大阪大学

博　士　論　文

題目　**The Practical Realities of Meiji-Period Women's Education: Iwamoto Yoshiharu and His Policies at Meiji Jogakkō**

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要旨

日本の教育機関は、学生数の減少や他国に後れをとることを恐れ、グローバルに競争できる環境を構築することにますます力を注いでいる。その中で、国際基準を満たしつつも日本独自の価値を失しない理想的な教育の在り方への探究が今も続いている。このプロセスの原点とも言える明治時代の教育における理想的かつ実践的な要素は、現代の教育問題への洞察において重要な手掛かりとなろう。

この観点から、明治女學校の取り組みは極めて重要で、前例の宝庫と言っても過言ではない。女性教育にとっては過酷な時期であったと言われる明治時代（1868～1912）に行われた革新的なアイデアや実験を考察するに当たって、この学校は特別な意味を持つ。明治女學校は、表向きはキリスト教の学校だったが、実際に学校の運営側のほとんどは旧武家出身者であり、宗教宗派や他の投資家の影響から独立した若い日本人プロテスタントの知識人であった。日本と外国の学習慣行を結び合わせる目的で構想され、1885 年から 1909 年にかけて存在したこのプロジェクトはなぜ実施されたのか。その理由とその特異性を考察することによって、明治中期から後期の教育者と女子学生が、自らの望む近代的日本教育の基盤とも言えるものを実現させようとする中で経験した苦闘を理解する道が開かれる。

本論文の構造はイデオロギーと実践の両柱からなり、またそれらを東アジアの古典的な文武の概念を解釈することによって理解しようとするものである。文武の影響は明治女学校で教育に携わる人々（教員と生徒）が執筆したものにもよく表れている。この文武の概念は、教育における「調和」または「完全性」を強調し、それを「読む」こと/知識の蓄積（文）を基に行動を起こす/身を以て体現する（武）という意味を内包するもので、これ自体は特に新しいものではないが、1890 年以降に学校の出版物で大々的に謳われるようになったものである。文と武どちらも人生を築く永続的な教育と見なされ、このことは、それぞれの語尾にしばしば「道」が続いたことからも窺える。

1947 年の教育基本法によって設定された学術基準を刷新すべく、2006 年以降の日本の教育システム方針は伝統、道徳教育、武道に重点を移してきたが、それによって文武の概念は現代の日本教育の議論で再び注目されるようになっている。政治的な意味合いを除けば、その概念は日本の教育に関する議論の場で広く認知されており、またそれに類する概念は東アジア文化圏以外で見かけられることも珍しくない。Rein Raud 氏は、“cultural systems”と“meaning creation”において「テキスト」及び「実践」を中心としたモデルについて、“the textual and the practical [...] two sides of the same cultural coin”と呼んでいる。文武概念を強調した明治女学校は、Raud 氏の説とも類似する、テキスト（アイデア）と実践（アクション）の二柱に基づき、独自の文化システム内で学校の目標を設定したのであった。明治女学校におけるこのようなテキストの使い方、その実践、そしてそれらの相互関係は、その時代に議論されていた「文化」（および「教育」）のモデルを解明するのに重要な手掛かりとなる。

上記に鑑みて、本論文では明治女学校においてアイデアが活動とどのように影響しあって進化したかに重点を置いて考察する。従って、明治女学校の動機（イデオロギー的根拠）に焦点を当てることや、その成果を成功または失敗（最終結果）として評価するというアプローチはとらない。こうすることで、明治女学校がそれらの事業を実施す

るに当たって統一性を維持しようとする中で直面した実践的かつ理論的な問題がより強調されるという効果がもたらされるのである。特に、明治女学校が、生徒を引き付け、彼らのニーズを満たし、また彼らの家族の期待に応えると同時に、常に変化を成し遂げる政治的および社会的風土に適応する様々な要素に調和をもたらすように努める上で、いかに学校の活動や目標を構想し、実行したかを探ることが本論文の主な狙いである。

より具体的に述べると、本論文は、マクロレベルでは、当時政府が推進した議題と、それが当時どれほど徹底的に国民に到達したか（あるいは到達しなかったか）を考察する。そして、日本のキリスト教界における知識人の男性及び女性の間の知的慣行と活動、特に彼らが自らの最先端の教育・文学・ライフスタイルを明治社会に浸透させようとした努力に着目する。ミクロレベルでは、本論文は、明治女学校の政策の大半を構築した主唱者である巌本善治（1863–1942）の著作を分析し、彼の教育関連のアイデアと活動を考察する。本論文では、巌本善治の著作を分析することを原点としながらも、明治女学校の生徒、スタッフ、その他の関連文人が教育の理想と実践を共同して生み出すことになった、その交渉のプロセスを特に重視する。

本論文で使用した情報源は明治女学校のスタッフと生徒によって作成された出版物である。これらの出版物は、明治女学校の教育を正当化し、大衆に独自のモデルを浸透させることを目的としたものである。これらは、主に雑誌、教科書またはマニュアル、および伝記的あるいは創造的な執筆等で構成されている。そのような執筆のいくつかは、先行研究で既に取り上げられている。しかし、明治女学校とそのスタッフに関する研究は様々な学問分野に及ぶため、本論文でこれらの調査結果を整理した。さらに、日本語研究分野でも良く知られていない一次資料を紹介したため、点と点を結び付け、明治女学校の活動の全体的な傾向を英語の読者向けに明確にした。

本論文は、歴史のさまざまな分野のテーマを分析し、教育、フェミニズム、文学、宗教、武道等という分野に携わっている。しかしその中でも、本論文の主たる狙いは思想史という分野に貢献することである。したがって、思想史家の役割に関して Quentin Skinner 氏がいうように、思想史家としての私の目標は、下記の通りである：“to appreciate how far the values embodied in our present way of life, and our present ways of thinking about those values, reflect a series of choices made at different times between different possible worlds [to prevent a] hegemonic account of those values and how they should be interpreted and understood.”

本論文の調査結果として明らかにするのは、明治女学校がどのようにして、出身、資料の作成日、本来の読者の性別などに関係なく、さまざまな情報源を集め、女性のための教育モデルを構築したかである。このように、象徴的な権威による承認を求める文化機関であった明治女学校は、学校での慣行を意図的に選択することによって「伝統的」と「近代的」という二つのラベルを作成する全国的な運動に少なからず参加していた。同時に、明治女学校のイデオロギーと実践が、学校の生徒自身も含め、さまざまな当局からの検閲や批判などを含めた外部要因の影響に晒されやすかったことを明らかにする。

Abstract

Japanese educational institutions are increasingly eager to compete globally due to the declining numbers of students and the fear of being left behind other nations academically, as well as economically.[1] Consequently, the search for a balanced education that meets international standards, while also representing Japanese values, continues. Marking the beginning of this ongoing process, the Meiji period's (1868–1912) intellectual and practical developments offer numerous insights into contemporary issues.

In this light, Meiji Jogakkō 明治女學校 (Meiji Women's School) is a treasure trove—an unexpected example of innovative ideas and experiments carried out in Meiji, the period that is largely considered to have been a harsh environment for women's education. Meiji Jogakkō was ostensibly a Christian school, which would make its innovations even more unexpected, if we fail to notice that it was mostly the young Japanese Protestant intelligentsia of samurai origins that ran the school independently from religious denominations or other investors. The reasons behind, and the specificities of, this unlikely project, created to mediate between the native and foreign learning practices and carried out from 1885 to 1909, offers a window into the mid- to late Meiji educators' and female students' struggles to realize their versions of what the basis for the modern Japanese system of education should be.

The layout of this dissertation builds on the binary of ideological and practical by exploring the interpretations of the classical East Asian concept of *bunbu* 文武[2], which marks writing by people (instructors and students) involved with education at Meiji Jogakkō. The concept, openly invoked in the school's publications after 1890 but found prior as well, emphasizes "harmony" or "completeness" in education, reached via striking a balance between "reading" / accumulating knowledge (*bun*) and acting upon it / becoming its physical embodiment (*bu*). Interestingly, both *bun* and *bu* were seen as lifestyle or life-long education, which is well-illustrated by each being often followed with the character *michi*/*dō* 道, or "the way."

The *bunbu* concept is still invoked in contemporary Japanese discourses today, following a trajectory in the Japanese system of education since 2006 to include an emphasis on tradition, moral education, and martial arts in order to revamp the academic standards set by the Fundamental Law of Education in 1947. As the concept, aside from its political baggage, has been universal enough to hold currency in Japanese educational discourses, it should not be surprising to find its counterparts outside of its East-Asian cultural sphere. For instance, Rein Raud theorizes on the text- and practice-centered models of cultural systems and meaning creation and calls "[t]he textual and the practical [...] two sides of the same cultural coin."[3] The emphasis on the *bunbu* principle was used by Meiji Jogakkō in a similar vein to how Raud proposes his theory: the binary between text (idea) and practice (action) defined the school's goals within its own cultural system.[4] Such

[1] Brad Williams, Shoko Yoneyama, "Japan's Education System: Problems and Prospects in the Post-Industrial Age," In *Japan in Decline: Fact or Fiction?*, ed. Purnendra Jain and Brad Williams (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2011), 147-65.

[2] Binary of *bun* and *bu* (or *wen*/*mun* and *wu*/*mu* in their Chinese and Korean counterparts) is considered to be "one of the oldest and most pervasive concepts in East Asian thought." (Oleg Benesch, "National Consciousness and the Evolution of the Civil/Martial Binary in East Asia," *Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies* 8, no. 1, issue 15 (2011): 130.

[3] Rein Raud, *Meaning in Action: Outline of an Integral Theory of Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press), 2016, 62. Raud uses the word "text" in its broad meaning: "[a]ny fixed entity that emerges in the cultural process as a result of expression and is open to interpretation is a text," (ibid.).

[4] Rein defines a cultural system in the following way: "A cultural system can [...] be evaluated along the axis of liberality. A rigid system allows only appropriately tested and acceptable people to participate in each cultural practice, strictly in line with their status; a liberal one makes most of its practices available for most people, at least at entry level, and lets them try to persuade each other of the meaningfulness of what they do as well as they can." (Ibid., 110.) In terms of educational practices, the Meiji period can be argued to have been a liberal period in the beginning and then gradually less so due to standardization of practices.

usage of texts, practices, and their interconnection at Meiji Jogakkō helps us elucidate the models of "culture" (and "education") that were being negotiated during the period.

With this in mind, the dissertation emphasizes how the ideas co-evolved with activities at the school. Thus, rather than focusing on the school's motives (ideological basis) or evaluating its achievements as successes or failures (end-results), it accentuates the dynamics between the practical and theoretical issues the school dealt with while trying to maintain integrity in its undertakings. Especially, it explores how Meiji Jogakkō envisioned and implemented its tasks and goals while striving to attract students, meet their needs and their families' expectations, and adjust to the changing political and social climate.

More specifically, on the macro level, it addresses the agenda promoted by the government and how comprehensive (or not) it was during the timeframe; and covers the intellectual practices and movements among men and women of letters in Japanese Christian circles, especially their endeavors to promote leading examples in education, literature, and lifestyle to the Meiji society. On the micro level, it analyses the writing of Iwamoto Yoshiharu 巌本善治 (1863–1942), the mastermind behind the majority of the school's policies, to assess his education-related ideas and activities. While I use Iwamoto's writing as a starting point, I also emphasize the revolving process of negotiation that co-produced educational ideals and practices among Meiji Jogakkō's students, staff, and other literati.

The sources used are publications, authored by the school's staff and students (as individuals collectively representing the institution), that were intended to justify Meiji Jogakkō's education and prescribe its own models to the masses. These sources consist of mostly magazines, textbooks or manuals, and biographical and creative writing. Some such writing has already been discussed in previous literature. However, as research about Meiji Jogakkō and its staff ranges over several academic fields, I have (re)organized the findings. In addition, little-known primary sources in Japanese language research are introduced, thus connecting the dots and clarifying the overall tendencies at the school to an English-language readership.

The dissertation touches upon themes from various branches of history as it addresses education, feminism, literature, religion, and martial arts. Nevertheless, it is foremost an effort in intellectual history. Thus, borrowing from Quentin Skinner regarding the role of intellectual historians, my goal is to "appreciate how far the values embodied in our present way of life, and our present ways of thinking about those values, reflect a series of choices made at different times between different possible worlds [to prevent a] hegemonic account of those values and how they should be interpreted and understood."[5]

The findings illustrate how Meiji Jogakkō devised a model of education for women that pooled together various sources, irrespective of their origin, date of creation, or the intended gender of readers; and how, thus, the school, a cultural institution bidding for recognition by symbolic authorities[6], was participating in the nation-wide movement to create the labels of "traditional" and "modern" by selectively favoring some practices over others. Simultaneously, we see how all school's ideology and practice were susceptible to external factors that included the censorship and criticism coming from various authorities, such as the students themselves.

[5] Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1998): 116-17.
[6] I borrow the terms "cultural institutions" and "symbolic authorities" from Raud who uses them to describe the cultural systems of meaning distribution (*Meaning in Action*).

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Tables, Figures, and Images

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Notes

1. Japanese surnames precede the given names, following the order used in Japan. When the official reading of a name could have not been ascertained, an estimate is provided followed by an asterisk (*). When referring to the same person consecutively, surnames (rather than pen names) are used for consistency reasons. For instance, Shimazaki Tōson is referred to as Shimazaki.
2. Formatting and citation follow the rules of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (17th ed.).
3. This is a purposefully bilingual attempt to provide an interpretation of Meiji period's thought in a way that would be accessible to the readers of both English and Japanese. To this end, the original Japanese script is provided in the footnotes when quoting or referencing from primary sources.
4. For the romanization of Japanese characters, Modified Hepburn system is employed, with the reference to ALA-LC Japanese Romanization Table.
5. When available, original English titles of Japanese sources are cited. (*Jogaku zasshi* provides English lists of contents (oftentimes announcements as well) from no. 32 (August 15, 1886) to no. 338 (February 18, 1893). Also, refer to Annex 2, 3. for the English list of contents of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*.) The inconsistencies with current grammar and style are intentionally retained. When translations are not found, approximations are provided and are identified as such.
6. Unless specified otherwise, necessary translations are made by the author of the dissertation (with reference to previous research when possible).
7. The characters in Japanese (both *kanji* and *kana*) follow the form in which they were found in the primary sources (e.g.: 女學校 rather than 女学校; 教へ rather than 教え, etc.) as faithfully as it was practically feasible. In the main text, Japanese characters are provided the first time the word/name appears, or when a distinction from other words is necessary in translations. This principle is also generally used when introducing dates (historical, birth, etc.). The same rules apply to tables, yet each table is treated independently from other text.
8. Some of the findings have been previously published in the author's articles and the Master's thesis.[7]

[7] Simona Lukminaitė, "Women's Education at Meiji Jogakkō and Martial Arts," *Asian Studies* VI (XXII), issue 2, (2018): 173-88; Simona Lukminaitė, "Physical Education in the Meiji Education of Women," 大阪大学大学院文学研究科グローバル日本研究クラスター報告書 1 (2018): 101-20; Simona Lukminaitė, "Shaping the Modern Japanese Woman through Literature: Iwamoto Yoshiharu's Suggestions," *Ennen ja nyt*, November 18, 2016; Simona Lukminaitė, "Developments in Female Education of Meiji Japan: as Seen from *Jogaku Zasshi*'s Editorials by Iwamoto Yoshiharu," *Annals of Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, Linguistics, Literature and Methodology of Teaching* XIV, no. 1 (2015): 9-21; and Simona Lukminaitė, "Developments in Iwamoto Yoshiharu's (1863-1942) Ideology of Female Education with a Central Focus on Jogaku Zasshi Editorials" (Master's thesis, in Japanese, Osaka University, 2014).

1. Introduction

1.a. Background to This Study

Developments during the Meiji period (1868–1912) set the mold for modern Japanese national education. That is primarily because of two drives that were, to a certain degree, fulfilled during the period: one, to select models of management that could be applied nation-wide (that resulted in the gradual appearance of "traditional" and "contemporary" labels) and, two, to define via international negotiation a niche for Japan in the world (that set an ideological backdrop for the national endeavors).

The first development was instigated by the centralization of the government (a process that continued throughout the period) and the ensuing needs for standardization among the regions and social classes of Japan. For Japan to emerge as a modern nation, the ("correct") "national mentality" was emphasized by the leading intellectuals and the government authorities. A nation-wide discussion regarding various matters pertaining to national values and standards ensued, creating the intellectual environment that was often fluid and flexible. Such palpable possibilities, alongside the new opportunities for social mobility, drove the Japanese (overwhelmingly, but not entirely, male) intelligentsia to "reinvent" itself and, subsequently, the nation. Among their topics, an especially sensitive issue was that of the woman's role in society and, subsequently, her education.

Internationally, the "woman" was being redefined with emphasis being laid on her capability to contribute to the national economy, especially via shaping the subsequent generations both physically and intellectually.[1] She had to maintain her own health and knowledge to successfully look after her family; to be able to do this, she was advised to rely on "scientific" methods, the knowledge of which was, however, not always readily available. This was also true in Japan, where intellectuals like Mori Arinori 森有礼 (1847–89), who represented Japan abroad, were quick to notice that the status of Japanese women was being scrutinized as representative of Japan's inability to keep up with the "modern" world.[2]

As it were, at the beginning of the Meiji period, there was no consensus in Japan on the physical and intellectual standards women should be held up to. The standardization of moral goals had been attempted prior to Meiji,[3] but the efforts had to be taken to a new level in the new era. Consequently, women's education (in all its aspects and outcomes) became the area of (theoretical and, later, practical) innovation and heated, politicized debate—possibly bringing out one of the most all-encompassing intellectual developments with respect to shaping the "nation" of Japan during the period.

The second development, the quest for international recognition, was more complex than seeking successful international political agreements and the pursuit of cultural recognition. It brought novel aspects to the field of education by inspiring international ties on individual and

[1] In the nineteenth century West, an argument known as "the woman question" was explored in political, literary, and social thought. It addressed both symbolic and practical understanding of sexual difference, especially the issues of modern female citizenship, women's rights, and civil duties. Refer to Lucy Delap, "The 'Woman Question' and the Origins of Feminism," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Gareth Stedman Jones and Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 319-48.

[2] Refer to *Meiroku zasshi*, writing of Mori Arinori 森有礼 (1847–89) and others who wrote on the topic of women.

[3] We can see from the widespread support to some specific texts on moral education that the standardization of moral goals have been attempted prior to Meiji. That is one of the reasons why it was harder to challenge the status quo of certain tenets underlining women's moral education. Refer to Noriko Sugano, "State Indoctrination of Filial Piety in Tokugawa Japan" in *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, ed. Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, Joan R. Piggott (California: University of California Press, 2003) 170-89.

institutional levels. Female students went to study in the U.S. and Europe, while female teachers were invited to Japan. Some came with their own agendas: for instance, missionary Mary Eddy Kidder (1834–1910)[4] came to proselytize in 1870 and then took up teaching as open evangelization was prohibited until 1873; while scientist Marie Charlotte Carmichael Stopes (1880–1958) came for scientific research purposes in 1907, later fuelling interest in Japan and the way it was perceived abroad with her writing, such as her *A Journal From Japan* (1910). On the other hand, in the later years of Meiji, after the more distant areas of Japan had been somewhat assimilated into the national educational effort,[5] Korea, Taiwan, China, Mongolia, and Thailand garnered the attention of Japanese educators and they visited them for teaching or research purposes, while the number of students at Japanese institutions from those areas also increased.[6] While we could say that cultural exchange with East Asian countries and Japan took place throughout Japanese history, the systems to cooperate for academic purposes were laid down in Meiji after the trade restrictions were removed. These international connections, some lauded more than others, remain in the collective memory of Japanese to this day and influence the way historical intellectual leaders, exchange of staff and students, scholarship systems, and going to study abroad are perceived.

The issues that were recognized in Meiji have morphed, yet persevere, until today. On the one hand, the Meiji women's experiences have garnered much attention from the popular media in the past few years, resulting in numerous novels and TV series, etc. where they are hailed as pioneers.[7] On the other hand, the education of women, or, rather, the unequal treatment of women in places of higher education, employment, and leadership, remains an internationally controversial topic.[8]

1.a.1. The Role of Iwamoto Yoshiharu, Meiji Jogakkō, and Jogaku Zasshisha

Iwamoto Yoshiharu, a teacher and a public intellectual, Meiji Jogakkō, a women's school, and Jogaku Zasshisha, a publishing house, formed a set to promote women's education. Such a combination was a prerequisite for Iwamoto's education for women to carve itself a niche in Meiji society.

While numerous other individuals co-created the two public spaces, i.e., the school and the publishing house, Iwamoto was the mastermind, who, despite various constraints, continuously contributed original and valuable content as one of the leading Meiji-period women's educators. While it may appear odd to some how Iwamoto "gravitate[d] from the improvement of carrots and eggplants toward the improvement of women"[9] or how Iwamoto forsook the world of education to become a businessman[10], women's education was his life's work.

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[4] Kidder established a school in 1870 that grew into the first Christian women's college in Japan, curent Ferris University.

[5] Annette Skovsted Hansen, "Practicing Kokugo: Teachers in Hokkaido and Okinawa Classrooms, 1895–1904," The Journal of Japanese Studies 40, no. 2 (2014): 329-351.

[6] Yamazaki Tomoko 山崎 朋子. *Ajia josei kōryūshi: Meiji/Taishōkihen* アジア女性交流史—明治・大正期篇. Tokyo: Chikumashobō 筑摩書房, 1995.

[7] Examples include Yura Yayoi's 由良弥生 *Niijima Yae to isshin: Aizu ni saita yae no sakura* 新島八重と維新: 会津に咲いた八重の桜 (Tokyo: Bungeisha 文芸社, 2013) and Uematsu Midori's 植松三十里 *Ume to Suisen* 梅と水仙 (Tōkyō: PHP 研究所 Pīeichipīkenkyūjo, 2020) and *asadora* (morning drama) *Asa ga kita* あさが来た (2015–16), NHK Taiga drama *Yae no sakura* 八重の桜 (2013), and TV miniseries *Ashio kara kita onna* 足尾から来た女 (2014).

[8] Japan is known to be low in the international evaluations of its efforts to maintain gender equality. For instance, according to World Economic Forum, "Global Gender Gap Report 2020," 31: "Japan's gender gap is by far the largest among all advanced economies and has widened over the past year. The country ranks 121st out of 153 countries on this year's Global Gender Gap Index, down 1 percentage point and 11 positions from 2018."

[9] Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

[10] Isozaki Yoshiharu 磯崎嘉治, "Mori *no butai / Kōshinduka no Meiji Jogakkō—Iwamoto Yoshiharu, kōhansei no saihyōka.*" 「森」の舞台・庚申塚の明治女学校—巌本善治,後半生の再評価, Nippon Kosho Tsūshinsha 日本古書通信社 46 no. 4 (1981): 8-9.

Iwamoto, whose personal biases are introduced in 2.b., started, like many of his contemporaries, by tapping into both the "classical" and the "Western" schools of thought. Throughout his life, however, he expressed a broad interest in religion and analyzed not only Christianity and Confucianism but also Shinto and Buddhism. He saw a use for all of them, yet some were more suitable for certain purposes than others. Likewise, though agriculture was a part of his study while at Tsuda Sen's 津田仙 (1837–1908) Gakunōsha Nōgakkō 學農社農學校 (1875–84) in 1880–84, it was never his sole focus. There, we already see Iwamoto trying his hand in journalism and covering social problems such as poverty and children's education, as well as literature in the *Nōgyō zasshi* 農業雑誌 (1876–1920) run by Tsuda.

It is clear from his writing that Iwamoto intended to keep up with the new developments from within and without Japan and that he was well-versed in classical texts. This resulted in a somewhat eccentric choice of sources in his writing. He perused the sources he found the most conducive to bridge the Japanese systems of knowledge with those that he perceived as "international." As such, his writing foreshadowed the eclecticism of Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造 (1862–1933) and Okakura Kakuzō (岡倉覚三 1863–1913), who wrote in the 1900s to the English-reading audience "defending" the Japanese culture by borrowing from a wide variety of sources and philosophies.

What may have motivated Iwamoto was his understanding that education needed to be "broad" and "universal," as education was being reimagined to become suitable for girls from varied backgrounds. Available media also naturally influenced the information Iwamoto was exposed to, but he also researched and interviewed people with rich experience or in key positions, and traveled for fieldwork or to collect feedback on his work. He seems to not have been a "purist" in any way, inspecting sources available to him without differentiating between religious dogmas or author's affiliations, analytically advocating his own goals. Unlike other educators, such as Tsuda Umeko 津田梅子 (1864−1929) whom we see carefully tailoring her message depending on her audience,[11] Iwamoto's somewhat stubborn attitude to question dogmas and not curry favor from institutions did not earn him many allies. This attitude also antagonized such groups as the foreign missionaries, as well as other more one-philosophy or clear-goal-oriented institutions.[12] He spoke for the rights of "minorities": women, children, and other individuals neglected in the legal frameworks and on the fringe of society, such as prostitutes and disaster victims. Needless to say, not even among the groups with aligning goals was he universally popular due to being so opinionated.[13]

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[11] Tsuda did more than change her message between languages: "Tsuda's strategic presentation of JEJ (the first name of Tsuda University: Joshi Eigaku Juku)'s goals to her Bryn Mawr audience shows her careful navigation of the varying interests and priorities of her American donors." Febe Dalipe Pamonag, "'A Bryn Mawr School in the East': Transpacific Initiatives for Japanese Women's Higher Education," *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (2012): 554.

[12] In an interview, Iwamoto reflects on his issues getting along with missionaries. (*Asuka* 明日香, "*Mushō zadan*" 撫象座談 1, no. 8 (1936): 11.) He was also openly critical of the government's schools. Likewise, his fallout with Naruse Jinzō 成瀬仁蔵 (1858–1919) over the establishment of Japan Women's University happened when Iwamoto was to take part but withdrew, displeased by Naruse's adjustment to the investors' requests. (Mizuno Machiko 水野真知子, "Jogaku zasshi *ni okeru joshi kōtō kyōikuron—Meijiki joshi kōtō kyōikuron to Iwamoto Yoshiharu*" 「女学雑誌」における女子高等教育論—明治期女子高等教育論と巌本善治, *Kyōikugaku kenkyū* 教育学研究 49 no. 3 (1982): 291.)

[13] Yasutake Rumi 安武留美, "Women's Freedom of Speech: Protestant Missionaries, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Japanese Church Men and Women" ("*Fujin no jiyū—senkyōshi to WCTU to Tokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai*" 婦人言論の自由—宣教師と WCTU と東京婦人矯風会), *Bulletin of International Research Center for Japanese Studies* 30 (2005): 133-48, describes Iwamoto falling out with Tokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai as the women chose to limit the male influence.

He seems to have perceived education for women as necessarily including the hands-on aspect; to prepare to act, he argued, they had to have the right mindsets. In contrast to the majority of education that was available at the time, which offered skills such as foreign languages and dance or sewing and classical poetry after the elementary school basics now compulsory to all who could afford to study, Iwamoto's *jogaku* 女学, or research-based activism aimed to improve the condition of women, encouraged the students to question their readings and general opinions and to contribute to society by sharing their experience and expertise.

Regarding Iwamoto leaving education to become a businessman in the last years of Meiji, the turning point in his career seems to have been when he became a single father of three after his wife, translator and author Iwamoto Kashi 巌本嘉志 (1864–96), known as Wakamatsu Shizuko 若松賤子, passed away. Afterwards, since the same level of activity as during his prime years was not feasible (his projects constantly lacked funds and official recognition), it is likely that, realizing his precarious position, as well as his own hypocrisy in promoting the importance of parents' role in their children's education and family life without being able to fully participate in his own, he sought for a more stable occupation. Possibly seeking an excuse, Iwamoto argued that commerce was but another means to contribute to the nation.

Iwamoto's position was precarious largely due to his choice to not fall in line with the investors' requests and the government's restricting regulations—there were easier paths to take. Yet, Iwamoto protected his vision until he retired from Meiji Jogakkō and *Jogaku zasshi* to leave them to the younger generation, who eventually found it too hard to fill his shoes. Precisely because the project was discontinued, however, it offers a snapshot of the period. Meanwhile, the fact that Iwamoto could sustain it, even for only two decades, provides an insight into how the ideological and cultural paradigms of the period functioned, and the realities educators and their enterprises faced.

1.a.2. Reception of Iwamoto Post-WW2

In previous research, Iwamoto is largely seen in a positive light. At times, however, he is considered a figure whose ideas became outdated and could no longer be put to practice.[14] As the following chapters will illustrate, this does not seem to be the case: equivalents of Iwamoto's ideas are abundant even in the contemporary Japanese education system. It is in his feminist ideologies, not practices, that some wish for him to have been more radical. However, as this dissertation seeks to clarify, Iwamoto as an ideologist always came second to Iwamoto as a pragmatist. He knew from experience that lofty ideals were unfeasible. Some may consider Iwamoto a traditionalist who sought to limit women's roles because he spoke of the *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) ideal;[15] yet such arguments overlook the fact that he negotiated the term to suit his needs. Some scholars question whether Iwamoto was a nationalist, falling too much in line with what the government or the imperialists promoted.[16] It is clear that this was also not the case when we see how actively he criticized what he found unjust in the government's legislations in spite of

[14] Inoue Teruko 井上輝子, "A Study on the 'Jogaku zasshi' ('The Woman's Magazine'): On the Concept 'Jogaku' of Zenji Iwamoto (*Jogaku shisō no keisei to tenkai: Jogaku Zasshisha no shisōshiteki kenkyū*「女学」思想の形成と転回: 女学雑誌社の思想史的研究), *Tōkyō Daigaku shinbun kenkyūjo kiyō* 東京大学新聞研究所紀要 17 (1968): 51.

[15] Yōko Iwahori, "*Jogaku Zasshi* (The Women's Magazine) and the Construction of the Ideal Wife in the Mid-Meiji Era." in *Gender and Japanese History II*, ed. Wakita Haruko, Bouchy Anne, Ueno Chizuko (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999): 393-95, writes how the work of two pioneers in the studies in the *ryōsai kenbo* field Fukaya Masashi 深谷昌志 (1990) and Nakajima Kuni 中嶌邦 (1984) have entrenched the belief that the ideology was a phenomenon peculiar to Japan and that this ideology was forced upon the women. From this perspective, Iwamoto would be judged as a nationalistic figure limiting the choices of women.

[16] E.g.: Inoue, "On the Concept 'Jogaku'," 58-60.

how little he could say against the imperial family as the director of a Christian women's school with no foreign backing. He has also been called a patriot protecting the samurai heritage,[17] yet he was selective in what he chose to "protect," and his samurai heritage was just one of the tools in his ideological toolbox. It is impossible to evaluate or understand Iwamoto, a multifaceted individual, without assessing his writing ranging over various topics and years and clarifying the practical realities he faced. Vice versa, a clearer picture of the period Iwamoto was active in becomes available when we analyze what he wished to change or preserve in his society and culture and what he could, eventually, (not) do.

Most importantly, Iwamoto and his colleagues at Meiji Jogakkō illustrate the effort to shift from ideology to practice in education. That is, he was the necessary link between Fukuzawa Yukichi's 福沢諭吉 (1834–1901) generation of *Meiroku zasshi*'s 明六雑誌 (1873–74) ideologists and Tsuda Umeko's generation of professional educators. The connection between the three individuals is clear[18]: while initially inspired by Fukuzawa's ideas regarding the education of women, Iwamoto put them to the test, critically assessed them, and added his own insights; to Tsuda Umeko he was an employer, a supporter, and a colleague. The major reason why the other two are lauded while Iwamoto is forgotten appears to be the fact that Meiji Jogakkō did not weather the times and has not become a university still functioning today. However, it would be inaccurate to claim that Iwamoto's educational projects were discontinued because they were faulty. Rather, they served their purpose successfully in that they aided this transition from male ideologists to female educators.

Iwamoto, an authoritative figure among the Christian intelligentsia of Meiji, had during his time contributed to various fields, leaving behind a considerable corpus of writings, many of which were published under a pseudonym.[19] As such, the literature mentioning Iwamoto's work covers several disciplines and there is an overall tendency to focus on a particular area and not approach his writings holistically. When approached as a background figure, Iwamoto is treated in connection to women or men that were working with him, especially as someone supporting network-communities. There is a tendeny to focus on one of the following: Iwamoto's involvement with *Bungakukai* 文學界[20] or Women's Christian Temperance Union,[21] his influence on women authors,[22] general network-communities which Iwamoto helped to maintain,[23] and his contribution

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[17] Fujii Yoshinori 葛井義憲, *Iwamoto Yoshiharu: Seigi to ai ni ikite* 巌本善治：正義と愛に生きて(Tokyo: Asahi Shuppansha 朝日出版社, 2005).

[18] The relationship is identified in Aoyama Nao 青山なを, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū* 明治女学校の研究 (Tokyo: Keiō Tsūshin 慶應通信, 1970) and Febe Dalipe Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood: Visions of Women's Education in Meiji Japan* (doctoral thesis, UMI, 2006), who, among others, speak of the three in tandem.

[19] Among others, he is known to have used Inoue Jirō 井上次郎, reminiscent of his childhood name, or a poetic version—Tsukinoya Shinobu 月の舎しのぶ. For a comprehensive list of Iwamoto's writing and pseudonyms refer to Noheji Kiyoe and Matsubara Tomomi 野辺地清江, 松原智美, *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin* 女学雑誌諸索引 (Tokyo: Keiō Tsūshin 慶応通信, 1970).

[20] E.g.: Michael C. Brownstein, "*Jogaku Zasshi* and the Founding of *Bungakukai*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 3 (1980): 319-36.

[21] E.g.: Elizabeth D. Lublin, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Monogamy, and Defining 'Modern' for Women and Japan," in *Christianity and the Modern Woman in East Asia*, ed. Garrett L. Washington (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018).

[22] E.g.: Hayano Kikue 早野喜久江, "Jogaku zasshi *no kōsatsu—Meiji shoki no joryū bungakusha to sono higosha Iwamoto Yoshiharu*" 「女学雑誌」の一考察—明治初期の女流文学者とその庇護者巌本善治, *The Journal of Sagami Women's University* (*Sagami Joshi Daigaku kiyō* 相模女子大学紀要) 43 (1979): 47-52; and Nakayama Kiyomi 中山清美, "*Jogakusei sakka no tōjō—'Yabu no Uguisu,*' Fujo no Kagami*, Iwamoto Yoshiharu no shōsetsu wo chūshin ni shite*" 女学生作家の登場—「藪の鶯」「婦女の鑑」、巌本善治の小説を中心にして, *Nagoya kindai bungaku kenkyū* 名古屋近代文学研究 16 (1998): 21-37.

[23] E.g.: Fujita Yoshimi 藤田美実, "*Meiji Jogakkō no sekai: Meiji Jogakkō to* Jogaku Zasshi *wo meguru ningen gunzō to sono shisō*" 明治女学校の世界: 明治女学校と「女学雑誌」をめぐる人間群像とその思想 (Tokyo: Seieisha 青英舎, 1984), Mara Patessio, *Women and Public Life in Early Meiji Japan: The Development of the Feminist Movement* (Ann Arbor, University of

in the development of Meiji journalism.[24] When the main focus is on Iwamoto, there is a tendency to address a specific aspect of his ideology. The main topics raised are his understanding of family and love,[25] promotion of Christian and Romantic literature,[26] social work,[27] women's rights, especially to receive higher education,[28] and *jogakuron* 女学論 as an ideology.[29]

In addition to the works mentioned above, there is an emphasis on the need to reevaluate Iwamoto as a person, somewhat biographically, as if to redeem him. Such research describes his personal connections, reception, hardships, etc., as well as his understanding of love, family, and morality, as we see especially in Fujii Yoshinori.[30] Some have also placed Meiji Jogakkō within a larger political context, addressing the nationalistic nuances that impacted the late-Meiji-period writing, as is visible in the work of Katano Masako and others.[31]

While all of the research above provides valuable insights into Iwamoto's thought and activities, it tends to focus on Iwamoto's ideas published in *Jogaku zasshi*. There are surprisingly few works delving into his style of pedagogy. This is a problem as, first and foremost, Iwamoto was a practice-oriented educator and not an ideologist. While he discussed a wide-variety of topics,

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Michigan, 2011), and Kischka-Wellhäußer, Nadja. "Japanese Feminism's Institutional Basis: Networks for a Social Movement: Early Japanese Women's Movement, Late 19th Century Japanese History, Christianity, Institutional and Social Networks, Women's Magaz*ine Jogaku Za*sshi, Women's Associat*ion Tōkyō Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai*, Girls' School *Meiji Jogakkō*." Ryukoku University, *Ryūgoku kiyō henshūkai* 龍谷紀要編集会 29, vol. 1 (2007): 127–47.

[24] E.g.: Isozaki Yoshiharu 磯崎嘉治, "Publishing Activities by Zenji Iwamoto: The Cradle of Nishikata-machi Culture" (*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no shuppan katsudō: Nishikata-machi bunka, yōran no chi wo megutte* 巌本善治の出版活動—西片町文化、揺籃の地をめぐって), *Journal of the Japan Society of Publishing Studies* 6 (1975): 160-74; and Okada Akiko 岡田章子, Jogaku zasshi *to ōka: Kirisutokyō chishikijin to jogakusei no media kūkan* 「女学雑誌」と欧化: キリスト教知識人と女学生のメディア空間 (Tokyo: Shinwasha 森話社, 2013.

[25] E.g.: Ishii Taeko 石井妙子, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no shōsetsu—sono danjokan / ren'aikan / kekkonkan no hensen ni kangaeru koto*" 巌本善治の小説ーその男女観・恋愛観・結婚観の変遷に考えること, *Child Development and Juvenile Culture* 白百合児童文化 5 (1994): 110-131.

[26] E.g.: Fujita Yoshimi 藤田美実, "Notes on Meiji Jogakkō: Romanticism and Christianity of the Meiji Period" (*Meiji Jogakko ni kansuru oboegaki: Meijiki roman shugi to kirisutokyōto* 「明治女学校」に関する覚え書: 明治期ロマン主義とキリスト教), *The Journal of the Department of Literature, Rissho University* (*Risshō Daigaku Bungakubu ronsō* 立正大学文学部論叢) 71 (1981): 27-51 and 72 (1982): 25-47; and Kakegawa Noriko 掛川典子, "*Kirisutokyō bungaku toshite no Iwamoto Yoshiharu no jogaku shisō*" キリスト教文化としての巌本善治の女学思想, *Josei bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 女性文化研究所紀要 24 (1999): 41-55.

[27] E.g.: Yamada Noboru 山田昇, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no jogakuron/haishōron no kōsatsu*" 巌本善治の女学論・廃娼論の考察, *Nara Joshi Daigaku Bungakubu kenkyu nenpō* 奈良女子大学文学部研究年報 35 (1991): 49-65; and Fujii Yoshinori 葛井義憲, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu to Watagarasegawa no higeki*" 巌本善治と渡良瀬川の悲劇, *Nagoya Gakuin Daigaku ronshū. Shakaikagakuhen* 名古屋学院大学論集. 社会科学篇 41, no. 3 (2005): 258-45.

[28] E.g.: Mizuno, "Jogaku zasshi *ni okeru joshi kōtō kyōikuron*"; Kinoshita Hiromi 木下比呂美, "*Iwamoto no joshi kyōiku shisō—Kindaiteki katei no sōzō to fujin no ningen-teki hattatsu*" 巌本善治の女子教育思想–近代的家庭の創造と婦人の人間的発達–, *Kyōikugaku kenkyū* 教育学研究 52, no. 2 (1985): 153–62; and Nakajima Misaki 中嶋みさき, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no jinken/jokenron no tenkai: Joshi kyōiku no zentei to shite*" 巌本善治の人権・女権論の展開: 女子教育論の前提として, *Tōkyō Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu Kiyō* 東京大学教育学部紀要 31 (2001): 65-73.

[29] E.g.: Inoue, "A Study on the 'Jogaku zasshi'"; and Fujii Yoshinori 葛井義憲, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu to* Jogaku zasshi—*jogaku shisō to sono tenkai*" 巌本善治と「女学雑誌」—「女学思想」とその展開, *Nagoya Gakuin Daigaku ronshū. Jinbun-shizenkagakuhen* 名古屋学院大学論集. 人文・自然科学篇 24, no. 1 (1987): 35-60.

[30] Fujii, *Seigi to ai ni ikite*, and Fujii Yoshinori 葛井義憲. "The Yoshiharu Iwamoto who remains silent: admiration and contempt" (*Chinmoku suru Iwamoto Yoshiharu—Akogare to anadori* 沈黙する巌本善治—憧れと侮り), *Nagoya Gakuin Daigaku ronshū. Shakaikagakuhen* 名古屋学院大学論集. 社会科学篇 47, no. 1 (2010): 1-10.

[31] Katano Masako 片野真佐子, "*Tennōsei kokka keiseika no kirisutokyōsha no ichidanmen—Iwamoto Yoshiharu no ningenkan wo megutte*" 天皇制国家形成下のキリスト者の一断面—巌本善治の人間観をめぐって, *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 230 (1981): 1-22; and Tei Kentei 鄭玹汀, "Iwamoto Yoshiharu's View on the Education of Women" (*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no koshi kyōikuron: 'teikoku' to 'jogaku'* 巌本善治の女子教育論：「帝国」と「女学」), *Kirisutokyō bungaku kenkyū* キリスト教文学研究 29 (2012): 54-66.

his intended audience was, for the most part, educators and students. His writing, that is often perceived as ideological, was often textbook-like, yet meant to suit the needs of the readers placed in a variety of situations to allow their own interpretations. Thus, divorcing Iwamoto's academic practice from his statements provides a lopsided view of his writing.

A study that treats Iwamoto's writing in relation to his practices at Meiji Jogakkō is a seminal contribution by Aoyama Nao[32] that offers hints on locating statistics and numerous details regarding primary sources and the management of the school.[33] Additional hints are provided by Noheji Kiyoe,[34] whose work focuses more on *Jogaku zasshi* than Meiji Jogakkō; Inoue Teruko,[35] whose work addresses mostly literature and *jogakuron* in Iwamoto's thought; and Fujita Yoshimi,[36] whose contributions concentrate on the individuals involved with the school and their ideas. More recent scholarship by Fujii Yoshinori[37] brings out details of Iwamoto's personal life and reevaluates his ideas, while Okada Akiko[38] elucidates how *Jogaku zasshi* was the place to promote Westernization and modern womanhood. In addition, in 2006, Febe Dalipe Pamonag contributed a Ph.D. thesis about women's education, dedicating a chapter to Iwamoto's ideas. Her research is valuable as it is a careful treatment of especially English-language sources and as it analyzes the complex topic of Iwamoto's ideas regarding the education carried out by the missionaries, arguing that Iwamoto's qualms with them were not entirely valid.[39]

1.b. Methodological Approach and Findings

The dissertation questions how the practical realities (public scrutiny, legislation, competition, availability of personnel, texts, funds, and facilities) shaped the education of Meiji women; how these practical realities influenced the official position (ideology) of the schools; and what that tells us about separating educators from the context they practice in. In addition, it analyzes primary sources written by both the staff and the students at Meiji Jogakkō to show how the education that was carried out was shaped by a community with shared goals rather than built on singular ideologies.

The case study of Meiji Jogakkō under the management of Iwamoto Yoshiharu shows that students and teachers played an active role in directing the learning experiences at the school and that the educational experiences varied depending on the available personnel, attending students, and available facilities. In addition, the ideology espoused by the school was intertwined with the practical realities the school faced while responding to the outside pressures of public scrutiny, government legislations, and competition with other schools or educational theories. By defining these "practical realities" and contextualizing Iwamoto's choices, we can re-evaluate Meiji Jogakkō's discourse and practice and thus shed light on the difficulties the educators in Japan were and still are experiencing when likewise facing their own realities, inherited and new.

