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Author(s)	Lukminaitė, Simona
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Physical Education in the Meiji Education for Women

SIMONA LUKMINAITĖ*

1. Aims of the Paper

This paper, by treating a particular case of martial arts[1] instruction as modern Physical Education (PE) for women in mid-Meiji (circa 1890's–1900's) Japan, aims to provide insights into how body/mind, religion/spirituality, traditional/modern, and Western/Japanese dichotomies were perceived, grappled with in writing, and functionally put to practice in this period of moderate freedom to create new ways of understanding in educational practice. It analyzes physical education (PE) at Meiji Jogakkō 明治女学校 (1885–1907)—a girls' school run privately by Japanese intellectuals that belonged to a Protestant community-network of samurai intelligentsia—concentrating on explaining the reasons behind the role it was assigned in the curriculum at the school.

For the lack of applicable previous research, this paper predominantly deals with primary sources.

2. Setting/Introduction

With the Meiji Restoration (1868), the reforms that followed soon after, and the increased exposure to the foreign nations, the position of girls/women in Japan gradually came to be seen as a topic of great import to the nation as a modern unit. This new understanding was influenced by several factors. First of all, Japan came under the scrutinizing eye of the world that it wanted to impress in order to maintain its standing as an independent and advanced state. For that purpose, all citizens of Japan came to be seen as assets of the nation. Gradually, not only the males, but females, too, started to be treated as cultural representatives of modern Japanese society and thus a need for a suitable upbringing. In addition, with the

* Osaka University, Graduate Student; e-mail: simona.lukminaite@gmail.com

[1] 武道, in the meaning of martial arts as modern physical education. *Budō* and martial arts will be used interchangeably within the text.

introduction of the ideas of eugenics, women came to be seen as mothers of future generations, determining the physical and mental development of their offspring by their own lifestyle and level of erudition. Subsequently, with the appearance of the *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 ("good wife, wise mother")[2] ideas, women started to be perceived as helpers/partners to their modernized husbands. Obviously, all these factors shaped the expectations towards the outcomes of female education and opportunities they had in society.

3. PE and its Boundaries

In order to understand how PE was generally perceived and how that perception developed in Meiji, it is important to note that there was a strong competition between different perspectives on what constituted a modern, yet complete, education.

Regarding the position of PE in the modern curriculum, it featured as a subject in the first government schemes, yet the importance assigned to it was minimal and there were few opportunities for enforcement. However, the attention paid to PE increased with time. A significant issue influencing the development in the understanding of what a modern PE should constitute of was the competition between the ideas perceived as Western and traditional, especially around the late 1880s and early 1890s. There was dissent toward an understanding, exemplified by Herbert Spencer's ideas, about education being split into independent intellectual, moral, and physical aspects.[3] While those who promoted importing foreign models of education supported such divide, the majority found it alien. This was partially due to the fact that the historical scaffolding onto which the modern system of education in Japan was built was such that there was an overlap among all categories of education. Thus, PE was seen as incomplete without intellectual and moral instruction. The Western PE, by cultivating body but not the mind, was then deemed unable to satisfactorily

[2] Shizuko Koyama. *Ryosai Kenbo: the educational ideal of 'good wife, wise mother' in modern Japan,* Leiden/Boston: BRILL, 2013. According to Koyama, although "*ryōsai kenbo*" as a term was used during the Meiji Enlightenment by Nakamura Masanao and after this by Mori Arinori, the conscious use commenced with the publication of women's magazine *Jokan* 女鑑 in 1891. (p. 4) Koyama describes how the creation of a clear ideal of "mother as teacher" was a modern phenomenon. It started in Victorian England, where supervising the home and the childrearing became the role of women in the late 17th century. Major childrearing manuals of the Victorian era promoted the idea that "mothers are the ideal agents for the task of building up the strength of the people of the nation" (p. 6), countries like France and Germany following in the subsequent centuries.

[3] Herbert Spencer, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, London: D. Appleton, 1860.

help in the building of the physical and mental strength of the nationals, at least by some of the opinion leaders. This understanding was possibly a continuation of the *bunbu ryōdō* 文武両道 (martial and civil practices) model found in the writings of Edo intellectuals such as Hōjō Ujinaga (1609–1670), who, according to Paramore, with the help of Neo-Confucian theory, in the 1600s, reworked military learning into a tradition with a worldview in some ways resembling a religious outlook that was later taken up by the samurai and even the commoners towards the end of the Tokugawa era, as *budō* became more accessible.[4]

In Meiji, the abolition of the class system further sped up the process of *budō* being seen as a subject to be possibly placed in the national curriculum. Mostly, however, it was promoted as a reactive response to the Western type of education that was endorsed by the members of government, who were in favor of the European exercises for reasons of safety (they found that *budō* lacked protective equipment),[5] and were wary of the competitiveness that would ensue during *budō* exercises due to differences in physical strength of the students.[6] Those in favor of the Japanese equivalent argued that it would prepare the students more fully, imbuing them with national qualities like *yamato damashii* (大和魂, lit. "Japanese spirit").[7] However, in the Tokugawa era, martial arts were exercised by the samurai class (men and frequently women, depending on their locale), yet were not recognized by the rest of society. Thus, the idea of introducing it into the national curriculum was perceived as a traditionalist (even nationalistic) by many. However, since around 1895 (with *Dainippon Butokukai* 大日本武徳会 particularly),[8] martial arts came to be actively proposed to be incorporated into the national curriculum. While such appeals met with little success before, they now had to be addressed, as instructing martial arts became an awkward issue in the education of men—it was commonly carried out without official support by the government.[9] Thus, by the late 1890s, without much correlation to the actual spread of *budō* within Edo society, *budō*, to a large extent, came to be increasingly more commonly seen as one of the main signifiers of

