recalling those days, she said, "I deeply felt how dreadful newspapers were, and shrank from the public slanders. I was scared to see even morning newspapers."[131]

The Seitôsha members were labeled as a group engaging in anti-social and morally destructive activities. Raichô wrote about the incident in *Seitô* to dispel public misunderstanding, but it was difficult to wipe out the bad reputation once made, because newspaper readers far outnumbered the *Seitô* readers. Even educated people believed what newspapers said, and public criticism was directed at Raichô.

Sharp criticism also rose from inside the Seitôsha. Some of the members were furious at Raichô's rash behaviour. In particular, Yasumochi, a Christian, wrote a letter to Raichô, severely attacking her:

> I hear you three went to the Yoshiwara. That was a very bold, and cruel act. I am unaware of the profound reasons you might have had for going there,

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129 Ide, *Seitô no onnatachi*, p. 87.
130 Horiba Kiyoko, *Seitô no jidai – Hiratsuka Raichô to atarashii onnatachi* – (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1988), p.98.
131 Ômori Kahoru, *Hiratsuka Raichô no hikari to kage* (Tokyo: Daiichi Shorin, 1997), p.44.

but I was saddened and felt personally insulted by it. ... There seems to be a tinge of frivolousness and pedantry about *Seitô* these days. We lost the seriousness, sincerity, and elegance, which existed when we published the first issue. The magazine therefore is not respected. You have become just tomboys who break old conventionalities for women and dare to do what conventional women did not do. I am sorry that you have lost your dignity and majesty.[132]

Fanned by inflammatory articles by the press, opposition to the new women intensified. Raichô's house was stoned and death threats were sent to her home. Many young women were pressured to resign from the group, and some members asked the society not to publish their names in the magazine. Women teaching at primary schools or girls' schools stopped their subscription to the magazine for fear of losing their job.

4. Departure from the Literary Group

Far from being intimidated by the media bashing against the new women, Raichô struck back at the criticism by declaring herself to be a new woman. She published an essay titled "I am a new woman" in the January 1913 issue of *Chûô kôron* (Central Review):

The new woman; I am a new woman.
I seek, I strive each day to be that truly new woman I want to be.
In truth, that eternally new being is the Sun.
I am the Sun. At least, I seek and strive each day to be the Sun I want to be.

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[132] "Ensô yori" in *Seitô*, 2.8 (August, 1912).

...

The new woman curses "yesterday"....

The new woman is not satisfied with the life of the old woman who is made ignorant, made a slave, made a piece of meat by male selfishness.

The new woman seeks to destroy the old morality and laws created for male advantage....

The new woman does not merely destroy the old morality and laws constructed out of male selfishness, but day by day attempts to create a new kingdom, where a new religion, a new morality, and new laws are carried out, based on the spiritual values and with new brilliance of the Sun.

Truly, the mission of new women is the creation of this new kingdom....

The new woman now seeks only strength. She seeks strength to complete her mission, to be able to endure the exertion and agony of learning about and cultivating issues now unknown to her....

The new woman today seeks neither beauty nor virtue. She is simply crying out for strength, the strength to create this still unknown kingdom, the strength to fulfill her own sacred mission.[133]

The article was the first of a series of counterattacks by Raichô. She launched a discussion of what the real "new woman" should represent. At the same time, she clearly mentioned the reality of male oppression for the first time and urged women to destroy the old morality and laws and to create their own kingdom. This was also meant to be an encouragement to the Seitôsha members who were shaken by the slander against them. Now Raichô was about to plunge into the action for the social emancipation of women, in addition to the spiritual emancipation.

The English translation of "I am a new woman" appeared in the English language newspaper, The Japan Times, on January 11 under the title "The 'New Woman' in

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[133] Ide, *Seitô no onnatachi*, pp.129-132.

Japan." The following comments were accompanied with the translation:

> The principle followed in the education of women was at one time in Japan to make them good house-wives. Today, however, the economic conditions have altered, and have accordingly changed the object of the education given, which now aims at fitting young women to gain their own living. ... They are not allowed to and do not live idle lives, but the tendency is for them to engage in outside pursuits, because they prefer independence and economic freedom to everything else. These young women are hampered in no way in living their own lives as they see fit. They have become their own moral mentors. They make their own personal living codes.

The comments were written by a reporter for The Japan Times, Hanazono Sada, who also translated Raichô's essay into English. Raichô writes in her autobiography that she felt happy that her essay was introduced in the English newspaper with a "sincere attitude."[134]

Japanese newspapers commented in a more negative manner. For example, the Asahi Shimbun commented in a series of articles entitled "Girl Students", which started on February 28, 1913. The articles concluded that the development of girls' education was responsible for the rise of new women, who would eventually face mental illness, homosexual love, and crimes, namely, corruption. The newspaper said self-awareness was fine as long as they did not lose women's traditional virtues.

Hatoyama Haruko, the mother of Hatoyama Ichirô who later became the prime minister, wrote an article "Progressive Women and New Women" in the April issue of *Fujin sekai*, a women's magazine, responding to the controversies over new women. She said that it was important to be a "somewhat peculiar woman." The new women

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[134] Hiratsuka, *Ganshi*, vol.2, p.428.

appearing in newspapers probably believed they were ahead of the times, namely, peculiar. However, their beliefs, she said, would easily mislead the world, and she was "absolutely against women's liberation which would lead to the destruction of a home."[135]

The Seitôsha also decided to tackle the women's questions in earnest. The January 1913 issue had a supplement entitled "The New Woman and Other Women's Issues," which carried eight articles, including Itô Noe's "The Path to the New Woman," Iwano Kiyoko's "Men and Women are Equal as Human Beings," Katô Midori's "About the New Woman," and Ikuta Hanayo's "The Liberation of the New Woman." Raichô's contribution was a translation of *Love and Marriage* by Ellen Key (1849-1926). Raichô became interested in Key, a Swedish thinker, after reading an English translation of her book *Love and Marriage*. In this book, Key argued for the creative and biological superiority of women, as well as their importance in improving and preserving the race. The price women paid for this superiority in her view was relinquishing the outside world in favour of women's mission and the ultimate source of creativity: motherhood. In Key, Raichô found a woman who spoke to the art and spirituality so important to her, a woman whose views seemed to express a new version of biological superiority of women, and whose priorities were very much like those of Raichô herself.[136] Raichô was deeply influenced by Key's thought, and based on her ideas, later became involved in the so-called *bosei hogo ronsô* (debate over the protection of motherhood) with Yosano Akiko.[137]

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135 Ide, *Seitô no onnatachi*, pp.149-150.