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[32] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*.

[33] This dissertation is indebted to Aoyama's work, yet our approaches differ in that her work introduces Meiji Jogakkō from a variety of perspectives yet does not delve into the issues the school faced when creating or realizing the curricula, or how it was seen by teachers and students. Aoyama also does not explore the primary sources that we analyze or apply the same framework to approach Iwamoto's ideas.

[34] Sometimes referred to as Nobe(i)ji in Western literature. Noheji Kiyoe 野辺地清江, *Josei kaihō shisō no genryū: Iwamoto Yoshiharu to* Jogaku zasshi 女性解放思想の源流: 巌本善治と女学雑誌 (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō 校倉書房, 1984).

[35] Inoue, "A Study on the 'Jogaku zasshi'."

[36] Fujita, "*Meiji Jogakkō no sekai*."

[37] Fujii, *Seigi to ai ni ikite*.

[38] Okada, Jogaku zasshi *to ōka*.

[39] Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood*, 145-46.

To assess Iwamoto's ideas, developed in various publications and under several pseudonyms, I have organized them around the concepts of "two sides of one," "the four pillars," and "the four pairs of extremes." They help stress the importance Iwamoto and the school placed on the incorporation of various approaches, both ideologically and practically.

First of all, the dissertation's body is built around the concept of the "two sides of one," as represented by such phrases as *bunbu itto* 文武一途 or *bunbu ryōdō* 文武両道, and analyzes the two major categories of education promoted by the school: *bun* 文 (chapter 5.) and *bu* 武 (chapter 4.). The phrase *bunbu ryōdō* can, very loosely, be explained as stressing the need for physical as well as intellectual cultivation; however, it carries additional layers of meaning that seem to define the mentality necessary for learning and living. The concept, that has accrued philosophical, possibly even religious nuances over time, was useful when speaking about the "essence" of education at Meiji Jogakkō. The phrase *bunbu ryōdō* is important as it was the concept of choice for strengthening the theoretical foothold of the school when its existence was threatened by the growing nationalistic sentiment in the 1890s; but also due to Meiji being the time when the modern sense of *bunbu ryōdō* started to be negotiated, a process that led to its contemporary usage in discussions on Japanese education.

Secondly, there are the "four pillars" that, according to Meiji Jogakkō's publications,[40] it was built on: Western science (*yōgaku* 洋学) and Confucian/Sino-Japanese (*kangaku* 漢学), native Japanese (*wagaku* 和学), and Christian (*kirisutokyō* 基督教) ideas. Christianity served as the moral aid that filled in the gaps deemed insufficiently covered by the other three. As the school's writing stressed such fourfold structure, all the elements are indispensable when assessing Meiji Jogakkō. Thus, the overall tendency in the previous research to overemphasize Meiji Jogakkō's goals of becoming a "Christian" or "Westernizing" school fails to paint the whole picture of the school's intentions. The role that these four philosophies / branches of learning played at the school will be analyzed throughout the dissertation rather than in individual sections, yet chapters 3. and 4. focus on the connection between (Western) science and Christianity, and chapter 5. discusses the relationship between *kangaku* and *wagaku*.

Thirdly, the "four pairs of extremes" represent the issues that Iwamoto and the school had to maneuver to fit into the public discourse on women's education. The first pair was the education of the body versus the education of the mind. The second was the understanding of the balance between secular and religious education. The third was the need to balance Western and Japanese, modern and traditional aspects of education. Finally, the fourth issue was the understanding of what constituted "feminine" versus "masculine" education. Chapter 3. deals with the first three "extremes" in detail, while the last one is discussed in the concluding sections of chapters 4. and 5.

The first pair, the education of the body and the education of the mind, was not seen as separable by Iwamoto. This is one of the shaping factors in Meiji Jogakkō's principles that differs from the modern and contemporary Western understanding of the curricular divisions between subjects. It appears that most, if not all, subjects at Meiji Jogakkō were seen as able to simultaneously cultivate the mind, body, and spirit of the students, albeit at differing levels.

Regarding the secular and religious elements in education, Iwamoto seems to have drawn a line between the experiences of teachers and students as individuals and the policies of the school as an institution. While we do have similar models today when students and teachers are, to an extent, free to profess their own varied beliefs while at religious and secular schools, during

[40] Especially in the introduction of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 1892.

Iwamoto's time religious schools were mainly aiming at teaching religion. Thus, Iwamoto's choice, uncommon in the period and confusing to his contemporaries, made Meiji Jogakkō an early experiment to separate from this trend. It is plausible that the school intentionally aimed at being different and innovative. Yet, it is also likely that such an ideological arrangement (providing access to religious practices and teaching under the label of Christian "moral" education while officially keeping the institution "secular" without open proselytizing) was reached out of sheer practicality, in an attempt to differentiate Meiji Jogakkō from missionary schools that were criticized for their religious rigidity and unacceptance of Japanese culture.[41] On the other hand, when we see how Meiji Jogakkō located itself among other schools, while it seems to have collaborated with either of its Christian and secular counterparts, it was overwhelmingly the Christian institutions that Meiji Jogakkō sought to work with.[42]

Regarding the third pair, the need to balance Western and Japanese, or modern and traditional aspects of education, it is clear that in Meiji Japan education was built by adjusting both the old and the new models. That is, the ideas seen originally as either Western/foreign or Japanese moved away from their initial connotations to meet the practical needs of the times. This resulted in the establishment of what we may label as "native-traditional" practices (i.e., those that have largely lost their applicability in everyday life, yet are deemed worthy of preserving due to their cultural value and importance to the national identity) and "native-modern" practices (everyday practices specific to the country, yet still easily recognizable internationally, more specifically: in Western countries).

The final pair exemplifies how malleable the Meiji-period boundaries of "femininity" and "masculinity" were, and how the same action or behavior could be read differently depending on the context it was placed in. For instance, Meiji was the time when pastimes that had historically been perceived as masculine (such as the tea ceremony and, to a certain extent, music, painting, and poetry), entered or strengthened their hold in the women's "sphere." Thus, in the process of modernization, women became the bearers of "traditional" practices—a new category, as described above—while men were increasingly associated with the "modern." Iwamoto sought for martial arts to develop in the same direction, but eventually failed to secure support. With time, however, martial arts became a cultural export representing Japan, often by the hands of women, too.

In Iwamoto's writing, it appears that he was using elements of what was considered "feminine," such as sewing (though reimagined), to counteract the criticism aimed at the "excessively masculine" curriculum at Meiji Jogakkō. Needless to say, in spite of Iwamoto's attempts, there was little room for influencing what was considered feminine or masculine in society. Thus, such "balancing" of subjects was among the few means that would allow for the recognition of new practices.

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[41] Gavin James Campbell's work explores how missionaries in Japan had to negotiate the official versions of the teachings established by their denominations and the "folk" who were concerned about their ancestors' afterlife. Gavin James Campbell, "To Make the World One in Christ Jesus": Transpacific Protestantism in the Age of Empire" (presentation, Osaka University International Seminar, Osaka, Japan, February 18, 2017).

[42] While assessing the matters of religion in Meiji, we should note that Iwamoto, as most of his contemporaries, have incorporated Christianity into an already rich understanding of moral teachings. That is, in Meiji Japan, the dichotomy of "Christian or heathen" did not really exist. Christianity was rather an element that, when beneficial, could be compounded with State and traditional Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism, and more, each in their own multitudes of expressions. We should also note that the term "religion" was just coming into its modern usage in Japan, and was thus a fluid concept, enough so to allow for State Shinto to be presented as a secular practice. Interestingly, the Japanese equivalent to the word religion (*shūkyō* 宗教) still does not seem to be understood the same way in English and Japanese, which renders practicing Shinto, or even Buddhism, into a cultural and not a religious practice in the eyes of many. Refer to the first chapter of Ian Reader, *Religion in Contemporary Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991).

In addition to the concepts above, I demonstrate that Iwamoto continuously asserted that "true" education has to meet three requirements: be practical, be "harmonious," and cultivate autonomy.

Regarding practicality, to Iwamoto, education had to be adjustable to the circumstances and aspirations of the students. He sought to provide his students with the opportunities for hands-on learning, connecting the school practices to the outside world. He encouraged activities beyond the school and put effort into securing jobs for the graduates. Extending the rule to other schools, he called for the improvement of practices in government and missionary institutions that, he believed, overemphasized education that was not practically applicable in graduates' lives and lacked emphasis on the broad cultivation of individuals. His position was that missionary and other schools that provided professional skills or taught (in) English would bring the most benefit by focusing on tertiary-level education, while the compulsory secondary-level education should provide a balanced, or "harmonious," comprehensive cultivation of analytical skills as a basis for further in-depth study in subjects selected by the students themselves. His emphasis on flexibility, search for high standards, and furthering the field of pedagogy by instructing it as a subject at Meiji Jogakkō and compiling pedagogical textbooks and manuals, stand out among other contemporaneous educational agendas.

In Iwamoto's thought, the need for harmony[43] was pervasive on all levels: in family life at home, in the general understanding of education, and in society at large. What he meant by this was the "adjustment" in the power-balance between men and women. First of all, he is known for having promoted the nuclear family model where the wife is equal to her husband and autonomous in her "sphere": the home. While this seems backward from the point of view of contemporary feminist discourse, Iwamoto was advocating ideas that he saw necessary to successfully facilitate the change at that point in time, which corresponds to what Elaine Showalter calls "the feminine phase" of the feminist movement.[44] Similar ideas to Iwamoto's were also encountered in the discourse of contemporaneous female educators, such as Shimoda Utako, who spoke for women's rights as they were the mothers and homemakers.[45] As we shall see, even such a position was deemed too impractical and radical during the time.

While Iwamoto saw the modern family as nuclear, calling it "home" (*hōmu* ホーム), he argued that the home was a place where a wife needed to be sufficiently educated to play a significant role in ensuring the wellbeing of her own, her husband, and her children.[46] Iwamoto criticized the system of education in Japan as lopsided due to having concentrated on boys and men, and saw the available forms of education for girls and women as scarce and incomplete. To Iwamoto, high-quality education for women was thus a means to bring "adjustment" not only into the families but into the practices of education itself.

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[43] Okada, Jogaku zasshi *to ōka*, 12; 184-85, has brought to attention Iwamoto and *Jogaku zasshi* adhering to the "cliché of balance" between the old customs and the modern innovations pooled from both Japanese and Western contexts, yet my emphasis on harmony exceeds the traditional versus modern paradigm proposed by Okada.

[44] Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 11.

[45] Linda L. Johnson, "Meiji Women's Educators as Public Intellectuals: Shimoda Utako and Tsuda Umeko," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 44 (2013): 67-92.

[46] For more on *hōmu* and woman's role and responsibility in it, refer to Iwahori, "Construction of the Ideal Wife." It must be noted here that his students becoming housewives was not on Iwamoto's priority list, however. He sought to normalize higher education for women by creating a new image of a wife who had to graduate from at least secondary-level education to fit in the modernizing society. The reality was that many students were married off before completing their studies and that was one of the biggest hurdles for the school. We do not have clear statistics, but the issue is repeatedly raised in *Jogaku zasshi*. For instance, Wakamatsu Shizuko describes it as a general trend in her "The Condition of Woman in Japan," *Jogaku zasshi* 98 (February 25, 1888), written in English.

Iwamoto also believed that the modernizing society needed more balance that could be achieved through women's participation in the arts, sciences, education, and workforce in general, where they could contribute their opinions on various aspects often overlooked by men. The goal was for the educated to create an environment that would be more women-friendly, where they could influence the present and future generations as leaders and role models. Finally, the emphasis on harmony/adjustment (and not a "revolution"—though he used this term, too) that we see in Iwamoto's writing also reads as a gradual plan of action. That is, he avoided causing too much backlash in the society in which women had to function as recognized members. He illustrates this tendency with his promotion of *jogaku*–the "research of women" that analyzed their condition and needs; to Iwamoto, change had to be based on facts rather than whims.

Iwamoto's view of autonomy in education built on the principle that women cannot grow as individuals when they lack the freedom to express themselves. To this end, Meiji Jogakkō encouraged the students to have critical opinions, learn how to defend their positions, and act according to their own will. The aspect of autonomy was promoted on several levels at the school: in daily activities (in dormitories and in physical education); in management (where the students could contribute their opinions and participate in meetings); in professional training (where students acquired skills and sought financial independence); and in journalism (which they could access via publishing activities of *Jogaku zasshi* and other projects).

In addition to the above concepts that explain the running of the school, I propose three premises about the education of the Meiji period and Iwamoto's role in it.

The first is that the Meiji-period position of women was not "backward" and that the women were not powerless but active agents in the processes of their education. As scholars have shown in recent years, a number of women maintained their public opinions and functioning network-communities and had access to liberating high-level educational experiences.[47] This was possible because the modern system of education did not spring into existence in Meiji but rather built upon the educational practices already in place before the "opening up" of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century. Consequently, I treat Meiji female educators and students as opinionated and independent agents in seeking to acquire education and then distribute it to others.

The second premise pertains to the perception of Westernization processes in Meiji. My position is that schools like Meiji Jogakkō, or modern literati movements at large, were not "failed attempts to imitate the West"; rather, the imported Western knowledge was supported by an already existing scaffolding of ideological systems and was used to selectively replace the constituents in the old formulas without completely overhauling them.[48] Thus, I treat Meiji Jogakkō's staff as independent and informed actors in assessing and applying or rejecting the imported knowledge.

The third premise I build my argument upon is that Iwamoto was a "proto-feminist"[49] figure who worked for the benefit of women's education rather than against it. That is, I look at

[47] Refer to Amano Haruko, Nadja Kischka-Wellhäußer, Chieko Irie-Mulhern, Mara Patessio, Martha Tocco, and others. Martha C. Tocco, "Norms and Texts for Women's Education in Tokugawa Japan," in *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan,* ed. by Dorothy Ko et al (California: University of California Press, 2003), 193-218, for example, argues that the Meiji education of women was built on the standards set in the Edo period and was not a modern invention.

[48] As has been shown by Fujitani, Tocco, Paramore, and others. One significant difference between the Edo and Meiji eras, however, is the perception of the leadership of the country and the idea that the masses could be educated to "supervise themselves" (become autonomous) rather than be supervised, as described by Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

[49] Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood,* describes Iwamoto as an early feminist and public reformer alongside Tsuda Umeko and Fukuzawa Yukichi. To Pamonag, (ibid., 6) notions of the state, nation, gender and nationality "were all in a process of mutual construction" during the Meiji period, and Iwamoto took an active part in assuring they were shaped to be beneficial for women.

what he focused on rather than what he excluded. One of the reasons for such a "high appraisal" of Iwamoto is that not only did his ideas fall in line with the statements of contemporaneous advocates for women's rights, but he also put them to practice, largely surpassing contemporaneous educators in maturity and flexibility. For this reason, while most contentions regarding Iwamoto are centered on his understanding of the equality of sexes and women's rights, the dissertation mentions the issues yet does not dwell on them.[50]

I intend to place my study in the context of recent discourses on martiality, religion, literature, and history of ideas, in the hope to contribute new insights into a variety of previously overlooked educational experiences of women.

1.c. Primary Sources That Will Be Analyzed

In the dissertation, the following primary resources will be analyzed. They were chosen as they are all publications edited by Iwamoto and closely linked to Meiji Jogakkō, yet this connection is not sufficiently explored in research. These publications, crucial in Iwamoto's plan to further women's education, are addressed in necessary detail throughout the text. For extra information behind their goals, refer to Annex 2.

First of all, there is *Jogaku zasshi*'s predecessor *Jogaku shinshi* 女学新誌, or "the new magazine on *jogaku*," coedited by Iwamoto who had already been involved with the establishment of Meiji Jogakkō. The magazine introduced the term *jogaku* (explored in 2.b.1.) and ran from June 16, 1884 to September 19, 1885, reaching 27 issues.

Jogaku zasshi 女學雜誌, or *The Woman's Magazine* (July 20, 1885 – February 15, 1904), was Iwamoto's largest project from which all the others stemmed. He was the main driving force behind the magazine which served as a way to attract attention to Meiji Jogakkō and to spread the learning materials to those who could not attend the school. The last known issue is no. 526.

Meiji Jogakkō's treatise on its pedagogical methods *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* 吾黨之女子教育, or "our education for women" (March 31, 1892), was a collection of Iwamoto's writing that was deemed to represent the school the best. Majority of them had prior appeared in *Jogaku zasshi*, yet not all.

Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku 通信女學講義録, or "distance learning course on '*jogaku*'" ran from April 15, 1887, to around 1892. Published in yearly cycles, the course provides details into what was happening at the classrooms and how the materials were being updated year by year.

Finally, *Jogakusei* 女學生, or *The Girl-Student* (May 21, 1890 – December 21, 1892), aimed at publishing female students' writing and strengthening their position, and promoting Meiji Jogakkō's education by showcasing the "results" of its education. Regarding the members in the *Jogakusei* Alliance (the schools that agreed to contribute and purchase numbers each month), refer to Table 32 located in Annex 2, section 5.

Apart from Iwamoto, who contributed "real-time" updates in *Jogaku zasshi* on his experiences at Meiji Jogakkō,[51] the following people also shared their memories about the school: teachers

[50] Among other authors, Sekiguchi, Koyama, and Horiguchi provide research on the Meiji understanding of gender, while Inoue, Mizuno, Kinoshita, and Nakajima delve into Iwamoto's ideas on women's and men's spheres and rights. Okada looks at *Jogaku zasshi*'s role in influencing the common understanding regarding femininity and womanhood beyond Meiji.

[51] Iwamoto also shared his experiences not only in his Meiji-period writing, but also in *Asuka* 明日香, "*Mushō zadan*" 撫象座談 1, no. 8 (1936): 10-19.

Hoshino Tenchi[52] 星野天知 (1862−1950)[53] and Shimazaki Tōson[54] 島崎藤村 (1872−1943)[55] and students/staff Sōma Kokkō [56] 相馬黒光 (1876−1955), [57] Nogami Yaeko [58] 野上弥生子 (1885−1985), [59] and Hani Motoko [60] 羽仁もと子 (1873−1957). [61] Shimazaki's and Nogami's writing is heavily fictionalized and thus I exclude it. Meanwhile, I treat the writing of Hoshino in considerable detail and refer to the memoirs of Sōma and Hani to provide insights into their understanding of the practices at the school. In addition, I refer to the writings of Tsuda Umeko,[62] as she was working with Iwamoto throughout his pedagogical career, contributed to *Jogaku zasshi*, and is said to have used Meiji Jogakkō as an example when establishing her own school.[63]

Other publications relevant to the analysis are works published or distributed by Jogaku Zasshisha. As they represent the school's understanding of subjects and provide insights into the contents of the classes, they are treated in detail in section 5.b.1., where they are separated into lists according to their topic following the charts made by the school. To see where Meiji Jogakkō stood alongside its peers, magazines for women published during the same time-frame are consulted. Finally, to see how it advertised itself during the period, publications such as *Tōkyō yūgaku annai* 東京遊學案内 (a guide to studying at Tokyo) that were aimed at students browsing for schools are referenced. They are especially useful for locating basic frequently-updated information, such as the numbers of students and teachers.

In addition to the above, Iwamoto contributed to several other magazines. He wrote for *Shōgaku zasshi* 小學雜誌 (1876?–?), a magazine on the primary education of children, in 1884–85; for *Nōgyō zasshi* 農業雜誌 (1876–1920), a magazine on agriculture, in 1881–86; for *Nihon shūkyō* 日本宗教 (1895–?), a magazine on religion, in 1895–97; for *Shakai zasshi* 社會雜誌 (1897–?), a magazine on social problems in 1897; and for *Taiyō* 太陽 (1895–1928), a magazine for youngsters that was arguably *Jogaku zasshi*'s competitor, in 1895–96.[64] Delving into these publications is outside the scope of this dissertation; nevertheless, as Iwamoto retained his interest in agriculture, waste management and environmentalism, religion, and children's education

[52] Given name: Hoshino Shinnosuke 星野新之助.
[53] Hoshino Tenchi 星野天地, *Mokuho shichijūnen* 黙歩七十年 (Tokyo: Seibunkan 聖文閣, 1938).
[54] Given name: Shimazaki Haruki 島崎春樹.
[55] Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村, *Haru* 春, (Tokyo: Shinchō Bunko 新潮文庫, 1950). Originally by Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1908.
[56] Given name: Hoshi Ryō 星良.
[57] A memoir: Sōma Kokkō 相馬黒光, *Mokui, Sōma Kokkō jiden* 黙移相馬黒光自伝 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1999). Originally by Josei Jidaisha 女性時代社, 1926.
[58] Given name: Kodegawa Yae 小手川ヤヱ.
[59] Nogami Yaeko 野上弥生子, *Mori* 森 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha 新潮社, 1985). Nogami wrote at the end of her life, her contributions being serialized in 1972-85; she passed away before completing *Mori*.
[60] Given name: Matsuoka Moto 松岡もと.
[61] Hani Motoko 羽仁もと子, *Hansei wo kataru* 半生を語る (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā 日本図書センター, 1997). Originally by Fujin no Tomosha 婦人之友社, 1928; and Hani Motoko 羽仁もと子, *Hani Motoko chosaku-shū daijūyonken: Zoku nayameru tomo no tame ni* 羽仁もと子著作集 第 14 巻　続悩める友のために (Tokyo: Fujin no Tomosha 婦人之友社, 1933). Some of Hani's writings are translated into English by Irie-Mulhern.
[62] Tsuda Umeko, *Tsuda Umeko monjo* 津田梅子文書 / *The Writings of Umeko Tsuda*, ed. Yoshiko Furuki, Akiko Ueda, and Mary E. Althaus, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Tsuda Juku Daigaku 津田塾大学, 1984); and Tsuda Umeko, Furuki Yoshiko, *The Attic Letters: Ume Tsuda's Correspondence to Her American Mother* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1991).
[63] Barbara Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan* (Yale University Press, 1992) 100. According to Rose, Meiji Jogakkō's tradition of a liberal education based on Christian ethics had a profound and lasting influence on Tsuda and she later duplicated much of the school's curriculum in her practices.
[64] For the full list of known Iwamoto's publications, refer to Noheji and Matsubara, *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*, 142–48.

throughout his career, such resources should be referred to when assessing long-term tendencies in his thought.

1.d. Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 1. reviews secondary literature focusing on Iwamoto Yoshiharu and Meiji Jogakkō and thus provides a perspective into the overall academic tendencies and the research gap. It also introduces relevant primary sources and explains how they will be used, drawing attention to the oft-overlooked publications. (For the circumstances behind their publication, and their current availability, please refer to Annex 2.)

Chapter 2. further introduces Iwamoto and provides relevant historical background to the developments at Meiji Jogakkō and in Iwamoto's policies, offering information on general practices at the school before delving into details in the following chapters.

Section 2.a. provides the outline of historical events that created the basis on which Iwamoto built his ideas. To illustrate Iwamoto's original input and clarify the reasons behind his choices when developing educational policies, it covers the major undercurrents in the history of women's education from the late Edo to Meiji. By analyzing the foundation Iwamoto built on, the goal is to illustrate the fact that Iwamoto was a product of his time yet also an innovative educator.

Section 2.b. offers details on how Iwamoto was raised and educated, the establishment of his networks, and the evolution of the underlying concepts behind his ideas. It clarifies how Iwamoto formed his views regarding his role as an educator by covering his own learning experience. The subsections delve into the overarching tendencies and major developments in his policies: 2.b.1. explores and clarifies *jogaku* and *ryōsai kenbo*—two core concepts in Iwamoto's thought that are commonly treated in research, while 2.b.2. draws attention to the numerous practical concerns that Iwamoto faced during his career.

While the previous section gives a summary of the developments in Iwamoto's career and his major ideas, this one covers changes in the school on the physical (2.c.1.), structural (2.c.2.), and managerial (2.c.3.) planes, analyzing how they were interrelated and together affected the materialization of Iwamoto's ideas.

Chapter 3. analyzes what choices the school made when shaping its policies, in addition to discussing when and why those choices had to be made, locating the school within contemporaneous discourses. Amidst the modernizing Japanese system of education, of which Meiji Jogakkō was unquestionably a part, there were numerous clashes in opinion and practice, mostly regarding the boundaries between the dichotomous terms such as 1) body and mind, 2) secular and religious, 3) Western and Japanese (or native and foreign), which also overlapped with discourses on modern and traditional; and 4) feminine and masculine. The chapter explores the first three while the issues of feminine versus masculine education are discussed in concluding sections of chapters 4. and 5.

Section 3.a. introduces the common discourses on education in Japan and the West by explaining why Iwamoto deemed it necessary to publish his response to Herbert Spencer's ideas on education in 1899, and clarifying the role Spencer's ideas played in the formation of the modern understanding of education in Japan. I compare Spencer's and Iwamoto's positions regarding the education of body and mind, showing how spirituality/mindset was seen by Iwamoto as the overarching principle of all educational activities in Japan with the support of the *bunbu* concept.

Section 3.b. considers how religion and moral training were perceived during the period the school was active. It is closely connected to the analysis in chapter 4., as it answers why the

term *bunbu ryōdō* (or *bunbu itto*) entered Iwamoto's parlance and explains its connotations at Meiji Jogakkō.

Subsection 3.b.1. describes the complex stance Meiji Jogakkō maintained as a Protestant enterprise run by Japanese national subjects and the common challenges educational institutions with strong religious inclinations faced in Japan during the period. It addresses Meiji Joggakō's struggles when trying to balance secular and religious concepts.

Subsection 3.b.2. explores the relationship between traditional and modern aspects of *bunbu*. It aims to: 1) call to attention the fact that there was a variety of stances in the understanding of *bunbu* and to determine how they should be interpreted in this dissertation; 2) place ideas and practices promoted by Meiji Jogakkō among those of other educators and intellectuals; 3) introduce the historical context surrounding *budō* and *bunbu* in order to shed light onto how the school interpreted and used the terms; and 4) provide an explanation of the government's regulations and other national undercurrents that affected the development of physical education.

Chapter 4. discusses the concept of *bu* as a signifier of the school's understanding of physical education that extended beyond physical cultivation. It breaks down the staff's ideas and ties them to practices, provides a timeline of their development, and addresses the students' experiences.

Section 4.a. analyzes *taisō* and *jorei* in tandem—as ideas and in their implementation. It aims to clarify in what context *taisō* and *jorei* appeared in Iwamoto's thought; how and when they were discussed; whether *jorei* was conceived by Iwamoto as a theoretical or a practical subject; what relationship it had with other subjects; what weight each subject carried in the curriculum; and finally, what benefits they were meant to bring to the students' lives.

Section 4.b. addresses the relationship between *budō* and Christianity, *budō*'s position in the curriculum, and its application in the education of modern Japanese women. The stance Meiji Jogakkō held on martial arts is explored via the writing of Iwamoto (4.b.1.), who saw the need of such a course at his school, and then Hoshino Tenchi (4.b.2.), the teacher who took it upon himself to carry it out.

Chapter 5. follows up on ideas discussed in chapter 4. by addressing *bun* as the "other half" of the educational standard promoted by Meiji Jogakkō. At the school, *bun* was defined as revolving around issues and practices related to literary learning in its broad definition: reading, writing, and analysis of texts. The chapter discusses what kind of literature was read/assigned at the school; how it fit within the curriculum; how reading was promoted for extracurricular or lifelong education; and what the purpose of literature was in the overall aspirations of Iwamoto and the school. Relevant background details are provided and parallels are drawn among individual experiences to illustrate the developments in Iwamoto's and his peers' understanding of literature's role in education, and their subsequent writing and publishing activities.

Section 5.a. analyzes Iwamoto's evolving understanding of the possible application of literature in education, but also how his position reflects not only the changes in Meiji Jogakkō but also larger developments in the Meiji-period literary and educational circles. Subsection 5.a.1. explores how Iwamoto defined literature and its potential, in addition to how he tied it to education; 5.a.2. analyzes the usages of literature that Iwamoto proposed and the arguments he chose to defend women's right to write; 5.a.3. addresses Iwamoto's understanding of what could be learned from or taught through literature, especially Western-style fiction; 5.a.4. focuses on Iwamoto's turn to seeing writing as social activism and from a Christian angle; while 5.a.5. discusses how Iwamoto perceived literature as *bun* and what that implied for his general understanding and practices of education.

Section 5.b. explores the various applications of texts and writing/reading promoted by the school. Its subsections address what the school considered as educational materials (5.b.1.), introduces Iwamoto's own compilation of such materials and the educational role he envisioned for his fiction (5.b.2.), and considers what was expected of female authors adjunct to Meiji Jogakkō and *Jogaku zasshi*, as well as the fictional heroines of their works (5.b.3.).

Section 5.c. builds on the analysis above to provide insight into how Iwamoto's ideas materialized at the school and how they were received by the students Sōma Kokkō and Hani Motoko, introducing especially their thoughts on the curriculum and teachers.

While each of the chapters has concluding sections, chapter 6. brings all the threads together. Section 6.a. concludes the analysis by addressing: the binary approach to education (as expressed by the *bunbu ryōdō* principle); the emphasis on the need for balance, applicability, and autonomy in education; the dependence on four intellectual sources (Japanese, Confucian, Christian, and scientific) in the curricular and extracurricular activities; and the issues the school faced when trying to position itself in the larger context of Japanese education. 6.b. clarifies how the dissertation fits in with previous scholarship and with broader issues such as Iwamoto's place in Japanese intellectual history. Finally, 6.c. provides reflections on the limitations of the study and possible directions for future research.

The Annex includes Glossary of Frequently Used Terms and detailed information on primary materials published by Meiji Jogakkō.

Bibliography, due to the large number of sources mentioned in the dissertation, lists only the sources that have been quoted and separates them into primary and secondary.

1.e. Conclusions

As is seen in previous research, Iwamoto's writing/publishing and teaching are often considered as separate from one another. For instance, according to Michael C. Brownstein,

> *Jogaku zasshi* was the product of an age dominated by two conflicting impulses in Japanese society: the desire to be recognized by the West as a civilized nation and the fear of losing essential Japanese characteristics in the process of achieving that recognition through Westernization. Iwamoto's original formulation of *jogaku* expressed both impulses. But his attempts to preserve the progressive elements of his program in the face of growing conservatism fragmented *Jogaku zasshi* into a cluster of magazines, each representing an aspect of *jogaku*: the home-study course [*Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku*] (education), the "red covers" edition ("the home"), the "white covers" edition (social reform), and *Jogakusei* (literature). The single thread holding these fragments together was Iwamoto's theory of literature, which was ultimately based on his belief in the power of literature to transform the individual. The members of the *Bungakukai* coterie surely believed in the same power, but chose to use it differently. After *Bungakukai* separated from *Jogaku zasshi*, Iwamoto reconstituted *jogaku* into a concept that was far more stable because of the binding strength of its traditional elements.[65]

While insightful, Brownstein's conclusions focus on Iwamoto's ideology: his formulation of *jogaku* and understanding of literature. I, however, rather than placing *jogaku* at the center of

[65] Brownstein, "*Bungakukai*," 335-36.

Iwamoto's activities, or literature as the "single thread" unifying his publishing projects, stress that his ultimate drive was negotiating Meiji Jogakkō's raison d'être and the right to carry out the education that Iwamoto saw as high-quality. An educator pressed by practical needs, to support this drive he formulated ideological tools and continuously modified them.

In this context, Jogaku Zasshisha's publications, as extensions of Meiji Jogakkō, served as supplementary materials for its students, vehicles to attract recognition and support for the school, and a means to reach the female readership that could not attend the school. Thus, while Brownstein believes that Iwamoto had somewhat separated his educational aims from projects other than *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku,* it should be said instead that Iwamoto as a publisher did not maintain a variety of goals but a variety of audiences. *Jogakusei* was aimed at girl students at schools with a Christian inclination, as well as those who criticized them, from 1890 to 1892; *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* at women who did not have the chance to join the modern school system from 1887 to 1892; and *Jogaku zasshi* at the intelligentsia who wished to know about Meiji Jogakkō, read news concerning women, and join the ranks of informed intellectuals. From 1890 to 1893, when *Jogaku zasshi* was published in two versions, "red covers" were aimed at women interested in women's rights and achievements and learning to supervise modern households, while "white covers" catered to professional individuals among which many were educators. Finally, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* (1892) summarized Meiji Jogakkō's theories and practises and thus was aimed at those in the field of education, especially those who would be willing to cooperate with Meiji Jogakkō. Each of these publications was an educational enterprise tied to Meiji Jogakkō and aimed to implement the overarching idea(l)s of sustaining the school and promoting its goals. In addition, the readers, even though affected by financial constraints, had the choice to read any of the above. It would thus be ungrounded to claim that by branching off Iwamoto was limiting what one group or other was encouraged to read and learn. That is, the aim of this channeling of information seems to have been to strengthen Iwamoto's agenda by appealing to the readers' needs rather than prescribing "appropriate contents" to groups.

Brownstein argues that the split of the *Bungakukai* group, essentially Meiji Jogakkō's staff at first, from Jogaku Zasshisha in 1893 could have occurred due to the diverging expectations towards literature of the two groups. However, based on writings by Iwamoto and Hoshino, another explanation is more likely. *Bungakukai,* which made an important contribution to promoting literature as an art and profession, seems to have been fully acceptable to Iwamoto. While I agree with Brownstein's position that literature was one of the underlying principles in Iwamoto's projects, I argue that it was a tool in Iwamoto's toolbox used to spread information and educate in a similar way to how literature is currently used in secondary school textbooks. During the times when the understanding of high literature was shifting from "for education" to "for entertainment," Iwamoto acknowledged the entertainment factor in literature, but he also could not forsake the education. Such a critical, and thus limiting, stance, in addition to the magazine's (chosen or enforced) "social responsibility," i.e., to exhibit and promote proper conduct due to being attached to a girls' school, was likely a source of tension that triggered the split.

Finally, regarding what Brownstein notes as Iwamoto's struggle to maintain novel elements in *Jogaku zasshi* amongst the increasingly conservative tendencies, there were indeed new pressures on the school and the magazine from around 1890.[66] However, the same pressure also spurred

[66] As it was promoting itself as a private Christian school, Meiji Jogakkō was vulnerable to the government policies and levels of social acceptance of both Christianity and Western-style women's education. This was especially the case after the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890, which was followed by an increase in government's control over private schools and their extra-curricular activities.

creativity. During this timeframe, Iwamoto sought out new venues that would allow him to channel his ideas and avoid narrowing the scope of his publications.

While the majority of research has left out several key primary materials when assessing Meiji Jogakkō's policies and Iwamoto's position as an educator, to scrutinize them holistically, this dissertation addresses the identified research gap and elucidates Iwamoto's and Meiji Jogakkō's example of coevolving ideology and practice.[67] When analyzing Iwamoto's ideas, I refer to them as "ideology." As, according to Terry Eagleton, "nobody has yet come up with a single comprehensive definition of ideology acceptable to all concerned, since the term has been made in its day to serve a whole variety of purposes, many of them useful but not all of them mutually compatible,"[68] I too use the term freely to refer to the corpus of ideas promoted by Iwamoto throughout the years, encompassing variations that make up an unbroken continuum.

I argue that Jogaku Zashisha's publications promoted the ideology of the school and were shaped to advertise education at the school as a product, while simultaneously being devised as textbooks, meant to educate women en masse. In the former sense, the publications had to present an image that would be acceptable depending on the dynamics of the market(s) they circulated in. In the latter sense, the publications developed their methodologies of instruction by building upon the previous types of writing for women, that shall be introduced in 2.a.2.b., and by experimenting with their connection to an active institution, Meiji Jogakkō. Such an understanding allows for the reassessment of topics the publications raised and the style they used.

[67] Following Raud: "All activities grounded in meaning, or cultural practices, also construct their participants while being constructed by them in the process. (Raud, *Meaning in Action*, 6.)
[68] Terry Eagleton, *Ideology* (London; New York: Longman, 1994), 20.

2. Historical Setting: Continuity and Innovation
2.a. Historical Developments in Female Education
2.a.1. Pre-Meiji Customs
Meiji period discourses on women's education built on already rooted practices and ideas. As we do not have a census of literacy rates among girls and women prior to Meiji, the numbers are contested.[1] Nevertheless, various stories of literate and active women who received education from an early age before the modern schooling system was established have been recorded, and researched. What we know is that, while some women were a part of the Tokugawa system of educational institutions as students and teachers, becoming more visible in the later years of the period, many were educated while "tucked away" at home. In either case, however, education for girls and women came both from within and without their families. The experiences of girls and women depended on their region, status, and the personal preferences of their family members.[2] They were also susceptible to trends and the availability of teachers and texts. Nevertheless, there were some publications and institutions that were accessible to the general population.

Moralizing literature is often mistakenly considered to have been the only type of literature generally promoted to women in Japan before and during Meiji.[3] However, such understanding is problematic. While didactic writing was a part of publications for women, it is important to 1) take note of how such writing was used and 2) not disregard other types of writing available to the female readership. Amano Haruko provides an enlightening study of women's literature available before a new type of writing for and by women gained a foothold with the help of magazines such as *Jogaku zasshi*. Her study on *ōraimono* 往来物—well-spread rudimentary textbooks for reading and writing used from Heian to Meiji (twelfth to nineteenth centuries)—shows how such publications offer valuable insights into women's education and daily lives.[4]

At first, *ōraimono* dealt with letter writing, their contents becoming more varied with time. Especially after the seventeenth century, when they were used as textbooks on a variety of topics in private academies called *terakoya* or *shijuku*, *ōraimono* played an important role in the education of the masses. A teacher would compile *ōraimono* for his or her student(s) to suit their needs, yet they were also bought or written as presents, and passed on in families. Amano claims that throughout the Edo period there were about seven thousand different types of *ōraimono* in circulation, among which more than a thousand types were dedicated to women.[5] However, it is difficult to draw a line between *ōraimono* for men and women. To give an example, *Sekai fujo ōrai* 世界婦女往來 (1873)[6] by Yamamoto Yosuke 山本与助 (years unknown) dealt with women's customs in various countries (such as China, India, and Holland) and admonished the women of Japan against following the same patterns of behavior. While the intended audience of *Sekai fujo ōrai* seems to be women, the language used is rather complex and thus indicates that it was most likely a general text for both male and female readerships. Thus, rather than claiming that some texts were for men while others for women, it would be more accurate to say that some

[1] For some attempts at estimates, refer to Peter F. Kornicki, "Women, Education, and Literacy" in *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Kornicki, P. F., Patessio, M., and Rowley, G. G. (Michigan: University of Michigan, 2010), Richard Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007) and Peter Francis Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).
[2] Refer to Kornicki and Rubinger in particular.
[3] For instance, there is an overemphasis on the prevalence of such texts as *Onna daigaku* that shall be discussed below.
[4] Amano Haruko 天野晴子, "Women's Education in Edo Era" 江戸時代の女子教育について—往来物を通してみる女性の教育と生活, *Bungaku Kenkyūjo Nenpō* 文化研究所年報 21 (2008): 3-20.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Available at http://www.nara-wu.ac.jp/aic/gdb/nwugdb/josei/j007/.

texts were demanding a higher level of expertise in certain fields, or familiarity with specific types of script.

If educated women thus read the same texts as men, the fact that women were deemed an important part of the readership and had their own specialized publications points towards the fact that women had the means and will to purchase such materials and to read them for both entertainment and educational purposes.[7] Ishikawa Matsutarō's study points out five categories into which distinctively-female-readership oriented *ōraimono* could be divided: *kyōkungata* 教訓型, *shōsokugata* 消息型, *shakaigata* 社会型, *chiikugata* 知育型, *and gōhongata* 合本型. *Kyōkungata* concentrated on how girls and women should carry themselves in their daily lives, morality (*dōtoku*) and discipline (*shitsuke*). *Shōsokugata* provided examples for correspondence. *Shakaigata* introduced ways to socialize by getting familiar with customs, events, and hobbies. *Chiikugata* offered information on geography and industry. Finally, *gōhongata* combined several or all of the above.[8] The existence and prevalence of such textbooks stand proof to the publishers' inclination to spread knowledge in these fields, as well as gained profit by meeting a certain demand, offering an insight into what was deemed necessary or suitable in the education of girls and women—in addition to reflecting the interests of women themselves. It is thus not surprising that Meiji writing preserved certain tendencies of the pre-Meiji publications.

From the above, the morality-centered *kyōkungata*, or *kyōkunsho* 教訓書, were the most widely distributed from seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century.[9] The best-known example of this type of literature would be *Onna daigaku* 女大學. Interestingly, rather than having a single mind behind it, or even being a single book as it often seems to be referred to, it had been revised and reinterpreted numerous times. At times, its moralistic message and purpose become obscured. For instance, later versions included excerpts from classical literature, as well as "advice on beauty, etiquette, and proper letter writing."[10] As such, this type of publication "mixed educational traditions from previous centuries with Tokugawa moral tracts, diffus[ing] the impact on Neo-Confucian moralizing."[11] Below is an outline of the "*Onna daigaku* series" as described by Ishikawa,[12] yet the list is not conclusive.

First in the series was "*Nyōshi wo oshiyuru hō*" 女子を教ゆる法, the fifth volume in Kaibara Ekiken's 貝原益軒 (1630–1714) *Wazoku dōji kun* 和俗童子訓 (1710). Ekiken, an influential scholar, was later mistakenly considered to have authored the following—and the most well-known in the series—*Onna daigaku takarabako* 女大學宝箱 (1716). Kaibara's "*Nyōshi wo oshiyuru hō*" stresses the importance of teaching boys and girls equally in terms of materials (*kyōzai* 教材), methods (*gakushūhō* 学習法), the order of instruction (*gakushū junjo* 学習順序), and the teaching attitude (*gakushū taido* 学習態度).[13] Nevertheless, it was *Onna daigaku takarabako,* unsigned and most likely written by a disciple of Kaibara's,[14] that became a widely-accessible popular publication reprinted numerous times.

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[7] Peter F. Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?: *Genji Monogatari* and *Ise Monogatari* in Late Seventeenth-Century Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, issue 2, Summer (2005): 182.

[8] Ishikawa Matsutarō 石川松太郎, *Nihon kyōkasho taikei, ōraimono-hen daijūgoken, joshi-yō* 日本教科書大系　往来編 第 15 巻　女子用 (Tokyo: Kodansha 講談社, 1973).

[9] Tocco, "Norms and Texts," 215, note 22. Tocco (199) notes how since the end of the eighteenth-century academic texts surpassed moral texts in both the variety and numbers published.

[10] Ibid., 200.

[11] Ibid, 200.

[12] For details, refer to Ishikawa Matsutarō 石川松太郎, *Onna daigaku shū,* 女大学集, (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1977).

[13] Tocco, "Norms and Texts," 200 and "*Nyōshi wo oshiyuru hō.*"

[14] Ibid., 199.

Martha Tocco argues that the popularity of the text may be attributed more to its style (it used both Chinese and Japanese characters and was thus deemed suitable for girls to learn writing from), presentation (some versions carried elaborate illustrations and covers and the text came to be used as a present or heirloom), and to being accredited to a famous author (Kaibara), rather than to its content.[15] While *Onna daigaku takarabako* is seen as advocating the total subordination of women to men (fathers, husbands, and sons) and as the representative of a generally-accepted position on women's education during the Edo and Meiji periods, the approach to education Kaibara held was that "[l]earning, for men and women, was the way to virtue and by extension the way to stability of family and of the country as a whole."[16] In Meiji, as the discourses about the unity of the nation and the policies for strengthening the country gained momentum, it was rather this view of Kaibara that found proponents in numerous educators of the period, rather than the limiting contents of *Onna daigaku takarabako*.