[4] Kiri Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History*, Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016, p. 54.
[5] Denis Gainty, *Martial Arts and the Body Politic in Meiji Japan*, Routledge, 2013, p. 103.
[6] Ibid., p. 128.
[7] Paramore, pp. 108, 110–111.
[8] Gainty, op. cit., p. 59.
[9] According to Gainty (op. cit., p. 101), "Despite the government's push for modern calisthenics in the 1870s, […] martial arts education was informally practiced at some primary and middle schools, and there were various voices 'from the field' calling for their inclusion in the new public school curriculum."

uniting the Japanese men under a native form of physical and moral instruction. It may have been a natural choice for the intellectual leaders of samurai descent as they sought to redeem their ancestors, strengthen their status, and search for national characteristics that could help in successfully uniting Japan when faced with the turmoil of change.

However, Gainty explains how there were numerous contributors to the *Butokukai*'s publications who wrote on "*bushidō* for women", yet such attention was of secondary to the organization's main concerns, and "the national body […] and the *Butokukai* (as well as the various versions of *kokutai* [国体] proposed by the government) were implicitly male".[10] Thus, girls and women were not in the radar of the martial arts advocates and martial arts in their education remained an oddity in the framework of modern education until at least the 1900s.

What was seen as the suitable form of PE for female students, then?

Taisō, or calisthenics—synchronized group stretching, often to the accompaniment of music—was conceived as modern, or Western, PE. It was a novelty introduced at the beginning of Meiji and was included in the first national-level reforms of education, *Gakusei* 学制 (1872), for both boys and girls at the elementary level. Girls retained the compulsory *taisō* classes at the secondary level of education as well under the subsequent regulations,[11] but it took decades into the Meiji period for a substantial number of such schools to appear and to attract students. Seen as too foreign, *taisō* was not popular among the Japanese schools for girls, and was rather secluded to missionary institutions such as *Ferris Jogakkō* フェリス女学校, which had the funds and the know-how since the beginning of the period, but it took hold with time as the definition of *taisō* expanded and became open to various interpretations.

An important contribution of introducing *taisō* and modern concepts of PE as an essential element of modern education for all was that it triggered a national-level discussion on the customary physical training, and extended the boundaries of what girls could and "should be" instructed. Interestingly, in addition to *budō, shūshin* 修身 (deportment) and *reigi sahō* 礼儀作法 (etiquette) were both seen as important traditional disciplines in and outside of the official curricula of female education, especially among the classes of samurai and peerage, in such schools as *Kazoku Jogakkō* 華族女学校, which was attended by girls of the highest social standing.

[10] Gainty, op. cit., p. 140.
[11] Such as the first regulations for the higher schools of women, *kōtō jogakkō kitei* 高等女学校規程, of 1895.

It is clear that the conception of modern *taisō* and PE "for all" changed the perception on how manners (*reigi*) should be instructed. Sue has pointed out the example of *Shōgakkō joreishiki daiichi* (小学校女礼式　第一, roughly translatable as "Women's Etiquette for Elementary Schools: Basics") that was co-authored by Ogasawara Seimu 小笠原清務 and a government official in 1881, in accordance to the government's recommendations.[12] The treatise dealt with the same forms of etiquette as would have a manual written during the Edo period; the difference was in the Appendix (*furoku* 付録) that stressed teaching manners through play (*yūgi* 遊戯) and *taisō*, in groups. According to Sue, this was a new idea developed in Meiji, as during the Edo period, manners were instructed individually. In early Meiji, treatises regarding the education of manners published in Edo were being reprinted, and Western textbooks were being translated. However, before *Shōgakkō joreishiki* was published, there were not any substantial developments made, and thus the publication marks an important turning point in the history of instructing etiquette in Japan. As it was supported by the government, it affected the educators throughout Japan, but especially those in Tokyo.

Ogasawara-style etiquette was an intrinsic part of many elegant pastimes, such as tea ceremony, ikebana (flower arrangement), Noh theater, and martial arts. Therefore, when Meiji Jogakkō introduced martial arts into its curriculum, it is not surprising that etiquette was seen as an important addition to, or a part of, PE in general.

4. PE at Meiji Jogakkō

Meiji Jogakkō was a noteworthy institution due to a variety of reasons. First of all, rather than trying to attract students or gain support by maintaining affiliations or defining itself in a clear-cut way like the other schools (missionary, government, or single-teacher private academies), it devised an original approach to education under an independent banner of a network of Japanese Protestant intellectuals who, reflecting their own education, combined in their practices various ideas stemming from within and outside of Japan. It also served as a bridge between classes and religious inclinations, taking in students from a variety of social and religious backgrounds. Their declared goal was to simultaneously liberate women on various levels. In order to receive at least a secondary-level education as a

[12] Sue Tomoko 陶　智子, "A Study of 'Shougaku-joreisiki'"『小学女礼式』について, Journal of Toyama College 42, 2007, pp. 1–10.

minimum requirement, girls were married off. They also offered a course on how to supervise modern households. For those wishing to work or research, they provided professional and tertiary-level instruction. Finally, their numerous beyond-the-school activities were aimed towards enlightening the masses about women's potential and needs. Most importantly for this paper, it was a Christian school for girls that, with great enthusiasm, decided to teach martial arts to girls when very other few found it appropriate or necessary.