136 Sievers, *Flowers in Salt*, p.177.

137 The debate occurred in 1918-19 in the magazines such as *Fujin kôron*. While Yosano argued that the economic independence was indispensable to women's emancipation, Raichô contended that motherhood should be socially protected. The debate was settled by Yamakawa Kikue who

The Seitôsha looked around for outside contributors to their special editions on women, including Fukuda Hideko. The forty-seven-year-old Hideko wrote an essay "Fujin mondai no kaiketsu" (The Solution to the Women's Problem) in the February issue, in response to the request from Raichô. In her typically self-effacing style, Hideko began by saying that she was one of the "deep, deep sympathisers" of the Seitôsha members and that she would support them whatever she could do in spite of her "life full of failures." Dividing women's liberation into relative and absolute states, she described the recent history of the woman's movement in Japan. During the People's Rights Movement days, the women's liberation meant simply equal rights for men and women, but such "relative" liberation should be recognized as a means, not an end. Both men and women should be liberated through "absolute" human liberation, she argued. And this absolute liberation could be achieved only through "all-out communism".

> It would be wonderful if all women could see themselves as Raichô did when she said, "I am the Sun." But this is not just woman's perception; it must be man's as well.... No matter what arguments are offered to refute it, it cannot be doubted that carrying out a communist system is the ultimate key to women's liberation. When this system prevails, scientific knowledge and technology will be applied for everyone's benefit.... The prosaic household tasks of today will be done simply.... There will no longer be a need for family servants, and women will find themselves with a surplus of time and energy. For the first time, women's liberation will have been realized. But unless the system is carried out, the achievement of voting rights, of opportunities for women in universities, courts, and the government bureaucracy, will benefit only a few elite women. The majority will be rejected and continue to operate without access to such opportunities. As there is a class struggle among men,

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argued from a socialistic viewpoint.

so there will be a class struggle among women.[138]

Hideko thus concluded that the ultimate key to women's liberation was to carry out the communist system. Given the oppressive climate after the Great Treason Incident, it was quite significant that Hideko and the Seitôsha published this strong statement advocating communism. Because of this article, however, the magazine was banned again. The article also enraged Raichô's father, who had been "surprisingly" generous to his daughter.[139] He summoned Raichô for the first time and reproached her, trembling with anger. He said, "If you have to continue carrying articles written by socialists, I want you to stop the publication of the magazine. If you can not stop, I want you to leave home."[140] It must have been a great shock for Sadajirô, an elite official faithful to the state, that his daughter was in touch with "lawless" socialists harbouring dangerous thoughts against *kokutai* (national polity). Sadajirô's reaction shows how fearful people were of the word, socialism or communism, in Japan at the time.

However, Raichô was not intimidated. She wrote an article entitled "Yo no fujintachi ni" (To Women of the World) in the April issue. In this article Raichô criticized Naruse Jinzô, the president of Japan Women's College, for answering in a newspaper interview that Japan's education for women was superior to that in other countries because of its emphasis on "good wives and wise mothers" and for describing

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138 *Seitô*, 3.2 (February 1913), pp.3-4. Translation is quoted from Sievers' *Flowers in Salt*, p.178.
139 Itô Noe wrote in the Osaka Mainichi Shimbun dated April 10, 1916, "What impressed me most about Raichô was her parents' generous attitude toward her.... It was quite surprising to us that her father had never said anything critical or admonitory about those things (bad reputation and rumours about *Seitô*)."
140 Hiratsuka, *Ganshi* vol.2, p.436.

the "new woman" as little more than a "flapper".[141] She made it clear that she would not respect social conventions and institutions that continued to favour male privilege alone. She openly challenged the common sense that "marriage is the only way of women" or "all women should be good wives and wise mothers." In the article she also flatly negated the existing marriage system, saying that "many women are forced to marry without love, doing chores by day and serving as prostitutes by night."

The April issue of Seitô was given a severe warning by the authorities for this article, and the magazine was placed under strict control. The contributors should be especially careful, the police said, of any content that might be considered disruptive of national custom and social order.[142] As if to rebel against this warning, Raichô published a book printing the essay in question in May. The book was banned immediately after the publication. She republished the essay again, eliminating the controversial part and changing the title in the June issue. Raichô's resistance was fearless of the world and the authorities.

The Seitôsha Lecture Meeting

The Seitôsha also decided to take action to directly appeal to the public. It decided to hold a lecture meeting on new women at the recommendation of Ikuta Chôkô. The meeting, held on February 15, 1913, was a great success with a full house. First, Yasumochi Yoshiko spoke composedly and sincerely about the society's spirit, activities and future purposes. Then Itô Noe spoke on "Recent Impressions." The lecturers also included men, such as Ikuta Chôkô and Iwano Hômei (873-1920), a poet and novelist. Iwano Kiyoko, Hômei's wife, made a speech entitled

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141 The Otaru Shimbun, March 10, 1913.
142 *ibid.*, p.458.

"Independence of Thought and Economic Independence." Her speech was reasoned and quite fluent, winning the applause of the audience. Raichô just gave a closing address in a small voice, because she had difficulty in speaking aloud due to vocal organ trouble. In fact, the male audience who came to see Raichô were somewhat disappointed to find her rather reserved, but they were probably impressed by the Iwano Kiyoko and Itô Noe.

This lecture meeting was reported, mostly favorably, by the journalists. At the time when women were prohibited from attending political meetings or joining in political associations by Article 5 of the Public Peace Police Law, it was significant that the Seitôsha planned the meeting and some members even made speeches before the public.

However, some women had to pay a price for this meeting which created a large sensation. At the Tsuda Women's College, in which many intellectual women were enrolled, one teacher turned pale and trembled after she learned that some students had attended the lecture meeting held by the Seitôsha It is said that she prayed, "Oh, God! Please save poor girls from the Devil's temptation."[143] Surprised at the sensation caused by the meeting, Tsuda Umeko, the headmistress of the college, gathered all the students and admonished them, saying "The Seitôsha has dangerous ideas. They are the Devil. No student at this school should be misled by such a dangerous group."[144] Kamichika Ichiko (1999-1981),[145] then a student at the Tsuda

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143 Ide, *Seitô no onnatashi*, p.145.