Due to its popularity, *Onna daigaku takarabako* was followed by various reinterpretations about the knowledge and mindset necessary for women in their daily lives. To name a few: the "newly-edited *Onna daigaku* for the women of Japan"[17] —*Shinsen onna yamato daigaku* 新撰女倭大學 (1785) by Rakuhoku Shōshi 洛北唱子;[18] the "compulsory reader for female students"—*Jokō hitsudoku jokun* 女鬒必読女訓 (1874) by Takada Giho 高田義甫 (1846–93); the "recent *Onna daigaku*"—*Kinsei onna daigaku* 近世女大學 (1874) and the "enlightened *Onna daigaku*"—*Bunmeiron onna daigaku* 文明論女大學 (1876) by Doi Kōka 土居光華 (1847–1918). Even after the 80s, as Iwamoto was starting his career as a journalist and then an educator, the "series" continued, withthe "new and expanded *Onna daigaku*"—*Shinsenzōho onna daigaku* 新撰増補女大學 (1880) by Hagiwara Otohiko 萩原乙彦 (1826–86); the "revised *Onna daigaku*"—*Kaisei onna daigaku* 改正女大學 (1880) by Seki Ashio 関葦雄;[19] the "newly-edited *Onna daigaku*"—*Shinsen onna daigaku* 新撰女大學 (1882) by Nishino Kokai 西野古海 (1822–98);[20] and, finally, "review of *Onna daigaku*: the new *Onna daigaku*"—*Onna daigaku hyōron: Shin onna daigaku* 女大學評論・新女大學 (1899) by Fukuzawa Yukichi. Clearly, *Onna daigaku*, as well as the *kyōkunsho* tradition was considered pertinent during Meiji, and remained a tangible presence representing the writing and education for women. It was kept alive by several well-known scholars, with reprints of their works made until the end of the Taishō period (1912–26).[21]

Iwamoto's position was somewhat ambivalent, in that he criticized the contents of "*Onna daigaku*" as limiting, and yet included Takada Giho's *Jokō hitsudoku jokun* (1874) in the list of books that Jogaku Zasshisha distributed (for the full list refer to section 5.b.1.a.). Iwamoto may have chosen this particular text and not others because, while mixing in traditional advice on morality, it also included practical advice for mothers based on new scientific knowledge and described the changes in women's condition within society. For instance, the very first teaching advocates women's right to receive education, which is indispensable if they are to become good wives.[22] It argues that women are not inferior to men, yet emphasizes the importance of women-

[15] Ibid, 200-01.
[16] Ibid., 201.
[17] The word used for Japan here is *yamato*—a term with various implications. Here it defines the classical understanding of Japan as racially unified and excluding Hokkaido and Okinawa.
[18] Life years unknown. A version of the text is available online at http://www.lib.nara-wu.ac.jp/nwugdb/edo-j02/html/j064/.
[19] Life years unknown. The text is available online at http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/754893.
[20] The text is available online at http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/757374.
[21] Ishikawa, *Onna daigaku shū*, 203.
[22] Ibid., 77: "女性にとって自主自由の権とは、他家にとついでその家政をつかさどることである。そのためには学校で学ぶべし."

specific responsibilities, in a similar vein to how Iwamoto himself advocated for women's rights. In addition, the illustrations depict new items and tools for women such as the sewing machine, or women working in factories manning various modern machinery. The choice of the text was thus in line with Iwamoto's stance regarding gradual change, as he tended to use the guise of the old to spread new ideas by reinterpreting the customs.

Despite their mixed messages, the existence of *kyōkunsho* and *ōraimono* underscores the attention that was paid to women's education. While they may have been devised as readers instructing morality (appropriate conduct and mentality), reading, and writing, the content they carried often offered more than that. Research such as Amano's shows how girls and women of various social ranks were able to access and share a wide array of learning materials that circulated widely and used accessible language, especially from the late Edo period onward. In addition, education was gradually evolving and women were increasingly writing textbooks for each other, establishing schools and teaching, helping with family businesses, and traveling.[23] Ideas such as those permeating Kaibara Ekiken's "*Nyōshi wo oshiyuru hō*," that women should be thoroughly educated were likely reflecting the processes the author himself observed within society, while the later *Onna daigaku takarabako* sought to control the increased visibility of women in the public sphere by urging them to follow the artificial patriarchal principles.

2.a.2. Meiji Innovations

The Meiji period saw the gradual unification of Japan as a modern state. In this process, women's role in the modern nation was imbued with new importance. The unifying efforts entailed centralization of the system of education which was then reconceptualized into a tool to mold "new" citizens. Indeed, many point out that during the early years of Meiji, the education of women came to be seen as symbolizing modernization itself.[24] Consequently, establishing a standardized system of education that included women was a topic broached upon by many intellectuals from the beginning of the period, especially following the *Gakusei* 学制 (1872) that made elementary education for both boys and girls compulsory.[25]

Gakusei established a two-tier elementary level of education: lower (*katō shōgaku* 下等小学), for students aged six to nine, and higher (*jōtō shōgaku* 上等小学), for students of ten to thirteen (four years each), with some exceptions.[26] With it, the following subjects became compulsory at the lower elementary level: 1) spelling, reading, and writing on a board, 2) calligraphy and study of the Chinese characters, 3) reading words, 4) reading conversations, 5) textbook comprehension, 6) comprehension of ethics/morals, 7) letter writing comprehension and practice on a writing board, 8) grammar comprehension, 9) arithmetic in Western style: the

[23] Amano, "Women's Education in Edo Era."

[24] E.g.: Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 5: "Japanese believed the Western imperialists who claimed that the status of a nation's woman was the measure for its civilization." Tomi Suzuki, "Gender and Formation of the Modern Literary Field in Japan: Women and the Position of the Novel, 1880s-1930s," in *Performing "Nation": Gender Politics in Literature, Theater, and the Visual Arts of China and Japan, 1880-1940*, ed. Doris Croissant, Catherine Vance Yeh, Joshua S. Mostow (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), 147, note 5: "The status of women was widely regarded as a marker of the 'level of civilization'." Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 10, calls this "one of the favored patriarchal myths of the nineteenth century West."

[25] For the statistics, refer to the Tables section at the end of the thesis.

[26] MEXT, *Hakusho*, "*Gakusei*" 学制 (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317943.htm): "下等小学ハ六歳ヨリ九歳マテ上等小学ハ十歳ヨリ十三歳マテニ卒業セシムルヲ法則トス但事情ニヨリ一概ニ行ハレサル時ハ斟酌スルモ妨ケナシトス." And ibid., http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317586.htm.

multiplication table, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, 10) health[27], 11) earth science (i.e., geology and astronomy), 12) physics, 13) physical education, and 14) choir (methods of instruction still under development)[28]. An additional subject for girls-only elementary schools were handicrafts.[29] Higher elementary level built upon the previous subjects and included the following as compulsory: outlines of 1) history, 2) geometry and cartography,[30] 3) natural history, and 4) chemistry. *Gakusei* noted that, if possible, the following four should be also made available: one or two foreign languages, bookkeeping, drawing of topographical maps and plans,[31] and astronomy.[32]

Boys had the option to proceed to the secondary level of education (*chūtō kyōiku* 中等教育). As per *Gakusei*, compulsory subjects at the secondary level were: 1) national language, 2) mathematics, 3) calligraphy, 4) earth science, 5) history, and 6) a foreign language.[33] Girls were allowed to join if they had received the same primary education as boys. They were gradually increasing in numbers until they peaked at 2748 in 1879. However, in 1879, the "second national plan for education"[34] commenced with *Kyōikurei* 教育令, which assigned girls their own secondary schools, few in number.[35] Some of the students continued studying with boys until the end of the Meiji period, yet their numbers stayed below six hundred during 1908 to 1912.

According to Ishizuki Shizue, the education for girls during the years after the promulgation of *Gakusei* was characterized by efforts to follow the example of the American system of education that the leading politicians of the time had observed during their foreign visits. One observation was that there was little difference between the male and female experiences at schools.[36] Benjamin C. Duke agrees by calling this period (when the "first national plan" was in practice from the promulgation of *Gakusei* until its corrections) the first phase of following the

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[27] *Yōjōhō* 養生法—traditional understanding on the methods of "wellbeing." For the development of the subject, refer to Nakagawa Hitomi 中川眸, "Reconsideration of Yojyoho, a Subject in Gakusei, in the 1872 School Ordinance: From the Viewpoint of Health Education inherent in Homemaking Education" 学制における「養生法」の再考察: 家庭科教育に内在する健康教育の見地から, *Journal of the Japan Association of Home Economics Education* 36, no. 3 (1993): 71-77.

[28] Matsuzono writes how the Ministry of Education was taking time in deciding the appropriate methods on instruction for the music education, yet it has already been officially carried out from the opening of the first kindergarten in 1876. (Satomi Matsuzono 松園聡美, "A Basic Study on the History of Kindergarten Singing Education in the Meiji Era" 明治期の幼稚園における唱歌教育に関する基礎的研究, *Bulletin of Nakamura Gakuen University and Nakamura Gakuen University Junior College* 47 (2015): 141-146.)

[29] 1) *Teijidoku nami banjōshūji* 綴字読並盤上習字, 2) *shūji jikei* 習子字形, 3) *tangodoku* 単語読, 4) *kaiwadoku* 会話読, 5) *tokuhonkaii* 読本解意, 6) *shūshinkaii* 修身解意, 7) *shotokukaii nami banjōshūji* 書牘解意並盤上習字), 8) *bunpōkaii* 文法解意), 9) *sanjutsu kukusūi kagenjōjo tadashi yōfū wo mochiiu* 算術九々数位加減乗除但洋法ヲ用フ, 10) *yōseihō* 養生法, 11) *chigaku* 地学, 12) *rigaku* 理学, 13) *taijutsu* 体術, 14) *shōka tōbun kore wo kaku* 唱歌当分之ヲ欠ク. For *joji shogaku* 女児小学: *shugei* 手芸.

[30] The meaning of *keiga* 罫画 and other words used to refer to drawing in Meiji are addressed in Kōno Yasue 向野康江, "The Meaning of KEIGA (KEIKAKU?) Begins with the Publication of GAKUSEI: The Question is Whether or not It is True that KEIGA is the Name of a Subject on Art Education?" (*Gakusei seiki ni okeru keiga no imi: keiga wa bijutsu kyōiku no kyōkamei ka?*「学制」成立期における罫画の意味: 罫画は美術教育の教科名か?), *Bijutsu kyōiku gaku: Bijutsuka kyōiku gakkaishi* 美術教育学：美術科教育学会誌 20 (1999): 111-124.

[31] Ibid.: *gagaku* 画学.

[32] 1) *Shigaku taii* 史学大意, 2) *kikagaku keiga taii* 幾何学罫画大意, 3) *hakubutsugaku taii* 博物学大意, 4) *kagaku taii* 化学大意). Also available: *gaikokugogaku no ichini* 外国語学ノ一二, *kibohō* 記簿法, *gagaku* 画学, *tenkyūgaku* 天球学.

[33] 1) *Kokugogaku* 国語学, 2) *sūgaku* 数学, 3) *shūji* 習字, 4) *chigaku* 地学, 5) *shigaku* 史学, 6) *gaikokugogaku* 外国語学.

[34] Named so by Benjamin C. Duke, The History of Modern Japanese Education: Constructing the National School System, 1872–1890 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009).

[35] Ishizuki Shizue 石月静恵, *Kindai Nihon joseishi kōgi* 近代日本女性史講義, (Tokyo: Sekai Shisōsha 世界思想社, 2007): 28-29.

[36] Ibid.

American model of education in Japan. To him, the "second national plan" is then the second phase of following the American model in 1877–79 after revising the system with *Kyōikurei*. The third stage he calls the "reverse course" (1880–85), when the Western models were reconsidered, while the fourth (1886–89) is defined by the focus on the Prussian model of centralized education. He argues that the third and fourth stages were shaped by the reaction against the previously applied decentralized and science-centered Western model. Iwamoto, who was active during the latter two stages, was thus working in an environment that was generally critical of Western-style education.

There were several issues with *Gakusei* that prompted the issue of *Kyōikurei*. Firstly, it was too ambitious and it took time for the plans to materialize. The government was struggling to enforce the new system, mostly due to the lack of funds, qualified teachers, and support in the rural areas. Thus, while *Gakusei* announced compulsory elementary education for all boys and girls, it took until the 1900s for the majority of primary-school-age girls to start attending schools.[37] According to statistics, in 1873, out of about two million girls of (elementary to secondary) school age, three hundred thousand, approximately 6%, were enrolled in educational institutions approved by the government. In 1882, the number of girls at school reached eight hundred thousand, i.e., about one third (31%). In 1889, more than a million girls were in education, yet the ratio, 30%, remained the same. However, within a decade there was a steep increase and in 1900 there were more than two million girl students (71%) in education. In 1906, there were more than three million female students, constituting 94% of the applicable age group. By the last year of Meiji (1912), around 97% of girls were reported as enrolled.[38]

Secondly, the image of a modern schoolgirl, who received education together with boys, was controversial; thus, the schooling model was changed into a more conservative one, especially in terms of moral education. Between the promulgations of *Gakusei* and *Kyōikurei*, Duke highlights the political struggle regarding moral education between such political figures as Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909) and Tanaka Fujimaro 田中不二麻呂 (1845–1909) on one side, and the Emperor Meiji (1852–1912) and his teacher and adviser, the Confucian scholar Motoda Nagazane 元田永孚 (1818–91) on the other.[39] The result was that after *Kyōikurei* the standardization of girls' education as separate from boys started in an organized manner and the promotion of *ryōsai kenbo* ideology in its limited sense commenced.[40]

While Meiji Jogakkō was running, some important developments took place in the national policies. *Shōgakkōrei* 小学校令 of 1886 reiterated the need for four-year regular elementary education (renamed *jinjō shōgakkō* 尋常小学校) and added four-year higher elementary school (renamed *kōtō shōgakkō* 高等小学校) education as compulsory, instructing the guardians to ensure that their wards receive at least eight years of education until around fourteen years of age.[41] After 1890, however, both levels could officially be made shorter.[42]

The legal definition of women-only secondary education appeared in 1891 with *Chūgakkōrei chūkaisei* 中学校令中改正 and was enforced with *Kōtō jogakkō kitei*

[37] Nevertheless, the numbers compare favorably with other developed countries at the time.

[38] MEXT, *Hakusho*, "*Meiji rokunen ikō kyōiku ruinen tōkei*" 明治６年以降教育累年統計 (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318190.htm): "第１表, 学齢児童数および就学児童数."

[39] Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*, 262-79.

[40] Ishizuki, *Kindai Nihon joseishi*, 32-33.

[41] MEXT, *Hakusho*, "*Shōgakkōrei*" (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318011.htm): "児童六年ヨリ十四年ニ至ル八箇年ヲ以テ学齢トシ父母後見人等ハ其学齢児童ヲシテ普通教育ヲ得セシムルノ義務アルモノトス."

[42] Ibid., (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318013.htm): "尋常小学校ノ修業年限ハ三箇年又ハ四箇年トシ高等小学校ノ修業年限ハ二箇年三箇年又ハ四箇年トス."

高等女学校規程 (1895) and *Kōtō jogakkō rei* 高等女学校令 (1899).[43] Following the requirements described in *Chūgakkōrei kaisei* 中学校令改正 of 1899, secondary schools taught male students older than twelve for five to six years after completion of the higher-elementary level, that is, until about seventeen years of age.[44] Meanwhile, *kōtō jogakkō* were of the same level as previously legally undefined *jogakkō*s: the students had to complete regular elementary education prior to enrollment and, with *Kōtō jogakkō kitei*, girls from ten to around sixteen[45] became required by the government to be enrolled in secondary education. While this was a positive development, an alternative reading is that, due to various missionary and independent schools for women sprouting up, the government started exercising more control over the education of women. Tertiary education was also developed after these regulations appeared, yet not by the hands of the government: several women's "universities" (*daigakkō* 大学校) were established around 1900[46] that fell under the jurisdiction of *Senmongakkō rei* 専門学校令 promulgated in 1905.

Kōtō jogakkō kitei indicated that *kōtō jogakkō* were not on par with *jinjō chūgakkō* (attended by boys) in terms of graduation age (girls graduated younger)[47] and subjects. This trend continued since *Kyōikurei*, which placed gradually more emphasis on the "education for running a household." For example, the compulsory subjects in *Kōtō jogakkō kitei* that overlapped with those for boys in regular secondary schools were 1) Japanese language (and *kanbun*: compulsory for boys and optional for girls), 2) foreign language (English, German, or French), 3) history, 4) geography, 5) mathematics, 6) calligraphy, 7) drawing, and 8) physical education. Special subjects for boys were logic, a selection between a second foreign language or agriculture, natural history, physics, chemistry, and choir. Meanwhile, girls had moral training, science, housework, sewing, and music, and could additionally choose among pedagogy and handicrafts.[48]

As can be seen from the tables below, the allocation of hours was also different. Boys' curriculum is described in Table 1 and girls' in Table 2.

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[43] "*Kōtō jogakkō rei* defined *kōtō jogakkō*" on the same level as *chūgakkō*, or secondary-level education for boys. Ibid., *Kōtō jogakkō rei* (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318037.htm): "第十条　高等女学校ニ入学スルコトヲ得ル者ハ年齢十二年以上ニシテ高等小学校第二学年ノ課程ヲ卒リタル者又ハ之ト同等ノ学力ヲ有スル者タルヘシ." Also, ibid., "*Kōtō jogakkō kitei no seitei*" 高等女学校規程の制定 (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317627.htm).

[44] Ibid., *Hakusho*, *Chūgakkōrei kaisei* (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318035.htm): "中学校ノ修業年限ハ五箇年トス但シ一箇年以内ノ補習科ヲ置クコトヲ得," and "中学校ニ入学スルコトヲ得ル者ハ年齢十二年以上ニシテ高等小学校第二学年ノ課程ヲ卒リタル者又ハ之ト同等ノ学力ヲ有スル者タルヘシ."

[45] Ibid., *Hakusho*, "*Kōtō jogakkō kitei*" (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318033.htm): "第二条　高等女学校ノ修業年限ハ六箇年トス但土地ノ情況ニ依リ一箇年ヲ伸縮スルコトヲ得."

[46] Several tertiary institutions for women appeared that considered themselves universities, yet were not on par with those established for men in terms of curricula and recognition. They are Women's Institute for English Studies (Joshi Eigaku Juku 女子英學塾, est. 1900; now Tsuda Juku Daigaku 津田塾大学—Tsuda University) by Tsuda Umeko 津田 梅子(1864–1929), Tokyo Women's Medical School (Tokyō Joi Gakkō 東京女医学校, est. 1900, now Tokyō Joshi Igaku Daigaku 東京女子医科大学—Tokyo Women's Medical University) by Yoshioka Yayoi 吉岡彌生 (1871–1959), and Japan Women's University (Nihon Joshi Daigakkō 日本女子大学校, est. 1901, now Nihon Joshi Daigaku) by Naruse Jinzō 成瀬仁蔵 (1858–1919).

[47] Ibid., *Hakusho*, "*Kōtō jogakkō kitei no seitei*" (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317627.htm): "尋常中学校と比較して修業年限は一年長くなっているが、入学資格の点では二年低くしたので、卒業年齢は一年程度低くなっている."

[48] 1) *Kokugo oyobi kanbun* 国語及漢文, 2) *gaikokugo* 外国語, 3) *rekishi* 歴史, 4) *chiri* 地理, 5) *sūgaku* 数学, 6) *shūji* 習字, 7) *zuga* 図画, 8) *taisō* 体操. Subjects just for boys: *ronri* 論理, *dainigaikokugo* 第二外国語 or *nōgyō* 農業, *hakubutsu* 博物, *butsuri* 物理, *kagaku* 化学, *shōka* 唱歌. Subjects just for girls: *shūshin* 修身, *rika* 理科, *kaji* 家事, *saihō* 裁縫, *ongaku* 音楽. Additional choice for girls: *kyōiku* 教育 and *shugei* 手芸.

***Table 1: Government curriculum for* jinjō chūgakkō *(1886)*[49]**

Subject	Logic (*ronri*)	*Kokugo* and *kanbun*	Foreign language 1	F 2 or agriculture	Geography	History	Mathematics	Natural history	Physics	Chemistry	Calligraphy	Drawing	Singing	*Taisō*	Total
1st year	1	5	6		1	1	4	1			2	2	2	3	28
2nd year	1	5	6		2	1	4		1		1	2	2	3	28
3rd year	1	5	7		2	2	4	2				2		3	28
4th year	1	3	5	4	1	1	4			2		2		5	28
5th year	1	2	5	3		2	3	3	3			1		5	28
Average	1	4	5.8	1.4	1.2	1.4	3.8	1.2	0.8	0.5	0.6	1.8	0.8	3.8	28

***Table 2: Government curriculum for* kōtō jogakkō *(1895)*[50]**

Subject	Moral training (*shūshin*)	*Kokugo*	Foreign language	History	Geography	Mathematics	Science	Housework	Sewing	Calligraphy	Drawing	Music	*Taisō*	Total
1st year	2	5	3			3	1		5	2	2	2	3	28
2nd year	2	5	3			3	1		5	2	2	2	3	28
3rd year	1	4	3	2	1	3	2		5	2	2	2	3	30
4th year	1	4	3	2	2	2	2		5	2	2	2	3	30
5th year	1	4	4	1	1	2	2	1	5	2	2	2	2	29
6th year	1	4	4	1	2	1	2	1	5	2	2	2	2	29
Average	1.3	4.3	3.3	1.0	1.0	2.3	1.7	0.3	5.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.7	29.0

[49] MEXT, *Hakusho*, "*Jinjō chūgakkō no gakka oyobi sono katei*" 尋常中学校ノ学科及其程度 (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318030.htm).
[50] Ibid., *Hakusho*, "*Kōtō jogakkō kitei ni kansuru setsumei*" 高等女学校規程ニ関スル説明（抄）: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318034.htm.

Among the shared subjects, girls had more emphasis on Japanese language and calligraphy, yet not on *kanbun*, and less on foreign languages, science, and physical education. Sewing took about one sixth of the curriculum and drawing and music were emphasized.

Kōtō jogakkō rei brought changes in both the contents and hours of the officially set curriculum. While the emphasis on sewing lessened yet remained, housework was allocated more hours. The age requirement was made to correspond to *jinjō chūgakkō* and the students were enrolled from around twelve to around sixteen.[51]

***Table 3: Revised government curriculum for* kōtō jogakkō*s (1901)*[52]**

Subject	Moral training	*Kokugo*	Foreign language	History/ Geography	Mathematics	Science	Drawing	Housework	Sewing	Music	*Taisō*	Total
1st year	2	6	3	3	2	2	1		4	2	3	28
2nd year	2	6	3	3	2	2	1		4	2	3	28
3rd year	2	5	3	2	2	2	1	2	4	2	3	28
4th year	2	5	3	3	2	1	1	2	4	2	3	28

The gender bias is clearly visible as the more scientific subjects were neglected at the expense of moral training, sewing, housework, and arts. Similar tendencies appeared in teacher training. In Table 4, the regulations for normal schools clearly illustrate the differences arising due to the students' gender (identified by "m" for males and "f" for females): there was an emphasis on the study of music for women and physical education for men. In the additional explanations it was specified that agriculture, crafts, and *heishiki taisō* (military drills) were not for women, while housework was.[53]

***Table 4: Government curriculum for normal schools (1886)*[54]**

Subject	Logic	Pedagogy (*kyōiku*)	*Kokugo*	*Kanbun*	English	Mathematics	Bookkeeping	Geography and History	Natural history	Physics and Chemistry	Agriculture and Crafts	Housekeeping (*kaji*)	Calligraphy and Drawing	Music	Taisō		Total
1st year	1		3		4	4		3	2	2		2	2	2	m 6	f 3	28
2nd year	1	2	1	2	4	3		3	2	2		1	2	2	m 6	f 3	28

[51] Ibid., *Hakusho*, "*Kōtō jogakkō kitei no seitei*": "男子の中学校と同様に年齢十二歳以上で高等小学校第二学年修了者とし [...] 修業年限四年と五年の二種類とした."

[52] Ibid., *Hakusho*, "*Kōtō jogakkō kitei shikō kisoku*" 高等女学校令施行規則（抄）: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318041.htm.

[53] Ibid., *Hakusho*, "*Meiji rokunen ikō kyōiku ruinen tōkei*": "農業、手工及兵式体操ハ男生徒ニ課シ家事ハ女生徒ニ課ス."

[54] Ibid., *Hakusho*, "*Jinjō shihangakkō no katei oyobi sono teido*" 尋常師範学校ノ学科及其程度 (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318074.htm)

3rd year	1	8		2	3	3		3	2	2			2	m 2	f 2	m 6	f 3	28
4th year	1	4		2	3		2		3	3	2		2	m 2	f 6	m 6	f 3	28
		28																28

The above guidelines are important as they set the base requirements for elementary to professional level education for Meiji schools. By contrasting them with Meiji Jogakkō's curriculum (that will be discussed in detail in 2.c.2.), we can see how the latter built upon the official instructions, yet offered a richer, more varied selection of subjects.

The numbers of students attending *kōtō jogakkō* shot up after 1900, possibly under the influence of *Kōtō jogakkō rei*. However, as the numbers of schools and teachers did not increase as dramatically, the tendency was to have bigger, less personalized schools and lectures.

Regarding teaching as an occupation increasingly open to women, there had been women teachers at the government-run elementary schools since 1873. However, their numbers were smaller than those of their male counterparts, constituting barely 1% of the group in 1873 (311 teachers), going over a thousand in 1876, increasing to more than ten thousand in 1899 (13%), and breaching forty thousand in 1910, while still constituting only 27% of all teachers at the government-run elementary schools.[55] Female teacher numbers at middle schools and *kōtō jogakkō*s are unspecified. There were other professional options as well. From 1893, some girls attended vocational schools (*jitsugyō gakkō* 実業学校), the maximum number of students during the period reaching 530 in 1889. There, they received secondary-level education alongside instruction in professional skills, such as agriculture or business.

Jogaku zasshi provides its own statistics, showing the interest in the situation and the wish to draw attention to the (insufficient) presence of women at schools.

***Table 5: The number of female teachers at schools in 1884,* Jogaku zasshi *10.*[56]**

Type	**Elementary**	**Middle**	**Girls' middle**	**Teacher training**	**University**	**Professional**	**Various other**	**All**
Government	0	0	9	0	0	2	0	11
Public	2647	2	26	46	0	2	60	2783
Private	329	0	0	0	0	0	220	549
All	2976	2	35	46	0	4	280	3343
Per hundred male teachers	3,64	0,2	120,55	7,63	0	0,35	17,69	3, 87

***Table 6: The number of female teachers and students in 1881–84,* Jogaku zasshi *46.*[57]**

	1881	**1882**	**1883**	**1884**
Female Teachers	3,112	3,343	4,446	5,010
Girl Students	750,630	931,178	1,032,391	1,025,994
Girls who completed the course	18,417	26,928	36,915	ca. 46,735

[55] Ibid., *Hakusho*, "*Meiji rokunen ikō kyōiku ruinen tōkei,*" "第 3 表　小学校."

[56] Based on "*Zenkoku jokyōshi no kazu*" 全国女教師の数, *Jogaku zasshi* 10 (December 8, 1885). Is said to follow the census of January 1884 (明治十七年一月調).

[57] Following translation by Patessio, *Women and Public Life*, 53. Based on information in *Jogaku zasshi* 46 (January 5, 1887).

Overall number of schools for boys and girls at all levels	30,887	30,662	31,792	ca. 31,362

The numbers in the two charts do not add up, indicating the lack of data at the time.

As the number of working women increased, since 1877, nurseries (*yōchien*) were also established[58]. While the number of girls in the nurseries was smaller than that of boys, the difference was not as tangible as in other levels of education. There was a steady increase: while the girls in nurseries did not exceed a hundred until 1879, in 1886, they exceeded a thousand, reaching over five thousand in 1892, ten thousand in 1899, and finally twenty thousand in 1911. Nurseries themselves seem to have been an increasingly open place to find employment for women, as such rapid growth in student numbers also brought about an increase in the need for nursery workers, the majority of whom, called nursery "mothers" (*hobo* 保母), must have been women.

The Meiji administration tailored its policies depending on the prevalent political agenda, as women's education was considered to be directly linked to both the Japanese image in the world and the wellbeing and customs of subsequent generations. Simultaneously, relatively free from government policies, private individuals and missionaries established women's schools since the early years of Meiji. As such schools gradually rose in numbers, it allowed public intellectuals and opinion leaders to push forward and sustain the development of women's education throughout the period. However, around 1900, the system of government-run schools for girls gained a stronger foothold and the government's push for standardization became stricter. In 1899, *Shiritsu gakkō rei* 私立学校令 for private schools placed them under the strict surveillance of the government[59] and regulations against any religious activities within schools were also promulgated.[60] *Kōtō jogakkō rei* in particular, and the specifications that followed in 1901, affected such schools as Meiji Jogakkō by setting requirements for textbooks, teachers, their pay, tuition fee, etc. as conditions for the school's official accreditation.[61] It became a challenge for private academies like Meiji Jogakkō to adjust to such precise requirements.

2.a.2.a. Advancement of Physical Education

As noted in the section above, one of the subjects introduced by *Gakusei* was *taisō*.[62] *Taisō*, or calisthenics, was synchronized group stretching, often to the accompaniment of music. It came to signify modern/Western physical education at the beginning of Meiji. However, it took decades into the Meiji period to standardize or to spread *taisō* for girl students. Seen as too foreign, it was not popular in the Japanese schools for girls and was practiced rather exclusively at missionary institutions such as Ferris Jogakkō フェリス女学校 (1870–present, as Ferris Jogakuin フェリス女学院), which had both the funds and the knowhow.[63] However, as it was the type of physical

[58] MEXT, *Hakusho*, "*Meiji rokunen ikō kyōiku ruinen tōkei*": "*Daiichihyō, yōchiensū*" 第 1 表, 幼稚園数.

[59] Ibid., *Hakusho,* "*Shiritsu gakkō rei*" (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317973.htm).

[60] Ibid., *Hakusho,* "*Ippan no kyōiku wo shite shyūkyō ni tokui seshimuru no ken*" 一般ノ教育ヲシテ宗教外ニ特立セシムルノ件 (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317974.htm).

[61] Ibid., *Hakusho,* "*Kōtō jogakkō kitei no seitei*": "高等女学校令は中学校令と同様に、目的、設置・廃止、修業年限、入学資格、附設課程、「学科及其ノ程度」、教科書、教員資格、編制・設備、授業等について基本事項を規定した。またこれらの規定に準拠しない学校は「高等女学校ト称スルコトヲ得ス」として、法制上の基準を明確にした."

[62] Other ways to call it was *taijutsu*, etc. Refer to Kakemizu Michiko 掛水通子, *Nihon ni okeru joshi taiiku kyōshishi kenkyū* 日本における女子体育教師史研究 (Tokyo: Ozorasha 大空社, 2018).
, for a study of other words used to refer to physical education in Meiji.

[63] Sōma, *Mokui*, 31-32, described the situation when she was a student in 1892−93: "In Ferris Jogakkō, the most advanced among the missionary schools, the fourth floor was a big hall that was furnished with a piano. Both the teachers and the students wore special loose sportswear, and, under the lead of the teacher, would exercise to the music and her 'one, two, three.' Rather than *taisō*, it appeared like dancing. Visitors from various women's schools in Tokyo, among them those interested in medicine, came to

education that was promoted by the government, it became popular with time. One of the reasons was that it was pliable enough to have its definition expanded and interpreted depending on the goals of the promoters.

The introduction of *taisō* helped the modern standard of a healthy body become widely discussed. This brought back into focus the customary physical training. Consequently, the boundaries of what girls could or should be instructed in were challenged and extended, and the old practices were remade to meet the new standards.

The modern *taisō* and physical education influenced the perception of how manners (*reigi* 礼儀), which were seen as an important traditional discipline in and outside of the official curricula of female education, should be taught. According to Sue Tomoko, *reigi* was imbued with *taisō* practices and came to be practiced in a similar fashion—in groups and as a form of play. She describes how *Shogakkō joreishiki daiichi* 小学校女礼式第一, or "basic women's etiquette for elementary schools," was the first to promote this idea. *Shogakkō joreishiki daiichi* was written in 1881 by Ogasawara Kiyomu 小笠原清務 (1846–1913), a representative of the famous Ogasawara school of etiquette. As it was published per the government's recommendations and co-authored by an official, it became the guide for girls' educators throughout Japan.[64]

It is against this background that Iwamoto started researching methods to instruct physical education. The overlap in the understanding of *reigi* and *taisō* influenced Iwamoto to support the instruction in martial arts, which he saw as combining teaching manners with physical education. His ideas came to fruition in around 1890s, when he discovered Hoshino Tenchi, who could teach the physical education he envisioned.

2.a.2.b. Press as a Tool of Education

Iwamoto was an educator who was also an avid writer and editor. This section, by illustrating how publications were perceived as a means to educate during the period, aims to provide a backdrop to Iwamoto's publishing activities, and what made them possible.

As we saw above, the government struggled to provide an adequate system of public post-elementary level education for girls until the 1900s. During the time, missionaries and like-minded Japanese intellectuals promoted women's education and were the driving force behind the movement to further it.[65] One of the main tools to achieve this was through publishing. While the missionaries used the Bible and other religious texts, such as collections of hymns, these often were deemed too foreign (in both contents and language, even in translation) to be successfully applied at Japanese schools. Instead, as Japan was modernizing and new information gained

observe the exercises." Original: "そのごろのミッションスクールでは最高峰のフェリス女学校[…]四階は大ホールで、そこにはピアノが一台備えつけてあり、先生も生徒もダブダブした特殊な運動服を着てピアノに合わせて、ミス・デョが音頭をとり、ワン・ツー・スリーと体操をいたしました。むしろ踊ったという方が適切でございます。東京の各女学校から、また医学大会に参列したというような方々がわざわざ参観に来られたことなど."

[64] 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) 1-10.

[65] MEXT, *Hakusho, "The Establishment of Middle Schools and Girls' Schools"* (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317240.htm): "Indeed the predominant stimulus in promoting education for women in the early years of the Meiji era was the efforts of the Christian missionaries." Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 11-12, marks how, after the ban on Christianity was lifted in 1873, the American missionaries that could previously only visit to study Japanese or teach English were permitted to preach. The first Christian institution for girls, Ferris Jogakkō, was founded in Yokohama even before the ban was lifted, in 1870. Similar institutions soon followed. "By 1890 there were forty-three Christian boarding schools for girls, accommodating 3,083 students; fifty-six day schools with 3,426 students; and six schools for 'Bible Women' with total enrollments of 126," while in 1888 there were 150 missionary couples, 124 unmarried female missionaries, and 27 unmarried missionary men in Japan. "Native Japanese women were recruited to serve as 'Bible Women,' as well, charged with proselytizing among their own sex and kind." Even though providing education and expressing critical views about the sexual abuse of women, the missionary schools were soon criticized "for emphasizing subjects inappropriate to the Japanese womanhood."

currency, local printed media became the arena where Japanese literati competed and collaborated, established wide networks of influence, and successfully drove intellectual disputes that could evolve into national-scale debates.

Modern Japanese newspapers (*shinbun*) and magazines (*zasshi*) developed based on earlier predecessors both from within the country (e.g.: *Kawaraban* 瓦版 (17th C. – Meiji period) and *Yanagidaru* 柳多留 (1765–1838)) and from outside, such as news translated from Chinese (e.g.: *Tōsen fūsetsugaki* 唐船風説書 (1644–1724)) and Dutch (e.g.: *Oranda fūsetsugaki* 阿蘭陀風説書 (1641–1857) and *Kanban batabia shinbun* 官板バタビヤ新聞 (1862)). Among the newspapers published within Japan by foreigners, both in English and in Japanese, some served religious purposes, but the majority dealt with the situation in the foreigner settlements within Japan, trade issues, or were translations of the foreign press.

Around the Meiji Restoration, the country was in turmoil and there was a need to exchange the most recent information. A few Japanese newspapers appeared, yet the new government suppressed them in 1868 deeming them in favor of the shogunate.[66] Nishida Taketoshi points out that the following year the restrictions were revoked as the role that the press had to play in opinion-leading and education was reconsidered. It became the task of the Ministry of Education, Monbushō 文部省 (established in 1871), to supervise the press. In 1875, foreigners lost their exemption from laws regulating the press, and they could no longer legally be owners or editors of newspapers or magazines. After domains were replaced by prefectures in 1872, but while there was still resistance to the Meiji government and the new order, the government used the newspapers to create a sense of unity by publishing for the whole nation.[67]

Meiji newspapers as we know them derive from *ōshinbun* 大新聞, which carried news about politics, economics, etc. At the beginning of Meiji, though, another type was popular among the masses, the *koshinbun* 小新聞 that published literary pieces. As they were written in simple language containing almost no Chinese characters and included poetry, *koshinbun* are considered to have been aimed at women and children.[68] Thus, they are likely predecessors to the women's magazines that appeared in the later years.

Magazines were attractive to educators for a variety of reasons. Firstly, more than newspapers, magazines allowed opinion leaders to express their thoughts in lengthy passages and to develop their ideas by having open discussions with the readers, who also contributed their opinions. In addition, by offering specific information on various topics, magazines could build on the already-established market of *ōraimono*, while also boasting the advantage of delivering up-to-date information like newspapers.

Newspapers developed editorial sections (*shasetsu*) for opinionated individuals' ideas on the political situation; they could be used to develop political ideologies not in line with those of the government. Later, opinion leaders like Iwamoto would develop their ideas in the same "editorial" fashion, yet under the strengthening strictures of the press regulations (*shinbunshi jōrei* 新聞紙条例). The organized system of censorship existed during the Edo period as well,[69] but in Meiji it became easier to enforce with the centralization of the government. For instance, *Shinbunshi jōrei* of 1875 forbade unreasonable criticism of politics, public bashing, and

[66] Nishida Taketoshi 西田長寿, *Meiji jidai no shinbun to zasshi* 明治時代の新聞と雑誌 (Tokyo: Nihon Rekishi sho 日本歴史新書, 1966).
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), Ch. 1.

preaching,[70] while revisions in 1883 and 1887 excluded women, foreigners, and minors from publishing, with the punishment of up to three years in prison.[71] The regulations became increasingly binding, and the issues of politics and religion in education became increasingly difficult to tackle after the 1890s due to developments such as the Imperial Rescript on Education.

According to Nishida, there were two main types of newspapers in the 1880s—those that sided with the Freedom and People's Rights Movement and the pro-government ones. The former asked for the establishment of a Diet, political freedom, voting rights, and criticized the government as autocratic. The latter, while admitting the need of the above elements, believed that the change should take place gradually and was supportive of the government's decisions.[72] This schism was also reflected in the magazines and publications about education for women—some promoted Western ideas and rapid change while others took a more moderate approach.[73]

Against this backdrop, there gradually appeared a variety of magazines for and about women. Some, while not dedicated to women only, referred to topics pertinent to women and discussed *fujin mondai* 婦人問題—"the problem of women,"[74] or "the woman question"[75]—an international umbrella term for any topic that raised the issues of modern female citizenship, women's rights and civil duties.

It is generally agreed that the first widely distributed public discourse regarding the situation of women in modern Japan was carried out by the Meiroku Zasshisha 明六雑誌社 in 1873–74. *Meiroku zasshi* was a magazine publishing critical essays about enlightenment and modernization. Mori Arinori, Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹 (1828–1902), Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832–91)[76] and numerous other prominent thinkers of the time contributed articles related to their fields of expertise, aiming to enlighten the masses and inspire national debates. All of the above-mentioned men were involved with women's education as well. Mori, who as a politician later made important, yet unpopular, contributions to the establishment of the modern system of education, argued in *Meiroku zasshi* that the basis of a nation's wealth and strength lies in education, and the basis of education lies in women's education; thus, the level of women's education affects the state of the nation.[77] Meiroku zasshi was a particularly influential magazine that inaugurated nation-wide discussions regarding the goals of women's education and the roles of women in society.

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[70] Ibid, 76-77: The prior approval by the Home Ministry (Naimushō 内務省) was required; ownership was limited to Japanese citizens. Editors and printers were required to disclose their names at the end of each issue and after articles dealing with "foreign or domestic politics, finance, the feelings of the nation, the aspect of the times, learning or religion, matters affecting the rights of officials and people." In addition, critically addressing the topics of judicial deliberations and laws, criminal proceedings, unauthorized petitions to the government, etc., were prosecutable.

[71] Ibid., 141, 164.

[72] Nishida, *Meiji jidai no shinbun to zasshi*.

[73] According to Okada, "Jogaku zasshi *to ōka*," 184-85, *Jogaku zasshi* switched from the former to the latter type of attitude, possibly due to the increased level of censorship and several penalties that it received for publishing inappropriate materials. While openly critical of the government, Iwamoto was reserved about becoming critical of the imperial family. To him, the imperial family was a crucial part of the modernization/Westernization scheme, serving as a role model and as a symbol of balance between the old and the new.

[74] Refer to Yonemoto Marcia, *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan* (California: University of California Press, 2016).

[75] The term used by Sandra M. Gilbert, Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, Yale University Press, 2000, and Rebecca Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, among others.

[76] Nakamura was close to Iwamoto, while Fukuzawa and Mori served as his initial role models.

[77] Refer to "On Wives and Concubines," a series of essays translated in William Reynolds Braisted, Meirokusha, *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976). For details on Mori's ideas refer to Alistair Swale, *The Political Thought of Mori Arinori: A Study of Meiji Conservatism* (Oxfordshire, England; New York Routledge, 2013): 76-78.

During the 1880s, the new generation built upon the debates started at *Meiroku zasshi.* This generation consisted of men and, to a limited extent, women, who molded their arguments so as to not come across as too radical—they were legally bound to leave politicized discussions in the hands of those in official positions. They also tended to be inclined towards Christianity after having been exposed to the work of their predecessors who studied abroad, or to missionaries at Japanese and foreign educational institutions. What is significant about this group is that they had a more hands-on approach to the issues of women's education, while initially building their ideological bases on their predecessors' lofty ideals. Most were operating within the community-network of Japanese Christian intelligentsia.

Iwamoto, a member of this network, participated in the establishment of several magazines for women, such as *Tōkyō fujin kyōfū zasshi* 東京婦人矯風雑誌, founded in 1888 by Tōkyō Fujin Kyōfūkai 東京婦人矯風会[78]. This periodical set temperance as one of its primary foci,[79] changing its title several times and evolving into *Fujin shinpō* 婦人新報, which runs to the present. Iwamoto's name appears as an editor until at least no. 32,[80] yet it could not be ascertained whether his involvement ceased there. While he was a supporter rather than an actual editor, he contributed by offering protection.[81] Next, *Fujin eiseikai zasshi*[82] 婦人衛生会雑誌 (1888–1929) had its office in Meiji Jogakkō until no. 10 and named Iwamoto the editor and publisher. In a similar fashion to *Tōkyō fujin kyōfūkai zasshi,* the actual editors seem to have been Ogino Ginko 荻野吟子 (1851–1913) and Suzuki Masako 鈴木まさ子 (years unknown).[83] Ogino, the first female to be certified as a doctor under the modern regulations,[84] was also a teacher and doctor at the school. Among promoters of the magazine were Katō Reiko 加藤鈴子 (years unknown), Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之 (1836–1916)'s wife. It appears that the men involved with *Fujin eiseikai zasshi* were a minority: Iwamoto, Katō Hiroyuki, and two others.[85] It is thus clear that Iwamoto extended his support to like-minded individuals (especially to female editors) and their enterprises and helped to maintain the intellectual network-community.