4.a. Iwamoto Yoshiharu's understanding of *Taisō, Jorei,* and *Budō*

When Iwamoto Yoshiharu 巌本善治 (1863–1942), the principal of Meiji Jogakkō, introduced the new class of martial arts to his students in 1890, he stated the following:

> Regarding PE (*taisō*), up until now we have come up with various devises. Although the PE we carry out is of Western style, this time we have decided to add a class of *naginata* to, first of all, be tried out for those interested. While in *naginata* there are various schools, in our institution we shall teach mostly the *Hokushin Ittō* style. Even though we believe that it shall have a great benefit for physical exercise,[13] for persevering spirit (*kisetsu* 気節), also for appearance (*fūsai* 風采), as it is a new subject, […] only those who are interested should attend. Up until now, too, we have not forced our students into physical exercise. […] While you shall be constantly instructed in *jorei*, your teachers should not always have to tell you that in order for the study of manners (*rei* 礼) to be good for you physically, you are not meant to just be quiet. Is it not the essence of *jorei* to get the body adjusted to the principles of how to maintain good appearance when running or falling over? That is why, if you learn *naginata*, or if you practice the Western *taisō*, your bodies will become fit for *jorei*. That is why learning *jorei*, playing, exercising *naginata* or *taisō* are not contradictory to each other. In addition, carrying out exercises of any sort and behaving lady-like and gentle do not contradict each other either. You should all exercise freely and without fear and grow physically strong.[14]

[13] All the underlining is added by the author to aid understanding of the primary materials.

[14] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* 吾党之女子教育, Chapter 1, "To the students of Meiji Jogakkō: the current state of women education" 明治女学校生徒に告ぐ。目下の女子教育, 1892, pp. 1–30.
家政科及び薙刀
亦た、體操の事に付きては從來も色々と工夫し、今日にては洋風の體操を用ひ居ることなれども、今后は

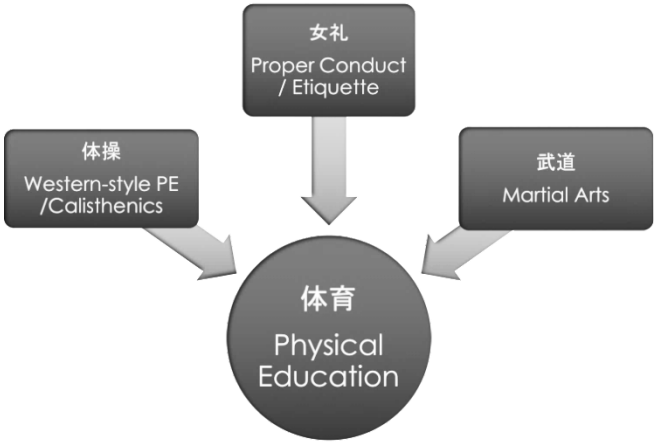

Figure 1: Threefold PE at Meiji Jogakkō

Thus, we can safely assume that the physical education in Meiji Jogakkō was, for the most part of its history, perceived as threefold, consisting of *taisō* 体操, *jorei* 女礼, and *budō* 武道.

Following the Western-education-inclined government of the beginning of Meiji, Meiji Jogakkō promoted *taisō* from 1885 as a way to liberate women's bodies, claiming that they were misguidedly kept from physical activities, especially in affluent families. It was suggested that traditional physical activities in rural areas should be encouraged instead, if necessary. Therefore, one, women of all classes were encouraged to exercise physically according to means accessible to them; and two, *taisō* was replaceable and not compulsory, but doing some form of exercise was strongly encouraged.

Jorei came into the Meiji Jogakkō's curriculum as a subject that accompanied *taisō* and *budō*. The connection with *budō* especially is made clear in the following passage authored by

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薙刀の一課を加へ、先づ有志の人々より試ましむべし。薙刀にも色々の派あることなるが此校にては主も北辰一刀流を用ゆべし。運動の爲にも、氣節の爲にも、また女子の風采の爲にも、其效能莫大ならんと信じ居ることなれども、未だ慣れぬ先より諸氏全躰をして學ばしむることを欲せざるに付き、先づ有志の人々丈けにて初じむべし。元來運動の事に付きても明治女學校は決して強迫制限を爲さず[…]諸子は始終女禮を學ぶことなるが、女禮の先生は常に諸子に教へて言はるるならずや、禮は身態に宜しき得せしむるものにて、只靜かにせよと云ふものにはあらず、走るときにも、倒るるときにも、其身形が節を得て見惡からぬやうに、身態を慣らすが即はち女禮の極意ならずや。故に薙刀に達すれば其身態は矢張り女禮に適ふものとなるべし、西洋の躰操に達すれば亦た其身態は女禮に適ふものとなるへし、故に女禮を學ぶことと、遊ぶことと、薙刀及び躰操を爲すことと決して矛盾せず、亦た惣て活發に運動することと、女らしくオトナシクすることと、況して矛盾せざるものなり、諸子決してビクビクとすることなく、自由に運動して身躰を丈夫にし玉へかし。

Iwamoto Yoshiharu, found in chapter 7 of *Wagatō no Joshi Kyōiku*.[15]

As an answer to the critique of the school's methods of PE, the chapter explains that, in the discussions of the matters of etiquette (*rei* 礼), there should first of all be an acknowledgment of the split between ceremony (*shiki* 式) and mentality/spirit (*seishin* 精神). Ceremony, according to the teachings (*den* 伝) of the Ogasawara [school of etiquette], can be found in a variety of things: there are teachings about the right way to walk, to sit, to stand up, and a to fall. Subsequently, it is difficult to enumerate and specify the different forms (*tai* 体) of ceremonies; even more difficult it is to remember and use them quickly when pressed by need. That is why the regular efforts are not enough to acquire such skills. However, no matter how many expressions of ceremony there are, the mentality is single. Thus, even though mentality has a boundless number of forms, its essence is one, constant from beginning to end. It peacefully and naturally adjusts itself to the needs of time. Therefore, it should not be questioned how many different forms are there to carry out the etiquette; rather, even if it contradicts the teachings of Ogasawara, it does not contradict the right manners (*rei* 礼) if one stands up when one should be lying or lies down when one should be sitting. Just like in the case of learning a martial art like *kendō*, the instruction of etiquette only becomes beneficial if one has attained the secret teachings, or in the case of a monk who has reached spiritual enlightenment. When one is not yet at such an advanced stage, the teaching of forms stands for no benefit. That is why, those who are instructing in etiquette and manners should be instructing in mentality and spirituality. That entails teaching not to be distracted by things, not to be scared by places or situations, not to be surprised by people, not to look down on matters, and, when the students' daily routines change, to constantly carry themselves around as they are, calmly enjoying the inner peace.