144 Ômori, *Hiratsuk Raichô no hikari to kage*, p.54. Even though Tsuda's view on feminism was conservative, this college produced a great number of women with radical views, including Yamakawa Kikue and Kamichika Ichiko.

145 A women's movement activist and politician. She was a Seitô member when she was a student at Tsuda English Academy. After World War II, she became one of the first women Diet members under the new constitution, and endeavoured to establish the Anti-Prostitution Law.

College, dissociated herself from the Seitôsha, fearful of not being allowed to graduate from the college. Later, when her connection with the *Seitô* group was discovered, she lost her job as a teacher only three months after she got the position. Once branded as a former *Seitô* member, Kamichika could not find any work wherever she went, until she became a reporter for the Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun through the introduction of Odake Kôkichi. The case of Kamichika clearly shows how society reacted to the group which defied social mores.

Incidentally, the Seitôsha lecture meeting had an unexpected by-product: the creation of the Shin Shin Fujinkai (Real New Women's Society). This society was established under the banner "anti-*Seitô*." One of its founders, Miyazaki Mitsuko, said, "How could we leave that shameful group encouraging divorce and adultery without fighting? We decided to establish a women's organization with new ideas to hold a lecture meeting and publish a magazine once a month."[146] The journalism lost no time in stirring up the sensation by calling it the "new enemy of new women." Even though most of the members left the society shortly after, Nishikawa Fumiko, one of the founders, continued to publish the magazine *Shin shin fujin* with her husband until the end of the Taishô period (around 1925), engaging in the temperance movement and women's suffrage movement.

Abortive Project: Bungei Kenkyûkai

Following the successful lecture meeting, the Seitôsha planned another project: setting up the "Seitôsha Bungei Kenkyûkai" (Seitôsha Literary Society), which aimed at offering public lectures to any interested women. The March issue of *Seitô* carried the advertisement for the plan. The lecturers were expected to be prominent men of

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[146] Hiratsuka, *Ganshi*, vol.2, pp.446-447.

learning of the day, such as Abe Jirô, Ikuta Chôkô, Abe Yoshinari, Baba Kochô, and Takamura Kôtarô, and the subjects would cover history of philosophy, civilization and art, sociology, literature, modern drama, and women's questions. This was, so to speak, a women's liberal arts college managed by the Seitôsha. The members were determined to open a door to the "kingdom of knowledge" by their own hands.[147] The group also decided to publish the lecture transcripts for local residents who could not attend the lectures.

This plan, however, was not realized. First, Yasumochi, who was in charge of this project, had great difficulty in finding a hall to hold lectures. In spite of her great efforts, she could not find a place because of the bad reputation of the Seitôsha. At one time, a Christian church agreed to let a hall, but it later declined by saying, "We know you are serious and doing useful work, but we are concerned about the public." Another church rejected them because "you drink sake and visit Yoshiwara." A whole month was wasted until Yasumochi finally found a hall to let. Raichô says they realized anew the damage inflicted by the irresponsible articles of the press. She understood how the world was afraid of the Seitôsha because of the false images of new women.

Even though the group found a hall with such difficulty, the next problem was to gather a sufficient number of students to attend lectures. Those who wished to attend the Kenkyûkai had to give up the idea because they met strong opposition from their parents and teachers. Thus, the Seitôsha was obliged to cancel the plan because of the shortage of attendees.

The failure of the planned literary society marked the end of relations with Ikuta

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147 Horiba, *Seitô no jidai*, pp.163-164.

Chôkô, who had supported the Seitôsha activities since its foundation. Raichô wrote in the May issue:

> It is widely considered that our society is deeply associated with Mr. Ikuta Chôkô, but such a conception would be a nuisance to him. I declare now we members of the society are solely responsible for the whole activities of the Seitôsha.[148]

It is not clear why the Seitôsha parted with Ikuta, but Raichô writes in her autobiography that he became somewhat evasive as the public attacks intensified against the group.[149] He must have felt that the group was heading in a direction he did not wish, as Raichô became more socially awakened.

In the midst of the adverse wind, the Seitôsha decided to change its rules to brace the members who were shrinking from criticism. The reorganization was announced in the October 1913 issue. The purpose was to become more action-oriented for the cause of women's liberation.

First, article 1 was changed to "The purpose of this society is to urge the awareness of women," as Raichô had originally intended.[150] The new rules also eliminated male "guest members" and limited the membership to highly motivated women, instead of accepting "any literature lovers as members." The new article 7 stated the members in charge should devote their life to the Seitôsha activities.

Under the new rules, the group released all the existing members, accepting anew applications from determined and responsible members. In this way, the new

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148 *Seitô*, 3.5 (May 1913).

149 Hiratsuka, *Ganshi*, vol.2, p.452.

150 The original article stated that "The purpose of this society is to develop women's literature" on Ikuta's advice.

Seitôsha tried to solidify the group for the cause of women's liberation by eliminating inactive members. The group now made it clear it would fight against old morals and customs.

This new policy, however, did not bring the "expected" results. The new members fell short of Raichô's expectation. Of the five founding members, only Raichô and Yasumochi remained in the group. Not only losing many members, the group also had to face financial difficulties: namely, the circulation of the magazine decreased from 3,000 to 2,000 after it changed the publishing company from Tôundô to Shôbundô.

Raichô's Love with Okumura Hiroshi

Under such circumstances, Raichô experienced passionate love with the young artist Okumura Hiroshi (1891-1964).[151] She happened to meet Okumura in the summer of 1912 and was strongly attracted by him. At this time, however, her love was broken by the interference of Okumura's friend because of the bad reputation of the Seitôsha.

When Raichô met Okumura again in March 1913, their love flared up all the more passionately. The view of marriage written in the article "Yo no fujintachi ni" reflected Raichô's real way of life. She tried to stick to their true love, even if it meant antagonizing the whole world. In pursuing her love, Raichô decided to start a new life, which she called *kyôdô seikatsu* (joint life), with Okumura without taking the form of marriage. To show her determination to society, she published an article entitled "Dokuritsu suru ni tsuite ryôshin ni" (To my Parents in Leaving Home) in *Seitô*. She also sent Okumura "Eight-item Questions," including questions such as:

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[151] Okumura was five years younger than Raichô.