Below illustrates how the usage of the term "*jogaku*" (Iwamoto's interpretation of which is explained in 2.b.1.) spread in magazine titles during Meiji. The prevalence of the term shows how *Jogaku zasshi*'s success inspired other enterprises to target the female readership and focus on "*fujin mondai*," yet at varying level of depth. At first, Hakubunkan 博文館 published *Nihon no*

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[78] Established in 1886 and known in English as Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).

[79] They sought to reform the ways of society, cultivate morals, prohibit drinking and smoking, and to promote women's dignity. Refer to *Jogaku zasshi* 44 (December 15, 1886), and Lublin, *Reforming Japan*.

[80] *Tōkyō fujin kyōfū zasshi* 東京婦人矯風雑誌 32 (December 20, 1990).

[81] Lublin, *Reforming Japan*, 41: "As of 1888, regulations allowed women to publish magazines on topics related to learning and the arts but prohibited all but native men twenty years of age and older from producing regularly printed media that dealt with social and political issues. [Tōkyō Fujin Kyōfūkai] executives had no intention of so restricting the content of *Tōkyō fujin kyōfū zasshi*. They wanted to use the pages of the magazine to agitate for social change, but they also wanted to retain editorial control. So they created an organizational structure for the magazine that abided by the letter of the law though not its spirit. On the back page of the first issue, they credited two men, Iwamoto and special member Fukuhara Yūshirō, as editor, and publisher and printer, respectively."

[82] By Shiritsu Dainihon Fujin Eiseikai 私立大日本婦人衛生会. Ran from February 1888 to December 1926. Iwamoto is also listed among the five *danshi sanseiin* 男子賛成員, on men guarantors, necessary for the publishing enterprise of women.

[83] Tsunoda Satomi 角田 聡美, "Body Politics in Women's Physical Education: Emphasis on the 'Women's Sanitary Association Magazine'" 女子体育における身体への政治:婦人衛生会雑誌の分析を中心に, *Spōtsu shakai kenkyū* スポーツ社会学研究 26, vol. 1 (2018): 76 and 82.

[84] Ibid, 82.

[85] Nakai Fumiko 中井 芙美子 and Sasaki Hidemi 佐々木 秀美, "*Meijiki* Fujin Eiseikai Zasshi *ni keisai sareta futsū-kangohō to Meijiki joshi kyōiku no igi*" 明治期婦人衛生雑誌に掲載された普通看護法と明治期女子教育の意義, in *Kangogaku tōgōkenkyū* 看護学統合研究 12, no. 2 (2011): 1-18.

jogaku 日本之女學, or Japan's *jogaku* (1887–89). Interestingly, the topics that were covered more or less overlap with *Jogaku zasshi*'s, among them literature, signifying that Iwamoto's rendering of what *jogaku* entailed was preserved. This shows that Hakubunkan was likely intending to compete with *Jogaku zasshi*. *Hakubunkan* was followed by Sekibunsha's 績文舍 *Jogaku sōshi* 女學叢誌, or *The Ladies' Journal of Education* (1886–87); *Jogaku kōgi* 女學講義, or lectures on *jogaku*, by Dainihon Jogakukai 大日本女學会 (1895–1905)[86]; *Jogaku shinpō* 女學新報, or the *jogaku* news, by Jogaku Shinpōsha 女學新報社 (1898–1901); and even one more *Jogaku zasshi*: *Jogaku zasshi himeyuri* 女學雜誌姫百合 by Himeyurisha 姫百合社 (1899–1901). Finally, there was *Jogaku sekai* 女學世界 by Hakubunkan (1901–25), which continued to be published into Taishō period and reached 350 issues.

While the above were similar to *Jogaku zasshi* in terms of contents and overall tone, there were also magazines that, rather than following Iwamoto's interpretation of *jogaku*, provided an alternative one. For instance, after the shift in the government policies regarding the education of women, which was especially visible after 1890, *Jokan* 女鑑 (1891–1909) appeared and reached 71 issues. Published by Kokkōsha 國光社 that is known for its textbooks, *Jokan* was a somewhat reactionary magazine, aimed at the higher echelons and intending to teach women in the traditional system of values and propagating the ideal of *ryōsai kenbo* in its narrow meaning.[87] It had a Confucian twist and was reminiscent of *Onna daigaku*. Among its contributors were numerous prominent educators and literati.

The subsequent trends in publications for women were marked by a general magazine style that used a less textbook-like approach, of which a well-known example would be *Taiyō*. In addition, as tertiary-level education became gradually available for women within Japan since the 1900s, there appeared magazines aimed at university students' needs, such as *The English Student* (*Eigaku shinpō* 英學新報, 1901–03), run by Tsuda Umeko's Joshi Eigaku Juku 女子英學塾.[88] These Meiji-period publishing efforts set the stage for the Taishō-period (1912–26) magazines, such as the famous *Seitō* (青鞜, 1911–16), a major literary magazine finally run by women only.[89]

2.b. Becoming Iwamoto Yoshiharu, an Educator

On June 15, 1863, Iwamoto was born as the second son in a samurai family of Inoue[90] in Tajima province, nowadays the northern part of Hyōgo Prefecture. As the family was experiencing financial difficulties due to the changing social climate, in 1868 Iwamoto moved to Inaba province, currently Tottori Prefecture, where he was adopted by his matrilineal uncle Iwamoto Noriharu/ Hanji巖本範治[91] (?–1903), also known by his artistic pseudonym Kinjō 琴城. Heirless Kinjō was

[86] To give an example, *Jogaku kōgi* were the record of Dainihon Jogakukai's lectures; it was meant to be a way to learn at home for women who could not enter schools. The subjects were Japanese history and geography, sewing, home hygiene (*kaji eisei* 家事衛生), music, Japanese language, *kanbun*, physics and chemistry (*rikagaku* 理化学), arithmetic, essay writing, drawing, etiquette, home economics (*kaji keizai* 家事経済), and calligraphy. The appendix included biographies (*shiden* 史伝), "florid expressions" (*shisō* 詞藻), news (*zappō* 雜報), and nursery tales (*otogi banashi* 御伽譚). Similarities with *Jogaku zasshi*'s contents are clear.

[87] Various renderings of the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal existed, Iwamoto contributing his own version that shall be discussed in 2.b.1.

[88] Est. 1900, now known as Tsuda University or Tsuda Juku Daigaku 津田塾大学, and initially run by Tsuda Umeko.

[89] This selection is but a few titles from many more magazines that were aimed at the female readership. In addition, especially around the 1890s, numerous literary and general interest magazines started to be published for youngsters in general.

[90] Parents: Inoue Tōhei 井上藤平 and Ritsu 律 (as per Fujii, *Seigi to ai ni ikite*, 8.) Ritsu passed away when Iwamoto was ten years old.

[91] Displaying the flexibility of the name reading in Meiji, Iwamoto would also be referred to as Zenji, another reading of the characters for Yoshiharu—a name that he took up to resemble his foster father's.

a *hanshi* 藩士 (retainer of the *daimyō*), a Confucian scholar, and a poet in the classical Chinese tradition of *kanshi* 漢詩. Thus, he was seen as someone who could provide Iwamoto with an education, allowing him to support himself financially in the future. Kinjō is known to have taught Confucian studies (specifically, *kogaku* 古学)[92] in his private academy since 1881. As Iwamoto was expected to inherit Kinjō's profession in the future, he was likely instructed by Kinjō according to his inclinations; *kogaku* ideas do indeed surface in Iwamoto's writing, especially in relation to martial arts and physical education. However, with the upheaval in the class system in Meiji, Iwamoto could not follow in the footsteps of his stepfather; the Iwamoto family lost its samurai-rank and financial security, eventually deciding to send Iwamoto out to acquire a modern education to make a living for himself.

In 1876, Iwamoto left for Tokyo to attend Nakamura Masanao's[93] Dōjinsha[94] 同人社 (1873 – circa 1891), where he spent four years (1876−80) studying English and Chinese classics. In 1880, he enrolled at Tsuda Sen's Gakunōsha Nōgakkō (1875–84)[95] for an additional four years (1880–84). While there, he began contributing to the school's agriculture-focused magazine titled *Nōgyō zasshi*. Through it, in 1880, he met his senior and future comrade Kondō Kenzō 近藤賢三 (1855–86).[96] They started working together, Iwamoto following Kondō's lead.[97] They both contributed to the *Shōgaku zasshi* 小學雜誌 (1882–85), a magazine about elementary-level education, and edited *Jogaku shinshi*, the predecessor to *Jogaku zasshi*. Kondō, however, passed away in 1886, soon after the establishment of *Jogaku zasshi*, leaving Iwamoto the head editor after issue no. 24.

Both of Iwamoto's teachers and role-models, Nakamura and Tsuda, not only believed in the educational value of journalism but also supported the education of women. Nakamura, after returning from studying in the U.S. (1870–82), was unhappy with the contrasting educational realities and limited opportunities for women in Japan. He thus accepted girl students to Dōjinsha. As for Tsuda, he had sent his youngest daughter, Tsuda Umeko, with the Iwakura expedition in 1871 to study in the U.S. and later contributed to the establishment of the elementary school for girls that was the predecessor of Aoyama Gakuin 青山学院 (1874–present). Both teachers maintained a long-term connection with Iwamoto and contributed to *Jogaku zasshi*. This link continued into the next generation and Tsuda Umeko, after she started teaching at Meiji Jogakkō, became familiar with Iwamoto and considered him a role model. He, in return, supported her

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[92] Known other representatives of the philosophy are Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622–85), Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627–1705), and Ogyū Sōrai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728).

[93] Nakamura is known for having translated Samuel Smiles' *Self Help* in 1868 (as *Saigoku risshi hen* 西国立志編) and for being one of the establishing figures of *Meiroku zasshi* 明六雜誌 in 1873. Educated in *Shushi-gaku* (Neo-Confucianism), he traveled to the U.K. to study. Inspired by this experience, he got baptized in 1874. His understanding of Christianity as compatible with Confucianism may have influenced Iwamoto's thought.

[94] In Western literature often referred to as Dōninsha. It was a language-focused preparatory school for Tōkyō Kaisei Gakkō 東京開成学校 (1868–77), which was later absorbed into Tokyo University. The main subjects were English taught by native speakers (*eigaku hensoku* 英学変則), English taught by Japanese speakers (*eigaku seisoku* 英学正則), Chinese studies (*kangaku* 漢学), Japanese reading (*tokuhon* 読本) and grammar (*bunten* 文典), mathematics (*sūgaku* 数学), history (*rekishi* 歴史) and geography (*chiri* 地理). The school published a magazine *Dōninsha bungaku zasshi* 同人社文学雑誌. The school's publishing activities likely served as an example for Iwamoto's later enterprises.

[95] Tsuda was known as an innovative scholar who was open to daring experiments. Education at the school focused on tackling practical issues.

[96] Iwamoto writes about Kondō in *Jogaku zasshi* 25, "*Kondō Kenzō-kun no rireki*" 近藤賢三君の履歴 and 214, "*Jogaku zasshi zenhenshūnin Kondō Kenzō-kun yonkaiki*" 女學雜誌前編輯人近藤賢三君四回忌.

[97] Noheji, *Josei kaihō shisō*, 122.

enterprises, such as the effort to establish a scholarship for women to study abroad, and her Eigaku Juku.[98]

Nakamura and Tsuda collaborated with missionaries who came to lecture at their schools. Possibly due to being in such an environment, in addition to seeing informal social gatherings of Christian believers, Iwamoto himself chose to officially enter the community. On April 29, 1883, he was baptized by Kimura Kumaji 木村熊二 (1845–1927), whom he then supported during the establishment of Meiji Jogakkō. Iwamoto was close to the Kimura family, this being one of the reasons behind him taking over the school soon after the headmistress, Kimura Tōko (木村鐙子, 1848–86) passed away.[99] He became the school's vice-principal (*kyōtō* 教頭) in March 1887, and then the official principal (*kōchō* 校長) in 1892. He served until April 1904, when he left the post in the hands of Kure Kumi 呉久美 (years unknown), who had previously supervised the school's dormitory. He stayed on as vice-principal until 1906.

As mentioned above, Iwamoto was educated in Confucian philosophy and Christian values. However, he was also exposed to the modern theories that helped to shape his understanding of education and its role in society. Throughout his education, Iwamoto is said to have been influenced by the ideas on liberalism in addition to the social theories of John Stuart Mill (1806–73) and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) and educational theories of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712–78) and Friedrich Wilhelm August Fröbel (1782–1852).[100] According to Fujita Yoshimi, Iwamoto was influenced by Nakamura Masanao's 1871 translation of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859, translated as *Jiyū no riyū* 自由之理由) and Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Seiyō jijō* 西洋事情 (1886–70) based on his experiences abroad, as well as his *Gakumon no susume* 學問のすゝめ (1872–76), which promoted the idea of education as a way to propel the individual in society. These works were important in the enlightenment movement[101] and represented the atmosphere of the times when ordinary people believed that they had the duty, and power, to bring Japan to a new and modern age. It was also the time when women started speaking of equal rights: Kusunose Kita 楠瀬喜多 (1836–1920), the "public rights grandma" (*minken obāsan* 民権ばあさん), had been speaking of the "*fujin mondai*" since 1878, while Fukuda Hideko 福田英子 (1865–1927) urged women to unite and change society together.

Such undercurrents were reflected in Iwamoto's ideas, who wrote the following in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*.

> Freedom in Education
> [Genuine education takes place] when the students do not rely on the presence of a teacher, are not oppressed by rules, feel like advancing independently, always enjoy study, and their development takes place comfortably. This is when education can be called supreme. Consequently, genuine education enhances the inner qualities, the

[98] Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education*, 96-7: Iwamoto was a member of the scholarship committee, helped to publicize the scholarship by publishing advertisements in the *Jogaku zasshi*, and lent the compounds of the Meiji Jogakkō as an administrative office of the Committee. Rose (103), also mentions that Ume contributed to *Jogaku zasshi* on such topics as Hellen Keller, women nurses, and the history of female education in the West, as well as source materials, often passing on to Iwamoto the American newspapers and magazines that Adeline Lanman sent her. Iwamoto, together with Nitobe Inazō were delivering weekly lectures at Ume's Eigaku Juku (Rose, 138).

[99] Iwamoto writes about Kimura Tōko in "*Kimura Tōko no suimin*" 木村橙子永眠, *Jogaku zasshi* 3334 (published in 1886, July 25 and September 5 respectively), *Kimura Tōko shoden* 木村鐙子小伝 (1887), and in "*Tōko nishūki*" 橙子二周忌, *Jogaku zasshi* 123, July 18, 1888.

[100] Kinoshita, "*Joshi kyōiku shisō*," 7.

[101] Fujita, *Meiji Jogakkō no sekai*, 249.

> pureness of the heart, and—referring to Fröbel—brings out the human hiding within.[102]

In general, Iwamoto's understanding of education was that it had to be student-centered, aiming to give girls a chance to form their own opinions and be outspoken. He reflected in 1936: "My objective was a school that is not a place to create the talents of each student, but a place where their unique characteristics can be discovered; thus, my policy was to improve their shortcomings, but without harming their strong points."[103]

Unlike other Japanese women's educators that were most often preoccupied with the education of the higher (former samurai and peer) classes, and unlike the missionaries who arguably focused on the poor,[104] Meiji Jogakkō welcomed girls of various backgrounds based exclusively on their motivation to learn. Iwamoto writes about Meiji Jogakkō:

> All the students that gathered were brilliant. However, as it may be expected, few were coming from well-off families. The students that entered the school were from the rural areas—eager to learn, immensely zealous and ambitious—yet from families that did not have enough funds to send them to school.[105]

In treating Christian values as the basis for women's moral education, Iwamoto was ideologically close to the missionaries. At the same time, however, he was critical of missionary education, and, in parallel to Christianity, developed educational policies based on Confucian thinking. Kiri Paramore explains how that was possible.

> "[The Edo-period] infrastructure of knowledge had […] produced a cadre of thousands of educated Japanese who would be the human conduit through which the onslaught of Westernization and modernization after the1850s would be mediated. These people did not identify themselves as Confucian, but they all shared a Confucian education and thereby expressed themselves in a vocabulary reflecting that background."[106]

Iwamoto was thus a product of his time, yet also an original thinker and educator, interpreting the concepts of old and new to suit his own agenda.

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[102] "*Meiji Jogakkō seito ni tsugu. Meshita no joshi kyōiku*," *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 1-30. [真誠の教育について：]書生は教師のあることを頼みとせず、規則に制せられるることを懶うしとせず、自己獨歩して自づから進む心地になり、常に學を樂しんで愉快に上達するものなり、教育此に至りてこそ上乘に達すと言ふべきなれ。故に眞の教育は人の性を伸ばし其心中の天眞を發達せしむるものにて、フレーベルが言ふ所ろの内なる人を外に導くと云う者即はち此れにてあるなり。

[103] *Asuka*, "*Mushō zadan*," 11: "私の方針としては、学校は各人の才能を作り上げる所ではない、是等の人材を害しないように、それぞれの特色を発起させる所だ、といふ考へでありましたから、欠典は匡すが、長所は損はないやうにといふ方針でありました."

[104] Tsuda Umeko wrote: "the Normal School is not all it should be, I fear; it is in control of people that know nothing of education. This is the only school for girls besides the missionary schools, which only poorer classes attend and to which no one of any rank would send a daughter. (Tsuda, *Attic Letters*, 24; December 17, 1882, Tsuda Umeko to Mrs. Lanman). Tsuda is referring here to to Tokyō Joshi Shihan Gakkō 東京女子師範学校 established in 1872. Another option was to join the Kazoku Jogakkō 華族女学校 established 1885 for the descendants of the the feudal lords and court nobles.

[105] *Asuka*, "*Mushō zadan*," 11: "集まる書生は優れた者ばかりでした。しかし、やはり富裕な家庭から来る者は少なくて、地方の女子などで、知識欲に燃えた、しかし、家は娘を学校にやるほどの余裕を持たない、さういつた家庭の娘などが、火のような熱誠と向学心とを持つて入学してきました."

[106] Kiri Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016): 116-17.

2.b.1. Iwamoto's Interpretation of *Ryōsai Kenbo* and *Jogaku*

The *ryōsai kenbo* ideology, or the emphasis on behaving like "good wives, wise mothers," is believed to have appeared in Japan around the 1890s after being formulated by the government.[107] Such understanding, however, has been vigorously challenged. It has been noted that the notions of state, nation, gender, and nationality "were all in a process of mutual construction" among state and non-state actors during the Meiji period.[108] In addition, Shizuko Koyama and others have argued that *ryōsai kenbo* ideas began with the influence from the West.[109] Febe Dalipe Pamonag supports this position by pointing out that in a way similar to "eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American and French rhetoric of Republican motherhood," some Japanese opinion leaders believed that it was the woman's duty to raise "good and active citizens."[110] Simultaneously, this duty provided women with "a civic role and identity distinct from men, a role essential to the state's welfare," and thus was appealing to the women themselves, who took part in turning the ideal into reality.[111]

Admittedly, apart from the grass-root-level movements that shaped the ideal, several leading political figures stressed the importance of getting women ready to manage their homes. Pamonag argues that Mori Arinori is a good, and early, example. His position was formed via his conversations with foreign intellectuals and his experience of studying abroad. In addition, Inoue Kowashi 井上毅 (1844–95) and Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信 (1838–1922) furthered the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal as well when they, in 1886 and 1889 respectively, spoke about domestic happiness and the importance of women becoming companions to their husbands.[112] In the following years, industrialization further propagated the ideal, while the wars with China and Russia intensified the government's interest in the *ryōsai kenbo* rhetoric.[113]

However, while the ideals of feminine values and women's domestic duties came to be of great importance to the Meiji state's policies on women's education,[114] it is important to remember that there was no monolithic conception of womanhood among the government's ministries or

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[107] E.g., Horiguchi, Noriko J. *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012, and Iwahori, "Construction of the Ideal Wife." Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood*, 6-7, points out that the previous studies on *ryōsai kenbo* concentrated on "the role of the state as the major, if not the sole, formulator and implementor of this gender ideology," marginalizing the dissonant voices of non-state actors.

[108] Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood*, 6; also, Barbara Molony, "The Quest of Women's rights in turn-of-the-century Japan" in Barbara Molony and Cathleen Uno (eds.), *Gendering Modern Japanese History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 463-92.

[109] Shizuko Koyama, *Ryosai Kenbo: The Educational Ideal of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" In Modern Japan* (Leiden/Boston: BRILL, 2013).

[110] Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood*, 39.

[111] Iwahori, "Construction of the Ideal Wife," 393, believes that the ideals regarding women's role in society as reflected by the ideology were shared by the women themselves. Patessio, *Women and Public Life*, 27, also writes that women used the ideology to give themselves a platform to organize and participate in public activities.

[112] Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood*, 41.

[113] Ibid., 42, in support of Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's policy toward women, 1890-1910" in Gail Lee Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese women, 1600-1945* (California: University of California Press, 1991): 151-74.

[114] Nolte and Hastings, "State's policy toward women," 152: "The two decades from 1890 to 1910 were particularly important ones in the development of Japanese state policy regarding women. By 1890, the Japanese leaders behind the Meiji Restoration had consolidated their power, and their political reforms had been institutionalized in the Meiji Constitution of 1889. An era of experimentation […] was over." On the other hand, Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood*, 20, claims that focusing on the earlier time frame, the 1870s and 1880s, reveals to what extent the government advanced the idea of ideal womanhood and gender in modern Japan and how these efforts were closely intertwined with state-building. I agree with Pamonag and believe that *ryōsai kenbo* ideology was not "complete" by 1890, but rather continued to be shaped by a variety of male and female voices, some of which were visible in *Jogaku zasshi*.

officials.[115] This lack of consensus over what *ryōsai kenbo* implied was mirrored by non-state reformers who articulated, developed, and utilized "their own notions of educated womanhood."[116] Such tendencies are reflected in the discourses of the period, when school subjects such as sewing held different meanings for the parties involved in the discussions about the goals of women's education.[117] Let us trace the development of the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal and then place Iwamoto, a non-state reformer himself, within the movement.

The term *ryōsai kenbo* was not fixed and had been in use in several versions before it was "appropriated and standardized" by the government in the 1890s. It was most likely created by Nakamura Masanao, who popularized it via *Meiroku zasshi*[118] after having coined it in the 1870s while serving as the principal of Tōkyō Joshi Shihan Gakkō.[119] As mentioned before, both Nakamura and the magazine influenced Iwamoto and his thought. However, Iwamoto's interpretation was original in that *ryōsai kenbo* to him had a dual meaning: literal and metaphorical. He used it to describe both the women who wished to marry and supervise their households, and the women who sought to become professionals and carry out their roles as "mothers to the nation" or "mothers to the world." Iwamoto displays such an understanding in the following excerpt from *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*.

> I do not educate women to prepare them for marriage. However, to help them get ready to become mothers and wives, I believe it is important to develop their "inner qualities." I do not believe that mothers and wives must be limited to a household and a spouse—depending on one's inner qualities, one can become a mother and a wife, or a mother to the whole nation. Queen Victoria is a mother to Britain, Ms. Willard is a wife to the world, Hannah More is a mother to the poor, and Héloïse is a beloved wife to a single man.[120]
>
> Therefore, the curricula for women's education, while covering all the various fields that today's women need to have a thorough understanding of, should build upon the arts, professional training, and morals. Nevertheless, the ultimate goal of such education should be not to become a wife in a household, but a true, "all-rounded" woman. This way, there will appear not only the women who will be good wives and wise mothers to their households, but those who will become mothers to millions.[121]

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[115] Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood,* 20.
[116] Ibid., 5.
[117] Ibid., 21.
[118] Issue 33 carried "Creating Good Mothers" by Nakamura Masanao, available in English in Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi.*
[119] Patessio, *Women and Public Life*, 27-30, referring to Tokyo Women's Normal School, est. in 1874, the first government-run school for women and the predecessor to the currently-running Ochanomizu University.
[120] *Encyclopædia Britannica* describes the four women as following: Alexandrina Victoria (1819–1901), queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (1837–1901) and empress of India (1876–1901), the last of the house of Hanover and gave her name to an era, the Victorian Age; Frances Elizabeth Caroline Willard (1839–98), an American educator, reformer, and founder of the World Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1883), of which Kyōfūkai was a Japanese branch; Hannah More (1745–1833), English religious writer, best known as a writer of popular tracts and as an educator of the poor, a Bluestocking; Héloïse (1098–1164), wife of the theologian and philosopher Peter Abelard (1079–1142), with whom she was involved in one of the best-known love tragedies of history.
[121] "An Address to the 'Meiji Gakko' Pupils. The Present Educational System," (*Meiji jogakkō seito ni tsugu, meshita no joshikyōikuhō* 明治学校生徒に告ぐ、目下の女子教育法), *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 10: "余は女子を婚姻のために教育せず、然れども母妻たらしむることを以て其天性を開發すると思へり、而して母妻はただ一家一人の母妻のみと限ることなし、其人の才量如何にしたがひ、或は一人の母妻となり、或は一國滿天下の母妻なれと云ふ。ビクトリア陛下は英國民の母なり、ウイラード女史は天下の妻なり、ハンナモアは貧民の母なり、エロイズは一人の愛妻なり。故に、女子教育の科目、今日の女子が消化し得べき總ての學科を教ゆるの中にも、特に美術上職業上道徳上の科目を多くすべし、而して之を學ばしむるに只だ初めより一家の妻たることをのみ目的とせしめず、寧しろ眞の女、圓滿したる女性とな

The above quote shows how, to Iwamoto, arts (interpreted in a broad sense, as we shall see in ch. 5.), professional, and moral training were ways to cultivate women's inner qualities, refinement of which was to him a prerequisite of *ryōsai kenbo*. In the same and other treatises Iwamoto argues for physical education as necessary for *ryōsai kenbo* as well. It is important to note that to Iwamoto a thorough and balanced education was essential for all women—those who wished to marry and to create families as well as those who wished to remain independent. Those who could, he argued, should become financially independent and politically active.

In addition, Iwamoto's writing emphasized the balance between "Western" and "traditional" understandings of what constitutes *ryōsai kenbo*. While the above quote may show him concentrating on examples of foreign women, Iwamoto saw Meiji Empress Shōken (1849–1914) and historical figures such as Empress Jingū 神功皇后 (est. 169–269) as role models to Japanese women, writing about them and including their images in *Jogaku zasshi* alongside foreign groundbreakers. [122] However, he also stressed that: "What is important is to become a contemporary *ryōsai kenbo.* Thus, by imitating the Western ladies, or the esteemed women of the previous eras, one cannot become the *ryōsai kenbo* of today. The present Japanese women must strive to become the *ryōsai kenbo* necessary for current Japan."[123] Again, the need for women to acquire education that is relevant and applicable to their present circumstances is the main idea supporting the statement.

Interestingly, while the names of strong and successful women were invoked to serve as role models, there was no prescription on what kind of women students should aspire to become. Rather, a variety of options seems to have been the key behind the selected examples, as it was with this intention that Iwamoto listed up contemporary and historical role models such as Queen Victoria, Frances Willard, Hannah More, and Héloïse.

Iwamoto often invoked the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal, a generally supported idiom, to criticize the statements and policies of other, more limited versions of the understanding of women's education. It is likely that he intentionally used the term in order to redefine it in the common parlance. The scholarship on *ryōsai kenbo* proposes a division between "an ideal of the 'civilization and enlightenment' phase of the early Meiji period" and "the 'nationalistic,' 'patriarchal,' 'Confucian' version at the turn of the twentieth century."[124] Based on the above analysis, Iwamoto falls within the first group, but could also be said to belong in a third, distinct category, promoting *ryōsai kenbo* as a flexible ideal for practical reasons[125], joined by women who also requested their rights to be extended by appealing to the accepted ideal.

The other underlying principle in Iwamoto's theories is "*jogaku*." Even more than *ryōsai kenbo,* the term was appropriated to suit the meaning Iwamoto wished to attribute to it. *Jogaku*

ることをのみ志願とせしむべし、然るときは一家の良妻賢母たる者も出來得べく、亦た萬人億兆の爲の良妻賢母たる者も出來得るなり."

[122] Refer to Lublin, *Reforming Japan,* especially chapter 6, "Imperial Loyalty and Patriotic Service Japan WCTU-Style" and "Banknote Design as a Battlefield of Gender Politics and National Representation in Meiji Japan" by Melanie Trede in *Performing "Nation."*

[123] "To the Presidents of the girls' Schools and to the Parents of the female students," (*Kaku jogakkō no kōchō. Narabini, (jōhen) kaku jogakkōsei no fukei ni tsugemairasu.* 各女學校の校長。竝に、（上編）各女學校生の父兄に告げ參らす。) *Jogaku zasshi* 259 (April 4, 1891): "今の日本の良妻賢母たることを大切となす。故に全く西洋婦人の如くなりとも、今の日本の良妻賢母たること能はず、昔の日本婦人の如くなりとも、今の日本の良妻賢母たること能はず、今の日本婦人は、今の良妻賢母たらずんばある可からず."

[124] Koyama, *Ryosai Kenbo,* 1.

[125] Iwahori, "Construction of the Ideal Wife," also stresses the element of practicality in Iwamoto's thought.

was the umbrella term chosen by Iwamoto to represent his activities and thus is more important than *ryōsai kenbo* to the understanding of his educational policies.

Iwamoto developed *jogaku*, which, according to his 1888 editorial,[126] was an interdisciplinary study of the wellbeing of women. He developed theories on socializing, as he believed that men and women should be given a chance to get to know each other before marriage —a marriage, which, he claimed, should be based on love and be constructive to both parties, who ought to collaborate for each other's benefit. His theories also covered home, which he saw as the woman's sphere, that is, where the wife was the responsible and deciding member of the pair, in addition to being an educator of the children; vocations suitable for women, which, he claimed, should be varied, using women's unique characteristics to the maximum (teaching, writing, painting, medicine, etc.), yet without ruining their health (as working in factories, etc., did to many young women in Meiji). He also advocated for the improvement of conditions in daily life, considering it beneficial for women to have scientific and medical knowledge to aid them in looking after their families.

Overall, what *jogaku* meant to him could be summarized by his own words from 1888: "[*Jogaku*] is an academic discipline that deals with the principles behind anything to do with women: their heart and soul, history, rights, position, and the various matters regarding what is necessary to them in the present."[127] Since it was devised around the varied and changing needs of women, it is thus more apt to call *jogaku* a type of research-based activism rather than an ideology, as it is often perceived in previous literature. Iwamoto explains this as follows.

> The duty of those who occupy themselves with *jogaku* is not to sit around producing studies and ideologies as if they were philosophers. For the sake of women who are often looked down upon and treated poorly, our duty is to always be the representatives, the advocates, the teachers, the guides, the leaders, the stoppers, who sometimes petition on their behalf, or who sometimes become the villains; that is, our duty is to become their siblings, friends, their family, who only think of their benefit and happiness. […] For the sake of fulfilling this role, even receiving punishment or suspension of publishing from those who are in power are not things that we should shy away from.[128]

Iwamoto was keen to collaborate with educated women, including them and their ideas into the *jogaku* group. Iwamoto's *jogaku* is thus an original rendering of social activism, underscoring the element of "action" in his understanding of education. The topics that were addressed by the *jogaku* "scholars" evolved with time, yet the underlying message of empowering women via high-quality education was a constant.

The connection between the two principles of *jogaku* and *ryōsai kenbo* in Iwamoto's understanding becomes clear from the following quote in 1889, where he displays his ideas on higher education, also a part of his *jogaku* ideology.

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[126] "*Jogaku* (The Study of Women) Defined" (*Jogaku no kai* 女學の解), *Jogaku zasshi* 111 (May 26, 1888).

[127] Ibid.: "其の心身に付け、其の過去に付け、其の權利、地位に付け、及び其の現今に必要する雜多の物事に付け、凡そ女性に關係する凡百の道理を研究する所の學問."

[128] Ibid.: "女學士の義務は、哲學者の如く座して研究思想することばかりではなく、 輕蔑され、冷遇されやすい女性のために、常に之が代言人と爲り、之が辨護士となり、之が教師と爲り、之が案内者と爲り、或は之を導き、或は之を引止め、時としては之が建白書捧呈人と爲り、又時としては之が惡まれ者と爲り、即ち之が兄弟と爲り、朋友となり、一家族と爲りて、終始其幸福便利を圖る。[…]そのためには、時として權力側からの處罰、發行停止を受けても恐るるに足らぬ."

> I […] believe that men and women have different missions to fulfill in life.[129] However, to a certain extent, some jobs must be performed together and on equal standing by both men and women. Education to prepare them for this is the general higher education, followed by professional training. To raise complete individuals, both men and women must receive such higher education together. Only then, women will be able to become the best wives and wisest mothers.[130]

That is, in Iwamoto's thought, being a *ryōsai kenbo* is placed among other professions that require a thorough preparation prior to commencing "the job." Whichever of them the women were to choose, suitable forms of advanced education were necessary. The emphasis on receiving higher education "together," when women were not allowed into universities to study alongside men, is characteristic of Iwamoto's thought, and a plea for support from educated men as well as women in furthering the education of women.

2.b.2. Developments in Iwamoto's Ideas Regarding Women's Education

Apart from the ideological and political nuances behind Iwamoto's educational policies that were briefly mentioned, Iwamoto also voiced numerous practical concerns. This section covers the social dynamics that influenced Iwamoto's ideas and practices.

First of all, the number of girls who were allowed to attend schools was limited and depended on the mindset and economic situation of their families. The girls usually had to support their families by looking after younger siblings and the household, often being married off at a young age. Iwamoto had to maneuver the requirements and expectations of the students' families and to teach the girls useful and practical knowledge that would allow them to find work or a liberally educated spouse. It was important to secure women's livelihoods, who, without backing from family, spouse, employer, or government (e.g., in the case of scholarship or license) would have been left too vulnerable, as the laws did not permit them ownership rights.

Secondly, the school struggled for funds. Advertisements in *Jogaku zasshi* asking for donations, students' accounts of financial pressures at the school, and Iwamoto's comments prove this point. Iwamoto stated that he purposefully received no funds from the missions, government, or any other mainstream sponsors to maintain the school outside of the influence of those whose educational ideals he disapproved of.[131] Thus, the school survived by charging the girls tuition and paying little to nothing to the teachers.[132] To find solutions to the situation, Iwamoto came up with a variety of ways to involve the students in the running of the school and in Jogaku Zasshisha's publishing activities. In Hani Motoko's case, for example, when she studied at Meiji Jogakkō in

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[129] Iwamoto believed that women and men are different in nature and physically, and therefore the special needs or rights of women should be considered. His argument was meant to serve as a shield against criticism and facilitate the gradual expansion of the categories of work accessible to women. This is explored by Inoue (1968) as *danjo ishitsu dōtō ron* 男女異質同等論 in "On the Concept 'Jogaku'," or by Kinoshita (1985), as *danjo ishitsu/tokubetsu yakuwari bungyō ron* 男女異質・特別役割分業論 in "*Joshi kyōiku shisō*."

[130] "What is meant by the Right principle. Mistakes in regard to the Woman's Education," *Jogaku zasshi* 157 (April 3, 1889). "吾人は[…]男女の天職に不同あることを確信するもの也、然れども或る限りに至る迄は男女固より同一に亦た固より同一の職を執らざる可らず、此に対して教育する之を男女に普通なる高等教育と云ひ、之より以上を男女それぞれの専門教育を云ふ、苟くも男女をしてそれぞれに十分なる人間たらしめんと欲せば、先づ共に如此き高等教育を受けしめざる可らず、此の専攻教育を受け了したるの女子こそ即はち最賢最良の妻たり母たるものなり."

[131] *Asuka*, "Mushō zadan," 11.

[132] Sōma, *Mokui*, 71.

1891–92, arrangements were made to waive her tuition and dormitory fees in exchange for help at *Jogaku zasshi*.[133]

Apart from the lack of students and funds, the school was affected by changing attitudes towards Christian thought and practice. Iwamoto himself, even though never renouncing his faith, displayed a complex attitude towards the missionary schools. On the one hand, he was grateful, as these schools were basically the only institutions that would provide high-quality education to girls. On the other, however, as he developed his theories and clarified his standards on what kind of education women in Japan required, he became more openly critical of the education carried out therein. He stressed that education in the English language only, with no reference to Japanese customs and skills necessary to survive in Japanese society, was detrimental to the students. These comments may have also been motivated by the competition between Meiji Jogakkō and missionary schools (that were mostly managed by foreigners), and the wish to stress that Meiji Jogakkō was not to be lumped with missionary institutions during the times when the drawbacks of their methods were under attack. While Iwamoto chose teaching methods that built upon Christianity, he left the matters of religion open to questioning. He also interpreted Christianity to be in harmony with the imperial system and the traditional schools of thought in Japan and implemented some of the more "traditionalist" governmental policies that he deemed compulsory or useful. It is not surprising that, as he attempted to "harmonize" such conflicting elements, his position was perceived as volatile and thus open to criticism from a variety of parties. Overall, however, Iwamoto's writing leaves the impression that he was a creative rather than an opportunistic educator who was adjusting himself to the demands of society, even if the understanding of those demands was limited by his subjective perspective.

As was briefly mentioned in 2.a.2.b., among the factors that made Iwamoto scale down his theories and goals was censorship. Due to the heightened sensitivity to any political remarks after the end of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, teachers, women, army men, as well as underage or low-income individuals, had no access to the political world, and, consequently, no right to comment on it. Iwamoto was prosecuted at least two times for publishing articles that were deemed to be against the endeavors of the nation. Both times, the impact on him was great. After being reproved because of his editorial "Adultery of the Nation" (May 21, 1887) that criticized lavish parties at Rokumeikan 鹿鳴館 (a Western-style event hall (1883–1940)) and the fact that the government officials attended them,[134] he abandoned the direct call for women to unite and inspire changes together. Instead, he chose to concentrate his efforts on influencing society through an increased emphasis on comparatively passive and gradual methods. When he was reproved the second time in 1900, after the publication of several texts drawing attention to the mineral pollution incident caused by the government's war effort in Watagarasegawa 渡良瀬川,[135] he started withdrawing from his public activities and *Jogaku zasshi* was no longer published with the same regularity. At the same time, while there seems to be no evidence of his teaching methods receiving any official criticism, the fact that only the graduates from his school who were specialists in very practical fields (such as stenography and accounting) received licenses to practice can be

[133] Chieko Irie-Mulhern, "Hani Motoko: The Journalist-Educator," in *Heroic with Grace: Legendary Women of Japan: Legendary Women of Japan*, ed. Chieko Irie-Mulhern (London/New York: Routledge, 2015): 248.

[134] "Adultery of the Nation" (*Kan'in no kūki* 姦淫の空氣), *Jogaku zasshi* 65 (May 21, 1887). To Iwamoto, making Japanese women imitate the Westerners by dressing them up, taking them to parties, or making them mingle with foreign men was not what was necessary for the elevation of women's status. *Jogaku zasshi* was prohibited from publishing until July 1, no. 66 coming out on July 9.

[135] "*Kōdoku bungaku*" 鑛毒文學, published in *Jogaku zasshi* 508 (March 2, 1900), was deemed as violating *Shinbunshi jōrei*.

considered a way of control in itself.[136] It must also be mentioned here that the "censorship" did not only come from above but also from other opinion leaders, as well as the public. The change in public discourse, i.e., the common ground and the lexicon used, in addition to public criticism by opinion leaders and various competitors' publications, influenced the way Iwamoto expressed himself in order to be understood and accepted within the developing cultural and social contexts. Due to the above reasons, it would thus be shortsighted to believe that Iwamoto could act or express himself without a considerable amount of effort to fit within the "appropriate" discussions regarding women's position in society and education.

The editorials Iwamoto published in essentially every issue of *Jogaku zasshi* display the development of his ideology regarding women's education and reflect the changing climate in which the educators had to operate. The period of more than two decades (1885−1906) during which he was an active educator and opinion leader can be divided into three different stages, which will be discussed in detail in the following sections.[137]

2.b.2.a. Stage One, the Formative Years: 1884−89

Iwamoto formed the basis of his understanding of education during this period. At the beginning of the period, Iwamoto appears to subscribe to the ideas of Fukuzawa Yukichi and Mori Arinori, without subjecting them to critical appraisal in his publications. Yet, early on, from *Jogaku zasshi* 11, he expresses a critical stance, finding himself in disagreement with Fukuzawa regarding the understanding of women's position in society; later on, in *Jogaku zasshi* 65, Iwamoto also indirectly criticized Mori for his participation in the Rokumeikan's masquerades.

Unlike previous opinion leaders, such as Fukuzawa and Mori, who spoke to men, Iwamoto approached women directly, urging them to act, and reproached those who he believed mistreated them. However, having shouldered the responsibility for Meiji Jogakkō since March 1887, and after his publishing activities were reprimanded following the *Shinbunshi jōrei*, Iwamoto tempered his public argument. He instead concentrated on a type of education for girls and women that would provide the practical skills and knowledge needed to successfully function within a society that largely rejected the changes in the position of women advocated by Iwamoto.

According to Iwamoto, women's education fell into two extremes at that time: some were promoting a forced and shallow Westernization, while others endorsed a limiting education that was seen as "traditional." He criticized both camps.[138] Also, he cautioned against aggressive demands for rights and reminded that rights come with responsibilities. He claimed that for women to gain equal rights to men, they had to make their stance known both on the private and public level: appear in society ("outside," signified by *omote* 面) as professionals, while also playing their

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[136] Kischka-Wellhäußer, "Japanese Feminism's Institutional Basis," 145.

[137] Inoue, "A Study on the 'Jogaku Zasshi'" and Kischka-Wellhäußer, Nadja, "Japanese Women's Writing: Between the Bounds of 'Literature' and Individual Expression—Women's Writing in the Early Meiji Period's Women's Magazine *Jogaku zasshi*," *Ryūkoku kiyō* 龍谷紀要 25, no. 2 (2004): 123-38, suggest their own chronologies of the development of Iwamoto's ideals and policies, yet the first one deals with the development of the *jogaku* ideology, while the latter concentrates on the developmental changes in *Jogaku zasshi*. As I am treating the developments in Iwamoto's educational strategies, I use my own chronological split.

[138] In "Woman's Resolutions in Life, No.III., Be Conscientious." ("*Fujoshi shūshin no kakugo, San, Shinmitsu nare*" 婦女子修身の覺悟、三、愼密なれ), *Jogaku zasshi* 133 (October 27, 1888) Iwamoto writes how the purpose of education for women and the women's rights movement is to remove the barriers for women to express themselves rather than to enforce dogmas: "女子教育及び女権拡張の正当なる希望は、敢て女子をして其固有の本質よりも立ち越しめんとするにあらず、只人為の圧制によりて不自然に製造したる部分を打破徹去せんとするに也."

role as able spouses and mothers, making their husbands and sons their allies from within the home ("inside," *ura* 裏).[139]

Rather than providing clear-cut guidelines, during this period Iwamoto aimed at convincing the readers about the need of an education that would allow women to develop intellectually and express their thoughts and feelings, stating that women have the power to change things if they were permitted the right education. It was also during this stage that Iwamoto set the base for his future educational goals. Most notably, he established the dormitory system and the science-based curriculum that included subjects he believed were necessary for women to improve their health and their livelihood: biology as the basis for maintaining hygienic home; physiology to support one's daily life, but also in pregnancy and childcare; mathematics and chemistry to improve the economic management of clothing, food, and the house, etc.[140] Yōko Iwahori writes that at the time when women were mostly kept away from studying science, Iwamoto included in his publications knowledge from fields of medicine, agriculture, and manufacturing, and criticized conventional education for stressing only the cultural and elegant aspects.[141] Iwahori notes how columns on domestic science published in 1886 were insubstantial as there were very few practical publications to referred to; thus, *Jogaku zasshi* and Meiji Jogakkō had to establish the new field themselves,[142] an ambition that shaped the future direction of the school and influenced it to publish materials providing scientific knowledge that could save lives.