The mentality thus seems to be treated as an indispensable element to all education, *jorei* being the means to instruct it, and thus likewise being indispensable. It is separated from the ceremony, or the sequences of movements that have to be memorized and applied when expected to, and thus the sets of rules to follow do not need to be specified.

Allusions to the esoteric Buddhist practices or *kendō* display the education and interests of Iwamoto and martial artists' influence. Such comparisons point in the direction that the

[15] Titled "*Jorei to Taisō*" 女禮と體操, the section was originally published as editorials in *Jogaku Zasshi* no. 271−272, June-July 1890. Meiji Jogaku-sha 明治女学社, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* 吾党之女子教育, 1892, pp. 100−112.

"mindset" that is being discussed here is of religious/spiritual origin.

Iwamoto follows by entering into the topic of martial arts, clarifying its connection with *jorei*. *Jorei* is placed within the framework of *bunbu* and simultaneously in the context of enlightened, or modern, learning. He admonishes against going for "shape only" in all education, as the right mindset precludes the instilment of knowledge.

Iwamoto explains that previously, in Japan, to develop mentality, the two teaching techniques (*kyōjuhō* 教授法) of *bun* and *bu* (*bunbu niyō* 文武二用) were applied. *Bun* was the gentle way (*yasashiki hō* 優しき方), *bu* (*kowaki hō* 剛き方) was the tough way. Between the two, they shared a variety of teachings (*gaku* 学) and techniques (*jutsu* 術). The teachings of *bu* were turned into martial arts (*budō* 武道), and the discipline representative of *bu* was martial tactics (*heihō budō no gakumon* 兵法武道の学問), while the techniques of *bu* were shaped into military arts (*bugei* 武芸), and the training in swordsmanship, spearmanship, archery, and horsemanship (*ken sō kyū ba* 剣槍弓馬). The teachings of *bun* corresponded to *bundō* (文道)—a counterpart for *budō*—representing the study of literature and culture. It is embodied by the disciplines of politics and ethics (*seiji shūshin no gakumon* 政治修身の学問). The techniques of *bun* constitute etiquette (*rei* 礼).

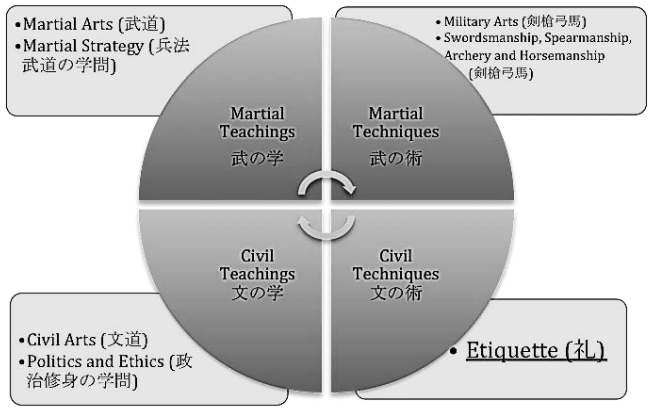

Figure 1: Bun, bu, and the modern disciplines

All the above (*bunbu gakujutsu* 文武学術), according to Iwamoto, only train the mentality and thus it is fine to use them sparingly. The "enlightening scriptures" (*bunmei no sho* 文明の書) advocate increasing the instruction in intellectual subjects, and the

"enlightening teachings" (*bunmei no kyō* 文明の教) advocate heightening the moral sense (*dōnen* 道念). However, there is no use if one gets surprised with things or shocked after jumping into it all without any practice. That is why, it is crucial to get used to the mentality of enlightening teachings (*bunmei no kyōju* 文明の教授) before applying them, internalizing it. To summarize, the etiquette has power only because it is an important part in mental training (*seishin shūyō* 精神修要).

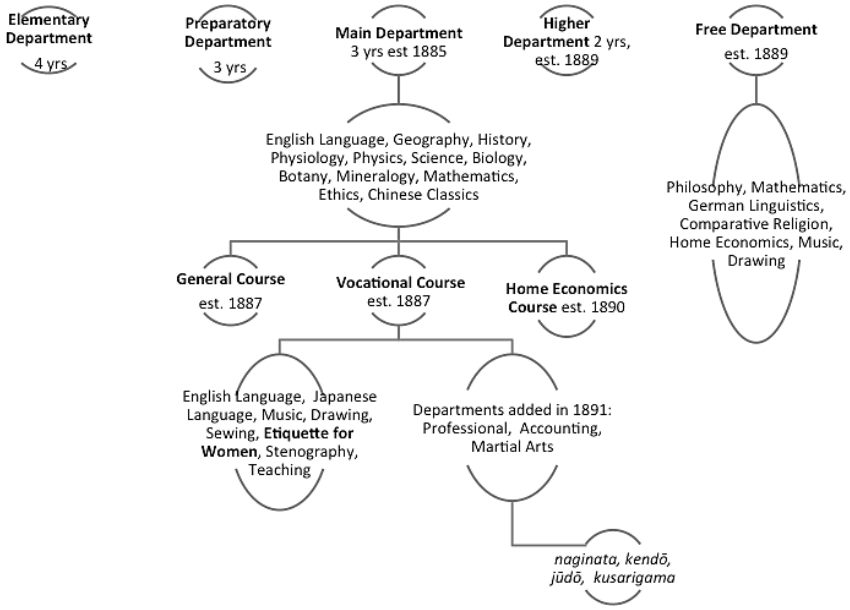

Figure 2: Curriculum

Thus, the ultimate goal of *bunbu niyō*, or martial arts/*jorei*, is portrayed as for cultivating the mentality. That does not mean that they were seen as impractical subjects, however. Indeed, they had several applications.