- Can you endure any hardships which may occur in our life?
- What would you do if I refused the relationship under (today's) marriage system?
- What do you think if I did not want children even if I love you?[152]

These questions presented new and radical relationships between the sexes for that day and age. At this time Raichô had no intention of having a baby and becoming a mother. She wished a free and simple joint life, bound by nothing but love. Raichô was impressed by Okumura who answered the questions sincerely and frankly.

In the article "To my Parents in Leaving Home," Raichô rejected the family system, going a step further than in the article "To Women of the World":

> Because I am against the current marriage system, I have no intention of marrying in accordance with such a system. I have a great antipathy even to the words such as husband and wife. ... There is nothing more natural than the couple in love living together, and it does not matter whether the couple is legally married or not. This is all the more true because the woman is extremely disadvantaged in marriage. Besides, conventional morals impose unreasonable restrictions on her, forcing her to carry out unnatural duties to the husband's parents. I would not place myself in such a state. H (Okumura Hiroshi) understands this very well and does not want (legal) marriage at all.[153]

On January 13, 1914, Raichô left her parents' home to start a "joint life of love" with Okumura. It must have taken a great determination for Raichô to live up to her beliefs at the time when a girl's marriage was usually arranged by the parents with no regard to the girl's will. Raichô rejected the Japanese marriage system which

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152 Hiratsuka, *Ganshi*, vol.2, pp.489-490.
153 *Seitô*, 4.2 (February 1914).

required the wife to be the attachment or subordinate of the husband. The common-law marriage may not be surprising under the new Constitution, but her decision became the center of public attention then. Newspapers reported the "new woman's *kyôdô seikatsu*" sensationally. Raichô probably wanted to show the world her resistance to the old-fashioned marriage system.

Raichô says in her autobiography that her love toward Okumura was a surge of a maternal instinct.[154] She loved him as if he were her younger brother to take care of. Because Okumura was basically a cultured idler without economic ability, everything was carried out under the leadership of Raichô.

The couple, however, had to face a harsh reality shortly after they started a new life. Because Raichô had been raised in a wealthy environment, she did not realize how difficult real life was. Since childhood she had been told it was mean to ask the prices of things. She did not like housework either, because it would prevent the "concentration of attention." As the couple did not have a fixed income, they soon became short of money and began to frequent pawnshops. It was her mother again who secretly helped Raichô in such a financial predicament.

5. Discontinuation of *Seitô* and Itô Noe

As Raichô started a joint life with Okumura, the magazine entered its fourth year. In July of this year 1914, the First World War broke out, and Japan came out of depression thanks to the war boom. However, Raichô was too absorbed in her private life to be interested in war. Practically nothing was mentioned about war in the

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[154] Hiratsuka, *Ganshi*, vol.2, p.479.

magazine. To most of the *Seitô* members, the war was happening in a faraway land, because Japan was not directly involved in it.

Debate over Chastity

In this year, the magazine had a debate over *teisô* (chastity). Yasuda Satsuki wrote "Ikiru koto to teisô to" (To Live and Chastity) in the December issue of *Seitô*. This was written in opposition to the article "Taberu koto to teisô to" (To Eat and Chastity), which was written two months earlier by Ikuta (former Nishizaki) Hanayo[155] in the September issue of *Hankyô* (Reflections).[156] In this article, Ikuta Hanayo, also a member of the Seitôsha, claimed that women should be allowed to sell chastity to eat, particularly when they had no other means to support themselves and their dependents. The old morals, she said, placed emphasis on virginity, not because it was a vice to lose virginity, but because it was a "prerequisite to good marriage." To this Yasuda Satsuki objected, urging women to guard their chastity no matter what hardships life offered. She was then running a fruit parlour and passionately in love with the musician Harada Jun. She probably wanted to celebrate her love unifying the body and the spirit.[157] Itô Noe participated in the debate by writing an article "Teisô ni tsuite no zakkan" (Thoughts on Chastity) in the February 1915 issue of *Seitô*. She criticized Hanayo for justifying the loss of virginity for economic purposes. Noe said she would "expel virginity without any regret" of her own accord. One can have a happy marriage without virginity, as Hanayo herself did. Noe concluded her article by saying "Ah! We must abolish old conventions! There is no

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155 Hanayo wrote many articles for *Seitô*, working as a live-in maid at a variety hall. She later married Ikuta Shungetsu, a poet and disciple of Ikuta Chôkô.

156 *Hankyô* is a literary review edited by Ikuta Chôkô.

157 Satsuki wrote an article justifying abortion in *Seitô* the next year, giving rise to the debate over abortion. *Seitô* 5.6 (June 1915) carrying her article was banned.

other way to save us. How women's lives are cursed, confined, and pitiful! We won't endure patiently forever. Soon we will ..."[158]

Raichô was dissatisfied with the three members' debate because she could not find clear opinions on the "value of virginity." She wrote an article "Shojo no kachi" (Value of Virginity) in the March issue of *Shin kôron* (New Review). She argued that it is a sin to lose virginity at an inappropriate time, but it is also a sin to stick to it when it is appropriate to lose it. She deplored the situation in which virginity, a personal possession, was controlled by the conventions.

Chastity was regarded as a paramount virtue for women under the patriarchal family system in modern Japan. It was forced only onto women to subjugate them under the unreasonable family system. In this sense, the debate over chastity was historically significant. Article 183 of the Meiji Penal Code provided that adulterous wives and men committing adultery with married women were subject to punishment, but men who had relations with single women were not punished at all. We also must not overlook the fact that licensed prostitution existed in Japan until the end of World War II.

The debate over chastity attracted public attention and the press took up this issue. The Yomiuri Shimbun featured it under the title "Seimei ka teisô ka" (Life or Chastity) in September 1915. The newspaper sent questionnaires to prominent figures of the times. All of the respondents said that chastity was indispensable to women, but no one mentioned men's chastity.[159]

Burden of Life

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158 *Seitô* 2.5 (February 1915).

159 Ide, *Seitô no onnatachi*, p.193.

Since the Seitôsha started, Yasumochi Yoshiko had been in charge of management of the magazine. However, she left the group in April 1914 to "take a rest" in her hometown. Noe later recalled that there was a "strained relationship" between Yasumochi and Raichô because of the managerial problems.[160] Raichô writes in her autobiography that Yasumochi suffered from neurosis because of her love for a married man.[161]

After the departure of Yasumochi, the Seitôsha office was moved to Raichô's house. She had to take all the responsibility from editing to accounting, as all the other founding members left the group. In addition to household chores, she had to do miscellaneous editing tasks, write articles for *Seitô,* and also write for other magazines for a living.