2.b.2.b. Stage Two, the Turning Point: 1889−90

The second period in Iwamoto's educational activities was framed by speedy political developments. During this period, Iwamoto was still hopeful about the positive influence political change could bring to society. He especially promoted the necessity for women to have an interest in the field of politics, so that they themselves could affect the choices made by the government.

How the topic of politics became more important to Iwamoto during the period is seen from *Jogaku zasshi* 178 (September 7, 1889) that ran an editorial titled "Patriotism" ("*Aikoku no jō*" 愛國の情) which stressed that women perfectly qualify as patriots, accentuating the link between their love for the family and their love for the country and drawing attention to the need to listen to their opinions, too. Soon after, an editorial in no. 183 (October 19, 1889) asked: "Why has Jogaku zasshi become a Political Magazine?", while the opening page carried the following passage in English:

> The Jogaku zasshi from this No. ceases to be simply a literary magazine and will become amenable to regulation laws concerning political periodicals. […] It will seek hereafter to be also a friend of the common people and the poor, aspiring to help them entertain pure, just and philanthropic views in regard to their duties as Japanese people. […] Therefore Jogaku zasshi, without identifying itself with any political party,

[139] *Jogaku zasshi* 69 and 71, published in June and July of 1887, ran an editorial titled "The Two Ways of Extending Women's Rights" (*Joken shinchō ni uraomote no nito ari* 女權伸張に表裏の二途あり) that spoke about the public and private stages for working towards the furthering of women's rights.

[140] Iwahori, "Construction of the Ideal Wife," 403.

[141] His criticism can be seen in such editorials as "Woman and the Scientific Study" ("*Joshi to rigaku*" 女子と理學) in *Jogaku zasshi* 42 (November 25, 1886) and its second installment in 56 (March 19, 1887).

[142] Iwahori, "Construction of the Ideal Wife," 403-04.

> proposes to give free and unbiased [reports] on the political movements of the times […].[143]

With this, the magazine sought to inform and motivate women and those friendly to the cause to drive the necessary political changes. However, subsequent events affected the political climate and the educators not in a way that Iwamoto anticipated. The promulgation of the first modern constitution in Japan (the Meiji Constitution (1889)) was followed by the assassination of the first Minister of Education Mori Arinori the very next day; the establishment of the Diet (1890), that Iwamoto hoped would open up opportunities for women, was followed by the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) and its interpretations that threatened the existence of Christian schools, while *Shūkai oyobi seisha hō* 集会及政社法 (1890) prohibited women from participating in any political activities.

The discussion surrounding the suitable model for the modern system of education, and especially moral education, which dealt with the Confucian and Shinto traditions, and consequently the status of the Imperial family, was intense, particularly as during the Freedom and People's Rights Movement the government had perceived Western ideas and teaching methods as a threat. Thus, a need was felt to centralize education and to strictly control what and how was being taught or said. With this, non-mainstream schools such as Meiji Jogakkō were left with few possibilities to develop.

At the same time, as Iwamoto had gained a certain level of experience and confidence as an educator, he also argued for a more varied education for women—to suit their needs, interests, and all the roles they were discovering they could perform in the modern society. As there was a shift in Japan from Enlightenment to Romanticism in intellectual discourse,[144] and as Iwamoto attempted to define Meiji Jogakkō as fitting within the national scheme of education that came under the influence of *Kyōiku chokugo* and its limited interpretations, there appeared a new emphasis on art, professional, and moral and physical training in his writing. This was likely triggered by the effort to clarify the school's uniqueness by differentiating it from missionary schools (which taught morality, but did not respect Japanese customs, according to Iwamoto) and public schools (that "left out moral training," which was often conflated with Christianity in Iwamoto's thought). Finally, this seems to have been the time when the school grew, moved, and consequently faced enhanced financial and managerial strains.

2.b.2.c. Stage Three, the Disillusionment: 1891–1908

The second period was followed by public shaming of Christians and *fukei jiken*, or lèse-majesté, incidents. This is when Iwamoto appears to have lost trust in the government. Instead of advising to take part in politics, he started urging women and men to act by furthering education and taking up charity activities beyond the borders of Japan; he also promoted interest in commerce. He argued:

> The greatest deed in life is to make people good. The best way to make people good is to bring good to their hearts. To do so, the most direct means are proselytizing and education. That is why, in any age, in any country, if these two are missing, urging change only on the surface is not enough. However, proselytizing and education have

[143] "Why has Jogaku zasshi become a Political Magazine?" ("*Jogaku zasshi wa nazeni shinbunshi jōrei ni shitagau ka*" 女學雜誌は何故に新聞紙條例に從う乎) *Jogaku zasshi* 183 (October 19, 1889).
[144] Fujita, *Meiji jogakkō no sekai*, 259.

> a lot in common with economics. Economics has its mysteries and depths, and there are numerous areas to which it pertains. Through economics, one can not only create merit but also make oneself and others independent. In this sense, all the greatest virtues pertaining to economy—development and promotion of industry, diligence, thrift—are similar to the various merits of teaching and proselytizing. That is why, by fulfilling the call to do good by conducting righteous business, one can achieve the greatest deed. Becoming a proselytizer, a teacher, or an economist has an immense value to the country, which can be achieved even without entering politics.[145]

This message is quite pragmatic. Iwamoto tells the readers to forget politics and become independent by 1) looking beyond the matters of Japan and turning to new areas that "need Japanese help" by proselytizing; 2) educating oneself to gain a profession, or educating as a profession; 3) earning an income and becoming independent.

His pragmatism is evident also in the way he sought to provide educators with practical tools by compiling his experiences in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* and *Kyōikugaku kōgi* 教育學講義[146] (published in 1892 and 1893 respectively), and in the specialized section in *Jogaku zasshi* covering issues in pedagogy, titled *Kyōikugaku* 教育學. *Jogaku zasshi* also carried an appendix of the same title in numbers 321–40 (1892 June – 1893 March).

As the education for women became more established and legally defined since 1890s, Iwamoto expanded his horizons to circumvent the rigid boundaries set for women's educators and to find new and yet undeveloped niches. He urged his students and readers to discover practical ways to contribute to the society that was experiencing economic hardships, natural disasters, and war. He spoke about the rights of children, the need for orphanages, and the education of girls from countries under Japan's influence, and Meiji Jogakkō welcomed exchange students from Taiwan and Korea between 1898, after Iwamoto went to inspect the education and social conditions of Taiwan, to 1909, when the school closed.[147]

Iwamoto was aiming to establish a university for women, where the gifted and persistent could conduct high-quality research and become specialists in various fields.[148] Even though his plan for a university was left unfulfilled, Meiji Jogakkō is said to have provided university-level education at that time. Sōma Kokkō and other students were aware of Iwamoto's plans, yet they did not know why they were not fulfilled. Sōma wonders: "Why did Meiji Jogakkō, which was so wise, and carried out education so extensively, face such a sad end? And why did the director of the school, who was secretly planning to establish a university for women with his own two hands,

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[145] "*Kokuji oyobi seiji*" 國事及び政事, *Jogaku zasshi* 339 (February 25, 1893): "人生の最大事は、人を善くするにあり。人を善くする方術の最良事は、其心を善くするにあり、而して、人の心を善くする手段の、尤とも直接なる道は、伝導と教育とにある也。故に、何れの時代、何れの邦家を問はず、苟も此の二大事を欠きて、単に表面外薄のことにのみ局促し以て真正の遂了せし者未だ曾てあらざる也。而して、伝道と教育とは、大ひに経済上の事と間渉す。経済の秘義や奥深なり、其関する所ろ頗る広し、経済は単に徳を造るの道にあらず、亦た人を造るの道なり、故に、殖産、興業、勤勉、倹節等もろもろの経済上の徳は大抵、伝導及び教育上の諸徳に相ひ連接す。左れば、経済の道を正ふして、之に其真の天職を達せしむるは、人生最大事の一とす。[…] 或は、伝道師となり、或は、教育者となり、或は経済家となる、其事はこれ政治にあらざると謂ども惣べて皆な国事の最大なるもの也."

[146] Published on May 19, 1893, it was meant to serve as a pedagogy textbook that represented what the advanced students (of the *kōtōka* course) covered in the period of a year, two hours a week. The National Diet Library has preserved a digital copy, yet it is mostly illegible.

[147] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*, 564-65. Refer to *Jogaku zasshi* 464 (April 25, 1898), 466 (May 25, 1898), 473 (October 10, 1898). Prior, in several *Jogaku zasshi* numbers starting around 1894–95 (e.g., 405, 409), Iwamoto is urging women to teach abroad, framing it as proselytizing (*dendō* 伝導) activities.

[148] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, "*Jogaku fukyū no keirin*" 女學普及の經綸, 207-08.

failed at fulfilling his dream, having to eventually give up even Meiji Jogakkō due to bankruptcy?"[149] Miyake Kaho 三宅花圃 (1868−1943),[150] who studied at Meiji Jogakkō in 1889, also wrote: "Meiji Jogakkō was a school that could have become a university; its level was immensely high and, at one point, it was truly flourishing—if only Mr. Iwamoto pushed a little harder and carried on the same way…"[151] It is clear that the students were not aware of all the issues the school faced in its late years.

In the period of decline, the school was kept afloat by the enthusiasm and creativity of students and teachers. Sōma Kokkō, who wrote of her experiences at Meiji Jogakkō in 1895–97, argued that while the desks and tables were flimsy, the facilities minimal, and teachers' stipends covered only their transportation fees, the students, even though few in number, were among the brightest in the country, many coming from good families, daughters of prefectural governors and other officials.[152] Meanwhile, Iwamoto, who was gradually losing his peers, the "*dōshi*" that he had relied on for his model of education to be sustainable, kept on researching and experimenting to find new means to support the school until its closure.

Gradually, however, the feeling of disillusionment and powerlessness became prominent in his writing. In *Jogaku zasshi* 511 and 516[153], he wrote how the new education is all about form (using fancy tables and chairs and *ebicha*-colored *hakama*) and not about content. Iwamoto perceived a decline in the quality of women's education instead of the progress that he had expected. He gradually discontinued his career as an educator and journalist from around 1904, when he resigned from the position of head editor at *Jogaku zasshi*. He remained connected to Tsuda's Eigaku Juku until 1908, where he carried out speeches and supervised the dormitories from 1904,[154] thus maintaining his ties with the world of education. Eventually, as was possibly predictable from his supportive evaluation of entrepreneurship, he decided to turn to business himself.[155] Such a decision emphasized his pragmatic nature. The final years of Meiji Jogakkō seem to have been less appealing to scholarship, possibly due to a lack of sources, and many issues remain unexplored. Iwamoto's life, after he stepped down from his position, is also largely unresearched.[156]

Iwamoto retired from the world of education and journalism due to numerous reasons, the most evident being the practical ones: financial, managerial, and personal strains. Especially trying was the fact that the school buildings burned down on February 5, 1896; only a week later, Iwamoto's wife, Iwamoto Kashi, died, and he had to face the responsibilities of being a single parent. In addition, there was the lack of acknowledgment and support. Nakamura Naoko mentions

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[149] Sōma, *Mokui*, 57: "明治女学校はあれだけの見識に立って、あれだけの教育を施しながら、何故あんなに末路が淋しく消滅したのでしょうか、やがては日本に女子大学の創設を自分自身の手でと、ひそかに期していた巌本校長が、その夢の現実どころか、明治女学校すら遂に経済的破綻の理由として失わねばならなかったのは何故でしょうか."

[150] Legal name: Tanabe Tatsuko 田辺龍子.

[151] Miyake, *Jitsuroku bungaku* 實録文學 1, no. 3, 67: "[明治女学校は女子大学に]なっていい学校でした。それは大変程度が高くして一時は盛んでございましたから、あのままで押していって、巌本さんがもう少しどうかすると—."

[152] Sōma, *Mokui*, 71. "机も椅子もがたがた、設備の点では、全く零な学校でした。先生方もおくるお俥代位のものが出ていたかどうかと思われます。しかし生徒は無論少数ではありましたが、まずよりぬきというところで、良家の出が多く、知事の娘というような人も大分おりました."

[153] "*Shinjogaku kaigi jidai*" 新女學懷義時代, *Jogaku zasshi* 511 (July 25, 1900) and "*Darega jogakkō wo kōsei nari to iu*" 誰か女學校を降盛なりと言ふ, *Jogaku zasshi* 516 (June 15, 1903).

[154] Tsuda Juku Daigaku 津田塾大学, *Tsuda Juku Daigaku hyakunenshi* 津田塾大学 100 年史, Tokyo: Gyōsei ぎょうせい, 2003, 73.

[155] Mizuno, "Jogaku zasshi *ni okeru joshi kōtō kyōikuron*," 293.

[156] We get to know certain elements from Aoyama Nao 青山なを, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no ko*" 巌本善治の子, *Kokubungaku Kenkyū* 国文学研究 7 (1971): 93-100, and Fujii Yoshinori, "Yoshiharu Iwamoto who remains silent."

rumors about Iwamoto himself as one of the reasons behind the closure of the school; being a widower, but working with women, Iwamoto was an easy target for criticism.[157] Finally, the country was concentrating on winning yet another war and the ideal female education increasingly meant nurturing women for housework and childrearing. For instance, in 1898 Iwamoto described the increasing emphasis on domesticity:

> Recently, there seems to be a strong tendency to heatedly discuss the role of nationalism in education. […] Nationalism is being promoted to men, and the *ryōsai kenbo and shikka*[158] ideology for women. […] This is foolishness and simply advocates nationalism. What is necessary to be able to run a household is for one to know the world outside it first. […] There are people who say that a woman who does not know that outside of the household there is a whole wide world can still run a household proudly and with no problems for her entire life—even when the lives of these selfish people who claim such things get more affluent, and so do their households which such women are meant to supervise. Such people do not strike me as knowing anything at all of what is truly important in a home.[159]

Paradoxically, the ideas that Iwamoto had criticized himself later came to be associated with his own writing, earning him the label of someone who was too "backward" for the times.

2.c. Meiji Jogakkō: Modern School for Modern Women

2.c.1. A Variety of Meiji Jogakkō: Changing Locations, Students, and Teachers

2.c.1.a. The Locations

Meiji Jogakkō opened on September 30, 1885, between the publication of *Jogaku zasshi* numbers 5 and 6. Due to the changes in the location of the school and the ensuing differences in accessibility and facilities, the history of Meiji Jogakkō can be broken down into several periods depending on its location:[160] Kudanzaka, Handachō, Shimorokubanchō, and Sugamo. The initial buildings were close to Yasukuni Shrine, in current Kudanzaka[161]. *Jogaku zasshi* reports 45 applicants at the time of opening.[162] As the students grew in number, the school managed by borrowing nearby buildings, yet eventually had to move. Around 1890, the school grounds were in Kōjimachi, Handachō.[163] It moved once more in 1892 to Shimorokubanchō within Kōjimachi.[164] Even with the student

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[157] Nakamura Naoko 中村直子. "Meiji Jogakko (Meiji Girls' School): Its Aims and Legacy." (*Meiji Jogakkō no mezashita mono, nokoshita mono* 明治女学校のめざしたもの、遺したもの). *Tōkyō Joshi Daigaku kiyō ronshū* 東京女子大学紀要論集 62 no. 1 (2011): 63-88.

[158] *Shikka* 室家 was a more concervative word to refer to the family. Iwamoto himself had switched to using the term instead of "*hōmu*."

[159] "*Shikka shugi wa hi nari*" 室家主義は非なり, *Jogaku zasshi* 467 (June 10, 1898): "近き頃より、教育に国家主義と云ふを痛論すること流行せり[…]男性の為に国家主義を叫ぶのは、女性の為に室家主義を説く[…]之れ単に国家主義を説くの愚と同日の比にあらずや[…]よく室家を調ふるものは、室家以外更に大なるものあることを認識するに初まる[…]室家の外に別に杳として天地あることを知らしめず、而して此の狭隘浅陋の女子として堂々たる大丈夫に内助せしめんと言ひ、その私的我儘なる室家主義の人をして宏たる人世の間に能く其家を守らしめんと言ふ、是れ豈に真に室家の重んずべきことを知るものの勧誘ならんや."

[160] Indeed, Sōma Kokkō and researchers like Aoyama Nao seem to have been separating Meiji Jogakkō into its "eras" (*jidai* 時代) depending on its location.

[161] Then called Kudan Ushigafuchi 九段牛ヶ淵.

[162] *Jogaku zasshi* 18 (March 15, 1886), the *shinpō* 新報 section.

[163] "麹町区飯田町." *Tōkyō yūgaku annai*, 1890, 172.

[164] "麹町区下六番町." Ibid., 1893, 210.

numbers growing, the school's financial situation was unstable. The greatest change took place in February 1896 when a night fire destroyed most of the school's buildings, including the dormitories for teachers and students. At first, the school could use a neighboring mansion. Then, in April 1897, with financial aid from all over the country, new lodgings were arranged for in Kita Toshimagun's Sugamo[165] (present Toshima in Tokyo). Iwamoto writes that the location was less central and not as favored by the students.[166] The school stayed there until it closed in 1909.[167]

2.c.1.b. The Students

Aoyama provides the following statistics about the graduates.[168]

Table 7: Meiji Jogakkō's graduates 1889-97; 1904

Graduation date	**General course (*futsūka*)**		**Higher course (*kōtōka*)**		**Total number of graduates**
	batch	**graduates**	**batch**	**graduates**	
1889 (July 16)	1	1			1
1890	2	1			1
1891	3	14			14
1891	4	10			10
1892	5	29	1	3	32
1893	6	24	2	3	27
1894	7	27	3	4	31
1895	8	22	4	4	26
1896	9	15	5	3	18
1897	10	15	6	1	16
1904	17	27	?	4	31

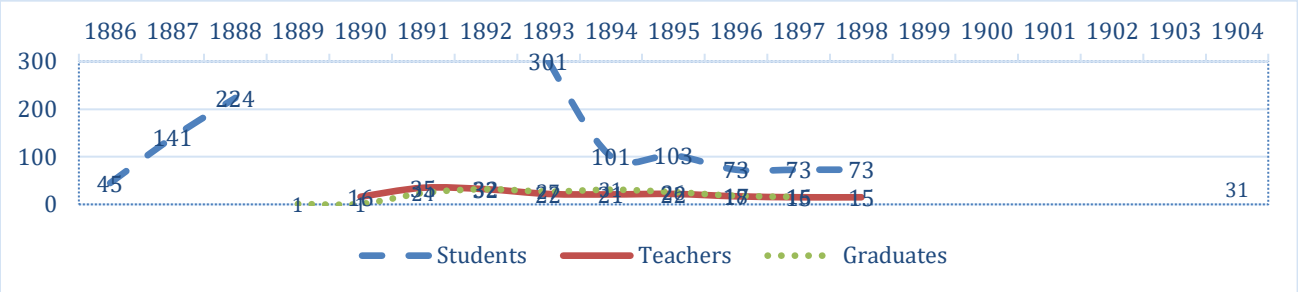
The small numbers of graduating students do not indicate that the enrollment was small; rather, it shows that not many could stay at school until graduation. Meanwhile, some of the students graduated from more than one courses.[169]

While the numbers are approximate and it is not clear which levels of education are included, it is said that there were 45 students in 1886, 141 in 1887, 224 in 1888, and more than 300 in 1893.[170] As we can see in Table 8, there were around 16 teaching staff in 1890. The number increased to 35 in 1891, and decreased to 32 in 1892. Supplementary information can be found in *Tōkyō yūgaku annai*. The 1893 version announces more than 22 teachers and numerous students in the general and higher departments;[171] the 1894 version states that there were more than 20 teachers and 100 students;[172] the 1895 version gives the numbers as 22 teachers and 103 students;[173] the 1896 version as 17 teachers and 73 students;[174] and the 1897 and 1898 versions both as 15 teachers and 73 students.[175] When this information is added to the one from Table 7, it

[165] "北豊島郡巣鴨村." Ibid., 1898, 284.
[166] Iwamoto, "*Mushō zadan*," 12.
[167] *Tōkyō yūgaku annai*, 1911, 190.
[168] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*, 564.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ozaki Rumi 尾崎るみ, *Wakamatsu Shizuko: Reimeiki wo kakenuketa josei* 若松賤子: 黎明期を駆け抜けた女性 (Tokyo: Minato no Hito 港の人, 2007): 327.
[171] *Tōkyō yūgaku annai*, 1893, 210.
[172] Ibid., 1894, 151.
[173] Ibid., 1895, 172-73.
[174] Ibid., 1896, 195.
[175] Ibid., 1897, 214 and 1898, 203-04.

becomes clear that the fluctuations in student and teacher numbers likely did not affect the persistently low number of graduates.

Figure 1: Meiji Jogakkō's students, teachers, and graduates



2.c.1.c. The Teachers

The main founders of the school were Kimura Kumaji and Kimura Tōko who, according to the establishment permit request (*secchigan* 設置願),[176] were not satisfied with the education that was being provided for girls by the missionaries and established Meiji Jogakkō as a more balanced equivalent. *Secchigan* introduced Kimura Kumaji as the principal and English studies teacher,[177] Tsuda Umeko as a teacher of English language, geography, zoology, botany, and mineralogy,[178] Hitomi Gin 人見銀 (years unknown) as English language, history, chemistry and calligraphy teacher,[179] and Mitoi Tora 富井於菟 (1866–85) as a teacher of *kanbun* and arithmetic.[180] In addition, Iwamoto, Tōkō's younger brother Taguchi Ukichi, and his friend Shimada Saburō are known to have helped from the onset, while Tsuda Umeko seems to have lent only her name at the beginning.[181] The reason why Tōko's name is not mentioned is unclear, yet she is known to have been the *torishimari* 取締, or acting director, and the supervisor of the dormitory.[182]

Around 1890, there was a conspicuous increase in both the number of staff and the variety of their roles. The following table is created by building on information provided by Aoyama Nao on Meiji Jogakkō's employees and their responsibilities in the period from 1890 to 1892.[183]

The differences in how Meiji Jogakkō defined responsibilities of a teacher (*kyōin* 教員), lecturer (*kōshi* 講師), and assisting teacher (*jokyō* 助教) are not entirely clear.

Table 8: Teachers in 1890–92

Name (in 1890)	Position	Specialty/ Subject(s)	changes and additions in 1891	changes and additions in 1892

[176] *Secchigan* is included in Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū,* 781-82, and available in original at Tokyo Metropolitan Archives (along with other official documents such as requests for the employment of foreign teachers or permits for the change of location of grounds). It states that Meiji Jogakkō's purpose was to provide a Japanese equivalent of the education for women provided by the missionaries.
[177] Ibid., "校長兼英学科講師."
[178] Ibid., "英語学地理学植物学鉱物学."
[179] Ibid., "英語学歴史学化学習字."
[180] Ibid., "漢文学数学."
[181] Noheji, *Jogaku kaihō shisō*, 120-21.
[182] Refer to Fujita, *Meiji Jogakkō no sekai*, and Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū,* for details on the Kimura couple and other people involved in the management of the school.
[183] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*, 586-90.

Kimura Kumaji 木村熊二 (1845–1927)	principal (*kōchō* 校長)	bachelor of American arts and crafts (*beikoku gigeishi* 米国技芸士)	same position	
Iwamoto Yoshiharu 巌本善治 (1863–1942)	vice-principal (*kyōtō* 教頭)		same position	vice-principal and lecturer
Uemura Masahisa 植村正久 (1857–1925)	lecturer (*kōshi* 講師)		same position	
Shimada Saburō 島田三郎 (1852–1923)	lecturer, member of committee (*giin* 議員)		same position	member of committee
Kimura Shunkichi 木村駿吉 (1866–1938)	lecturer	bachelor of science (*rigakushi* 理学士)		same position
Terao Kumazō 寺尾熊三	lecturer	bachelor of agriculture (*nōgakushi*農学士)		
Kanaya Akira* 金谷 昭	lecturer		same position	
Yagi Kenshin[184] 八木兼辰	administrator (*kanri* 管理)		same position, plus calligraphy (*sho* 書), Japanese art (*waga* 和画), and *kangaku* teacher	teacher and supervisor (*torishimari* 取締)
Matsuda Ryūkata*[185] 松田龍方	manager (*kanji* 幹事)		same position, plus Accounting Department (*shukeika* 主計科) teacher	teacher and supervisor
Mrs. Harris* ミッセス・ハリス	teacher (*kyōin* 教員)	English		
Mrs. Kadi* ミッセス・カヂ	teacher	English	English studies (*eigaku* 英学)	teacher
Mrs. Stanley* ミッセス・スタンレー	teacher	English		
Mr. Harris* ミストル・ハリス	teacher	English		
Aoki Masa* 青木まさ	teacher	English and music	same position	Aoki Masako* 青木まさ子, teacher
Saitō Tome* 斎藤とめ	teacher	*kangaku* 漢学 and arithmetic		
Hirose Tsune* 広瀬つね (1855–?)	teacher	English studies	assisting teacher (*jokyō* 助教), mathematics	Hirose Tsuneko* 広瀬つね子, assisting teacher
Takeuchi Mume* 竹内むめ	teacher	English studies	*kangaku*, assisting teacher	Takeuchi Mumeko* 竹内むめ子, assisting teacher

[184] Yagi is also listed in *Tokyo yūgaku annai* of 1893 (210), 1894 (151), 1895 (173), 1897 (213), and 1898 (204) as one of the teachers.
[185] Matsuda is also listed in *Tokyo yūgaku annai* of 1893 (210), 1894 (151), and 1895 (173) as one of the teachers.

Yoshida Nobu* 吉田のぶ	teacher	science (*rigaku* 理学)	head and teacher at the Teacher Training Department (*shihan kachō* 師範課長)	Kichida Nobuko* 吉田伸子, lecturer
Kaminaka Ito* 神中いと	teacher	Western art (*yōga*洋画)	same position	Kaminaka Itoko* 神中いと子, teacher
Tomimasu Mitsu* 富益みつ	teacher	knitting (*amimono* 編物)		
Yamaguchi Hatsue* 山口はつえ	teacher	*koto*琴		
Kimura Yūkichi 木村祐吉 (1865–1926)	teacher	English studies, *kangaku*		
Kimura Keisaku* 木村経策	teacher	Japanese studies		
Nagata Kōichirō* 永田恒一郎	teacher	mathematics		
Isogai Yūtaro 磯貝由太郎 (1865–97)	teacher	literature and mathematics		
Hoshino Shin 星野慎 (1862−1950)	teacher	*naginata-jutsu* 薙刀術	lecturer, *budō*	lecturer
Morita Takeshi* 森田武	teacher	gymnastics (*taisō-jutsu* 体操術)	*taisō*	teacher
Kamiya Gin'ichirō* 神谷銀一郎	teacher	etiquette for women (*jorei* 女礼)		
Watanabe Tatsugorō 渡辺辰五郎 (1844–1907)	teacher	sewing (*saihō*裁縫)		
Ogino Gin[186] 荻野銀 (1851–1913)	school doctor (*kōi*校医)		same position	Ogino Ginko 荻野ぎん子, doctor and teacher
Kure Kumi 呉くみ	supervisor (*torishimari*取締)	sewing	no more sewing, an addition of *jorei*	Kure Kumiko 呉くみ子, supervisor
Taguchi Ukichi 田口卯吉 (1855–1905)	member of committee		same position	same position
			Iwamoto Kashi[187] 巌本かし (1864–96), English studies, teacher	
			Kitami Saki* 北見さき, nursery school teaching (*hobojutsu* 保母術), teacher	

[186] Ogino is also listed in *Tokyo yūgaku annai* of 1893 (210), 1894 (151), and 1895 (173) as one of the teachers.
[187] Iwamoto's wife, known as Wakamatsu Shizuko.

Nemoto Tadashi[188] 根本 正 (1851–1933), lect., American philosophy (*beikoku tetsugaku* 米国哲学)	
Takatsu Kuwasaburō[189] 高津鍬三郎 (1864–1921), lect., bachelor of literature (*bungakushi* 文学士)	
Watanabe Susumu* 渡辺奏, lect., bachelor of medicine (*igakushi* 医学士)	same position
Saitō Otosaku 斎藤乙作, lect., bachelor of agriculture (*nōgakushi*)	Saitō Otosaku 斎藤音作, same position
Saitō Uichi[190] 斎藤宇一, (1866–1926) lect., bachelor of agriculture (*nōgakushi*)	
Suzuki Hingō* 鈴木彬郷, lect., 別科卒業医師, school doctor (together with Ogino)	
Miss Harrison* ミス・ハリソン*eigaku* teacher	teacher
Miss Prince* ミス・プリンス, *eigaku* teacher	
Suzuki Tokie* 鈴木時恵 *koto* teacher	
Yada Kiku* 矢田きく sewing teacher	Yada Kikuko* 矢田きく子, teacher
Suzuki Hiroyasu[191] 鈴木弘恭 (1844–1897), Japanese literature (*wagaku*) teacher	teacher
Senju Chiyozuchi*[192] 千住千代槌, mathematics, teacher	assisting teacher
Matsui Man 松井まん stenography, assisting t.	Matsui Manko 松井まん子, assisting t.
Itō Natsu* 伊藤なつ, Accounting Dep., assisting t.	Itō Natsuko* 伊藤なつ子, assisting t.
Kichioka Toshi* 吉丘とし, mathematics, assisting t.	
Tsuchiya Tame* 土屋ため, mathematics, assisting t.	Tsuchiya Tameko* 土屋ため子, assisting t.
Kuroyanagi Tei* 畔柳てい assisting supervisor (*torishimari ho* 取締補)	Kuroyanagi Teiko* 畔柳てい子, same position
	Inukai Keinosuke* 犬養銈之助, lecturer
	Ōwada Takeki[193] 大和田建樹 (1857–1910), lecturer
	Oda Yūho[194] 依田雄甫 (1864–1937), lecturer
	Horiguchi Sansō* 堀口圧三, teacher

[188] Known as a politician.
[189] Known as an educator and researcher of the Japanese language.
[190] Known as a Diet member and agricultural reformist.
[191] Suzuki is also listed in *Tokyo yūgaku annai* of 1893 (210), 1894 (151), and 1895 (173) as one of the teachers.
[192] Wife of zoologist Godō Seitarō 五島清太郎 (1867–1935).
[193] Known as author and poet. Ōwada is also listed in *Tokyo yūgaku annai* of 1893 (210), 1894 (151), 1895 (173), 1897 (213), and 1898 (204) as one of the teachers
[194] Known as an educator.

Okada Kisaku 岡田起作, teacher
Nassho Benjirō 納所弁二郎, teacher
Matsukata Sōtei* 松方操貞, teacher
Yamada Mikiko* 山田みき子, assisting t.
Sugiyama Teruko* 杉山てる子, assisting t.

Regarding the staff of the later years, Sōma Kokkō mentions the names of "the unique group of young teachers"[195] that were teaching at the school at her time (1895–97): Kitamura Tōkoku 北村透谷 (1868−94), Shimazaki Tōson, Togawa Shūkotsu 戸川秋骨 (1871–1939), Baba Kochō 馬場孤蝶 (1869–1940), Hirata Tokuboku 平田禿木 (1873–1943), and Hoshino Tenchi. It seems that even though as far as their literary production is concerned, they had branched off from *Jogaku zasshi* into *Bungakukai*, they did not necessarily sever their ties with either the magazine or the school. Sōma notes that the teachers were close to the students in age, and that they treated them with respect.[196] Her memoirs show the way in which these young and creative men's perceptions of art and literature, of the relations between women and men or love influenced the students in how they saw themselves and the world.

We do not have complete records of who was teaching which subjects and when. However, some details apart from the ones listed above are available. Aoyanagi Yūbi 青柳有美 (1873−1945),[197] known as an author, and Arai Ōsui 新井奥邃 (1846–1922), known for his research of Christianity, were also among the teachers; furthermore, Ōnishi Hajime 大西祝 (1864–1900) taught philosophy, Motoyoshi Yūjirō 元良勇次郎 (1858–1912) psychology, and Uchimura Kanzō (内村鑑三, 1861–1930) biology to the Higher Education Department students.[198] Iba Sōtarō 伊庭想太郎 (1851–1907) is known to have instructed *kendō* at the school in later years.

2.c.2. Structure and Curricula

2.c.2.a. The Basis

In the request for the establishment permit, the planned curriculum for Meiji Jogakkō is described as follows.

Table 9: Meiji Jogakkō's curriculum in 1885[199]

1st year (14 hours a week, 242 days over 12 months)

English (4)	spelling (*tetsuji* 綴字), penmanship (*shūji* 習字), reading (*yomikata* 読方), interpretation / reading comprehension (*kaishaku* 解釈)
History (1)	Asia (*ajia* 亜細亜)
Mathematics (4)	addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division (*kagenjōjo* 加減乗除)
Chinese literature and writing (*kanbungaku* 漢文学) (4)	reading (*dokusho* 読書), writing essays and reports (*sakubun kiji* 作文記事)
Ethics/Morals	good words and good deeds (*kagenzenkō* 嘉言善行)

[195] Sōma, *Mokui*, 39.
[196] Sōma, *Mokui*, 71: "先生いっても高等科の生徒などとは幾つも違わないような年若さで、[…] そしてどの先生も女性とに対するのに、実に礼儀の正しかったものです."
[197] Given name: Aoyanagi Takeshi* 青柳猛.
[198] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*, 572.
[199] Building on ibid., 783.

(s*hūshingaku* 修身学) (1)	

2nd year (14 hours a week)

English (4)	same as 1st year
History (1)	same as 1st year
Mathematics (4)	fractions (*bunsū*) 分数 and small numbers (*shōsū* 少数)
Kanbungaku (4)	same as 1st year
Shūshingaku (1)	same as 1st year

3rd year (15 hours a week)

English (4)	grammar and dictation (*bunpō kakitori* 文法書取), essays and conversation (*sakubun kaiwa* 作文会話)
Geography (1)	geography (*chiri* 地理)
History (1)	world (*bankoku* 萬国)
Mathematics (4)	proportion and pricing (*hirei shoshiki* 比例諸式)
Kanbungaku (4)	lectures (*kōgi* 講義), reports and articles (*kiji ronsetsu* 記事論説)
Shūshingaku (1)	same as 1st year

4th year (12 hours a week)

English (4)	same as 3rd year
History (1)	same as 3rd year
Physiology (2)	physiology
Physics (2)	physics
Chemistry (2)	chemistry
Mathematics (4)	extraction of square (*kaihei* 開平) and cubic (*kairitsu* 開立) roots
Kanbungaku (4)	same as 3rd year, reading (*dokusho*)
Shūshingaku (1)	same as 1st year

5th year (19 hours a week)

English (4)	translation of English into Japanese (*eibunwayaku* 英文和訳), essays (*sakubun*), rhetoric (*shūji* 修辞)
History (1)	same as 3rd and 4th year
Zoology (2)	animals
Botany (2)	plants
Mineralogy (2)	minerals
Mathematics (4)	algebra (*daisū* 代数), geometry (*kika* 幾何)
Kanbungaku (4)	same as 4th year
Shūshingaku (1)	same as 1st year

Thus, around the time of opening, the subjects in the main department were English language, Geography, History, Physiology, Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Mathematics, Ethics/Morals, and Chinese classics and writing. The suffix "*gaku*," as in s*hūshingaku* rather than s*hūshin*, could have been used to emphasize the focus on the scientific or critical approach.

In contrast to the curriculum promoted for girl students by the government in 2.a.1. that emphasized the "more feminine" sewing, manners, and moral training, Meiji Jogakkō proposed a unique curriculum concentrating on the English language,[200] mathematics, science, and *kanbun* in a way that a boys' school would. The absence of *kokugo*, or Japanese language, reflects that at the time it was most likely conflated with *kanbun*,[201] while the lack of emphasis on moral teachings (one hour of *shūshin* each week) raises questions about when and where the school, which

[200] The emphasis on English can also be seen from the high numbers of English language teachers at the school around 1890, as per Table 8.
[201] Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," describes how the two were sometimes perceived as overlapping.

described itself as Christian, was providing further moral training in accordance to its religious affiliation.

The above curriculum was created by Kimura Kumaji and represented his understanding of what was necessary for the education of women at the inception of the school based on his experience gained abroad. Under the management of Iwamoto, more subjects were provided, with an emphasis on professional skills, arts, and morality. His definitions, however, were fluid, and it is often left unspecified where they fit in the curricula.

2.c.2.b. Iwamoto's Innovations

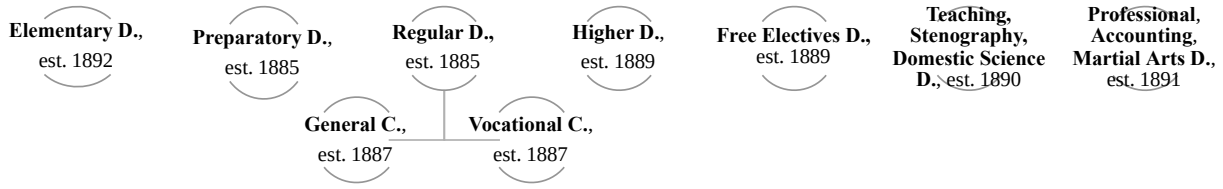
While many details are unclear, the developments at Meiji Jogakkō under the influence of Iwamoto can be summarized in the following table and figure.

Table 10: Meiji Jogakkō's departments

Department	Years	Specifics	Since
Professional (*shokugyōka*職業科), **Accounting** (*shukeika*主計科), **Martial Arts** (*budōka*武道科)	*budōka* 5,[202] others 2-3?	While these classes were available before, they were made into independent departments, possibly to bring Meiji Jogakkō closer to a university.	1891
Teaching (*shihanka*), **Stenography** (*bokika*), **Domestic Science** (*kaseika* 家政科)	*shihanka* 4[203], *bokika* 2?	Same as above.	1890
Free electives (*jiyūka* 自由科/*senka* 選科)	2	Students could choose among 3-4 of the following: philosophy, arithmetic, German language, comparative religion, domestic science, music, and drawing. This is an inconclusive list as the availability of subjects depended on the availability of teachers.	1889
Higher (*kōtōka* 高等科); later reshaped into **Vocational** (*senshūka*専修科 in 1904 and *jisshūbu* 実習部in 1906)	3 (2 by 1895)	For graduates of *honka* and teachers at institutions of higher education (*kōtōjokyōshi* 高等女教師). Subject sample: Japanese history, psychology, logic (Uemura Masahisa); Western history (Kimura Kumaji); biology (Uchimura Kanzō); physics and astronomy (Kimura Shunkichi); economics (Kanaya Akira*); English literature (unfixed); sociology (Shimada Saburō); Chinese history; Japanese literature; and pedagogy (Iwamoto).[204]	1889
Regular (*honka* 本科)[205] (renamed *futsūka* 普通科 in 1904 and *futsūbu* 普通部 in 1906)	3-4	Since 1887, split into general (*futsūka* 普通科) and vocational (*senshūka* 専修科) courses. *Futsūka* was described as for "wise wives and good mothers" in the advertisements. That is, it was defined as covering the basics needed even if one was planning to become a housewife.	1885
Preparatory (*yoka* 予科)	3	Corresponding to higher elementary education (*kōtō shōgaku* 高等小學).	1885
Elementary (*yōnenka*幼年科)	4?	Corresponding to general elementary education (*jinjō shōgaku*尋常小學).	1892

Figure 2: Meiji Jogakkō's structural development

[202] Hoshino, *Mokuho*, 200.
[203] Ibid., 1893, 210.
[204] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*, 572.
[205] *Honka* and *yoka* were named in 1891; prior, they constituted a single unnamed unit. Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*, 565.



While younger students were officially accepted into the elementary (*yōnenka*) department from 1892[206] to at least 1895,[207] Meiji Jogakkō under Iwamoto was mostly concentrating on secondary to tertiary levels of education. At the time of the founding, to enter the school one had to have completed education at, or equivalent to, higher elementary level. That is, the applicants had to have experienced about eight years in education and be aged around fourteen. In 1901, the age requirement was lessened by a year and having completed three years in higher elementary school or equivalent became enough. In general, to enter the second year and beyond, one had to be of a suitable age and also undergo a test.[208] In 1905, the conditions were lowered to being above twelve and having received two years of education at a higher elementary school or equivalent.[209] Finally, in 1908, the requirements were again brought back to being above fourteen and having graduated from a higher elementary school.

To graduate from Meiji Jogakkō, it took students five years that were later segmented into two years in the preparatory (*yoka*), and three years in the main (*honka*) departments. In 1887, *honka* further split into general (*futsūka*) and vocational (*senshūka*) courses. The higher department (*kōtōka*), when added in 1889, was three years in length, yet in 1895 it was shortened to two, where it remained until being replaced by *senshūka* in 1904. In 1895, the option of electives (*senka*), that had been added in 1889, is removed, and the *yoka* and *honka* division is no longer seen; instead, *futsūka* is described as four years in length, joined by *kōtōka* of two years[210], yet the preparatory course may have still been available.[211] *Senka* reappears in 1901[212], but is no longer available in 1908, when the general (*futsūka*) and practice/training (*jisshūbu*) departments of three and two years respectively are the only two options remaining.[213]

Meiji Jogakkō's main department (*honka*) into two separate majors—the general (*futsūka*) and the vocational (*senshūka*) in 1887, and then the higher education (*kōtōka*) and free electives (*jiyūka*) departments were added in 1889. He did this to enable the first batch of graduates to pursue further studies and also add flexibility to the educational paths of the students. Next, let us explore how these departments were created and functioned.

Throughout the years, Meiji Jogakkō's *honka* was advertised as offering the following curricula.

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[206] An advertisement ran in *Jogakusei* 20 (January 23, 1892) for students from six years of age, offering an option to board. Two reasons are given to explain why this addition was deemed necessary: 1) the insufficient education of morals (*dōtoku*) in elementary schools (no details are provided on the moral education implied) and 2) the need to set an early base for the education that Meiji Jogakkō wished to carry out (by serving as a preparatory school for Meiji Jogakkō). The stance of the advertisement seems defensive, stating that the target is parents who agree with Meiji Jogakkō's mentality and goals (*seishin kibō* 精神希望) as the rest will be the same as in a regular elementary school approved by the ministry of education. The possible differences with other institutions could have been the option to board with older students and thus learn from them, as well as be instructed by them in case they were training to become teachers.

[207] *Tokyo yūgaku annai*, 1895, 173, does not list the option anymore, yet *Joshi Tokyo yūgaku annai* (1901, 103-06) describes the preparatory classes as available on demand.

[208] *Joshi Tokyo yūgaku annai*, 1901, 103-06, and others.

[209] *Tokyo yūgaku annai*, 1905, 218.

[210] Ibid., 1895, 173.

[211] *Joshi Tokyo yūgaku annai* (1901, 103-06) describes the preparatory classes as available on demand.

[212] Ibid.

[213] *Tokyo yūgaku annai,* 1905–11, 190-91.