In 1887, Meiji Jogakkō's Main Department (*honka* 本科) branched into two separate majors—the General (*futsūka* 普通科) and the Specialized (*senshūka* 専修科). Therefore, those entering the Main Department had a choice of taking up the Specialized Course aimed at those wishing to find employment and choose from English or Japanese Language, Music, Painting, Sewing and Etiquette (*saihō jorei* 裁縫女礼), Stenography, and Teacher Training majors. In 1891, there also appeared Business (*shokugyōka* 職業科), Accounting (*shukeika* 主計科), and Martial Arts (*budōka* 武道科) departments.

In Chapter 8 of *Wagatō no Joshi Kyōiku*,[16] there is a section titled "The sewing course at a girls' school" (*jogakkō no saihōka* 女学校の裁縫科), noting that it was originally written in February 1887. It mentions *jorei* and claims that the reason why girls' schools require a class of sewing is not only so that they could acquire the skill. The greatest benefit is to be found elsewhere. It is so due to the fact that at the moment, the men and women have not developed their gender-based qualities and there is nearly no differentiation in male and female principles in education. In the curricula of elementary education, carried out at a young age, this is natural. However, when it comes to the girls aged thirteen to fourteen, the places that have gathered them help their feminine qualities manifest, and thus, apart from the classes taught at regular girls' schools, painting, music, and etiquette (*jorei*) are seen as important to cultivate the traits of elegance (*yūga* 優雅) and gentleness (*onwa* 温和).

Thus, *jorei*/sewing and martial arts were all perceived as professions that would hopefully help to secure a livelihood. While all three were seen as "traditional" accomplishments, they were also vocational courses, graduation from which might have helped women become independent in the modern society. Simultaneously, *jorei* was also perceived as a course that was deemed to preserve/cultivate the feminine virtues, and was placed next to painting, music, and sewing—accomplishments that were deemed feminine. While PE by itself was commonly criticized as opposite of feminine, by supplementing it with *jorei*, it could have been made so, and the students could have been possibly protected from harsh remarks.

At the same time, Iwamoto is providing his own criticism of PE by juxtaposing *jorei* and *budō* with the Western learning, foreshadowing the *taisō* losing its position against the two due to being of Western origin. While previously not so critical of the Western ways of instruction in morals, Iwamoto wrote the following in 1890.

> The Westerners carry out their moral education at church and do no encourage it at school. Just the same way, they emphasize the religious spiritual development and teach the etiquette (*rei*) as a way to embellish the association with others. That is why, just like the martial instruction in the West deals with technical skills only and cannot be compared to the Japanese martial arts, the Western etiquette is a shallow false adornment that does

[16] Ibid., pp. 113–123.

not stand on par to the Japanese etiquette. That is why it is acceptable if a girls' school skips a day in teaching the Western manners, but not the Japanese ones.[17]

To him, it is the moral/religious aspect that is lacking in both the Western etiquette and martial education. The Japanese equivalents, however, are then capable of providing it.

Possibly, recommending gradual acceptance of new ideas, not just assimilating practices without understanding them, could be Iwamoto's response to the new system of education promoted for Meiji girls and women—which was emphasizing Westernization, yet focusing on the morality and loyalty to the state, and thus being inconsistent. It might also be that Iwamoto was advocating a specific shapeless and undefined essence behind the learning for women, as it could be not restricted by the government, creating a possible avenue to instruct religion/spirituality in an original manner.

It is clear that Iwamoto made an effort to apply the concept of *jorei* promoted by the government, yet located it within a broader context, interpreting it in a unique way at Meiji Jogakkō and defending it against other interpretations, both from within and outside of the country. It could have been that, when in need for the glue to bring all of the elements of Meiji Jogakkō's education together, *jorei*, redefined as *seishin* (mentality), could have had what was deemed necessary. This attempt can be seen exceptionally well in the following quote.

"Education in martial arts (*budō*)"

Civil education and martial arts constitute a whole. Even so, civil/literary education is superior when it comes to the acquisition of knowledge, and martial arts are superior when building up character. That is why, by combining the two and using them in education, the process of cultivating becomes much easier, and a greater effect can be attained in many more areas. Thus, when educating in the matters of religion, if used as a supplement, martial arts can help to attain faster spiritual development.[18]

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17 Ibid., p. 110.
（前略）西洋の禮は之に異なり。西洋人は教會に於て道徳を修練することとし學校に於て徳育を重んずることなし。如此く亦信仰に於て精神を練ることを要とし、禮に於ては只だ交際一邊の修飾として之を教ふ。故に西洋の武技は只だ器械的の武技にして日本の武道に比らべ難きが如く、西洋の禮式も亦た只だ空虚無實の飾りにして日本の禮法に類し得るものにあらず。左れば今の女學校に於て西洋の女禮を欠くは尚ほ或は可なり、一日も日本の女禮を欠くことある可らざる也。

18 Ibid., p. 148.
「武育」

Iwamoto, who served as the principal of Meiji Jogakkō for seventeen years (1887–1904) and was involved in the running of the school in the years before and after, remained an active supporter of PE for women throughout his career. In his writings, as we also saw above, he concentrated on the idea that PE was for spiritual and moral training, and stressed the suitability of Japanese vs. Western-style types of PE.