By the fall, Raichô was exhausted mentally and physically. She could not find any advertisers for the August issue, and was obliged to suspend the September issue. The circulation declined and the magazine suffered a series of losses. Raichô was by no means cut out to do clerical work. She needed quiet time and meditation. She was afraid of losing her inner world. Her sensitive nerves were frayed and her strength finally gave out.

In October Raichô escaped from Tokyo to Onjuku Kaigan in present-day Chiba prefecture with Okumura, asking Itô Noe to look after affairs while she was away.

Transfer of *Seitô*

At Onjuku, Raichô was recovering her strength, when she received a letter from Noe. Ambitious Noe wanted to take charge of the magazine by herself, instead of

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160 Horiba, *Seitô no jidai,* pp.202-203.
161 Hiratsuka, *Ganshi,* vol.2, p.525.

working on behalf of Raichô. She wrote to Raichô that she could not undertake the editing of the December issue, unless she were allowed to make the magazine in her own way. Raichô was worried about the ability of young Noe and thought of stopping the publication after the December 1914 issue, but she finally decided to transfer all the rights to Noe, who was so eager to continue the magazine. The 1915 new year issue carried two articles detailing the transfer of the magazine. One was Raichô's "*Seitô* to watakushi" (*Seitô* and I) and the other Noe's "*Seitô* o hikitsugu ni tsuite" (In Taking over *Seitô*).

Thus, Noe succeeded Raichô as the formal editor of *Seitô* from the January 1915 issue. Twenty-year-old Noe became solely responsible for the management and editing of the magazine, and the Seitôsha office was moved to her house.

Fiery Noe

Noe's life was a stormy one. Raichô writes of her first impression on Noe as follows:

> Her shining eyes on the healthy and plump face showed that she is a strong-minded and obstinate girl. The large clear dark eyes were wide open as if they were those of wild animals. ... I was charmed by the vibrant girl who told her story to me in an open and logical manner.[162]

Itô Noe was born on January 21, 1895 in a remote village in Fukuoka prefecture. Her mother gave birth to Noe all alone on a cold snowy night. If her grand-mother had arrived only a little later at the scene, her life may have disappeared just as the sleety snow did.[163] Thus Noe's life was difficult from the very beginning. Her

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[162] *ibid.*, pp.404-405.

[163] Ide, *Seitô no onnatachi*, p.212.

parents' home was extremely poor. At the age of nine, she was sent to her aunt's house in Nagasaki in order to reduce the number of mouths to feed. There she began to form her ego in feeling alienated.

In 1907, just before graduating from primary school, she returned to her hometown because the aunt's family moved to Tokyo. Noe entered a higher primary school (*kôtô shôgakkô*) in the neighbouring village. By the time she graduated from this school two years later, she was a literary girl who contributed tanka poems to girls' magazines. Immediately after graduation, she began to work at a post office to supplement the family income.

During the summer of that year, the aunt's family returned home for the vacation and Noe was shocked to learn that her cousin Chiyoko was attending a girls' school in Tokyo. Envious because she had been doing better at school than Chiyoko, Noe decided to ask her uncle for help. After bombarding him with long pleading letters, she finally received financial support to go to Tokyo to study.

Strong-minded Noe thus carved out her fortune with her own hands. After Noe left for Tokyo, her gentle younger sister was sent into domestic service, sending to her mother one yen from a salary of one yen and fifty sen.

At the age of seventeen, Noe graduated from a girls' school in Tokyo. However, what was waiting for Noe in her hometown was the unwanted marriage arranged by the uncle. Unable to refuse, she married a wealthy farmer, but she soon left for Tokyo to live with Tsuji Jun, an English teacher at the girls' school, with whom Noe was in love. Tsuji later lost his teaching job for living with his former student.

Noe became a member of the Seitôsha in October 1912 when the group was in its heyday. She was one of those girls who left home counting on the Seitôsha. She

wrote a long letter to Raichô, describing her suffering, especially the painful marriage forced by her relatives. Impressed by her good writing, energy, and the rebellious spirit, Raichô decided to accept her as a member of the group. Noe received 10 yen a month for helping edit. Unlike most of the group members, Noe had been brought up in an unprivileged environment, and she was inspired by many self-conscious and intellectual members, especially by Raichô. She worked hard and became a promising member of the group, enthusiastically writing articles for *Seitô*. Her first full-fledged novel was "Dôyô" (Agitation), a record of an affair with a literary youth. In addition to casual essays, she wrote a series of autobiographical novels.

Under the influence of Tsuji, Noe became an ardent admirer of Emma Goldman, an American anarchist. Committed to anarchist views, Noe was ready to fight against social injustice and inequality when she took over the magazine.

As a young editor, Noe announced her new management policy in the January issue. She made it clear that she would remove all the regulations from the group: "*Seitô* will have no rules, policies, or principles from now on. ... I will be solely responsible for the selection of articles."[164]

Debate over Abortion

Noe tried whenever possible to address the social issues in the magazine. As mentioned earlier, she wrote about chastity in the February 1915 issue, objecting to Yasuda Satsuki's views.

The second of the social issues attracting public attention was a debate over abortion. The June 1915 issue of *Seitô* carried a novel written by Harada (former Yasuda) Satsuki, "Gokuchû no onna yori otoko ni" (From a Woman in Prison to a

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[164] *Seitô*, 1.5 (January 1915)

Man), and the magazine was banned for this article. Satsuki argued for women's abortion rights through the protagonist of the novel. She maintained that the fetus was a part of the woman's body, and whether she chose to carry it or not was purely her own decision. This was a radical view at the time when abortion was illegal[165] and safe abortions were unavailable. Since the Meiji Restoration, the government had prohibited abortion as a national policy, and at the time abortion and even contraception meant a revolt against the "state."

The question raised by Satsuki was answered in the magazine by Noe, Raichô, and Yamada Waka.[166] Noe, who was then pregnant with her second child[167], disagreed with Satsuki. Noe said that the child is, to be sure, carried in the mother's body, but it has a life of its own, and that life is precious. It would be an insult to nature to kill a "life" for our conveniences how many excuses we may have, she argued. She seems to be against abortion because it is unnatural.