Table 11:* Honka *throughout the years

1890[214]	**1895**[215]	**1901**[216]
	morals (*dōwa* 道話)	morals (discussion: *kōwa* 講話)
English language (*eigo* 英語)	English studies (*eigaku* 英学)	English studies
studies of Japanese and *kanbun* (*wakangaku* 和漢學)	Japanese (*wabun* 和文) and *kanbun*	*wabun*: *Yūbun yomihon* 右文読本一巻 (unidentified) *kanbun*: primer *Jūhasshiryaku* 一八史畧, *Mencius* 孟子, Shiba Sen's 司馬遷 (2nd C. BC – 1st C. BC) *Shiki retsuden* 史記列伝
arithmetic (*sanjutsu* 算術), algebra (*daisū* 代數), geometry (*kika* 幾何)	mathematics (*sūji* 數字)	arithmetic (*heisan zentai* 平算全体), mathematics (*sūgaku* 數學: principles (*sūri* 数理), algebra, geometry)
literature (*bungaku* 文學)		literature (*tosho* 図書): Japanese and Western (*washoyōsho* 和書洋書)
science (*rigaku* 理學)	science (*rika*)	*rika*: physics (*butsuri*), chemistry (*kagaku*)
domestic science (*kasei* 家政)	domestic science	*kasei:* bookkeeping (*boki* 簿記), child rearing (*ikuji* 育児), nursing (*kango* 看護)
hygiene (*eisei* 衛生)	physiology (*seiri* 生理)	
essay writing (*sakubun* 作文)	essay writing	writing practice/dictation and essays (*kakitori sakubun* 書取作文)
calligraphy (*shūji* 習字)	calligraphy	calligraphy: standard style (*kaigyōsho* 楷行書), phonetic alphabet (*kana* 仮名）
manners (*reigi* 礼儀)	etiquette (*reishiki* 礼式)	*reishiki*
drawing (*gagaku* 画學)[217]	drawing (*zuga* 図画)	
music (*ongaku* 音楽), singing (*shōka* 唱歌)	singing	singing
PE (*taisō* 体操)		
sewing (*saihō* 裁縫), and knitting (*amimono* 編物)	sewing	
	geography (*chiri* 地理)	geography: world and topography (*chiribun* 地理文)
	history	
	natural history (*hakubutsu* 博物)	*hakubutsu*: botany (*shokubutsu* 植物) and zoology (*dōbutsu* 動物)
	psychology (*shinri* 心理)	psychology, summary (*taiyō* 大要)
	pedagogy (*kyōiku* 教育)	pedagogy, summary
		social studies (*shakai* 社会): society (*shakai*) and economy (*keizai* 経済)
		discussion (*kōwa*)

The 1901 description of the contents of domestic science as bookkeeping, child rearing, and nursing shows how the interpretation of classes provided by the school was fluid and how it is hard to judge what was actually taught without knowing the details.

On the other hand, the disappearance of physical education means rather an establishment of it as a separate course. Sewing might have also migrated away from *honka* to *senshūka* due to being established as a vocational skill that could secure income. Hygiene and physiology may have been included under the guise of domestic science, like nursing was. Literature was likely

[214] *Tokyo yūgaku annai* 1890, 45.
[215] Ibid., 1895, 172.
[216] *Joshi Tokyo yūgaku annai* 1891, 104-05.
[217] By 1890, both *gagaku* and *zuga* may have referred only to the drawing of topographical maps and plans, to artistic drawing, or to both. Refer to Kōno, "The Meaning of KEIGA."

subsumed under *eigaku/wagaku/kangaku*, and, together with history, allocated to the higher department.

Table 12 shows the curriculum of the higher department (*kōtōka*) aimed at the graduates of *honka* and others wishing to deepen their expertise as teachers, etc. The data is available for 1890, when it was established, for 1897, when the school had just suffered a fire, and for 1901 before being subsumed under the vocational department.

Table 12:* Kōtōka *throughout the years

1890[218]	**1897**[219]	**1901**[220]
English literature (*eibungaku* 英文學)	English literature	English literature (*eigaku* 英學)
Japanese literature (*hōbungaku* 邦文學)	Japanese literature (*wabungaku* 和文學)	Japanese literature (*wagaku* 和學): *Makura sōshi* 枕草子(1002), *Genji Monogatari*（*Gengo* 源語） *and Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 式部日記 (both 11th C.), Noh *utai* (*yōkyokushū* 謡曲集), *Man'yōshū* 万葉 (7th–8th C.), essay writing (*sakubun*)
Japanese history (*nihon rekishi* 日本歷史)		
Chinese history (*shina rekishi* 支那歷史)		
Western history (*ōbei kodai kindai shi* 欧米古代近代史)		
science (*rika* 理科)		
astronomy (*tenmongaku* 天文學)		
economy (*keizai*經濟)		
social studies (*shakaigaku* 社會學)		
psychology (*shinrigaku* 心理學)		
logic (*ronrigaku* 論理學)		
pedagogy (*kyōikugaku* 教育學)		
	Chinese literature (*kanbungaku* 漢文學)	*kanbun*: "classical treasures" *Kobun shinpō* 古文眞寶, *The Analects of Confucius* (*Rongo* 論語), history *Zuo zhuan* (*Saden* 左傳) (8th – 5th C. BC), *Zhuangzi* (*Sōji* 莊子), fiction *Toshi shunden* 杜子春伝 (*Toshi* 杜子, date unknown), *Shijing* (*Shikyō* 詩經), essay writing (*sakubun* 作文)
		discussion (*kōwa* 講話): aesthetics (*shinbigaku* 審美學), contemporary Japanese history (*shinnihonshi* 新日本史), science and philosophy (*rikatetsugaku* 理科哲學)

After the fire in 1896, the school could not bring back the previous variety in subjects and later the *kōtōka* seems to have concentrated on literature in its *bungakubu* 文学部 consisting of Japanese, English and Chinese studies. In 1901, however, a discussion course is added to cover some of the missing subjects and with the goal to develop the rhetoric and analytical skills of the students.

The vocational course (*senshūka*), that was a part of *honka* but aimed at those wishing to gain more professional knowledge, was advertised in 1893 as four years in length and offering to

[218] *Tokyo yūgaku annai*, 1890, 45.
[219] Ibid., 1897, 213.
[220] *Joshi Tokyo yūgaku annai*, 1891, 105.

major in English (*eigaku*) or Japanese language (*kokubun*), music (*ongaku*), drawing (*eiga*), sewing (*saihō*), etiquette (*jorei*), stenography (*boki*), and teacher training (*shihan*).[221] It is interesting to see how all these subjects were seen as capable of securing employment. The course offered the legally required basic education and the additional training in the major(s).

The free electives department (*senka*) was open to the students already taking courses at the school, but also older women, essentially offering life-long education. Here, the courses seem to have been aimed more towards personal cultivation: domestic science (*kaseigaku*), German linguistics (*doitsu gogaku*), comparative religion (*hikaku shūkyōgaku*), drawing (*gagaku*), mathematics (*sūgaku*), music (*ongaku*), philosophy (*tetsugaku*), etc.[222]

In addition to the above developments, some of the subjects were deemed important enough and saw sufficient development at the school to grow into independent courses. In 1890, alongside the new teaching (*shihanka*) and stenography (*bokika*) departments, *Jogaku zasshi* announced the appearance of the domestic science department (*kaseika*), whose graduates would be qualified to supervise modern households.

In 1891, there also appeared professional (*shokugyōka*),[223] accounting (*shukeika*), and martial arts (*budōka*) departments. There were plans to create departments for medicine and nursing[224] that did not materialize, most likely due to financial reasons. Yet, as we saw in 2.c.1.c., the school employed teachers like Ogino Ginko and Watanabe Susumu*, who could have been instructing in both medicine and nursing even without the school establishing such independent departments.

Overall, the initial bias towards science was maintained throughout the school's history, with the inclusion of rare subjects such as astronomy and psychology that showed the innovative side of the school. However, there were some significant changes from the initial curriculum devised by Kimura Kumaji. Firstly, the addition of the vocational course and more flexibility aimed at answering the practical needs of the students and helping them to secure employment to empower them. Secondly, as Yōko Iwahori writes, in 1887 there were complaints from fathers and mothers-in-law that their secondary school educated daughters-in-law were bad at housework. It was in response to such public bashing that Iwamoto tried to establish a special education system for women, by attaching a dormitory to Meiji Jogakkō in order to create a "family" atmosphere, where the students could receive training in practical aspects of housekeeping and cleaning,[225] without such training overtaking any of the time allocated for other subjects provided at the school. Section 2.c.3.b. explores the dormitory system.

Iwamoto was also the one to add domestic science to the curriculum. Iwahori writes how *Jogaku zasshi* linked domestic science to women's education before the Confucian-backed anti-Western backlash of the 1890s that essentially promoted housework over science. She notes that the girls' school dormitory system envisioned by Iwamoto was based on a Western model. The reason why Iwamoto took such a step can be found in the 1988 debate on domestic science, which proposed domestic sciences as a way for women's liberation, as society was getting more industrialized. Nitobe Inazō, for instance, while studying in Bonn, sent his thoughts from

[221] *Tokyo yūgaku annai*, 1893, 210.
[222] *Tokyo yūgaku annai*, 1890, 45.
[223] This was an early endeavor, as government-supported professional schools only started running since the 1900s.
[224] "An Address to the 'Meiji Gakko' Pupils. The Present Educational System," (*Meiji jogakkō seito ni tsugu, meshita no joshikyōikuhō* 明治学校生徒に告ぐ、目下の女子教育法), *Jogaku zasshi* 207 (April 5, 1890).
[225] Iwamoto explains such intentions in *Jogaku zasshi* 49 (January 29, 1887), "*Joseito no tsuma*" 女生徒の妻, 50, "*Joshi no kishukusha*" 女子の寄宿舎 (February 5, 1887), and 222, "*Jojuku bessha shugi*" 女塾別舎主義 (June 19, 1890).

industrializing Germany to *Jogaku zasshi*. He emphasized that the wife's freedom was greatly enhanced by improved efficiency in household management. Thus, he stressed the need for mechanization in the household, the employment of scientific knowledge, and encouraged *Jogaku zasshi* in its role as a scientific magazine to direct the improvement of home life.[226] Nitobe also predicted that numbers of female factory workers would increase, the number of maids would decrease, and domestic science would become much more important.[227] Iwahori comments on the "three steps to reforming the position of women" described by Nitobe: 1) in the kitchen, 2) in the parlor, and 3) on the podium of public life. According to him, only the U.S. was at the third stage. Japan was at the first, moving toward the second, and it thus was important to establish domestic science before trying to rush into anything else. He also ventured into giving some practical advice on housework.[228] Interestingly, Nitobe saw domestic science as a technical discipline. In addition, his perspective was that in a household that could afford it, the wife would be happy to become a full-time housewife rather than work outside the home. Iwahori notes that according to the German doctrine he was espousing, this was regarded as a luxurious way to live, and Nitobe recommended it to be popularized in Japan. This line of debate was further developed until 1890, when no. 241[229] marked the appearance of a revised *Jogaku zasshi*, carrying a higher proportion of articles on housework and domestic science. Iwamoto also invited women as contributors in scientific fields, yet not all invitations materialized. Thus, these tendencies were reflected at Meiji Jogakkō not only with the addition of the independent domestic science department but with urging the women to enter the scientific research sphere, teach and publish.

2.c.2.c. Gaining Confidence and Building Networks: Advice on How to Establish and Run a *Jogakkō* (1892)

In 1892, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*[230] described the reasons behind Meiji Jogakkō's establishment, reiterating the ideas promoted by the founders, and also explaining the school's position vis-a-vis its curriculum and style of management after six years of running. Apart from the emphasis on practical skills described above, Iwamoto stressed the need for higher education, balanced curricula, networking, in addition to including open criticism of the government's education policies. As the source offers a valuable insight into the school's curricula and policies, it will be explored in detail below.

Firstly, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*'s introductory paragraphs mirror the *secchigan* by restating how the establishers founded the school as they felt a need to stop relying on foreign methods of education, such as those provided at missionary schools. While stressing the fact that they are grateful to the missionaries, described as the only ones furthering the education of women in Japan,[231] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* points out that the time has come for the Japanese to take the education of women into their own hands and adapt the curricula to suit the needs of the students. To realize this goal, Meiji Jogakkō's curriculum is described as aiming to balance the Japanese (*wagaku*), Western (*yōgaku*), and Chinese (*kangaku*) ideas, aiming to avoid leaning towards the

[226] Nitobe wrote as Ōta Inazō 太田稻造 in issues 110-11, May 19 and 26, 1889 under the title "*Katte muki ni okeru kōan*" 勝手向に於ける考案, or "on selfishness."
[227] Iwahori, "Construction of the Ideal Wife," 404.
[228] Ibid, 405.
[229] Published on November 29, 1890.
[230] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, "Introduction" (*Jo* 序), 1-4; Chapter 14, "A new plan to promote woman's Education in Japan" 女學普及の經綸, 207-13; and "The Supplement" (*Hogen* 補言), 214-17.
[231] In contrast to the government that is seen as not doing a sufficient job. The position illustrates Iwamoto's disillusionment with the efforts of the government to promote women's education around the 1890s, as described in section 2.b.2.b.

extremes as conservatism (*jukyū* 守旧), progressivism (*gekishin* 激進), Western (*seiyōfū* 西洋風) or the outdated (*kyūheifū* 旧弊風) styles of education. With this, Iwamoto diverges from the *secchigan*: if Kimura Kumaji's inclinations fell into the category of Western-style education, Iwamoto's version underscored the need for a balance between traditional and new.

The more detailed explanation of the curriculum starts by introducing physical education at Meiji Jogakkō as consisting of calisthenics, etiquette for women, and martial arts—the combination that, as I shall explore in the following chapters, was a recent development at the school. The fact that it was mentioned ahead of other things also indicates the importance of this conceptual innovation at the school. Next, the general aim of education is described as enlightenment and cultivation[232], avoiding memorization[233] by trying to come up with ways to nurture the mind for original ideas.[234] For moral education, while Christianity is described as forming the basis, proselytizing activities[235] are described as refrained from. Instead, instinctive self-improvement is noted as indispensable.[236] All of these elements are given as fundamental concepts in the understanding of women's education and practices at Meiji Jogakkō.

The introduction goes on to describe how Meiji Jogakkō is organized. The school's organizing committee, or the "group of friends" (*dōshikai* 同志会), chooses the headmaster, who then nominates the remaining positions. The management and maintenance of the school is then decided in meetings of all members, including a student representative whose position is equal to other participants'. The members of this committee are pooled from among individuals who want to dedicate their lives to female education, follow the principles of Meiji Jogakkō, and are Christians who have pledged to help and support the school and further the education of Japanese women; they are not interested in acquiring influence or power. It appears that with this, the potential committee members are being addressed, signifying that one of the reasons behind the publication of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* was to secure support. The preface further refers the readers to the end of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* for more details on the management of girls' schools, and is signed by the "elected head of Meiji Jogakkō's group of friends" (*dōshi hyōgi kaichō* 同志評議会長), possibly Iwamoto himself.

The section at the end regarding the management of the school, "A new plan to promote women's education in Japan,"[237] describes the goals and tendencies that influenced the formation of the curriculum and the school's management, in addition to echoing the concepts of *ryōsai kenbo* and *jogaku* discussed in section 2.b.1. It starts by stating that providing basic education to women is not enough—general education must be paired with higher education (following the example of Meiji Jogakkō). According to the passage,

> There currently are two ways of action that need to be taken to facilitate the growth of female education. The first one is to provide universal education to the general population and thus allow girls to become cultured and to give them a chance to better fill the roles of modern wives and mothers. The second is to provide an even higher

[232] "Introduction" (*Jo* 序), *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 1-4: "啓発練磨."
[233] Ibid.: "暗誦の風を退け."
[234] Ibid.: "心して創見を養はしむべき."
[235] Ibid.: "伝道."
[236] Ibid.: "精神上不知不識の修養を用とせり."
[237] "*Jogaku fukyū no keirin*" 女學普及の經綸, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 207-13, and *Jogaku zasshi* 280 (July 29, 1891).

> level of education to the very brightest and thus boldly strengthen the basis on which the female education stands and clear the path for further free development.[238]

According to the text, the first method will create the *ryōsai kenbo* who will change Japan one home at a time, make the husbands "good," raise wise children and thus, benefit the whole country.[239] With the second method, extraordinary students, with the initiative to lead and educate by example[240] should emerge, spreading out throughout the country and becoming great teachers, invigorating *jogaku*. The reasoning seems to enforce the one already mentioned in 2.b.2.a., seen in "The Two Ways of Extending Women's Rights" of 1887,[241] by simultaneously targeting both the inside and the outside of the household.

The text deems the above easy to achieve: asking the government to help is not feasible (Iwamoto's disillusionment is clear here), but the power of the regular people[242], who are keen to help each other for the benefit of the cause (women's education and betterment of society), is enough. While such a stance may seem reminiscent of the Freedom and Rights Movement, the following passages delve into the minutiae of what needs to be done, revealing the need felt by Iwamoto to put the ideas to practice rather than develop ideas.

The text suggests that, first of all, two-year regular girls' schools (*futsū jogakkō*) should be established to accommodate the graduates of higher elementary schools (*kōtō shōgakkō*). They should prepare the students to become *ryōsai kenbo*, using Japanese language and texts for instruction. Since two to three teachers are enough, the school entrance fees[243] should not be that high, and four or five students could cover their salaries. If that is difficult, those in support of the cause would provide some aid until the student numbers increase. The text explains that even though such arrangement might not be on par with the government's girls' high schools (*kōtō jogakkō*) or the missionaries' *eiwa* 英和 *jogakkō* (managed by both foreigners and Japanese), the first have the shortcoming of exclusively catering to the nobility (*kizoku*), why the later overemphasize English language (useless in the countryside) and fail to provide knowledge that can be put into practice, which is the reason why not many enter such schools or find a way to use their knowledge after they graduate. The argument here displays the belief that general education for women will undoubtedly succeed if it is aimed at the practical needs of the students from middle-class families of contemporary Japan.

The next step to take is establishing facilities for higher education (*kōtō jogakkō*) where graduates from regular *jogakkō*s can deepen their knowledge for two years, returning to teach at their alma mater and ensuring the school's survival. The text claims that as long as a zealous teacher is present, everything else is secondary. Thus, the two levels should be set up in a way to ensure the constant exchange of students and graduates, providing stipends and support for aspiring teachers. The text concludes stating that if no bright and aspiring students are ready to be sent to acquire teacher training, the current students at Meiji Jogakkō's higher education department are readily available.

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[238] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, "*Jogaku fukyū no keirin*" 女學普及の經綸, 207-08. "今の女學伸張に切要なる方二個あり。普通一と通りの教育を施こして一般婦女子の品性を開發し以て妻母の資格を高くするを、其一とす。更に高等なる教育を、比較上少數の有爲婦人に授け、先進女學生の地歩を固く勇しくせしめて、以て大ひに女子教育の源を拓くを、又の一となす."

[239] Ibid.: Husbands: "良人が大丈夫となる," children: "賢児."

[240] "誘道啓蒙."

[241] Ibid.: *Jogaku zasshi* 69 and 71, June and July of 1887.

[242] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, "*Jogaku fukyū no keirin*": "民間人."

[243] Ibid.: "入費."

Finally, such educational work is framed as a mission to further *jogaku*—i.e., "research-based activism," as framed by Iwamoto. His position is made clear by him stating that the above argument might be empty words to "those who do not share the vision"[244] and that it may seem as a hard thing to achieve for the "cowards" [245] who depend solely on the efforts of the government. Subsequently, what is needed to implement this mission is those of "independent mind and spirit"[246]: people moving toward a common goal (*dōshisha*), "those who rouse them,"[247] and suitable materials. Regarding the latter, the text mentions that Meiji Jogakkō has begun to compile textbooks for domestic science, sewing, and morals for women and urges those knowledgeable to come forth and contribute texts in the Japanese language.

What is clear from the statements above is that by publishing this text Iwamoto is trying to promote an educational system that would function on zeal and human networks. The system is visualized as sustainable by relying on two levels of education that would facilitate the exchange of sources and motivated individuals. It is seen as running independently from the government and not relying on missionaries, either (both of which are criticized for not providing the education needed by the middle class—the majority of students). Finally, Iwamoto is also advertising Meiji Jogakkō as "the" *kōtō jogakkō* for maintaining such affiliations with *futsū jogakkō*, conveniently situated in the capital and ready to accommodate the students sent on stipends from the regions. The underlying goal was likely to strengthen the foothold of the school, in addition to securing positions and livelihoods for its graduates. While it is hard to evaluate how successful such plans were, they nevertheless provide us with an idea about Iwamoto's and Meiji Jogakkō's future aspirations.

Enforcing Iwamoto's theories described above, the "Supplement"[248] at the end of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* describes how to formulate the curriculum. It explains that students would usually spend two years at regular girls' school (*futsū jogakkō*) after graduating from higher elementary schools (*kōtō shōgakkō*), yet in the prosperous areas, or where the level of education is more advanced, there might be a need to extend it to three years. The table below reflects Iwamoto's ideal (and pragmatic) curriculum for a two-year *jogakkō*. Iwamoto seems to have modelled this on Meiji Jogakkō's *honka*, yet abbreviated it to two years.

***Table 13: Curriculum suggested for a regular* jogakkō[249]**

1st year subjects (30 hours)		**2nd year subjects** (30 hours)	
Subject (hours)	**Description**	**(hours)**	**Description**
Domestic science (2)	science for the home (*kasei rigaku* 家政理學)	(3)	nursing babies, children, and patients; home hygiene (*kanai eisei* 家内衛生); hands-on practice (*jisshū* 實習)
Science (*rigaku*) (3)	science, natural history (*rikahakubutsugaku* 理科博物學)	(1)	physiology (*seiri*)
Literature (3)	Japanese/Chinese language and writing	(3)	Japanese/Chinese language and writing

[244] Ibid.: "精神なき人."
[245] Ibid.: "卑屈者."
[246] Ibid.: "独立の思想と精神."
[247] Ibid.: "起こつ者."
[248] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 214-17.
[249] The guidelines following the curriculum reiterate the previously described points by explaining that all the necessary preparations to open a *jogakkō* are finding two suitable teachers (one is enough for the first year), an elderly lady (*rōfujin* 老婦人) to become the supervisor (*torishimari*), and gathering the funds from the supporters (*yūshisha*) for the location and buildings of the school. At first, 10-15 students is a good number to maintain. According to Iwamoto, after two years, as there will be graduates, the base of the school will strengthen.

English (1)	basics	(2)	basics
Mathematics (1)	proportion	(1)	extraction of square and cubic root
Bookkeeping (1)	home bookkeeping	(2)	hands-on practice
Drawing (*zusho* 圖書) (2)	Japanese and Western	(2)	Japanese and Western
Calligraphy (2)		(1)	
Etiquette for Women (*jorei*) (1)		(1)	
Economics (*keizai*) (1)		(1)	origins of products, understanding goods' ingredient lists and practical tips on managing the household finances
Society (*shakai*) (1)	discussions regarding events in society	(1)	
Morals (*dōwa*) (1)	discussions regarding the morality-related subjects	(1)	
Women's Arts (*jogei* 女芸) (3)	tea ceremony, flower arrangement, playing *koto*, choir, etc. depending on the locality	(3)	same as 1st year
Women's Crafts (*jokō* 女工) (4)	sewing, knitting, cooking, sericulture, producing tea, paper, lacquerware, weaving, etc., depending on the locality	(4)	same as 1st year
Physical Education (3)	calisthenics, martial arts, etc., depending on the locality	(3)	same as 1st year

In that the recommended curriculum allocates English language few hours, Iwamoto is building on his argument about the lack of usability of English in the lower levels of education or in the rural areas. Meiji Jogakkō itself did not limit its English language education so strictly. Above, skills and knowledge for the home, in the form of domestic science, bookkeeping, economics, and crafts for women (which would also possibly secure an income) take up eight and ten hours for the first and second years respectively. In addition, the emphasis on assuring the girl's health is seen from the presence of physiology in the second year and the emphasis on physical education.

While in the curriculum there were such modern subjects as science and physical education, there were also arts and moral education to balance them out. Drawing, calligraphy, and women's arts together take up seven hours of the first and six hours of the second year. While morals are allocated only an hour each year, depending on the interpretation of the teachers, the "discussions regarding events in society," etiquette for women, in addition to the unspecified texts for the literature class, making up six hours together, were possible means for moral instruction as well. Thus, the recommended curriculum was likely split into more or less equal parts of 1) practical knowledge or vocational skills, 2) science, physical education, and English as modern subjects, and 3) arts and morals as "traditional" ones. However, many of the subjects fit more than one of these categories and all of them used modern approaches in Iwamoto's interpretation.

While the above example illustrated the general patterns in Iwamoto's thought on devising curricula for the general *jogakkō* throughout Japan, Meiji Jogakkō's structure is also given as a reference, a model to emulate. The last page of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* provides the school's rules and regulations and serves as a description of the institutional basis the school depended on in the latter half of its history.

Table 14: Meiji Jogakkō's rules and regulations[250]

1. The school has four departments: 1) the elementary department (*yōnenka*) offering general primary education for students of young ages; 2) the preparatory department (*yoka*), equal to junior higher education and lasting three years; 3) the main department (*honka*), graduation of which is enough/necessary for those who wish to become

[250] "*Kisoku ryaku*" 規則略, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 214-17.

wise wives and good mothers (*ryōsai kenbo*); and 4) the higher education department (*kōtōka*), lasting two years and preparing the students to become teachers at institutions of higher education.

2. For the older students, we provide the free electives department (*senka*) in which they can take up any of the available courses.
3. For students of the main department who wish to specialize in a certain field, we have established departments for teacher training (*shihanka*), English language and literature (*eigaku*), and Japanese and Chinese language and literature (*wakangaku*) among others.[251]
4. The school fees are 30 sen for the primary level, 1 yen 40 sen for the preparatory level, 1 yen 60 sen for the main course, 1 yen 80 sen for the free-electives course, and 2 yen for the higher education course. In addition, there are many other classes to choose from: English classes are available for 50 sen, instruction in *koto* for 30 sen, organ for 70 sen, and stenography for 30 sen.
5. The dormitory fee is 3 yen as a salary to the supervisor (*geppō* 月俸) and 80 sen as lodging fees. If the school fees are 1 yen 40 sen, it is 5 yen 20 sen in total per month. For personal expenses, it is enough to prepare 1 yen (per month). There is very little expense incurred from purchasing the reading materials.
6. The regular admission of new students takes place in April, September, and January. However, as long as there are openings, you can be admitted anytime.
7. Students arriving from the countryside should find a guarantor within the Tokyo municipality. In case there is a guarantor, they are allowed to arrange matters with the school.
8. Commuting students are only allowed to stay with their relatives or in the lodgings approved by the school.
9. Those in need of the full version of school rules and regulations should post us a letter with a return stamp of 2 sen.

Tokyo, Shimorokubanchō.

Judging from the above, the students were free to take independent courses if they wished to, such as organ and *koto*, usually taught under the course title of "music." It is unclear whether the trimester system was kept throughout the school's history, but the students seem to have been able to join according to their circumstances.

In the later years the variety and flexibility in the curriculum at Meiji Jogakkō diminished due to various reasons. According to Aoyama Nao, in 1904, the only options remaining were *yoka* (shortened to one year instead of two), *futsūka* and *senshūka* (lasting three and two years respectively),[252] and vocational training replacing higher education. In 1906, only the *futsūbu* (three years) and *jisshūbu* (two years) remained, yet Iwamoto still had grand plans and, before leaving Meiji Jogakkō in 1906, devised the changes described in the following section. His plans are reflected in *Sotsugyōseikai hōkoku* 卒業生会報告 no. 30, "*Gakka no kaitei*" 学科の改定, or "the revision of departments." *Sotsugyōseikai hōkoku* was a publication distributed among the school's alumnae notifying them of the new developments at the school.[253] The changes did not materialize due to various challenges yet offer valuable insight into Iwamoto's aspirations.

2.c.2.d. Aspirations of the Later Years

Sotsugyōseikai hōkoku provides the background details of the changes that took place at the school after 1904. It describes how the plan was for the general course (*futsūka*) to be left as it was, while the vocational *senshūka* was to be used as a replacement for the tertiary-level *kōtōka. Kōtōka* was most likely removed due to financial strains and lack of applicants in the later years. As *senshūka* was two years long, and in 1905 three years of study were necessary to meet the requirements for a professional school set out by *Senmongakkō jōrei*, the school decided to make it possible to remain for an extra year and choose the subjects freely, thus using their experience in running

[251] Referring to *senshūka*.
[252] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*, 565-66.
[253] Ibid., 580. Aoyama evaluates the following curriculum as advanced, ambitious, and science-bent.

jiyūka as well. By following the *Senmongakkō jōrei*, the school was likely attempting to align with Tsuda's Eigaku Juku and Naruse Jinzō's Nihon Joshi Daigakkō. Iwamoto's plan was as follows.

Table 15: Curriculum designed for the vocational department (*senshūka*) (1906)[254]

1st year, 1st semester subjects		**2nd year, 1st semester subjects**	
Subject (hours)	**Details**	**(hours)**	**Details**
Japanese (*kokubun*) (3)	*Man'yōshū* (*Manyō* 万葉), *Genji monogatari* (*Gengo* 源語), history of literature (*bungakushi* 文學史)	(3)	Continuation from before.
Chinese Classics (*kanbun*) (3)	*The Analects of Confucius* (*Rongo* 論語, 5th–3rd C. BC), *Mencius* (*Mōshi* 孟子, 4th C. BC), *Tao Te Ching* (*Rōshi* 老子, 6th C. BC), *Liezi* (*Resshi* 列子, 4th C.), history of Chinese literature from *Shina bungakushi* 支那文學史 (author/date unidentified)	(3)	*Shijing* (*Shikyō* 詩経, 8th–7th C. BC), *Shujing* / *Book of Documents* (*Shokyō* 書経, date disputed), *Zhuangzi* (*Sōji* 荘子, app. 3rd C. BC), history of Chinese literature
English Literature (*eibun*) (8)	poetry of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82) and Lord Alfred Tennyson (1809–92), poetry and prose of Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774), prose of Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64) and Washington Irving (1783–1859), *Kōtō bunten*高等文典 (publication unidentified), history of English literature from Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Eibungakushi* 英文學史 (1901?)	(8)	poetry of Lord Byron (1788–1824) and John Milton (1608–74), plays of William Shakespeare (1564–1616), essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82), Francis Bacon (1561–1626), and Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), rhetoric from *Shūjigaku*修辞學 (publication unidentified), *Eibungakushi*
Discussion (*kōwa*)	astronomy (*hoshigaku*), geology and mineralogy (*chishitsu kōbutsu*), biology (*seibutsugaku*), psychology (*shinrigaku*), recent world history (*saikin seishi*), hygienics (*eiseigaku*), nursing (*kangogaku*), economics (*keizaigaku*)		philosophy or introductory philosophy (*tetsugaku oyobi tetsugakuron*), social studies (*shakaigaku*), logic (*ronrigaku*), pedagogy (*kyōikugaku*), art or art history (*bijutsu oyobi bijutsu shi*, legislations (*hōsei taii*)

1st year, 2nd semester subjects		**2nd year, 2nd semester subjects**	
Subject (hours)	**Details**	**Subject (hours)**	**Details**
Kanbun (2)			
English language (6)	continuation	**English language** (6)	
German language (10)		**German language** (10)	
Arithmetic (6)	triangle (*sankaku*), algebra (*daisū*), equations (*banpōshikiron*), proofreading in printing (*kaihan shikiron, kaihan*), geometry (*kika*)	**Arithmetic** (6)	dynamics (*rikigaku*), calculus (*bibun*), integral calculus (*sekibun*), advanced geometry (*kōtō kikagaku*)
Geology and Mineralogy (3)		**Physics** (3) and **Science** (3)	
Lectures	Physics, Psychology, Nursing	**Lectures**	Astronomy, Science, Physiology, Introductory Philosophy, Pedagogy

As the previous curricula included the majority of the subjects in Table 15, it is clear that the variety and the detail of the contents here illustrate the experience the school had accumulated throughout the years and the emphasis it placed on higher education. While the courses above may not necessarily have been characteristic of the later years of Meiji Jogakkō, they were or would have been carried out when teachers and funds were available and can be safely said to have represented the realistic estimations Iwamoto had for Meiji Jogakkō and its later years.

[254] Ibid., 580.

2.c.2.e. Curricula of *Tsūshin Jogaku Kōgiroku*

Tsūshin jogaku, which was essentially a compilation of texts used at the school, reflected what was covered in classes held at Meiji Jogakkō and thus offers deeper insight into the school's educational agenda. The following passages explore the curricula for the cycles of 1887 (April 15, 1887, to November 29, 1888) and 1890 (January 20 to December 16, 1890, yet possibly beyond). Each yearly cycle during which the texts circulated to students with distance learning subscriptions was slightly different, reflecting students' questions, the availability of teachers who prepared their contributions for publishing in installments, and their growing expertise. They also show the development in the school's approach and reflect the external influences.

Table 16: **Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku's *curriculum (1887 Cycle)*[255]**

Female Physiology (*joshi seiri*), 15 installments, by Funakoshi Kentarō* 船越鼎太郎.
Childcare Training (*ikuji kokoroe*), 15 inst.
Basics of Literature (*bungaku ippan*), 14 inst.
Outline of World History (*bankoku shiryaku*), 4 inst.
Western Etiquette for Women (*seiyō no jorei*), 7 inst.
Questions and Answers (*mondō sōwa*)
Domestic Science (*kanai rigaku*), 12 inst.
Physical Geography (*chimongaku kōgi*), 3 inst.
Japanese Painting (*waga kōgi*), by Yagi Kenshin.
Stories for Children (*kodomo no hanashi*), 18 inst.
Hyakunin isshu kōgi 百人一首講義, lectures by Suzuki Hiroyasu 鈴木弘恭 (1844–1897) put in writing by Yagi Kenshin, 7 inst.
Prevention of Female Illnesses (*fujinbyō no gen'in*), 2 inst., by Hasegawa Tai 長谷川泰 (1842–1912).
Economics (*keizaigaku*), 3 inst.
Basic Physical Science (*rigaku ippan*), 3 inst.

The first installment of *Tsūshin jogaku* (April 15, 1887) carried Iwamoto's opening remarks providing a glimpse into his ideas behind devising the distance learning course. There, Iwamoto lists the subjects of the course, briefly describing their purposes.[256]

First on the list are the sciences "necessary for the home": hygiene and economics, followed by subjects that teach knowledge "necessary for mothers," and knowledge "necessary for a civilized nation," i.e., literature and science, history and geography, and Western manners.[257] That is, after describing the science-based knowledge related to the health and livelihood of women and their families as the basis of education necessary for women, Iwamoto adds other subjects, that he believes having no knowledge of is an embarrassment.[258] The idea was that these subjects were necessary to allow women unable to enter schools to "catch up" with those who did. Overall, the writing seems to indicate the fear of women being left behind as society was "moving ahead." It is unclear whether the students were truly worried or the fear was imposed, yet we can discern

[255] With reference to Koyama Shizuko 小山静子, *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku / Nihon shinfujin / Fujin sekai fukkokuban kaidai* 通信女学講義録/日本新婦人/婦人世界【復刻版】解題 (Tokyo: Kashiwashobō 柏書房, 2017): 4.

[256] "*Tsūshin jogaku hakkō no shushi*" 通信女學発行の趣旨 and "*Ryakusoku*" 畧則 (April 15, 1887).

[257] Koyama Shizuko 小山静子, Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雑誌社, *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* 通信女學講義録 (Tokyo: Kashiwashobō 柏書房, 2017): 6. From "*Tsūshin jogaku hakkō no shushi*" 通信女學発行の趣旨: "一家を修るには、家内衞生、家内經濟の事を初めとして、母親たるの覺悟、育兒の心得などは、是非とも學びおかねは相成らず、特に世追々開化して、交際の有り様も變化なる今日に當たりては文學理學の一班より、歴史地理の大畧、及び、西洋女禮式の一と通りを承知せざるば、大なる辱を受ることもあらん."

[258] Such a position was reiterated in the "*Ryakusoku*" 略即 and the announcements of the course made by *Jogaku zasshi*, etc.

an attempt to stress that these subjects are also useful in the daily lives of modern women. Let us look into the contents of these subjects in detail.

The Physiology section began by claiming that good physical health is the premise for any education.[259] Such opening indicates the importance the preservation of women's health had in the overall structure of the course. Indeed, the topic seems to have been the most extensively covered in the cycle. For instance, installment 1 (pp. 5-16) begins with advising women to make sure they are "sturdy"[260] and look after their bodies as vessels of their souls[261], thus drawing connections to the Muscular Christianity movement.[262] Then, it delves into the topic of menstruation and advises against early and late marriage, before concentrating on pregnancy in the following installments. Koyama notes that the selection of topics in comparison to contemporaneous textbooks was progressive.[263] Later, additional subjects such as "Prevention of Female Illnesses" and one-off talks on glasses, for example, were most likely seen as extensions to the Physiology course.

Domestic Science course that began in issue 3 (pp. 49-56) started by announcing that it will cover the topic of "heat" and went into detailed scientific descriptions, proving that it was not a mere course on household chores.[264] On the other hand, "Childcare Training" was based on very practical advice and described how to wash babies, shave their heads, when and how to breastfeed, when to wean, use the solid foods, and so on. Some installments were written as responses to students' questions.

"Basics of Literature" discussed the Japanese script, promoted *genbun icchi*, and explained grammar. It also introduced various types of writing, including *kanbun*, describing the changes and instructing in correct usages. By teaching about language, *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* followed the tradition of *ōraimono* for women, yet its approach to the subject was more systematic and influenced by Western linguistics.

"Outline of World History" described in its three chapters (pp. 37-47) the primitive, modernizing, and developed peoples[265]. While on one hand the section seems to have built upon scientific ideas, on the other it introduced the origin of the world from a Biblical perspective[266]. It mentions the Tower of Babel and the scattering of peoples[267], proceeds to issues of race[268], and finally introduces the history of ancient civilizations in Mesopotamia[269]—illustrating how religion and science still went hand-in-hand in Japan at the time.

The "Physical Geography" section was, most likely, a partial translation of Sir Archibald Geikie's (1835–1924) *The Teaching of Geography, Suggestions regarding Principles and*

[259] Koyama, *Tsūshin jogaku* 1, 9: "先づ身体の丈夫なるが第一なり."
[260] Ibid.: "壮健丈夫."
[261] Ibid.: "霊妙の大機械とも云ふべき身体を、能くよく保護して."
[262] It is unclear how exposed Iwamoto was to such ideas, yet his fascination with sports in women's education may have stemmed from learning about examples of women's physical education in Christian circles.
[263] Koyama, *Kōgiroku kaidai*, 5.
[264] Koyama, *Tsūshin jogaku,* 3: The subtopics for "heat" were: tectonic plates (地球上温熱の出處及び分かれ方の事), heat and living beings (温熱と生物との関係の事), measuring heat (温熱を測る事), reflection of heat (温熱反射の事), warming things (温熱を導く事), preservation of heat by moving bodies (動体が温熱を運ぶ事), the properties and usages of heat (温熱の性質並に効験の事), the effect of heat on the living things (温熱の生理上に於ける効験の事), ways to create heat, such as by burning coal (人工温熱並に薪炭の事), movement of air and ventilation (空気の流動並に烟出の事), and tools to create heat (温熱を得る道具類の事).
[265] Koyama, *Tsūshin jogaku,* 1: "未開、半開、開化民のこと."
[266] Ibid.: "人祖出生及び大洪水の事."
[267] Ibid.: "ベーベルの塔及人民四散の事."
[268] Ibid.: "歴史上人種区別の事."
[269] Ibid.: "古代東方諸国位置の事."

Methods for the Use of Teachers published by Macmillan in 1887. It described the shape of the earth, explained the notion of day and night, the composition of the atmosphere, and other scientific subjects. The translator is not disclosed and it could not be ascertained whether the translation of Geikie's work was accessible through other mediums. Therefore, it was likely an original effort by someone affiliated to Meiji Jogakkō.

The "Western Etiquette for Women" began by speaking of introductions. It described how to behave when being introduced to someone and explained how to carry out introductions in writing, exchange name cards, and hold conversations. It treated such topics as showing somebody around, writing letters, going for walks, and types of accessories. It also spoke of parties and table manners[270], occasionally using English phrases. The addition of this section is particular to the introductory stage in Iwamoto's educational policies. Later, Iwamoto's understanding of manners necessary to Japanese women evolved and diverged from the "Western etiquette," yet the underlying principles in his descriptions survived in his definition of *jorei*.

"Economics" appeared late in the cycle and spoke on how to accrue profit and on other finance theory. "Stories for Children" carried, among others, H. C. Andersen's (1805–75) *The Emperor's New Clothes*, translated into *Fushigi no shin'isō* 不思議の新衣装 by Iwamoto himself. There was also the "Question and Answer" section that addressed such topics as studying later in life, Western-style clothing, and ways of recreation that would help escape the summer heat. Other topics included equal rights, introduction to publications, and Western-style knitting.

Overall, the first cycle of *Tsūshin jogaku*, while addressing the issue of becoming a good wife and mother, also seems to reach out to women with "enlightening" and possibly "liberating" advice, with the hope of dispelling previous "misconceptions." Thus, while the Meiji period was the time when such figures as Inoue Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919) saw the need to rid Japan of religious superstitions with scientific explanations of the natural phenomena, Iwamoto and Meiji Jogakkō did something similar for women. However, while Inoue made numerous talks and wrote in newspapers making light of the old beliefs, a subtler way to disseminate the knowledge on women's health must have been preferable in the society of the time. The fact that *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* was delivered to students' homes in a style of correspondence, and that questions could be asked in private letters, must have been aimed at making the readers feel comfortable to ask personal questions.

The 1890 cycle of *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* boasted more content both in the length of articles and in the variety of subjects. It also contained illustrations and included authors' names, displaying the fact that *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* had become a more "established" publication.

Table 17: **Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku*'s curriculum (1890 Cycle)*[271]**

Subject	**Pages** (year/month)[272]	**Teacher**
World History (*bankokushi*)	450/38	Kimura Yūkichi
Japanese History (*nihonrekishi*)	200/16	Namatame Keitoku*
Arithmetic and Bookkeeping (*sanjutsuboki*)	100/8	
Physics and Chemistry (*rikagaku*)	100/8	
Physiology (*seirigaku*)	100/8	Bachelor in Medicine (*igakushi*) Mishima Michiyoshi*

[270] Ibid.: "夫人朝夕(ちょうせき)宴会の事; 食卓上(テーブルのうえ)の心得の事."

[271] The announcement of the curriculum made in *Jogakusei* 1 (May 21, 1890). Teachers as per list found in *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* numbers 11 (November 15, 1890) and 12 (December 16, 1890).

[272] The numbers of pages do not add up as they are approximations.

Zoology (*dōbutsugaku*)	100/8	Isogai Yūtarō, a teacher at Meiji Jogakkō, and Kichida Nobuko
Essay writing (*sakubunhō bunrei*)	200/16	Suzuki Hiroyasu
Japanese Poetry (*eika*詠歌)	50/4	
Japanese Reader (*wabun tokuhon*)	300/24	Suzuki Hiroyasu
Kanbun Reader (*kanbun tokuhon*)	300/24	Yagi Kenshin
Domestic Science (*kaseigaku*) including Hygiene (*eisei*), Childcare (*ikuji*), Nursing (*kanbyō*), Cooking (*ryōri*), and Sewing (*saihō*).	300/24	Western cooking (*seiyō ryōri hō*) by Mrs. Kadi* カヂ・梶婦人, Sewing (*saihō kōza*) by Watanabe Tatsugorō 渡邊辰五郎, and Hygiene by Mishima Michiyoshi*
Geography with graphs (*zu-iri chiri*)	150/12	Isogai Yūtarō
English Studies (*eigaku*)	100/8	

Table 17 is based on advertisements published before the cycle. The courses, however, were named slightly differently from the above and also included *jorei*. With the inclusion of the section on the Japanese history and the exclusion of the Western manners, there appears to be more emphasis on "native" knowledge.