While Iwamoto was the mastermind behind the ideology that drove the school forward and kept the teachers together, he was not the man behind the actual instruction of the subject. Instead, he sought out and hired Hoshino Tenchi 星野天知 (1862–1950) to become the instructor in martial arts at the school.

4.b. Hoshino Tenchi and *Budō*

In 1890–1897, Hoshino taught Martial Arts, Eastern Philosophy (*tōyō tetsugaku* 東洋哲学), Psychology, Western and Chinese Literature, and ran a Christian Sunday class. All these activities to him came under the banner of mental training (*seishin shūyō* 精神修養) and did not hinder each other in any way. He was the mastermind behind these classes, exercising a great level of autonomy during his years at Meiji Jogakkō. His classes were optional but very popular, as can be seen by the memoirs of such students as Sōma Kokkō (相馬黒光, 1876–1955).[19]

Hoshino was not happy with the type (or, to him, "nonexistence") of women's education provided in Japan in Meiji.[20] He saw both the government and the missionary schools as failing to understand the hearts of the girls. According to him, the government avoided religion, looked down on literature, and did not care for the cultivation of aesthetic (*biteki* 美的), moral (*dōtokuteki* 道徳的), and religious (*shūkyōteki* 宗教的) sentiments (*jōsō* 情操), only concentrating on the instruction of scientific knowledge. The missionary schools, on the other hand, made the mistake of not trying to understand Japan and worshipped the Western

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文武一のみ。然れども、智を得るは文に如かず、膽を練るは武に若かず、其二つを併せ用ゆれば、教育の術極めて容易く、效驗を得る所ろ甚はだ大ひならんとす。而して、宗教の信仰に達するにも、若し武藝の修練を用ひて之を補ふときは、靈の進歩著じるしく速やからんとす。

[19] Sōma Kokkō 相馬黒光, *Moku　Sōma Kokkō Jiden* 黙移　相馬黒光自伝, Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1999.

[20] Hoshino Tenchi 星野天地, *Mokuho 70 nen* 黙歩七十年, Seibunkan 聖文閣, 1938.

ways.[21]

In the 1890s, as Hoshino was putting his ideas to test for the first time, he selected 50 samurai daughters wishing to participate in his *budō* classes. Within a few months, the classes became well-known within and outside of the school.

Hoshino gives ironic examples of how his classes or student martial art performances were seen by the outsiders. There were three commonly-observed reactions: foreign journalists saw it as a performance of magic and tricks; the Japanese journalists sneered at the school for doing something so outdated; and the traditionalists encouraged him for augmenting the spirit of old. He summarizes the situation by stating: "It was clear that society knew next to nothing about martial arts".[22]

Like Iwamoto, Hoshino stressed the importance of the spiritual in the instruction of martial arts. He mentions the same keywords—morality, spirituality, religion, etiquette—yet introduces Psychology, Classical Chinese (*kanbun*) literature, willpower, and sensitivity into the equation.

> If a martial arts instructor concentrates only on the movements of the body, the arts are menial and there is no progress on the mental (*seishin* 精神) level. By instructing in etiquette (*reigi sahō* 礼儀作法), it is possible to purge the mind of anxieties, and lead towards morality. However, as students advance, it becomes important to lead them by mental principles (*seishinjō no kyōri* 精神上の教理). To make the necessary preparations, I undertook the Psychology course. At the beginning, there was no reference to the Will (*ishi* 意志) in Psychology, thus I chose to interpret it via Martial Arts.[23]

Hoshino is thus seeing *budō* as a multilayered system based on psychological processes. In contrast to Iwamoto, who claimed that the right mindset should precede learning, to Hoshino

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[21] Ibid., pp. 169–170.
[22] Ibid., pp. 185–186.
[23] Ibid., p. 175.
武藝教授は單に身體動作だけでは、所謂下司の武藝で精神的に進まない。禮儀作法で精神の緊張を肅清して、道徳的に導く位は出來るが、稍々出來て來ると、精神上の教理で導く事が必要になつて來る。其講義の座を設けるために、先づ心理學の講座を引受けた。素より心理學には意志の章はない。それを私は武藝に據つて解釋する事にして居た。

the forms and movements can be taught first, raising the students' morale and self-control, but it is not enough by itself and has to be supplemented with the teaching about the workings of the mind. In addition, he paid much attention to the study of classical Chinese literature as a part of instruction in martial arts.

> As an extension to instructing martial arts, I was teaching an advanced *kanbun* class. First Mencius (Mōshi 孟子), then *Han Feizi* (Kan Pishi 韓非子), Wang Yangming (Ō Yōmei 王陽明), Tao Yuanming (Tō Enmei 陶淵明), Zhuangzi (Sōji 莊子) and Laozi (Rōshi 老子). Naturally, Zhuangzi was for the most advanced students and Laozi was beyond the limits of the course and thus I have introduced him briefly. When teaching, I was always encouraging students to express their opinions by carrying out a Q&A session about the backgrounds and personalities of the writers, the analysis of the text, the ideals in it, and the reception of the texts.[24]

As there was a pull by the traditionalists to go back to the Confucian-based education at the similar time, Hoshino felt the need to stress that his interest in *kanbun* hailed from different reasons.