Raichô participated in this debate through an article "Kojin to shiteno seikatsu to sei to shiteno seikatsu tono sôtô ni tsuite" (On the Struggle between the Life as an Individual and the Life as a Mother) published in the September 1915 issue of *Seitô*. Raichô was also pregnant then with her first child. She wrote about the conflict between "soul life" and "family life" quoting from Ellen Key. She confessed that she thought of having an abortion at an early stage of pregnancy. However, she gradually came to discover motherhood in her love. "How could I reject a child, which

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165 The government prohibited abortion as part of modernization policy. Both the woman having an abortion and the operation performer were sentenced to less than five years in prison under articles 212-26 of the Penal Code.

166 Waka was squarely opposed to both abortion and contraception. Her views may have resulted from her conversion to Christianity.

167 Noe gave birth to a baby boy by Tsuji on January 20, 1914.

is a creation and fruit of love? If we were to reject a child, we should first refuse the love life," she said.

On the other hand, she argued that if the state prohibits abortion as a crime, it should have a law to protect mothers and children. She also pointed out the importance of contraception, which is a "privilege and responsibility of the civilized person with advanced intelligence." Thus, Raichô raised these points as the "specific women's issues common to future Japanese women."

Discontinuation of *Seitô*

Seitô closed its four-year-and-a-half history after publishing the February 1916 issue. The main reason was that the chief editor Noe began a new life, abandoning everything in her old life, including the magazine. She fled to Ôsugi Sakae[168], a social activist, leaving Tsuji and her children by him.

Thirteen issued were published after Noe became editor. The book review in the last issue of *Seitô* gave the greatest possible praise to Ôsugi's new book *Shakaiteki kojinshugi* (Social Individualism), reflecting Noe's strong respect for him. Ôsugi also had a high evaluation of Noe in comparison with Raichô. He wrote as follows:

> I do not praise N (referring to Noe) simply because she is influenced by Emma Goldman whose ideology we believe in. It may be rude to say like this, but I can not but admire that she could have such clear writing and ideas at such an early age and in spite of the fact that she was born a woman who had been long raised to be ignorant. ... I feel the ideas of R (referring to Raichô) have been fixed at a certain vague point. I think N's future is much more worthy of attention than R's future.[169]

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168 He was a member of the Heiminsha, and became an anarchist under the influences of Kôtoku Shûsui.

169 *Kindai shisô* 2.8 (February 1913).

The relationship between Ôsugi and Noe was well publicized mainly because of the incident called "Hikagechaya Incident." When Noe fell in love with Ôsugi, he was not only still married to Hori Yasuko but he was also having an affair with Kamichika Ichiko, a former member of the Seitôsha then working as a journalist. In November 1916, Kamichika attempted to kill him at an inn where he was living with Noe. The Tokyo Aasahi Shimbun reported this incident on November 10 under the title "Ôsugi Sakae, a well-known socialist, was stabbed by a mistress Kamichika Ichiko, a journalist, at Hikagechaya in Hayama." The newspaper said it was a scandal caused by overdoing "free love."[170]

After the incident Raichô wrote an essay "Iwayuru jiyû ren'ai to sono seigen" (So-called Free Love and its Restrictions), criticizing the "multi-relational" love which deviated from "free love." She was afraid that the incident might hinder the way of "those who reject the old feudalistic morals to establish new sexual morality."[171] She said that the "sexual relationship without the intention to continue is the abuse of free love," emphasizing that freedom of love should be based on the desire for eternal joint life and the responsibility for the children born from it. Raichô was deeply troubled by the incident involving the former Seitôsha members.

She says in her autobiography that this incident was an elegy mourning for *Seitô*. At the same time, her own youth ended with the death of the magazine.[172]

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[170] The incident helped to solidify the relation between Ôsugi and Noe. As his common-law wife, Noe had five children by Ôsugi between 1917 and 1923. Ôsugi was under constant police surveillance, and Noe also had to face constant police harassment and economic hardship. On September 16, 1923, just days after the Great Kantô Earthquake, Ôsugi, Noe, and Ôsugi's young nephew were arrested by an officer in the special police, Amakasu Masahiko. They were later strangled in their cells by Amakasu who considered them "enemies of the state."

[171] The Osaka Mainichi Shimbun, January 4, 1917.

[172] Hiratsuka, *Ganshi*, vol.2, p.611.

V. CONCLUSION

We have followed the lives of the two pioneers of the women's movement in modern Japan through their respective magazines. While Fukuda Hideko's *Sekai fujin* aimed at raising the social status of women from the beginning, Hiratsuka Raichô's *Seitô* was a literary magazine aiming at the "awareness of women." Just as the two magazines had different purposes, the chief editors, Hideko and Raichô, were also different in personality and upbringing.

As mentioned before, while Raichô was brought up in a wealthy family, Hideko was born in a poor family running a *terakoya* for living. Raichô was by nature a shy girl who liked to be alone, and did not like to speak in public. After she entered college, her interest was directed to religion, philosophy, and ethics. She constantly sought self-discovery and self-fulfillment, going to church or practicing Zen.

In contrast to the introspective Raichô, Hideko was a lively and active girl. She liked to talk with people and liked to help others. She was quick to take action when she made up her mind. For example, when Hideko was deeply impressed by Kishida Toshiko's speech advocating equal rights for men and women, she quickly organized a group for strengthening women's solidarity. She also participated in the Osaka Incident, burning with righteous indignation against the government. And later she regrets that she had acted emotionally believing in "wrong ideas."[173] In short, she was a woman of action rather than a deep thinker.

On the other hand, Raichô basically acted through her pen. She was rather cautious in taking action. She was reluctant when Ikuta Chôkô advised her to

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[173] Fukuda, *Warawa no hanchôgai*, p.9.

publish a "literary magazine made entirely by women." She finally decided to go ahead because of the strong encouragement of Yasumochi Yasuko. It was only after *Seitô* created a great sensation among readers that Raichô felt strong responsibility for the magazine.

Furthermore, the economic issue was of secondary importance to Raichô. The publication cost of the first issue of *Seitô* was paid by Raichô's mother, and Raichô was not concerned about financial matters until she left home to start a new life with Okumura Hiroshi.

In contrast, Hideko began to work at the age of fifteen, and she firmly believed that economic independence was indispensable to women's freedom. She always tried to help needy women and founded schools three times, believing education was the only way to save women from misery.