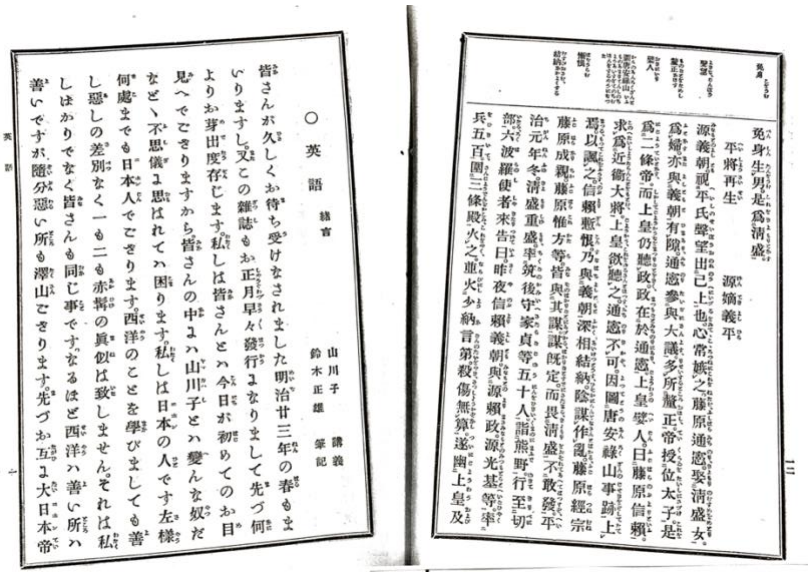
It seems that both the staff and the students at Meiji Jogakkō fulfilled a wide range of roles and that the staff, even when not officially employed, would collaborate with the school in its projects. This is made clear by the fact that the "*Jorei*" section was written by a student taking the class at Meiji Jogakkō[273]; the "World History" was supervised by Kimura Yūkichi (whom Table 8 describes as a teacher of *eigaku* and *kangaku* in 1890); the "Physiology" section was assigned to Isogai Yūtarō (teacher of literature and mathematics in 1890, cf. Table 8; he also edited *Jogakusei*, a magazine Meiji Jogakkō published to promote girl students' writing and *genbun icchi*); and "Physics" and "Chemistry" were under Kichida Nobuko (teacher of science in 1890, head and teacher at the teacher training department in 1891, cf. Table 8; also the person behind compiling the domestic science textbooks according to *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*). The names of Yagi Kenshin, who was responsible for art, *kanbun*, and management at Meiji Jogakkō (cf. tables 8, 16, 17, and 22), and Suzuki Hiroyasu, who was responsible for teaching the Japanese language and compiling textbooks (cf. tables 8, 16, 17, 20, and 28), are also commonly seen, signifying the important and varied roles they played in the school's activities and underscoring the connection between them and the school's policies.

The approach to mix between faith and science in teaching history has not changed between the cycles. The "Japanese History" section in the first issue covered the distant past and, just as the "World History" had been explained from a Christian perspective in 1887, it started from Shinto mythology.

The "English" section described English by comparing it to Japanese and spoke of the ways of instructing, learning, and practicing the language. Meanwhile, the "*Kanbun* Reader" kept the more classical approach and provided a reading exercise using parallel text—one page was in the original Chinese while the other carried the *kanbun* readings.

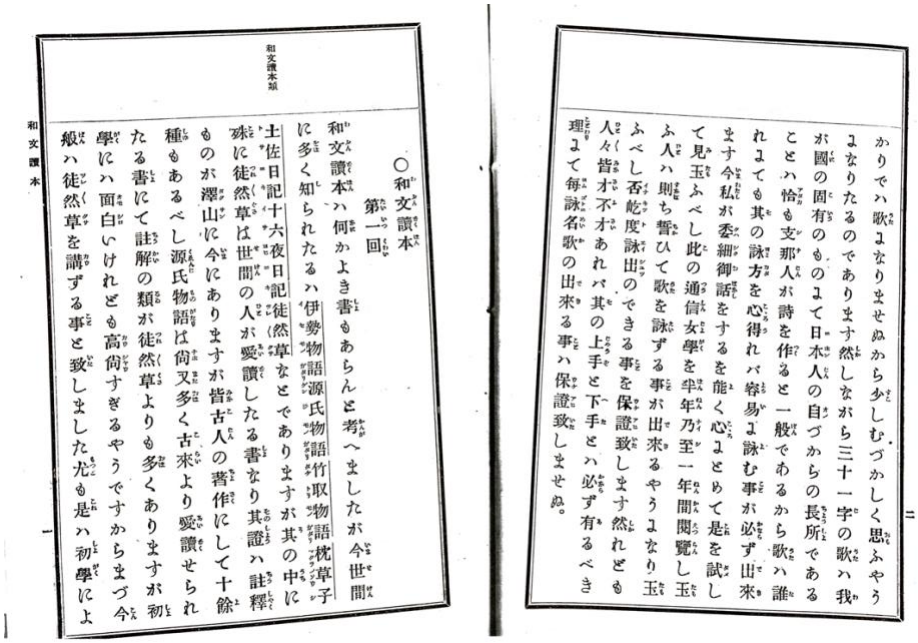
Image 1: English (opening, left),* Kanbun *(closing, right),* Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku *1, 1890

[273] *Jorei* class held by Kamiya Gin'ichirō* in 1890 was written down by student Andō Taneko* 安藤種子.



In Image 1, we see the name of the authors of the English section. They are Ms. Yamakawa 山川子 (lecturer) and Suzuki Masao 鈴木正雄 (who recorded the lecture). The section begins with the lecturer urging the students not to forget that they are citizens of the Japanese empire[274], even while learning English. Meanwhile, the "Japanese Reader" section in Image 2 begins by stating that *Genji monogatari* would be a good piece to use, yet, due to it being rather difficult, Yoshida Kenkō's 吉田兼好 (1283–1350) *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 (1330–32) was chosen to be analyzed instead. Both texts, now considered classics, were not yet commonly taught to women.

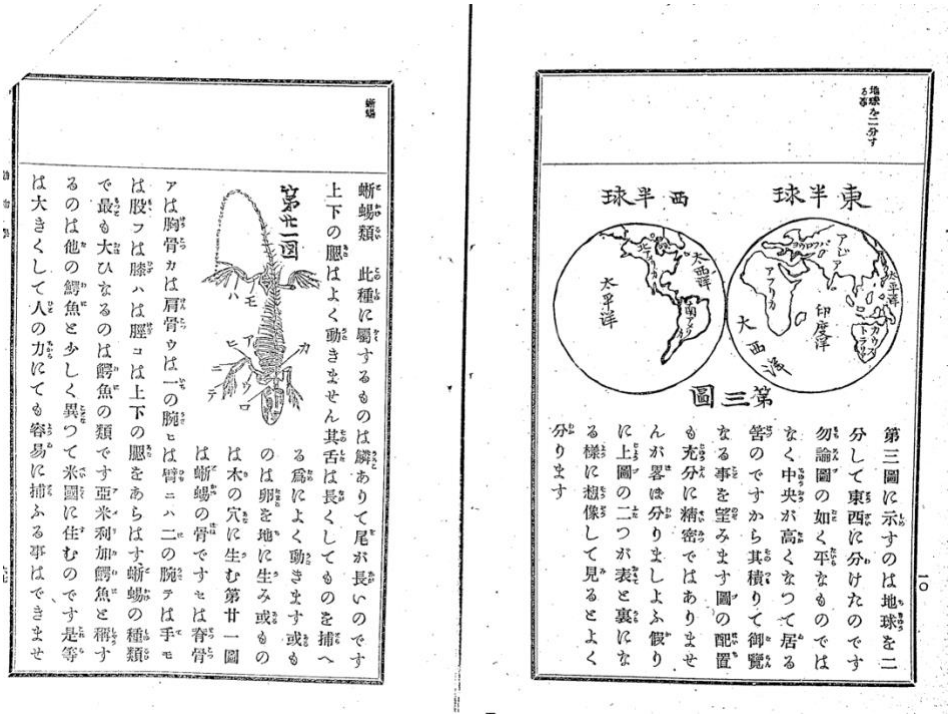
Image 2: Japanese reader (opening, left),* Nagauta *(closing, right),* Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku *1, 1890



[274] "*Eigo*" 英語, *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* 1, 1890: "大日本帝国の人."

The “Zoology” section illustrated and explained such things as the anatomy of insects and reptiles, while “Geography” included maps.

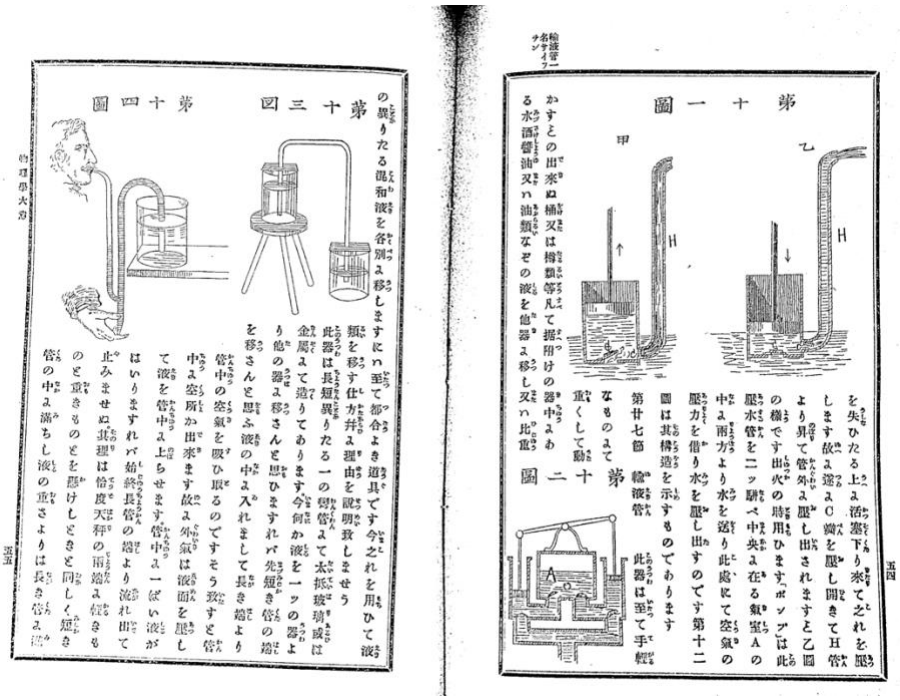
Image 3: Zoology (left) and Geography (right),* Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku *11, 1890



The “Physiology” section included such topics as urine and sweat, while the “Physics” section, also illustrated, introduced the law of Archimedes and Pascal’s principle among others.[275]

Image 4: Physics,* Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku *12, 1890

[275] In this particular cycle were covered: water pressure (水の圧力), relative density (比重), properties of gases (気躰固有の性質), gas vapors (ガス蒸気), weight of air (空気の重さ), and air pressure (空圧計), etc.



"*Jorei*," included in the 1890 cycle, issue 12, replaced the previously introduced Western manners while following its style to offer very specific advice. The section covered topics of the traditional polite ways to use language, enter places, eat, drink warm beverages, snack, receive visitors, offer the tea or tobacco tray, cross over something, stand, sit, bow to the guests in the seat of honor, bow in line, leave in line, dust in front of one's senior, open and close doors, prepare meals, deliver chopsticks, carry a tray, serve rice, offer beverages, and offer tea after food. This was not the whole role *jorei* had at the school, however.

Since Meiji Jogakkō's teachers constituted the majority of *Tsūshin jogaku*'s authors, we can deduce that there must have been an overlap between its contents and the materials used at the school. This assumption would confirm that, judging from the contents of *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* and the other available syllabi described above, the scientific approach was used rather consistently in teaching the subjects at the school and was combined with an emphasis on applicability in women's everyday lives. How the two elements met in Iwamoto's thought can be best illustrated by the subject of "Domestic Science."

Mizuno Machiko notes that Iwamoto saw the domestic science department as instructing in purely scientific subjects[276], and thus stood out from his contemporaries such as Naruse Jinzō.[277] However, in order to clarify how subject titles and hours allocated in the curriculum did not necessarily provide the whole picture, Iwamoto wrote the following passage explaining how he found a chance for moral training even when it came to studying science.

> The Domestic Science course is important not only for teaching girls how to housekeep. As it teaches scrupulousness, patience, being diligent without seeking something in return, and other virtues in women, it is not a subject to be belittled. Learning the traditional techniques of cooking, sewing, home management, etc., is required; yet, the

[276] *Jogaku zasshi* 421, April 25, 1896: "一科の純然たる科學."
[277] Mizuno, "Jogaku zasshi *ni okeru joshi kōtō kyōikuron*," 291.

> goal of such study is to research and improve those traditional techniques. Discoveries do not only take place in physics and chemistry; in the kitchen, in doing laundry, in keeping notebooks, etc., there is a wide berth for making discoveries; however, scientists have not approached these fields yet. It is thus a great joy to research and improve them ourselves. I urge you to pay more attention to this process of discovery and enjoy it fully. Especially in the case of those living in dormitories: you have to prepare meals and manage finances, so please carry on with even more care from now on, meeting every day for thirty minutes to discuss the prices, recipes, and accounts.[278]

It is clear from the above quote that curricula or textbooks cannot provide enough insight into the connections the subjects at Meiji Jogakkō had with each other, and how they were meant to be approached, or reflected, in the everyday lives of the students. To provide such detail, the section below will explore what kind of education took place within the school's grounds in the hours outside of lessons represented in the curricula.

2.c.3. Examinations, Dormitories, and Extracurricular Activities

In Iwamoto's thought, there was a connection between examinations, dormitories, and extracurricular activities. All three were seen as ways to put the knowledge gained at the school "to the test." Students, encouraged to autonomously supervise their progress, were advised to use these venues to give shape to their education in order to assess their own and their peers' progress.

2.c.3.a. Examinations

The record of students' grades or the examination criteria would provide helpful insight into how Iwamoto's policies were (or were not) materializing into the students' output. However, such resources could not be located. Instead, let us refer to Iwamoto's description of the assessment process.

> In case of students in the teacher training department only, there will be a need for some memorization. As they are to take the Tokyo municipal examination for the teaching licenses, we cannot do things only as we like. However, as I have already argued, memorization, or intensive study for exams, is forbidden in our school. […] Being well-read is more important than being able to memorize extensively. However, what is even more important than reading is the ability to think—to consider something thoroughly without depending on anybody, and to have an opinion regarding all matters. Even when reading to prepare for exams, you should aim to develop your own ideas. Now, as our school's wish is for you to develop your strengths in this way, grading you during the exams on whether you remember things or not is treated as something secondary to how well you have developed your critical reading and

[278] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 20-21: "家政科の事に付きて更に注意を引くべし、家政は一家を理むることの爲に大切なるのみにあらず、女性本來の綿密、忍耐、無名譽勤勉、等の美質を養成するものゆへ、分けて忽諸に爲すまじきの科なり。從來の料理方ぬひ方家政取締方等を學ぶことは勿論、追々新工夫をして種々の改良法を研究するやうに致すべきなり。發明は理化學の上にのみ限らず、臺所元、洗濯の仕方、帳面の付方にも多くの發明すべき領分あり、而して此領分は未だ他の發明家が手を着けざりし領分なり、之を研究工夫するの愉快亦た尋常にあらず。今后一層之に注意して深く之を味ひ學ばんこと勸告す。中にも塾生の諸子は、從來すでに自から賄部を監督して其經濟を取扱はれたることなるが、其后は一層精密に監督を爲し且つ委員の方々は毎日三十分づゝ相會して、物價の事、料理の事、計算の事を辯ぜらるべし."

thinking skills. And that is why it is unnecessary to prepare for the exams in any special way—just take an approach to study that will best develop your skills.[279]

In the passage above on methods of studying, reading is described as important and memorization as "secondary" (yet not "last") on the list. Iwamoto in his explanation is contrasting the school's assessment methods to the general practice. If the students wished to be licensed outside the school, they could not be excluded from general practices and thus the school could not reject memorization. However, the emphasis on the fact that Meiji Jogakkō was against evaluating student performance based on how well they remembered things is significant. As already noted in 2.c.2.b., the opening passage of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, that is, the official description of the school's policies, also forbade the traditional way of rote learning and encouraged students to formulate and express original ideas. We can thus derive that Iwamoto urged teachers to judge students' performance by how successfully they applied study techniques that suited their needs, that is, whether they exhibited informed autonomy.

If applicability was an important factor to Iwamoto (as I argue), the command of skills and information that he deemed applicable must have served as a criterion to evaluate students' overall performance as well. This type of evaluation was made possible in a variety of settings (such as dormitories, extracurricular activities, and chances to undertake professional training) and was employed at all levels of education at the school.

2.c.3.b. Dormitories

First of all, in helping with the running of dormitories (essentially, "large households"), students were encouraged to gain new skills and practice their "bookish" knowledge. From the passage quoted above about domestic science, it is clear that the daily tasks of preparing meals and managing finances are included in the category of education. In addition, how well one fit into the dormitory's community was open to assessment by one's peers and dormitory supervisors. Iwamoto illustrates the importance he ascribed to this arrangement by conflating housing with educating in his writing, the tendency particularly clearly expressed in "Three practices of student housing"[280]. In it, Iwamoto wrote of three ways that, according to him, education for women was carried out in Japan. First, and indicated as the most common, is the practice of placing hundreds of students into a dormitory (*shukusha shugi* 宿/塾舎主義). The second is placing small groups of around ten students into dormitories while mimicking a household (*bessha shugi* 別舎主義). The last alternative, described by Iwamoto as the traditional way, is placing up to thirty girls in a house of an educated female to create a *juku* private academy (*hobo shugi* 保母主義).

Iwamoto proceeds to evaluate these methods of housing/educating one by one. To him, in large dormitories, the students feel like they are living with strangers, there is no harmony, and there is little emphasis on teaching domestic science, except in theory. In home-like lodgings,

[279] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 23-24: "師範科丈けは后に東京府の檢定を受くることもあるゆへ、何分吾々が思ふやうにのみも參らず、少しは暗通もせねば成るまじきが、常に申す如く、暗通をしたり、又た試驗の爲にとて特更に勉強するは我校の禁物なり。 […] 暗通するよりも讀む力を養ふことが大切なり。然し亦た讀む力よりも一層大切なるは考ふる力なり、何時によらず自から篤と考へ、何にいたせ一つ宛自分の説を立てるやうに致さるべし。下讀を爲るにも、兎に角自己の見解の説を立てるやうに致さるべし、扨て左樣に自から力を養ふ樣に致させたきが本校の希望なれば、試驗の折り諸子が覺へて居るか否やを見て點數を附する如きことは第二の事とし、先づ如何ほどに諸子の讀書力が上達したるか、又如何なる考へ方を爲さるるかを試むるやうに致すゆへ、試驗の爲に用意するなどは全く無用なり、ただ事に臨みて能力を開發するやうに爲さるべし."

[280] Chapter 9 in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku.* Based on *Jogaku zasshi* 228, "No Teacher, no Pupil. Three Methods of Educating Girls." 女子教育に三つの法あり that was published on August 30, 1890.

students study together in large numbers, but also get a chance to relax and "naturally" acquire the knowledge regarding the management of the household. *Juku*-style housing is described as similar to being educated at home by one's parents. The only difference raised is that, instead, the girls are lectured by a woman knowledgeable in the "enlightened" studies.

Iwamoto goes on to compare the conditions in Japan and the West. He concludes that there are few differences regarding the developments of housing. First, he describes how on both sides at first only the private-academy-style housing existed, and the goal was to rear ladies. In Japan, Iwamoto remarks, this stage is illustrated by such schools as Atomi Kakei's 跡見花蹊 (1840–1926) Atomi Jogakkō's 跡見女學校[281] with live-in students. According to him, as education became more accessible to women, the method of placing students in large dormitories was applied. Iwamoto describes how in Japan in 1874–75, and then again in 1883, large dormitories were increasing in numbers. He notes how, as various drawbacks of such housing were noticed, home-like lodgings, where students look after each other, were promoted instead. To Iwamoto, the large-scale support for such type of housing, together with the improvements upon the classical model of *juku*-style *hobo-shugi* lodgings, signifies the tangible level of maturity in the education of women in Japan.

Here, while Iwamoto acknowledges the progress of women's education, he also disagrees with the modern invention of large dormitories as lacking the benefits of traditional lodgings. The latter are also criticized, as one person is not deemed enough to teach girls a variety of skills and expose them to varied opinions. Something in between is desirable to Iwamoto: an organized dormitory system where the student-teacher ratio is suitable for establishing close connections and maintaining small communities. It is in this particular way that Meiji Jogakkō's dormitory was modeled.

When Sōma Kokkō was a student at Meiji Jogakkō (1895–97), she described how she lived in a terraced house (*nagaya* 長屋) where one 10 mat (app. 16 m^2) room was shared among four students.[282] From Hani Motoko's memoirs, however, we get to know that the students living together in the dormitory in 1891 were numerous and thus the housing did not fit Iwamoto's ideal image of a snug family-like environment. She describes her experience as follows.

> About one hundred students lived in the dormitory of Meiji Women's School. At seven in the evening, we would gather in the auditorium for a prayer service and stay on to study until nine o'clock. I worked on manuscripts during this period. At the school I learned of the benefits for mind and body of a regimented daily routine. For a country girl like myself, it was not easy at first to get up early in the morning, to wash in a crowded washroom, and to eat and bathe expeditiously. […] One of the dormitory supervisors, a Mrs. Kuroyanagi, was a widow who combined the graciousness of her native Kyoto with the high spirit worthy of a Tokyoite. Her competent management and creative imagination contributed immensely to our health and enjoyment. The chief maid was a stocky authoritative woman; under her direction, rice for one hundred boarders was cooked to perfection three times daily.[283]

It appears that Meiji Jogakkō, in response to an increasing number of students, had to compromise its ideals.

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[281] A predecessor to the currently-running Atomi Gakuen 跡見学園 in Tokyo.
[282] Kokkō, *Mokui*, 52.
[283] Translated by Irie-Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace*, 248-49.

According to the "Three practices of student housing," only the best-educated women are fit to supervise dormitories, as they establish close and personal relations with the students and thus exert great influence upon them. The above-mentioned Mrs. Kuroyanagi was more than the supervisor of lodgings. According to Hani, she helped her secure a job, and let her board at her home when needed. She writes: "I happened to meet the daughter of Mrs. Kuroyanagi, the Meiji Women's School dorm supervisor. As a result of an introduction from her mother, I obtained a teaching position at an elementary school in the Tsukiji area, and soon moved into Mrs. Kuroyanagi's house."[284]

From Iwamoto's reasoning seen above and from the students' experiences, it is clear that the women working in the dormitories were an important part of the educational scheme at Meiji Jogakkō. Introducing another woman in such position, Kure Kumi, who also taught at the school and later took over Iwamoto's role as the principal, Sōma Kokkō wrote the following.

> The dormitory matron Kure-*sensei* was the older sister of the famous statistician Kure Ayatoshi (呉文聡, 1851–1918). In her youth she served deep in Chiyoda, lived single, and even though a woman, had quite some grit. From the students she required the *bushidō*-like manners that she had herself acquired and it must have been hard for her to persistently caution the youngsters.[285] […] She believed in Iwamoto-*sensei* until the end, protecting the school and serving as the matron of the dormitory that was slowly turning into a lonely place.[286]

These women took part in running the school within and without the official hours. They formed bonds with students that extended beyond the school, serving as role models to them, and provided the support that the lectures in the classroom could not. In return, the school acknowledged their achievements and character and provided them with a livelihood and a place to belong.

2.c.3.c. Extracurricular Activities and Professional Training

Next, there were the school's clubs. To Iwamoto, they likely embodied the ideal means to cultivate all the qualities he promoted—autonomy in education via critical and independent thinking, hands-on training, self-assessment, and learning from peers and role-models. Iwamoto describes the two clubs that were running around 1890 in the following way.

> Maria's Friends and Literary Society (*Bungakukai*)
> Let us keep the two clubs flourishing: you learn from the teachers, but in the clubs you get a chance to carry out your own research, and a chance to apply your knowledge to real life.
>
> Maria's Friends, please keep pouring even more of your strength into collecting money by knitting, sewing, doing laundry, making raised cloth pictures, folding envelopes, et cetera, during your free time for the purposes of charity—at times consoling the sick at hospitals, at times alleviating the suffering of the poor.

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[284] Ibid., 254-55.

[285] Kokkō, *Mokui*, 52-53: "舎監の呉先生は統計学者として名高った呉文聡姉君で、若い頃千代田の奥に支えて、それ以来ずっと独身で通して来られた方であり、女ながらも気骨があり、その身についた武士道的な女性のたしなみを、そのまま寄宿生達に望まれるところから、若い者には嫌われるような注意をされることも毎度のことで、先生自身の心労も容易のことではなかったと、今になっていよいよ思いやられます."

[286] Ibid., 63: "この方は最後まで巌本先生を信じ、学校を護って、だんだん淋しくなって行く寄宿舎に相変わらず舎監としてつとめ."

> *Bungakukai* members, it is fine to keep on writing essays, making speeches, and conducting debates, just pour more energy into editing the magazine—make it your goal to finish one issue within a month so that you can share it with the students of the school and enjoy it together. It is fine for both the clubs to be independent from the school as before, but they should also help out in the school as much as possible. As Jogaku Zasshisha is lending all new publications of magazines and newspapers to the *Bungakukai*, you should share the knowledge with others by reading worthy articles and getting acquainted with the current affairs, as well as reading the new publications and discussing them with others. This should be seen as genuine education carried out in the shape of extracurricular activity.[287]

Maria's Friends was a club based on the Christian concept of charity and was not unique to Meiji Jogakkō. Sōma Kokkō wrote of her experience of a similar club at Ferris Jogakkō that she attended since 1893, before entering Meiji Jogakkō.[288] The Literary Society (*Bungakukai*), which encouraged students to publish their own magazine, seems to have also been practiced at other schools, yet likely with less vigorous support from the school. (In the writing above Jogaku Zasshisha seems to be conflated with Meiji Jogakkō, confirming how important the publishing activities were to the school.) It is unclear which magazine the students are encouraged to edit, yet, as the first issue of *Jogakusei* appeared on May 1890, a month after Iwamoto initially made the above speech, he could have been referring to *Jogakusei* or its precursor. When Iwamoto and Hoshino attempted to promote the practice at other schools via the medium of *Jogakusei*, they approached schools with Christian inclination to join the *Jogakusei* Alliance.[289] The number of member schools did not seem to extend over twenty at a time, yet by their willingness to participate we can know that the schools either had functional literary societies before joining or were inspired to start such clubs due to being introduced to the idea by Meiji Jogakkō.

Iwamoto, who himself participated in publishing magazines during his education and who relied on printed media to acquire knowledge, must have seen the benefit in Meiji Jogakkō's *Bungakukai*. Connecting the literary society to *Jogaku zasshi* in the above quote, he demonstrates one way how *Jogaku zasshi* (and other publications made and owned by the publishing house) were circulated within the school in a textbook-like manner.

The extra-curricular activities did not end with the two clubs. It is unclear for how long the practices continued, yet Iwamoto in the following quote describes how the students were required to cooperate with teachers by attending cultural events outside of the school as well as gatherings at the school, and by participating in the school's management.

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[287] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 24-25: "マリア之友、及文學會の二會は、今后いよいよ盛んにせられよ、教師に對しては諸子之を學び、此等の會に對しては自から研究せし處ろを發揚し、若しくは其力を實用せらるべきこと也。即はち、マリア之友に於ては餘暇を以て編物、縫物、洗濯、ヲシ繪、状袋張り、などをして金を溜め之を慈善の事に用ひ、時には病院を見舞ひて病人を慰め、又貧しき人を救ひなどせらるることに、今后一層盡力し玉へ。文學會に於ては、文章、演説、討論、等をせらるること元の如くにて宜し、ただ月々雜誌を編輯することに一層盡力し、諸子がハゲミ又た樂しみとして、月に一册は必らず寫し了り、全校の人々に見せるやうに爲さるべし。此二つの會は依然獨立して學校の者にならざるが宜しけれども、學校にても亦出來る丈け補助すべし、女學雜誌社よりは總ての新聞雜誌新書等を文學會へ次々に貸與せらるる由なれば、毎度申す如く暇ある時は清き新聞紙を讀みて時事の大要を知り、亦新書を讀みて互ひに此評をせらるべし。是等は皆な、學科外の實教育とも云ふべきなり."

[288] Kokkō, *Mokui*, 36: "大抵王女会（キングスドーターソサイテー）があり、会員は学校の余暇に毛糸の編物やその他の手仕事をして工賃を取り、それを会に納め、会は集まったお金を何か社会事業の方に加えて使おうという一種の奉事でありました."

[289] Refer to Annex 2, section 5.

> Every Friday evening from now on [April 1890], a friendly get-together of teachers and students will take place. Discussions regarding such topics as literature and society will be carried out in a relaxed and open fashion and the teachers, while answering and asking questions, shall be ready to provide proper guidance to develop your critical thinking. In addition, when there are such public events as exhibitions or fairs taking place, the teachers will accompany you to them, and, upon your return to the school, will listen to each of your impressions, thus aiding you in developing your critical abilities. Similarly, there will be an Advice Box made ready, into which all of you are encouraged to contribute your opinions regarding the matters of education and managing the school. The purpose of this is not only to raise your awareness regarding the methods of running the school but also to make us aware of what we lack and make the school a better place—something which will benefit both sides.[290]

As we can see from the existence of the Advice Box mentioned above, and the fact that there was also a student representative who would participate in school meetings, the students were involved in the management and had a chance to acquire insights applicable in their future careers. This right was also a responsibility, as the students must have felt that their input was tied to the school's performance as a whole. By nurturing this sense of community and camaraderie, Iwamoto extended the requirement for self-assessment and self-guidance from individual to school level.

2.d. Conclusions

When missionaries and Japanese Christians became active in the Meiji period, they started promoting the modernization/Westernization of Japan, which, as we saw in this chapter, focused on women. With primary education becoming compulsory for girls in 1872, the Christian involvement in women's education became increasingly visible, and, by the end of the 1880s, numerous private academies had been established. Meiji Jogakkō can be said to be the first successful enterprise of the Japanese Protestant community,[291] a response to both the practices in the missionary schools and the ideological frameworks set by the government. Interestingly, under the management of Iwamoto, the school formed and grew in ways that were not visible at other Christian schools. It was a noteworthy institution due to a variety of reasons. First of all, it stressed a model of shared and equal management (among a wide range of individuals) and the involvement of students. Secondly, as its support-line, it relied on Japanese intelligentsia and like-minded social actors. Rather than trying to gain backing by maintaining affiliations or defining itself in a clear-cut fashion as the other schools (missionary, government, or small private academies), it devised an original approach to education under the independent banner of a network of intellectuals who, following the patterns of their own education, combined in their practices various ideas stemming from within and without Japan. Thirdly, the school was attractive to students as it attempted to cater to their needs and provide flexible, varied, and advanced courses. Fourthly, unlike other Christian institutions, Meiji Jogakkō emphasized the usage and production of the Japanese-

[290] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 24-25: "又た今后毎金曜日の夕方は教師及生徒の懇話會を催うし、打ちくつろぎて文學上社會上等のお話を爲し、問答談話中に諸子の思考力を善導すべし。又た博覽會の如き折々の公會あるときは教師、諸子と同行して之を見、歸校の上諸子銘々の觀察せし處ろを聞き其批評力を開發すべし。又兼てより備へ置く「忠告箱」の内に諸子が教務上教制上に關し意見あるときは、遠慮なく記して投函あるべし。之れ亦た諸子が學校管理法に對する意見を養ふの工夫なる上に、吾等は自から缺點を知ることを得、諸子は亦愛校の心を伸るを得て、雙方共に喜ぶべきこととなる也."

[291] Kischka-Wellhäußer, "Japanese Feminism's Institutional Basis," 132.

language materials suitable to students and pushed for improvement of language in order to make knowledge more accessible. Finally, while also serving as a bridge between classes and religious inclinations, it kept as its target audience the majority of the population (middle classes) and attempted to reach as many people as possible through various educational enterprises and creative solutions.

The goal Meiji Jogakkō declared was educating women in order to strengthen and improve society at large. To achieve this, it set for itself a twofold approach. First, it catered to a variety of educational needs and offered high-quality training to find employment, carry out research, or supervise a modern household for independent and confident modern women. This approach translated at the school into the encouragement of student autonomy, promotion of critical thinking, self-, peer-, and group-assessment, and the emphasis on extracurricular learning. Furthermore, the school strove to enlighten the masses about the potential and needs of girls and women, subsequently aiming to create an environment in which they could function with more ease. This approach was enforced by publishing activities. As a result, by building upon Iwamoto's own education and experiences during early Meiji, Meiji Jogakkō became an innovative example of a girls' school whose practices and policies read as successfully applicable in the contemporary day.

However, all the above appears very different when we consider the numerous challenges the school was facing in order to maintain its right to exist in the eyes of a variety of critics. One of them was the government that continued to standardize and regulate education. It is interesting to consider that Meiji Jogakkō appeared due to such governmental activities to set national patterns for education, yet it also lost ground because of them. Moreover, the students themselves had to find the contents of courses and activities interesting and lessons applicable, the teachers' credentials and behavior suitable and the school's name "clean," the prices affordable, the location accessible, and the facilities sufficient. Struggling to meet such needs, Iwamoto placed considerable efforts into making the environment engaging. This was one of the reasons why he was so active in encouraging extracurricular activities and interactions with the staff and students at the school and during their dormitory life. By emphasizing students' responsibility to see all activities as a chance to learn, encouraging their independence and the right mindset, and pulling in "interesting" personnel and materials, he sought for this "engaging environment" to compensate for the lack in the material aspects. This emphasis on creating an engaging environment was one of his topmost priorities and characteristics as an educator, and also one of the selling points he used when representing the school in *Jogaku zasshi* and other publications. Families of the students had to also be convinced on the girls' paths, especially for those of the "marital ages." This is where Iwamoto had to really struggle and feed the ideological engine in support of women's education in general, and in support of Meiji Jogakkō in contrast to other available institutions in particular. Attracting the right individuals to work with him was similarly challenging. With very little funds for salaries, the staff worked as a favor, usually attracted by Iwamoto and convinced by his carefully tailored message regarding the importance of women's education: to keep up the morale of the staff, he could not be repetitive or irrelevant. Thus, Iwamoto had to pursue topics that the (potential) staff, students, and their guardians, as well as general intelligentsia who directed the trends in society and could make or break the school, found worthwhile and timely. This practical reality, the urge for recognition, that he met by trying to make Meiji Jogakkō attractive but also by assuring it fit in, was the main drive behind his prolific writing and constantly evolving ideology.

3. Theoretical Clashes: Understanding the Body-Mind, Secular-Religious, Western-Japanese and Traditional-Modern Dichotomies

3.a. Iwamoto's Response to Spencer on Physical Education

In the Meiji 20s, various ideas promoted by the *o-yatoi-gaikokujin*, or foreign experts recruited by the Japanese government to advance its modernization plans, were affecting the understanding of education in Japan.[1] Among them, as G. Clinton Godart[2] points out, Herbert Spencer was particularly widely read, especially during the "Spencer boom" (1877–86), when the bulk of translations of Spencer's works appeared in Japanese. In 1880, the Ministry of Education published the first translation of Spencer's theory on education as *Kyōikuron* 教育論, made by a Western studies scholar (*yōgakusha*) Seki Shinpachi 尺振八 (1839–1886). In 1886, a renowned jurist and educator Ariga Nagao 有賀長雄 (1860–1921) released his annotated version. In spite of the "Spencer Bust" (from the 1890s onwards), when other Spencerian ideas lost popularity as not applicable to Japan, his writing on education remained unchallenged, with new translations coming in 1941 and 1955, "long after his popularity as a philosopher had waned."[3] This was because by the 1890s, the ideas had already been internalized in Japan, especially through the efforts of Mori Arinori as the Minister of Education.

Iwamoto writes in response to Spencer in a *Jogaku zasshi* editorial published in 1899, more than ten years after the end of the "Spencer Boom," which illustrates that he deemed his ideas, or their influence in Japan, as still pertinent. He discusses Spencer's categorization of education, referring to his essay titled "Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical," published independently in 1860 and then in *Essays on Education and Kindred Subjects* the next year. In it, Spencer stresses the need to educate girls and families for the betterment of society, claiming that young mothers are responsible for the physical condition and modern training of the following generation and could stunt their development if they themselves lack in maturity. Such Spencerian ideas affected how women were perceived in Japan at the time, and must have influenced the formation of the *ryōsai kenbo* ideas, a debate in which Iwamoto was an active participant.

The parallel quotes below illustrate the influence Spencer had on Iwamoto, who both witnessed similar developments in their respective modernizing societies. Regarding the state of the education of girls and women in England around 1860, Herbert Spencer wrote:

> When we have named reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, and sewing, we have named about all the things a girl is taught with a view to their actual uses in life; and even some of these have more reference to the good opinion of others than to immediate personal welfare.[4]

Iwamoto as well criticized "outdated" practices in his arguments, writing the following in 1887 about the state of education of girls and women in Japan:

[1] Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*, 182.
[2] G. Clinton Godart, "Herbert Spencer in Japan: Boom and Bust of a Theory (1868-1911)" in Bernard Lightman (Ed.), *Global Spencerism: The Communication and Appropriation of a British Evolutionist* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 56-77.
[3] Ibid., 74.
[4] Herbert Spencer, *Essays on Education and Kindred Subjects* (London: D. Appleton, 1861): 14. (Kindle Edition)

> If we consider, as Kaibara Ekiken says in *Onna daigaku*, that the only accomplishment for women (*jogei*) and anything that concerns women ends with always waking up early in the morning, retiring late at night, not dozing off during the day, devoting their utmost attention to what happens within the home, and not neglecting their weaving, sewing, spinning and yarn making, then yes, we can say that sewing is an extremely important duty of women.[5]

From the quotes above, it is clear that the two shared an understanding of the limitations placed upon women in education, and used the "practices of the past" as a point of reference. These practices were promoted by "misinformed antagonists," who made the students waste their time in education without gaining skills applicable to the needs of a modern nation. Interestingly, however, neither of them seems to have been advocating a radical change.[6]

Regarding physical activity and education, Spencer points out the following.

> We have a vague suspicion that to produce a robust physique is thought undesirable; that rude health and abundant vigor are considered somewhat plebeian; that a certain delicacy, a strength not competent to more than a mile or two's walk, an appetite fastidious and easily satisfied, joined with that timidity which commonly accompanies feebleness, are held more lady-like. […] For if the sportive activity allowed to boys does not prevent them from growing up into gentlemen; why should alike sportive activity prevent girls from growing up into ladies? […] How absurd is the supposition that the womanly instincts would not assert themselves but for the rigorous discipline of school-mistresses![7]

Iwamoto seems to closely follow the argument in his 1890 address to the students.

> Society thinks that if girls carry out vigorous physical exercise they turn into tomboys (*otenba*), but that is just a great misunderstanding of the natural constitution of the human character. In the case of boys, they turn quite wild when playing; yet, when placed in official circumstances, they suddenly become perfect gentlemen. Whether they grow wild or not does not affect their gentleman-ness. Just the same way, exercising freely does not negatively affect the capacity of girls to behave like ladies in formal settings. Worrying about girls spoiling their characters through exercise has no grounds. That is why it is necessary for girls to be able to carry out physical exercise freely, as physical exercise not only does no harm to good manners but instead improves them. […] You should all exercise unreservedly and without fear to grow physically strong.[8]

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[5] "The sewing course at a girls' school" 女學校の裁縫科, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 1892, 113-23. Initially written in Feb. 1887. "益軒翁の女大學に云く女は常に朝早く起き夜遲く寢ね晝はいねずして家の内の事に心を用い織縫績緝怠たるべからずと此の如き覺悟を覺悟し此れ丈の女藝を心得て以て女の事畢れりと思はば裁縫は眞に是れ婦女子最大要務なるべし."

[6] For example, Iwamoto is not against sewing. Rather, he is promoting it, but in balance to other subjects, not in their stead. In addition, he is interpreting it according to his own ideological needs.

[7] Herbert Spencer, *Essays on Education and Kindred Subjects* (London: Dent, 1911): 115.

[8] "An Address to the 'Meiji Gakkō' Pupils. The Present Educational System," (*Meiji jogakkō seito ni tsugu, meshita no joshikyōikuhō* 明治学校生徒に告ぐ、目下の女子教育法), *Jogaku zasshi* 207 (April 1890); reprinted in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 22-23: "世には女性が活發に運動すればヲテンバになると思ふものあり、是亦た大なる誤解にて人の天性を知らざるものなり。男子すら、遊ぶときは隨分亂暴なるものが、式に臨めば飜然として紳士たるものなり、即はち遊ぶときに

Spencer believed that natural ways of exercise through play could never be fully replaced by artificial instruction in calisthenics or the like. He also wrote of physical education as important for human beings to learn how to survive. According to him, physical education for girls specifically should: a) allow them to move freely, and b) fix their unhealthy habits. In addition, Spencer's mention of Physiology and Psychology as disciplines intrinsic to education is also worth attention, as they appear in Meiji Jogakkō's curricula. There are other significant overlaps in the writings of Iwamoto and Spencer: e.g., discussions of the welfare of the family and the nation and the skills needed for students to survive in the contemporary modernizing world, as well as criticism of the educational world changing too fast—one fashion replacing another too quickly, skills ending up being used to display superiority rather than be applicable in everyday life—and of the limitations in the education of women. However, an important difference is found in how the two understood the education of body and mind, that is, the scopes and purposes of physical and moral education.

Spencer is known for promoting physical exercise (or activities) to both boys and girls, with an emphasis on girls. Charles W. Eliot[9] stresses that this was not Spencer's personal opinion, but rather a common approach among the contemporaneous progressives. On the other hand, Eliot sees Spencer's attitude as novel and important due to two factors: first, for stressing the importance of science in all disciplines; and second, for challenging the assumption that education should be authoritative, unchanging, and that the students should be told what to see, believe, or utter. The emphasis on science can be seen in how Spencer evaluated knowledge based on its effect on survival, separating it into intrinsic (constant), quasi-intrinsic (changing), and conventional (irrelevant). To Spencer, scientific truths had intrinsic, knowledge of languages quasi-intrinsic, and history (memorization of names and dates) conventional value. While each of these were important as both knowledge and discipline, science preceded others.[10] He also evaluated all education depending on whether it is usable and scientific, starting from knowledge that helps one survive (directly and indirectly), knowledge that teaches one how to rear the next generation, knowledge that teaches one's duties as citizens, and knowledge for the purposes of leisure, such as "accomplishments, the fine arts, [and] belles-lettres"[11]—in this order of importance. Regarding religion in education, Spencer attempted to approach it from a scientific standpoint: "Not only [...] for intellectual discipline is science the best; but also for moral discipline."[12] He likened religion to the interest in the surrounding world: "the neglect of science, is irreligious. Devotion to science, is a tacit worship—a tacit recognition of worth in the things studied."[13]As Iwamoto was vocal about the intrinsic educational value of arts (literature) and religion (morals), these were the points of dissent, particularly as Spencer's ideas were sometimes seen as threatening religion due to Spencerian agnosticism becoming popular among young intellectuals in the early Meiji period.[14]

騒ぐことは其の亂暴なるに關はらず亦た謹しみて紳士たることを得るに、女子何んぞ運動の時に自由に動きたるを以て式場に出でて貴婦人たることを得すと云ふの理あるべき、如此き心配も亦た天性を重んぜざるの臆病なり。夫故諸子が自由に運動すること要む、運動は決して行儀を惡しくするものにあらず、反つて之を善くするもの也。[…] 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."