> I also approached the teachers to point out that we were doing this to develop the students' skills and not for the purpose of augmenting nationalism (*yamato damashii* 大和魂).[25]

Just like the school was treating Christianity as a subject to be challenged and discussed, Confucian classics were being taught detached from the traditional rote learning and were applied as tools to draw out students' original input and ideas. Hoshino elaborates on the details behind his approach and the reception by the students.

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[24] Ibid., pp. 186–187.
益々實績を擧げて示す他には、大和魂の成立を示す手段はないと、私は愈々教授に勢力を注いだ。武藝に連絡の教壇として私が講演する高等漢文科では、先づ孟子から韓非子、王陽明、陶淵明、莊子から老子へと進んだ。尤も莊子は高等武藝に進んだ學生へ講じ、老子に至つては免許上の解釋となるから、唯後の理想として説き聽かせたに過ぎない。私は此等の講義をするには先づ著者の環境、人格性情、文章の解剖、理想と人物總評といふやうに質問應答させ各自の考察を披瀝させるのを常とする。

[25] Ibid., p. 186.
益々實績を擧げて示す他には、大和魂の成立を示す手段はないと、私は愈々教授に勢力を注いだ。

> The students were used to the research of the spiritual matters and would study with great interest and zeal. At times, when reading the *Shijing* (*Shikyō* 詩経), they would come up with new possible interpretations by taking it literary (*hirakai shi* 平解し). At times, jumping to interpretations from the point of martial arts, they would claim that *Kannon sutra* (*Kanon-kyō* 観音経), the martial (*bujutsu*) concept of freeing oneself from worldly or worthless thoughts (*munenmusō* 無念無想), and the Christian understanding of selflessness (*mugamushiki* 無我無識) experienced in prayer (*kitō* 祈祷) fall within the same category. The lecture served as training in both ethics (*shūshin*) and literature, finally inspiring students to be intrigued by literature. We came to often analyze the texts and finally started learning rhetoric. Pointing out the reasons behind the Japanese girls' unskillfulness in conversation, and to encourage variety of opinions, I introduced *Les Misérables*[26] and *Wakefield*[27].[28]

Thus, the girls were being taught how to approach knowledge and to express themselves (rhetoric), delved into the issues in ethics and literature (reading both Chinese and Western texts), and were encouraged to be versed in a variety of religious/spiritual concepts, such as of Buddhism, Christianity, and martial philosophy. Was it all instruction in "Martial Arts", accentuating the broad spectrum of *budō*? Borrowing Hoshino's words,

> I got employed as an instructor in mental training and martial arts. I chose to focus on solely that and started lectures in such subjects as Psychology and Advanced Classical Chinese Literature and led debates on the Asian Philosophy. I also became the schoolmaster of the Sunday-only school and involved myself deeply into carrying out talks on how to self-cultivate according to the Christian teachings.[29]

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[26] A French historical novel by Victor Hugo, first published in 1862.

[27] *The Vicar of Wakefield*—a novel by Irish writer Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774), published in 1766.

[28] Ibid., pp. 186–187.
或時は詩經を平解して新味を與へ、或は感音經を講じて武術の無念無想、祈祷の無我無識の境に及ぶなど、武術の觀點より先んずる事もあつた。此講座は又修身の講座とも文學の講座ともなつたので、校内に漸く文學の空氣が動き出した。此等の講義から往々文章を解剖する事が出て來て、終にレトリックの講義を始め、續いて日本女子の談話術に拙劣な所以を警告し、諸説への注意を奬勵するため、進んで自らミゼラーブルやウェキフィールドなどを講演するやうになった。

[29] Ibid., p. 173.
私は初め精神修養、武藝教育の教授として這入つたが、心理學から高等漢學の講座を設けて東洋哲學を論

It is unclear whether the mental training, martial arts, Christianity, philosophy and psychology had obvious boundaries, or they were constituting a whole in the educational scheme of Hoshino. However, if we look into the further writings by Hoshino, we get to see how he validated such an arrangement, in addition to describing his mindset at the inception of the course.

> First, when moving, it is necessary to relax, know your enemy, and search for self. When still, it is necessary to train your willpower and sensitivity by being exposed to literature harboring aesthetic, moral, and religious sentiments. Thinking thus, I have created a special style of martial arts for women out of two styles of *naginata*, took techniques of self-defense from the *yagyū* style, and matched it with *bōjutsu* and *jūjutsu*.[30]

Therefore, to him, as well Iwamoto, the *budō* and its elements *bun* (the "still" state) and *bu* (the "active" state) were two sides of the same coin and signified the meaning of education at large, underlying the approach to knowledge and self-bearing in life in general.

In the following paragraph Hoshino provides the particular requirements and certificates awarded to the students who, having successfully met the goals he envisioned, "graduated" from his course.

> At first, I made them practice 31 moves of *Ittō*-style *naginata* for a year. Then *Yagyū*-style *bōjutsu* and 18 moves of self-defence *jūjutsu*. The students who completed this level were granted the elementary rank (*shodan*) certificate. Further on, after acquiring 10 moves of *naginata* of various styles, 12 moves of *jūjutsu* facing the opponent, 10 additional moves of *bōjutsu*, seven moves of *Yagyū*-style *naginata*, 10 moves using a dagger, including a permission to kill when protecting life, the students

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議し、武藝就業と相俟つて專ら精神修養に盡力した。尤も日曜だけは日曜學校校長となつて、耶蘇教的修養談に熱を揚げて居た。

30 Ibid., p.169.

先づ動中に靜かを觀、敵を知り己を探ねる。不動の意志鍛錬と情操的文學を以て情操思想を養はねばならぬ。斯う考へて私は、薙刀術を二流から、懐劍術を柳生流から、棒術と柔術とを併せて女流型の手を編成し[た。]

> were granted the intermediate rank (*chūdan*) certificate. As the movements became students' second nature, they were granted the completion license with the list of gained skills (*mokuroku kyojō* 目録許状). Overall, the course took five years to complete. During approximately seven years of me teaching at Meiji Jogakkō, 26 students were granted elementary and intermediate ranks, and three the license. If I had another year or two, four more students would have graduated.[31]

He then gives names of several of the students and their particularly exceptional qualities. When it came to the benefits the girls experienced thanks to learning martial arts, Hoshino raises the following character traits. Possibly, these were the traits they saw as ideal for the modern women of Japan. Unlike Iwamoto, Hoshino seems to concentrate mostly on practical and physical benefits.