Despite these differences, what Raichô and Hideko had in common was their resistance to the patriarchal family system, which the writer of this thesis believes is the biggest factor lowering the social status of women in modern Japan. Both revolted against Confucian ethics and rejected conventional marriage , even though most girls then were forced to marry against their will by their parents. In fact, the Japanese women's movement prior to World War II was characterized by rebellion or resistance against society's long-standing conventions binding women.

As we have seen in Chapter II (Background of Japanese Women's Status), the so-called "family system" was established during the Edo period when the feudal system was completed. The Tokugawa bakufu gave the male family head absolute authority over all family members, leading to women's total subjugation to men. Far from removing it, the Meiji government intensified the traditional family system by

enacting the Civil Code of 1898,[174] whose purpose was to establish absolute monarchy based on absolute patriarchy. Thus, the family system was closely related to the Emperor system and feudalistic male chauvinism, and it became the base of *kokutai* (national polity). Based on the Confucian ethics originating from the *Onna daigaku* morals, the government leaders considered it inappropriate for women to engage in political activities because women's duty was to take good care of the family.

It is noteworthy that Fujimura Yoshiaki, a member of the House of Peers, opposed women's suffrage in 1921 by stating:

> First, it (women's suffrage) is against the law of nature, physiologically and psychologically. Next, it is not a women's mission to engage in political activities together with men. ... To allow women to engage in political activities is against the legends and customs peculiar to Japan. It is against the family system, which forms the base of our social structure.[175]

It was based on this thinking that the notorious Article 5 of the Public Peace Police Law was introduced. In this way, the family system was the root cause depriving women of social and political freedom.

Furthermore, burgeoning Japanese capitalism took advantage of the feudalistic

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[174] Before the enactment of the Civil Code of 1898, a more liberal civil code was drafted by the French legal scholar Gustave Emile Boissonade (1825-1910), and was to enforced from 1893.. In 1891, Hozumi Yatsuka, a leading Meiji jurist and supporter of absolute monarchy, fiercely attacked this civil code, writing a paper in the legal journal *Hôgaku shimpô*. His famous phrases, *Minpô idete chûkô horobu* (The civil code rises and loyalty and filial piety fall), was included in this paper. He asserted that individualism would destroy the traditional good customs and manners and the traditional national spirit of "loyalty and filial piety under the Emperor." Thus, the civil code was sent back for revision and killed in the Diet. The revised civil code, known as the Meiji Civil Code, emphasized the authority of the father as head of the family and the authority of the family over the individual. The Meiji Emperor was regarded as the head of the Japanese family state.

[175] Ichikawa Fusae ed. *Nihon fujin mondai shiryô shûsei*, vol.2 (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1977), p.187. Because of this Fujimura's opposition, the revision of the Public Peace Police Law was rejected by the House of Peers.

family system by exploiting poor farmers' daughters as a cheap labour force. They were almost slaves working at newly built spinning mills, silk mills, or knitting mills as factory girls, as the parents were allowed to sell their daughters under the family system. The misery of these factory girls during the Meiji period is detailed in the books such as *Jokô aishi* (Sad Story of Factory Girls).

The patriarchal family system also helped to maintain the licensed prostitution system.[176] The head of the family was given the power to sell his wives and daughters into prostitution. It was common, particularly in poor rural villages, for the father t sell his daughters without a sense of shame, and it was considered filial piety for girls to pay back their father by becoming prostitutes. These girls were often praised as "dutiful daughters" for saving the family from financial difficulties. What was waiting for them, however, was a hellish life, and their debts usually increased rather than decreased, making them unable to escape from the misery.

Even if saved from being sold, almost all girls in rural areas were ordered to marry by their fathers, some of them without even seeing the husbands' faces.[177] They were usually handed over to their husbands by their parents or brothers without freedom to choose their spouses. The situation did not change much in cities either. It was considered the parents' duty to find suitable husbands for their daughters, and it was the father who had the final say in choosing their spouses. The girls were obliged to obey their fathers, because marriage was a transaction between two families, not love between two individuals.

During the Meiji period, love was regarded as a sinful and dissipated act. It was

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176 Murakami Nobuhiko, *Nihon no fujin mondai*, p.5.
177 *ibid.*, p.13.

true that many girls came to accept this situation as their fate, but they were never satisfied with it.

Raichô's aim when starting *Seitô* was to encourage spiritual independence, true freedom as human beings, and the demonstration of women's talent. She was a proud woman, and did not envy men blindly. She thought men were not liberated either, saying "When will their pillory, handcuffs, and fetters be taken away? Aren't men themselves entangled in their own net and suffering from the state of slaves?[178] Thus, Raichô urged women to demonstrate their natural gifts and become independent through self emancipation, rather than emulating men. However, she was not considering the women at the lower levels of society who were struggling against poverty.

For Hideko, economic independence was always of primary concern. Her views on women's emancipation are summarized in the essay "Fujin kaihô ni tsuite" (On Women's Liberation) published in *Sekai fujin*. She asserted that "today's poor women are the slaves to both the rich and men."[179] For Hideko, women's liberation meant the elimination of this "double slavery." She also emphasized the necessity of "double emancipation," in "The Solution to Women's Problem" written for *Seitô*.

Miyagawa Torao says that *Seitô* in its early stage retroceded in terms of ideas compared with *Sekai fujin*.[180] It is true that *Seitô* lacked social considerations. Its members were indifferent to the political or economic problems, and their social consciousness was weak. However, the Seitôsha members confronted the family

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178 *Seitô*, 1.1 (September, 1911).
179 *Sekai fujin*., vol.37 (June 5, 1909).
180 Miyagawa Torao, "Kokuminteki bunka no keisei (II)" in *Nihon rekishi – gendai 1* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1963), p.337.

system and feudalistic barriers surrounding women in earnest. In a sense, it was more significant to fight against those barriers than to demand political rights, because women in those days were tormented most by the deprivation of freedom of love and marriage. This was why love, sex, and marriage became the biggest themes of the magazine *Seitô*. The members challenged the actual problems faced by women through their own experiences. They "threw up their sorrowful emotions sticking in their throats" in their writing, which was the "explosion of repressed sentiments."[181]

It was with reason that public criticism was directed to the personal life and behaviour of the group members. The world feared not so much the thought or argument of "new women" as their daily behaviour. Society was more wary of actual behaviour than of writing, because it would destroy the conventional family life, reject the education aiming at "good wife and wise mother," and thereby shake the foundation of the family system. The Asahi Shimbun dated July 28, 1914 carried the comment of the Commissioner General titled "Komatta onna no mondai" (The Problem of Troublesome Women). In this comment, he called the Seitôsha members "demons hungry for lust."[182] Raichô and Iwano Kiyoko protested, to no avail; the authorities tried to discredit the Seitôsha members by labeling them as erotomaniacs.