> All the students who received the beginner's qualification (*shodan*) or higher qualification acquired good posture, stable movement, elegant manners, and everyone who saw them could not spare compliments. After three or four years, I heard many stories about how thanks to the self-defense techniques the students managed to save themselves. One escaped when attacked by a drunkard; another's lantern did not get extinguished when she tumbled down the stairs; one more, when pressed, made a safe passage through mountains at night; another, all by herself, subdued a robber at night… There were numerous accounts of how the trainings affected the lives of the students.[32]

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31 Ibid., p. 200.
武藝教育の實績
（一）教授の順序と成績
（上略）最初、一刀流の薙刀三十一手を一ヶ年練習させ、次に柳生流棒術と護身十八手の柔術を鍛錬させ、其達成者に初段免許状を與える。次で薙刀の複法十一手、立合形柔術十二手、棒術裏十手、柳生流薙刀七手、短刀十手を練達させ、之に活殺術を許して中段免許状を授ける。以上の術が其自然動作に一致するを待つて目録許状を授ける。以上で五ヶ年の科目とする。私は前後七ヶ年の授業で初段、中段二十六人、目録段の三人を出した。もう一二年で尚目録段を四人出す筈であつた事が殘念に思われる。

32 Ibid., p. 202.
（三）武藝教育の終幕
さて、初段以上に進んだ者は何れも姿勢備はり、與動沈着、風來優雅となり、觀る者をして賞贊せざるは無しといふ有様であつた。三四年の後に當護身術のため災害を脱かれた逸話が追々と聽込めるやうになつた。或者は醉漢の暴行を免れ、或者は階上よりの轉落に尚、持てる洋燈の燈火が消えずに立つて居たとか、又は火急の用務で鑛山へ夜旅を完うし得たとか、單身夜盜を説き伏せたとか、種々修行の功果を聞く事は數ふるに暇が無い。

As important events to the school, Meiji Jogakkō had its students perform martial arts for charity, extending the visibility of their methods, but the reception seems to have been consistently the same—mostly baffled. Nevertheless, in 1891, the school established an independent course for martial arts, exemplifying the importance the educators placed on the subject.

During the seven years that Hoshino worked at Meiji Jogakkō, he contributed to *Jogaku Zasshi* (女学雑誌 1885–1904), that was basically run by Meiji Jogakkō, and founded an auxiliary magazine, where he encouraged the knowledge of martial arts extensively. Called *Jogakusei* (女学生 1890–1893), it combined his passion for literature and martial arts and was aimed at the readership of female students. He writes that he was reluctant to leave the school but felt the need to devote his energy to an enterprise independent of Meiji Jogakkō—*Bungakukai* (文学界 1893–1898), the offspring of *Jogakusei*, yet carried on instructing martial arts to both men and women in his villa in Kamakura throughout his life.

5. Conclusions/The Aftermath

We came to see how PE for women (and *budō* as its increasingly important element throughout the years) was perceived as a topic of utmost importance at least by a pair of educators of girls and women in Meiji. It was most likely their response to the attention PE received from the government and missionary educators, but also, a way to supplement moral, ethical, intellectual, and religious instruction they chose to provide at their school. Their perception and practical implementation of instructing martial arts provide an insight into how the modern concept of PE (also, perception of body/mind and moral/ethical/physical education) was being created in a puzzle-like manner.

Iwamoto Yoshiharu and Hoshino Tenchi saw martial arts in a way similar to how the government was advocating for *taisō*—as a means to improve overall health and hygiene, and liberate/modernize women. However, at the same time, *budō* was more than *taisō*—it was useful in daily lives as a means of self-defense and gaining gracefulness and awareness of one's body. It was seen as especially effective for building up morale, spiritual accomplishment, character, and critical thinking. At the same time, it could have served as a means to augment foreign Christianity with a more native form of spirituality at a time where

limitations placed on religious instruction were numerous. Against the trend of times, Meiji Jogakkō ridiculed the traditionalists and Westernizers alike, seemingly providing a modern understanding of martial arts and a multilayered interpretation of PE.

Budō, due to being perceived as having an advantage over Western PE by providing moral/spiritual training, was gradually appropriated to modern needs, becoming a sport (i.e. made safe, standardized, and accessible to many) in the process. Gainty describes how

> "by 1911, the Ministry of Education followed the 1908 recommendations by the Diet and made martial arts official elective classes for males in Japanese middle schools, followed closely by their inclusion in normal schools. The following year, government-sanctioned martial arts classes began to be offered. In 1917, the Ministry of Education instituted *kendō* and *jūdō* as required subjects in middle schools, and in a 1918 publication by the Ministry of Education's new School Hygiene Society (*gakkō eiseikai*), the Ministry reported further findings that *jūdō* and *kendō* were suitable for primary schools."[33]

Thus, at the beginning of the 20th C., martial arts had entered the national curriculum and became more and more accessible to women. Meiji Jogakkō was decades ahead of its time, pioneering the modern methodologies of PE for women.

[33] Gainty, op. cit., p. 59.