We can see the strong impact of *Seitô* on society by the facts that many girls' schools prohibited the subscription to the magazine and that Kamichika Ichiko was expelled from a teaching job only because she was a former member of the group. Such social wariness, when seen the other way around, means that the magazine had attracted considerable attention from the general public. Even though the actual

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181 Ide, *Seitô no onnatachi*, p.64.

182 Murakami Nobuhiko, *Taishô joseishi*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1982), p.120.

readers of the magazine were three thousand at most, ten times that number knew the name of *Seitô* through the comments in newspapers and journals, and these people became interested in "new women." The influences of the magazine were grave because intellectual women from good families advocated freedom of love and the assertion of women's ego. If the magazine had advocated women's suffrage, male society would not have been shaken this much.[183] People knew that political demands were an ideal matter claimed by a mere handful of women and such demands had not yet grown in ordinary women. However, the criticism and resistance to the family system offered a real challenge to society. *Seitô* embodied the demands harboured by suffering women. In this sense, the magazine played an important role in women's history, even though its ideas may seem immature from today's standards.

Thus, *Seitô* clearly had a larger impact on society than *Sekai fujin*. The women's question presented by *Seitô* also greatly influenced the journalism of the time. *Chûô kôron* published a special issue featuring the women's problem in the autumn of 1913. This issue carried "Hiratsuka Haruko ron" (Views on Hiratsuka Haruko), asking ten prominent authors to write their views on Raichô. Inspired by the success of this special issue, the Chûô Kôronsha decided to publish *Fujin kôron*, a magazine specializing in women's problems. This magazine started publication in January 1916.

It is generally believed that the spirit of *Seitô* was inherited by *Fujin kôron*, which is a respectable magazine still published today. *Fujin kôron*'s articles were written by both men and women scholars, professors, and thinkers. The articles dealt with a

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183 *ibid.*, p.121.

wide range of women's issues, including love marriage, family life, women's profession, contraception, coeducation, and women's suffrage. The women's problem thus came to be taken up seriously by intellectuals from various circles. In other words, the women's problem became popularized in Japanese society for the first time.

Furthermore, Raichô continued to write vigorously after the discontinuation of *Seitô*. She had a long debate with Yosano Akiko over the protection of motherhood. Raichô demanded special protection for women and children from the state, while Akiko insisted that economic independence should come first. Raichô's ideas were based on Ellen Key's assertion that all mothers and children are entitled to social protection. Raichô had two children by this time and her views were based on the actual feeling of life.[184]

In parallel with this debate, Raichô also made new assertions. In October 1916, she proposed to disqualify men from marriage if they contracted venereal diseases. It was unfair, she argued, to require only women to be absolutely chaste while leaving men free to do whatever they wanted. Raichô also advocated the necessity of birth control.

In 1918, Raichô established the New Women's Association with Ichikawa Fusae. This was the first group organized by women for political purposes. Their efforts brought a "tiny" fruit: women finally won the right to participate in political meetings, which was prohibited under Article 5 of the Public Peace Police Law.[185] Raichô lived to be 85 and even engaged in the peace movement after World War II.

Thus, the reasons *Seitô* left its name in history were its strong impact on the then

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[184] Yosano had five sons and five daughters by the time the debate was over.

[185] Japanese women had to wait until the end of World War II to finally achieve their voting rights and electoral eligibility.

society and later feminists, the activities of the former Seitô members, and Raichô's powerful statement, "In the beginning woman was the Sun."

In the case of Fukuda Hideko, she did not engage in conspicuous activities after *Sekai fujin* was compelled to cease publication because of the government's suppression. The main reason for the low estimation of Hideko was probably because her efforts ended as an isolated movement without developing into subsequent activities. Unfortunately, her ideas did not permeate the conservative society which had just awakened from the feudal age sleep. Hideko could not expand her activities because the socialists then were severely repressed by the authorities. It is clear that *Sekai fujin* was oppressed more devastatingly than *Seitô*: the latter stopped publication because of Itô Noe's personal reasons. Furthermore, even though Hideko was actually the chief editor, most of the contributors were male socialists, and *Sekai fujin* was regarded as a socialist journal both by the authorities and by the general public. As we can see from Raichô's father's reaction to socialist ideas, society in general was fearful of socialism. This was the principal reason why *Sekai fujin* could not influence the society as much as *Seitô* did.

In contrast to Raichô, who is highly acclaimed as the pioneer of the Japanese women's movement, Hideko's name was virtually unknown to most people in spite of her great efforts for women's causes. Hideko was unfortunate both in life and in the evaluation in women's history. Recently, however, more attention has been paid to Hideko's activities among students of Japanese women's history. Murata Shizuko's biography, *Fukuda Hideko*, made a great contribution to understanding Hideko's stormy life and her desperate fights for women's rights. We should give Hideko more credit for her roles in the liberation of Japanese women for the following reasons.

First, Hideko was awakened to the idea of equal rights for men and women through the People's Rights Movement, and she established Jôkôgakusha with her mother to teach children from poor families and working women. Later, she founded a women's technical school to provide vocational training, believing economic independence was indispensable to women's freedom.

As the former popular rights activists joined hands with the state power, disappointed Hideko gradually leaned toward socialism. She knew the Heiminsha through Sakai Toshihiko and helped the publication of *Heimin shimbun*. In 1907, she published *Sekai fujin*, which was the first magazine dealing with women's issues in Japan. The magazine not only carried enlightening articles to raise the status of women, but also initiated political and social activities, such as the petition movement for revising the Public Peace Police Law and the Yanaka village relief campaign. Through her activities, Hideko encouraged other women as a role model who worked hard for the cause of women's rights in spite of many hardships.

Thus, it is appropriate to reevaluate Hideko as a pioneer of women's movement in Japan. We should remember she devoted her entire life to women's freedom and independence, and, above all, she published *Sekai fujin* for women's emancipation almost five years before the publication of *Seitô*, which is generally regarded as the first women's movement in Japan.

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