[9] He provided an introduction to the *Essays on Education* in its 1911 version.

[10] Spencer, *Essays on Education*, 22: "knowledge of intrinsic worth must […] take precedence of knowledge that is of quasi-intrinsic or conventional worth."

[11] Ibid., 39.

[12] Ibid., 42.

[13] Ibid., 43.

[14] Godart, "Herbert Spencer in Japan," 65.

A notable difference between the two educational ideologists is that Spencer raises general ideas and does not provide details on what education should entail in the moral and physical categories. Iwamoto, who was also an educator and had to put ideas to practice, approached physical and moral education from his own viewpoint, delving into more specific details, while also ascribing them more ideological significance than Spencer. When Spencer mentions moral education, he speaks about listening to one's parents, not stealing, not harming others, and considers the parents as the ones to implement it, serving as the authority to judge what is righteous. To him, if properly educated themselves, parents should be able to prepare their children in this area of education. It appears that Spencer's moral education is closer to *shitsuke* 躾, or discipline, rather than *dōtoku* 道徳 or *tokuiku* 徳育, the words used by Iwamoto.

In the editorial that Iwamoto dedicated to addressing Spencer's theory in 1899[15], he admits the significant influence Spencer's treatise had in Japan. He refers to his terms for intellectual education as *chiiku* 知育, moral education as *tokuiku* 徳育, and physical education as *taiiku* 體育. While Iwamoto agrees that there are lines of division between the above-mentioned types of education, Iwamoto criticizes those who see them as completely independent from each other and laments the fact that recently more people have started to think that it is possible to carry out education in solely one direction. While the two men of letters agreed about the fact that intellectual education was commonly overemphasized in women's education, to Spencer, the body was trained separately from the mind. In his writing there is a tendency to compare humans to animals and to stress the necessity of scientific techniques in the rearing of both. That is, Spencer saw the conditions such as climate, food, and clothing playing an important role in shaping the physical body.[16] Meanwhile, Iwamoto states in the editorial that in a living human being it is impossible to treat intelligence or morality as separate from the physical state. To Iwamoto, the body is closely tied to the condition of the heart/soul (*kokoro*) and it is hard to tell where the workings of the physical end and where the workings of the spiritual/emotional begin.[17] As such, to Iwamoto a person should be treated as a whole and needs to receive an education that is well balanced on both the physical and spiritual levels.

Explaining the current state of affairs in Japan, Iwamoto mentions that there are people[18] who disregard this need for a well-rounded education and wish to spread[19] a novel (Western) type of physical education. While zealous, they run the risk of doing a poor job by failing to acknowledge the traditional values of *taiiku* extant in the country[20]. Iwamoto admits that the ideals of physical education in Japan are not well-formed[21], pointing to the lack of organization and standardization in educational practices. At the same time, he wonders how it is at all possible to perceive Japan as a country with no *taiiku* when it is common knowledge that there were numerous

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[15] "*Inishie no buiku, ima no taiiku: joshi no taiikuron wo hyōsu*" 古の武育、今の體育　女子體育論を評す, *Jogaku zasshi* 497 (October 10, 1899). The title could be translated as "The Martial Arts of Old, *Taiiku* of Present: Reflections on the Current Discourse on *Taiiku* for Women."

[16] Spencer, *Essays on Education*, 106 (section on physical education): "the fact seems strange that while the raising of first-rate bullocks is an occupation on which educated men willingly bestow much time and thought, the bringing up of fine human beings is an occupation tacitly voted unworthy of their attention. Mammas who have been taught little but languages, music, and accomplishments, aided by nurses full of antiquated prejudices, are held competent regulators of the food, clothing, and exercise of children. Meanwhile the fathers read books and periodicals, attend agricultural meetings, try experiments, and engage in discussions, all with the view of discovering how to fatten prize pigs!"

[17] Physical: "有形の躰の働き"; spiritual/emotional: "無形の心の働."

[18] A slightly derogatory *yakara* 族 is used.

[19] Or make fashionable: *hayarasetai* 流行せたい.

[20] "*Inishie no buiku, ima no taiiku*": "日本在來の理想を下落させて、極めて下等なる躰育を出張することになる."

[21] Ibid.: "體育の理想が低い."

people physically ready to resist the opening of the country. Displaying how broadly he is defining the term, Iwamoto claims that if there had been no *taiiku* in Japan, no children would have been born or raised to adulthood, but Japan is well-known to have a growing population. He emphasizes that the Japanese are not physically weaker than the Westerners.

By defining *taiiku* as Japanese-style physical education and mentioning Japan's advancement before the opening of the country to foreign trade in the 1850s, Iwamoto is juxtaposing Western currents with Japanese traditions. In the broad sense, *taiiku* to him is the promotion of the physical aptitudes necessary for national defense and even for being physically capable of giving birth and rearing children, or, following Spencer, as the knowledge that allows for the basic physical skills necessary to survive.

Addressing the main topic—women's education—Iwamoto laments that numerous people disregard the fact that *taiiku* for women already exists and has existed in Japan before the Western concept of physical education was introduced. He claims that from martial arts (*bugei*) to dances (*odori*) there is a great variety of examples of *taiiku* in Japan, and the "female etiquette"—*jorei*—is the very embodiment of it.[22] According to him, by not seeing it this way, teachers are risking corrupting the ideals already in place[23]. In explanation, he states that as *chiiku* develops intellect and *tokuiku* morality, *taiiku* is then responsible for completing the physical development of a human being and tying the three types of education together. That is why *taiiku*'s influence overlaps with *chiiku* and *tokuiku* and it is necessary to involve the heart/soul into the physical self-cultivation. Iwamoto's definition of *taiiku*, then, is physical education that does not concentrate merely on the body[24]. Furthermore, he claims that, even if seen as the cultivation of the physical, *taiiku* would still not exclude *jorei*, as training and strengthening the body and helping it mature in a natural and healthy way are among *jorei*'s goals[25]. This shows how *jorei* in Iwamoto's thought was a borderline subject capable of both mental and physical cultivation.

Iwamoto continues by contrasting Japanese physical education with Western physical activities, pointing out that the current advocates of physical education attack *jorei*, which seems to be used as a representative of the universal form of traditional women's physical education, stating that something so passive cannot be considered to be improving the physique. What they suggest instead is lawn tennis, horse riding, fox hunting, rowing, and swimming,[26] which are seen as a cure for the frailty of Japanese women. Iwamoto finds an epistemological issue here. Even in the West, he writes, the above are treated as hobbies (*asobi*), not as physical education. To him, *taiiku* is meant to be a type of education,[27] while hobbies are meant for recreation, being taught as a type of special skill and a way to socialize. Intentionally both promoting and criticizing Western pastimes, he writes that to be able to introduce such pastimes successfully, what is needed first is the introduction of new customs into Japan, and that is an issue different from the one at hand, i.e. that of physical education at educational institutions. While Westernizing efforts in education were criticized by many in the Meiji period, Iwamoto was not against selective Westernization; instead, he was against demoting what he considered as high-quality equivalents found in Japan, possibly in fear that their abolition, without the sufficient know-how of replacements, would be counterproductive and prevent girls from receiving any physical education. Furthermore, using

[22] Ibid.: "女禮と云ふものが卽はち體育であると云ふことを心得ぬのは、如何にも見識の届かぬことである."
[23] Ibid.: "寧ろ理想の墮落である."
[24] Ibid.: "體育とは、身體的教育で、決して躰斗り教育すると云ふ主意ではない."
[25] Ibid.: "躰を鍛え躰を練り、躰をして自然且つ穩健の態度に熟せしむると云ふことは、女禮の一つの目的である."
[26] Ibid.: ロンテニス, 馬乗り, 狐狩り, 舟こぎ, 水泳ぎ.
[27] Ibid.: "體育とは、一つの教育である."

jorei as an example, Iwamoto admonishes against judging an activity by whether it is active or passive[28] and stresses the need to evaluate it by the practical impact it has on the body and the heart/soul.

In contrast to Spencer, who somewhat counterintuitively promoted basing all education on science, yet supported unrestrained play during physical education classes, Iwamoto gives the following definition of physical education and education in general.

> It is of utmost importance to become aware of the need to see a difference between manifestation—*shiki* 式—and mind—*seishin* 精神—in physical education. Whatever the exercise, the right mind needs to follow it. *Shiki* stands for the forms (*kata* 型) and refers to tools that have varied broadly depending on the customs and needs of the times. Take, for example, the techniques (*gei* 藝) of martial arts (*bu* 武), the moves (*te* 手) in dancing (*buyō* 舞踏), the methods (*shiki* 式) in the etiquette for women (*jorei* 女禮), and the skills (*waza* ワザ) in playing ball or swimming—all are ways of carrying out *taiiku* and should be well-devised, yet none of them obstructs the exercising of the mind. If mindful of the goals, each of them should be equally suitable in carrying out physical education. The same goes for intellectual and moral education—saying that some means are worse than others is being inflexible.[29]

Thus, to Iwamoto, as long as exercises are carried out in the right frame of mind, it does not matter what kind of forms are being practiced, as long as the ones involved are aware of the goals they wish to achieve, the exercises are worthwhile / of good quality, i.e. well-developed and organized, and the practice is cultivating the mind as well as the body. By stressing that there is no need to designate a certain form of learning as the only option, Iwamoto is revealing his insistence on practicality and broad-spectrum education.

While Spencer mentioned the dangers of over-exertion in education, Iwamoto took the connection further by speaking about emotional stress and its effect on the physical state. Returning to the mind-body connection, Iwamoto states that the body and mind/soul are like a married couple,[30] i.e., complementary and having a great influence upon each other. As one reading of the mind-body connection in physical education, he points out that it is common for a person to spoil their physical state, however strong they are, due to emotional issues. In this case, they will probably be told that it is due to lack of proper nutrition, lack of exercise, poor circulation of the blood, or that they should look at the Westerners who are so tough and eat more meat, etc. According to Iwamoto, contemporary ideas regarding hygiene[31] are often causing people to grow weaker instead of becoming stronger. The reason for this is that, just as the moral or intellectual education can backfire by making a person too much of an idealist because of standards set too

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[28] Ibid.: "活發不活發."

[29] Ibid.: "躰育に就て懐くべき緊要なる覺悟は、其の式と其精神をよく區別し、如何なる式に於てするにせよ、其の精神を十分に發揮せしむるやうにせねばならぬ。式とは即ち型で、當時の習慣と、時代の必要とに應じて夫々適宜に作られた處置振りである。例へば、武の藝とか、舞踏の手とか、女禮の式とか、玉投げ、水泳ぎなどのワザとか云ふ、夫々相應の型、（即ち躰育の施し方の式）は、宜しき様に工夫すべきであるが、其形の何れたるにせよ、躰育の精神を發揮活發せしむるに毫しも差し支へはあるまい。教ゆるもの、學ぶものが、其心得だにあらば何等の式を以てするも、皆な一様に躰育の目的を達し得べきである。必らずしも、此々の式でなけれなならぬと言つて爭ふのは、知育徳育に於ても隨分あることであるが、ツマリ偏狹極まる分らずやの言ふことである."

[30] Ibid.: "躰と心は、不二相關の伉儷である."

[31] *Eiseiron* 衛生論, lit. discourse on hygiene.

high, or too doubtful due to having their horizons widened too far, the discourse regarding the physical education has made few people stronger permanently as it has failed to find its foothold in everyday lives of the people.

Once more judging the condition of physical education in Japan from the point of view of the people's health, Iwamoto contrasts Japanese women with Japanese men, and then with Western women. In terms of how frequently they get ill, their endurance, and life expectancy, Japanese women are deemed by Iwamoto superior to Japanese men. When compared to Western women, they are not necessarily worse off either. To Iwamoto, the common root for misunderstanding lies in comparing the women who come to Japan after crossing the ocean to the women who "lead peaceful lives in the inner chambers."[32] If women of the same social standing were to be matched, he believes, it would become clear that there were not that many differences between them and it is thus misleading to make arguments regarding fitness and physical education based on inadequate comparisons.

The editorial states that it is the good balance of hours spent on physical and intellectual activities that is of utmost importance, and that it is around such topics that the discourse regarding physical education in Japan should revolve. According to Iwamoto, the first issue that needs to be resolved is the insufficient time allocated to physical education. He also addresses different types of physical education, proposing two categories: carried out individually and in groups. According to him, by exercising in groups, discipline, self-direction, and harmony[33] can be cultivated, yet when there is no harmony or earnestness, group activity comes to no positive effect and is tiring for the students. While, according to him, some seem to think that the only group activities are "physical drills, i.e. *taisō,*"[34] he disagrees, but does not elaborate. He gives examples that are easy to incorporate in Japanese schools by describing how in Meiji Jogakkō the most developed types of physical education so far are the *jorei*, *jūdō* and physical labor.[35]

While *jorei* seems to have been present at the school throughout most of Iwamoto's leadership, it is not known who and when instructed *jūdō* at the school, yet Kanō Jigorō 嘉納治五郎 (1860–1938) had established Kōdōkan 講道館 and devised and subsequently taught the sportified version of *jūjutsu* since the 1880s. The philosophy behind his art was close to Meiji Jogakkō's and possibly there were some students of Kanō's coming to the school to instruct. Likewise, it is unclear what exactly was implied here by "physical labor," but it likely meant manual tasks at the school: cleaning, preparing the food, working in the garden, etc., likely building upon Spencer's argument of promoting natural forms of movement, but emphasizing on that they are practical and goal-oriented rather than recreational.

The concluding paragraph of the editorial summarizes the stance of the school, drawing all points together and providing an insight into how important *taiiku* was to Iwamoto.

> What is truly important are the ideals behind physical education. *Taiiku* is not a set of drills on the body that ignores the mind; it is not a playful pastime either. It is an indispensable part of a comprehensive, high-level education that starts from the body. The ideal would be to have such physical education that is capable of developing a human being fully just by itself. Intellectual education corresponds to *bun*—the civil

[32] Ibid.: "深閨に楚々として暮らす."
[33] Ibid.: 規律,修整, 調和.
[34] Ibid.: "身躰的操練即ち躰操."
[35] Ibid.: "事情の許す限り、習慣に不都合なき限りに於て、追々と其形式を更に戸外的、更に衆人的、更に娯樂的に改良するが宜しひ。吾黨の今にして尤も贊成する所のものは、即ち女禮と柔道と、勞働とである."

> arts—while physical education corresponds to *bu*—the martial arts. Thus, the physical education of today is the martial education of old. As the two were taught as inseparable in the past (*bunbu funi, bunbu itto*), it is thus a retrogression and a loss in the progress of education to forget such experience instead of building upon it and concentrating only on the corporeal.[36]

Thus, to Iwamoto, the body and mind could not be educated separately and the old had to meet the new to be applicable in the Japanese modern physical education practices. The Western practices are not rejected and the aspect of physical education as accomplishment or means to socialize found in the Western physical activities is treated as an element that the Japanese physical education could incorporate and benefit from. In addition, the property of physical education to provide an escape from mental strain is acknowledged, but realized by individual or group exercises that are meant to be useful in interactions (*jorei*), self-defense (*jūdō*), and benefiting the community (labor).

3.b. Interpretations of Religion and *Bunbu* in the Meiji Period Education

This section analyzes Iwamoto's idea of *bunbu* as practiced at Meiji Jogakkō in relation to previous interpretations of the concept, and against the background of Meiji understandings of "religion" and "morality." The analysis addresses Meiji Joggakō's struggles when trying to balance secular and religious concepts and will shed light on why the term *bunbu ryōdō* (or *bunbu itto*) entered Iwamoto's parlance, an aspect that has not been sufficiently discussed in previous research.

3.b.1. Secular versus Religious Education

While Western learning (*yōgaku*) was widely accepted and promoted by the government during the early years of Meiji, Christian ideology was, to a large extent, left out of its Westernizing advances due to the government's complicated relationship with religion. The Meiji Constitution of 1889, following the example of advanced nations, provided an article concerning the guarantee of religious freedom. By stating "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious faith,"[37] it also left room for radical interpretations in the future and placed the patriotic above any religious sentiment. After the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku chokugo*, promulgated on October 30, 1890) and the official government commentary *The Rescript Explicated* (*Chokugo engi* 勅語衍義, by Inoue Tetsujirō (井上哲次郎, 1855–1944) were placed as objects of worship in schools after 1891, the Christian educational institutions came to be seen as possible sites of dissent. This was partially because of Inoue's commentary (over a hundred pages in length), which gave birth to a plethora of discourses that went on to shape the national interpretation of the Rescript (only half-

[36] Ibid.: "くれぐれも注意すべきは、躰育に關しての理想である。躰育は、心をヌキにした躰の操作ではない、ただ躰の爲の遊びではない。躰育は嚴然たる教育で、躰の上から着手する圓滿なる高尚なる教育の一端に名づけたのである。躰育丈でも人間を十分に開發し得べしと思ふが、其理想である。知育は文、體育は武。即ち、今の體育は古の武育である。文武不二、文武一途、合わせて人間の道としたる古の理想を忘れ、躰育を以てただ血肉骨格の死すべき身體にばかり關係するものと思ふは、教育學上の逮捕である。かかる主意で主張する躰育論者は、日本の體育を進めるものにあらず、反つて之を退歩せしめるもので、即ち墮落である."

[37] The Meiji Constitution, Article 28. Translation as found in Chido Takeda, "School Education and Religion in Japan." *Contemporary Religions in Japan* 9, no. 3 (1968): 216.

a-page long itself)[38]. Inoue attacked religion, especially Christianity, as going against the loyalty to the national ethic or the imperial house, and promoted Confucianism as a secular system of ethics, superior to both Christianity and Buddhism due to not being contradictory to the natural sciences. Kiri Paramore points out that Inoue's 1893 essay "The Clash Between Education and Religion" (*Kyoiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu* 教育ト宗教ノ衝突) acted as a "real assault on Christianity," bringing forward a "much larger, more politically savvy and more influential debate"[39] than the Rescript or any of Inoue's previous writings. The fact that Christianity and egalitarianism were attacked as antithetical to the Japanese imperial state and its project of scientific modernization, education, and development[40] directly affected the education carried out at Christian institutions. It is worth noting here that native establishments, such as Meiji Jogakkō, were more susceptible to such criticism than the missionary schools, as they were in an especially vulnerable position after 1890 due to their views (which did not completely align with foreign/Christian principles) and the lack of capital.

Iwamoto responded to the emerging issues promptly and openly in *Jogaku zasshi*. Even before the issue escalated, he alluded to Christianity's compatibility with the Rescript's message in addition to interpreting it as promoting equality among the sexes, especially in terms of education.[41] Later, most likely in response to Inoue's interpretation, Iwamoto provided his own reading of the Rescript in an editorial with the following English title: "'Worship' of the Imperial Edict on Education" (February 6, 1891).[42] In it, he claimed that Christianity is the solution to the emperor's urge to educate and learn as it has the necessary strength to replace the old "backward" customs; meanwhile, blind, forced worship of the Rescript as an object is going against the very words of the emperor. At the same time, he is reacting here to the Uchimura Kanzō "lèse-majesté" incident (*Uchimura Kanzō fukei jiken* 内村鑑三不敬事件, January 1891) that sent ripples throughout the country. The scandal cost Uchimura his job at a government school and prompted him to flee the capital.[43] While the timing is unclear, Uchimura is known to have been a teacher

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[38] Monbushō 文部省 (Ministry of Education) *Kaneifutsudoku kyōiku chokugo shakusan* 漢英仏独教育勅語訳纂 (Chinese, English, French, German, Imperial Rescript on Education Collected Translations), Tokyo, 1909. (authorized version) http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/899326 Digitalized by the National Diet Library.
"Know ye, Our subjects:
Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the front of the fundamental character of Our Empire [kokutai 国体], and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents; affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious; as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.
The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain the same virtue."
[39] Kiri Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009): 148.
[40] Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism*, 151-52.
[41] "On Reading the Imperial Edict" (*Tsutsushimite chokugo wo haidoku shimatsuru* 謹みて勅語を拝読し奉る), *Jogaku zasshi* 238 (2 November, 1890): 1-2. "君に忠に、父母に孝に、公益を廣め、政務を開き、國を重んじ、國法に從の類ひ、陛下の臣民が皆な同一に服膺遵守すべき所ろの明道にして、男女老幼の差別を以て責めに厚薄ある可からず。敕に曰く、皆其德を一にせよと。男女ともに德を均しふして、 性(セックス) により標準を異にする事ある可からず。ああ此の敕語は、大道の指針、明々の道の光輝、日本教育の大展範なる哉."
[42] "*Kyōikujō, chokubunreihai no koto wo ronzu*" 教育上、敕文禮拜のことを論, *Jogaku zasshi* 251 (6 February, 1891).
[43] "*Nihon no hanayome chosha*"日本の花嫁著者, *Jogaku zasshi* 388 (July 14, 1894).

of Meiji Jogakkō's Higher Education Department, and thus the way the issue was handled must have strengthened the sense of alarm within Iwamoto and the school.

"'Worship' of the Imperial Edict on Education" raises several interesting points that illustrate Iwamoto's position. Firstly, he emphasizes the individual's freedom in choosing faith and claims that Uchimura's example should not be extended to the whole of the Christian religion so as to prove that there is a mismatch between the imperial system and Christianity.[44] Then, he argues against misinterpretation and misuse of the Rescript, claiming that the overemphasis on form is injurious in terms of both education and in terms of respecting the emperor and his wishes, as worship of a piece of paper teaches that it is not the character that one is judged on, but the practice of an empty ritual.[45] He likens such worship of the Rescript to reciting Shakespeare without knowing the meaning behind the words.[46] He concludes by appealing to the readers that he wishes the emperor's message to be put in practice, rather than some school's director's preferences of ceremony.[47]

Kevin Doak puts Iwamoto's responses to the Imperial Rescript on Education in context by describing how after the case of Uchimura,

> Incidents of persecution of Christians as disloyal Japanese spread around the country, as discussion of Christianity in public schools was prohibited. Five Protestants, led by Oshikawa Masayoshi ([押川方義] 1849–1928), Uemura Masahisa ([植村正久] (1857–1925), and Iwamoto Yoshiharu […], came to Uchimura's defense and published a joint declaration of support in the *Yomiuri* and other newspapers. They argued that to call the emperor 'a god' (*kami*) and to force Japanese to worship him would violate Article 28 of the Meiji Constitution, which guaranteed freedom of religion, and they declared their willingness to 'fight to the death,' if necessary, in order to contest such interpretations.[48]

Both Oshikawa and Uemura were influential Christians linked to Iwamoto, Uemura also having taught in the Higher Education Department of Meiji Jogakkō. While criticizing the government's interpretations of the Imperial Rescript on Education, however, they were not speaking out against the imperial family itself. Challenging the imperial system would have threatened their status as "subjects," taking away not only the duties but the rights and privileges as well. Losing their

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[44] "*Kyōikujō, chokubunreihai no koto wo ronzu*" 教育上、敕文禮拜のことを論ず, *Jogaku zasshi* 251 (6 February, 1891). "王を敬ふべきやの覺悟は、教徒各自の判斷に存す、内村君の行爲は内村君一個の判斷にして、基督教如の此く判斷すと云ふ可からず."

[45] Ibid., "教育には特に實踐を尊とみ、道德には深く僞善を惡む。然るに今敕語の主旨を實行することを務めずして、只だ其虛禮に流れ、公々僞善の式を行はせて、之を生徒の眼前に表白するに到ては、陛下に對して不忠甚だしきことは言ふ迄もなく教育上に於ても亦失策至大の處置なりと云はずんばある可からず," and "敕語に敬禮を表せんとするの素願は、寧ろ反て學生に僞善を教ゆるの失策たらんとす."

[46] Ibid., "人は之を唱ふるや只だシエクスピヤに感服して、其謠曲の辭を暗ずるに異ならず."

[47] Ibid., "苟くも一校の長として教育に聖意を奉躰せんと慾せば、敕文の文字に對して拜すると拜せざるとを問ふに先だち、即はち帋(かみ)に文字を印したるものに對して頭を下げることの有無を試驗するに先立ち、先づ其教員の果して克く忠孝の人たるや否やを詮索せずんばある可からず," and "吾人は教育上より觀察し、敕語文禮拜の如き式を行はざらんことを希望し、而して敕語の誠意の實際に行われんことを尤深く熱望す。世人往々陛下の名を濫りに用ゆ、自から揣りて勢力(ヲウソリティー)なきものに會すれば、則はち敕諭を拜唱す、吾人之を聞く毎に未曾て戰慄粟然たらずんばあらず."

[48] Kevin Doak, *A History of Nationalism in Modern Japan: Placing the People* (Leiden/Boston: BRILL, 2007): 97. Also, refer to Katano (1981), Kinoshita (1985), Nakamura (2011) among many others who have pointed out the pressure that Iwamoto felt and responded to in his writing around the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on Education and the *fukei jiken*.

positions in society would have deprived them of the ability to function freely. Thus, they had to carefully balance criticizing the government's actions and criticizing the status quo itself.

Soon after the Uchimura Kanzō incident, *Jogaku zasshi* ran an editorial about the current trends in education. In it, Iwamoto criticized the lack of consistency and the maximalism in the government's direction, especially in the education of morals, i.e., matters dealing with spirituality.

> The government officials keep repeating the same phrase: "The country should be like one." And there is nothing wrong with that. However, are the state schools of today actually able to provide a unitary national education? Let us take the education of morals as an example: at one time it is the worship of science, at the other it is the study of Confucius and Mencius, and at yet another it is nationalism—should the national system of education be something so volatile and unfixed, like weeds constantly floating around without ever finding a place to take root?[49]

Jogaku zasshi also thoroughly covered the *Kumamoto Eigakkō jiken* (熊本英学校事件, known as Okumura Teijirō Incident 奥村禎次郎事件) of January 1892,[50] when Kumamoto Eigakkō's employee Okumura was fired after delivering a speech that was deemed to be based on ideas of cosmopolitan philanthropism (*hakuai sekai shugi* 博愛世界主義) and thus opposing the principles put forth by the Imperial Rescript on Education.

In *Jogaku zasshi* 305, Iwamoto wrote that Kumamoto Eigakkō was "a school that did not receive any financial support from the government, nor did it receive any appointed officials as teachers and, even though small, was a place where students could be reasonably free. It was an independently run private school that the government was not meant to interfere with."[51] With this, Iwamoto is expressing his concern regarding the increasingly obvious meddling of the government in the running of private schools like Kumamoto Eigakkō (that was similar to Meiji Jogakkō). He is pointing out his expectation that private schools that did not receive any support from the government should be able to function autonomously. Nevertheless, the powerlessness of the schools is actually underscored by the fact that, despite Kumamoto Eigakkō's teachers and others protesting, Okumura was still fired.[52]

Emily Anderson's study throws light onto another important tendency in Iwamoto's thought, that is, the competition with the missionaries resident in Japan, the foreign control of the

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[49] "*Jinji no kan, kyōiku*" 時事の感、教育, *Jogaku zasshi* 252 (14 February, 1891): "政府の官人は毎度同じきことを繰り返して曰く、一國は一國のなかる可らず、是大に宜し、佐れど今の官立學校は果たして是と云ふ定りたる國風の教育を施した得たりや、先づ其德育に就いて見よ、或は理學宗となり、或は孔孟となり、或は國粹保存主義となり、猫の目の二六時中變轉して定らざるが如く、浮草の彼方此方に漂いて所を一にせざるが如し、日本の國風教育なるものは各風の如くに移るべきもの乎."

[50] *Jogaku zasshi* editorials: 305 (February 20, 1892), "The Reason Why a Teacher Was Dismissed at the Kumamoto Ei-gakkō" (*Kumamoto Eigakkō jiken* 熊本英學校事件) and 306 (February 27, 1892), "What is Meant by Loving one's Country?" (*Kokka wo aisu koto wa ika naru koto zo* 國家を愛すことは如何なることぞ); and warning (*keikoku* 警告): 307 (March 5, 1892), "What is Meant by 'Kokka Kyōiku.'" (*Kumamoto Eigakkō jiken (Matatabi)* 熊本英學校事件(再び)).

[51] "The Reason Why a Teacher Was Dismissed at the Kumamoto Ei-gakkō": "一錢の保護を官より受けず、一枚の辭令書を役人より頂戴せず、校舍小さしとも子弟同もに自由に膝を伸すことを得、獨立支持して敢て政府の厄介とならざる私立學校."

[52] Refer to Ono Masaaki 小野雅章, "*Kumamoto Eigakkō jiken no tenmatsu to kyōikukai*" 熊本英学校事件の顛末と教育界, The Society of Educational Research for Nihon University, *Journal of Educational Research* 教育学雑誌:日本大学教育学会紀要 28 (1994): 175-90.

schools, and their perceived lack of respect towards native practices.[53] As discussed in the previous chapters, Iwamoto felt strongly about the foreigners imposing their standards onto the secondary level of women's education and deemed the schools under their management as failing to provide balanced learning. While he was vocal about this throughout his career, the incident surrounding Tamura Naoomi (田村直臣, 1858–1934) makes it clear that Iwamoto considered seeking funds or the need to be "rescued as a less developed nation" against his agenda and educational policies.[54]

Tamura was a Christian minister who came under attack for not being patriotic enough in his views regarding family structure in Japan when, in 1893, he published an essay in English entitled *The Japanese Bride*. In the essay Tamura discussed the inner workings of the Japanese family, pointing out the backward system and lack of freedom therein. Thus, his position was not far from that espoused by Meiji Jogakkō, especially in the early years of the school. However, the way it was put forward in an English treatise aimed at foreign readers, by juxtaposing the Japanese family system against the Western one, and by pointing out the inferiority of the former on all levels, constituted an approach that infuriated Iwamoto, who sought to improve the existing Japanese patterns while incorporating the Western/Christian notions. To Iwamoto, Tamura was questioning the authority and ability of the native Christians and their efforts and accomplishments. In addition, it is possible that he saw Tamura's actions as further endangering the position of Japanese Christians. He urged Tamura to apologize to the government and made it clear that Meiji Jogakkō disagreed with his actions of "internationally shaming Japanese family practices."[55] The competition with missionaries, both within Japan and in institutions abroad, and the fear of being lumped together, was an important aspect in Meiji Jogakkō's approach to education that should not be overlooked.

Iwamoto summarizes his relationship with Christianity as an institution in the following passage, published years after the school had stopped functioning.

> Meiji Jogakkō was a school that struggled financially, and managing it was not an easy task. I, even though a Christian, hated the foreign-style church to the extent that my wife would warn me that I was making myself an easy target for the missionaries' criticisms. Actually, at the time the situation was such that Japan was looked down upon and all the proper missionaries would rather go and proselytize in China. Other religious schools would all seek donations from the proselytizing funds of foreign missionaries; Meiji Jogakkō, on the other hand, was determined to steer clear of any such support, in return for not being controlled in any way by the churches and missionaries, so as to carry on by just following the Japanese Christian principles. Even though the task was sometimes difficult, there were always like-minded people who understood our efforts.[56]

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[53] Emily Anderson, "Tamura Naoomi's 'The Japanese Bride': Christianity, Nationalism, and Family in Meiji Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34, no. 1, Christians in Japan (2007): 203-28.

[54] "*Nihon no hanayome chosha*"日本の花嫁著者, *Jogaku zasshi* 388 (July 14, 1894).

[55] Ibid.

[56] *Asuka*, "*Mushō zadan*," 11: "明治女學校は貧乏しい學校でしたものですから、經營は容易でござんせんでした。私は基督教信者ではありましたが、外國風の教會は嫌ひで、家内（故巖本嘉志子）が、あなたは宣教師などからは迚も認められないといつてゐた程でした。實際當時日本は劣等視されて、いい宣教師は寧ろ支那に布教に行くといふ程でした。他の宗教學校は皆資金を是等外人の傳導費から仰いでゐたのですから經營は樂でしたが、明治女學校はあくまで外國の寄付は仰がぬ、その代わり所謂教會や宣教師の掣肘をも受けないで日本基督教主義でやつて行かうと致しましたから、困難も多かつた此事業を理解してくれる人々も出きて參りました."

Iwamoto expresses his pride in being a Japanese Christian in the above passage, illustrating the position he envisaged for himself within the national rather than international Christian framework.

The government attempted to regulate instruction of Christianity in private schools after 1893 that saw both Inoue Tetsujirō's "The Clash Between Education and Religion" and Tamura Naoomi's *The Japanese Bride*. Subsequently, Ministry of Education's Instruction No. 12 (*Monbushō kunrei jūnigō* 文部省訓令十二号) issued on August 3, 1899, formalized the position of the government.[57] It stated:

> It is necessary from the standpoint of the school administration to make general education stand outside of religion. Therefore, the government and public schools, and the schools under the application of provisions of the laws and ordinances relating to the curriculum shall not be permitted to conduct religious education or to observe any religious ceremony outside of the regular course.[58]

Instruction No. 12 aimed to keep Christianity not only from the official curricula, but also from the extracurricular activities in schools providing general education. Iwamoto responds in August 25, 1899, describing Instruction No. 12 as faulty on several levels.[59] While Iwamoto does not clarify which religions the instructions are targeting at to separate from education, they aimed to regulate Christianity and Buddhism, and not State Shinto or Confucian moral teachings that were considered to be outside the category of religion. Iwamoto raises particular issues in the interpretation of general education, stating that the text lumps a wide variety of schools together, among which are schools that function as places to promote religion. He is openly critical of the government, stating that the instructions compiled by inexperienced official(s)[60] are petty (*kechi* ケチ), and a disgrace upon the nation (*kokka no haji* 國家の恥). He goes as far as to rewrite them to make them more "sensible"[61]:

> Religion is prohibited only in the schools that are run by the government (that teach "national education"), while all the other schools are free to teach religion as they see fit. [...] All those unhappy with the government's restrictions, are free to open private schools and promote religion; Monbushō shall not meddle.[62]

Iwamoto argues that the instruction of religion is necessary, but also admonishes against religious education in the narrow sense.[63] To Iwamoto, religious sense / spirituality, if not developed

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[57] Ōe Mitsuru 大江満, "*Meiji kōki Kirisutokyō shugi gakkō no Monbushō kunrei juūnigō mondai e no taiō*" 明治後期キリスト教主義学校の文部省訓令一二号問題への対応, in *Kindai Nihon no daigaku to shūkyō* 近代日本の大学と宗教, ed. Ejima Naotoshi 江島尚俊 et. al. (Tokyo: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 2014), 33-71.

[58] MEXT, *Hakusho*, "*Ippan no kyōiku wo shite shyūkyōgai ni tokuritsu seshimuru no ken"* 一般ノ教育ヲシテ宗教外ニ特立セシムルノ件 (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317974.htm): "一般ノ教育ヲシテ宗教ノ外ニ特立セシムルハ学政上最必要トス依テ官立公立学校及学科課程ニ関シ法令ノ規定アル学校ニ於テハ課程外タリトモ宗教上ノ教育ヲ施シ又ハ宗教上ノ儀式ヲ行フコトヲ許ササルヘシ." Translation found in Takeda, "Education and Religion," 217.

[59] "*Kyōiku shūkyo bunri no kunrei*" 教育宗教分離の訓令, *Jogaku zasshi* 494 (August 25, 1899).

[60] Ibid.: "文部當局の經驗ある人が立案したものではあるまい."

[61] Ibid.: "一應通りのある申分."

[62] Ibid.: "國家教育の系統に屬する學校に於て其宣傳を禁ずるのみである。故に、其他の學校に於て、如何なる宗教を傳えよふとも、總べて自由である。[...] 此の取締を受けることを好まぬ族は自由に私立學校を建てて、勝手に其所ろに於て宗教を發揚するが宜しひので、夫は毫しも文部省の關涉する所ろでない."

[63] Ibid.: "固より、宗教專門の人を造るやうな宗教教育は普通教育に於て行ふ可からざること無論であるが、宗派に偏せず、迷信に陷いらざる樣なる宗教的開發と云ふものは是非無ければならぬ."

reasonably, moderately, and according to students' needs, is capable of turning into superstition, becoming malignant, or promoting various reactionary responses to the modern advancements.[64]

On the other hand, Iwamoto ties Instruction No. 12 to *Shiritsu gakkō rei* of 1899 since the beginning of the editorial, yet he cautions that the two should not be mixed: Instruction No. 12 is private orders (*naikun* 内訓) and only the public *Shiritsu gakkō rei*, that speaks nothing of religion, should be pertinent to the public.[65] It is clear that he especially wishes to emphasize that Instruction No. 12 arose from the government's fears and was purposefully aimed at promoting competition between schools classified as governmental and as religious.[66] Iwamoto explains that this is achieved by Monbushō not granting official approvals (not accepting the schools into the system of education it established) or by revoking the previously granted ones.[67]

Iwamoto reasons that the government's fears are unfounded, claiming that at most what foreign-style schools could do is making things slightly more interesting[68] by creating variety, which would benefit the nation.[69] However, he points out, even this has not been happening as "the Japanese stubbornly stick to their Japaneseness, proving the government's preemptive attacks unnecessary."[70] "Let the things run freely first and then see if something needs to be mended,"[71] he advises.

Kiri Paramore summarizes the above tendencies and developments pointing out how, throughout the period, rather than the ideological issues of Christianity, its status as religion (*shūkyō* 宗教)[72], seen as the essence of a culture, or the basis on which culture is built, was used as a tool to advance the anti-Christian discourse of the government and the intellectual elites that supported it.

> Anti-Christian discourse was […] transformed into a key plank supporting a national ideology which conceived of Japan as different (and potentially opposed) to the West on religious or ethical grounds, while not in any way rejecting Western military,

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[64] Ibid.: "宗教的觀念は人の觀念の中甚だ高尚なるもので、人生にあつて亦必要なるものであるから、是非とも之は適宜に開發せねばならぬ。適宜に開發せねば、惡性に伸びて、種々の迷信ともなり、種々の反動ともなるから、是非適宜に正當に穩健に開發せねばならぬ."

[65] Ibid.: "政治は實際の手心による者で、文部大臣の訓令は、其實際の手心に關する内訓に過ぎない。宗教家が問はずして宜しいことである."

[66] Ibid.: "此度の訓令を必要とするに至つたとして見るに、文部省は表面、公平の事を言ふに以て、實は私立學校を苦しめ、教育に獻身する篤志家殊勝な熱心を妨害せんとするものである。國家の教育丈けでは、迚も不足不備であるから、私人[...]に不自由を冠ぶせて置いて、扨て之と競爭しよふとする極めて卑しむべき處置である."

[67] Ibid.: "國家の教育丈けでは、迚も不足不備であるから、私人[...]に不自由を冠ぶせて置いて、扨て之と競爭しよふとする極めて卑しむべき處置である" and "文部省は、特別認可と、宗教の事とは丸で無關係であると言ふ相であるが、宗教家の立てた學校（例へは小中學校）は小學校とも中學校ともなることが出來ぬ、從つて其の特別認可を受けることが出來ぬとして見れば、決して之を無關係とは言へぬ。[...]從來特別認可を受て居る學校などは、[...]其の特別認可を換えさねばならぬ。[...]政府たるものが、一方に特別の保護を與へ、他に其の利益を奪つて、競爭させよふとする."

[68] Ibid.: "寧ろ一種の面白味がある."

[69] Ibid.: "[...]国家の利益である。国家と云ふものには、色々雑多の人が無ければ成らぬ、夫で無くては、大いなる開花（さか）、熾んなる進歩と云ふものは出来ぬものである."

[70] Ibid.: "日本人と云ふ奴は、中々我慢があつて、妙に世界的でない所がある。寧ろ偏屈と云ふほどに守る所を遺伝して居るから、是迄でさへ、西洋人風になったのは余りない、況や此から先の事は、尚更である."

[71] Ibid.: "一旦自由に放任するが宜しい、夫でいよいよ害があれば、何時でも取締が出来る."

[72] To translate the word "religion" into Japanese, an older Buddhist concept was remade to fit the new tendencies in Meiji discourse, still often understood as implying an established religion such as Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism and excluding Shinto and Confucianism.

> industrial, scientific, or political technologies, nor the rationalistic intellectual frameworks which supported them. Anti-Christian discourse enabled an ideology through which Japanese elites could delineate an opposition to the West, without setting Japan in opposition to the sociological and technological systems of Western imperialism.[73]

While enlightenment (*bunmei kaika*) and social reformist (*shakai kairyō*) advocates such as Iwamoto functioned within the same framework—selecting what they deemed applicable to their work from the Western culture and Christianity itself—it is also true that Christian educators of the period were often left ideologically and practically handicapped, walking the tight-rope in limited spheres of operation. It is in such conditions that Meiji Jogakkō was run, and as a result its endeavors could have been misunderstood. While Iwamoto never wavered in his position that the school was Christian, the way he defined the school's Christianity should be reevaluated.

As mentioned in section 2.c.2.c., the introduction of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* (1892) stressed that Meiji Jogakkō was not just a Christian institution and instead was aimed at balancing Japanese, Western, and Chinese learning, avoiding leaning towards extremes as conservatism or progressivism, and Western or traditional styles of education. In the first chapter of this treatise, a considerable amount of effort is spent on emphasizing that, while for moral education Christianity formed the basis, all Christianity-related activities at the school were not aimed as proselytizing. Iwamoto underscored that the school leaves it to the students themselves to attend Sunday mass and that the school wishes to keep the "foreign elements" such as Western literature and Christianity in balance with the Japanese ones.[74]

Reflecting such constant search for balance within the national policy and various ideological inclinations, the students themselves seem somewhat confused and, simultaneously, do and do not classify Meiji Jogakkō as a Christian school. For instance, while Hani Motoko wrote that Meiji Jogakkō's students would gather in the dormitory's auditorium for a prayer service every evening[75], she also argued the following:

> Amid those flower-like students that were capable of blooming so splendidly, there was reason, there was passion/zeal, but there was also a lack of faith, which would not allow them to bloom fully. Their wisdom could comprehend the teachings of Christianity, yet they did not aim at truly serving God. That is why the school eventually was swallowed up by the land of the devils.[76]

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[73] Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity*, 163.

[74] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 14-15: "外國傳道社會の補助を毛頭も希望せず。只管ら日本人の手を持以て日本的に女子教育をせんことを欲したり。而して徳育の基礎を基督教に置くと云へども、學科目中に聖書を加ふることなく、平常に基督教を講ずることなく、生徒に向つて傳道すること少し。即はち宗教上の信仰を自拓發心に任せ毫末も之を強ゆることなく、ただ教員の感化と精神上の修養とを專一にせり。日曜日に於て安息日學校を開き此に於て純粹に聖經を講ずと云へども聽聞は生徒中の有志の者に許し確然平常の科目と別にせり。之れ必ずしも宗教傳道を輕んずるにあらず、如此くするが即はち眞誠の傳道にして且つ眞誠の徳育なりと信ずるが故なり。又、英學の分量の如きも、最初より之を少なくし、且つ年々に減じ、追々國文の科目を增やしたり、吾黨は英學過分の弊を難じて此校を創立せしが故に、無論英學の時間を大に少くしたり。左れど亦た保守論の人の如くに之を少なくすること能はず、此點に付ても亦た中立したり."

[75] Irie-Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace*, 248-49.

[76] Hani, *Hani Motoko chosaku-shū*, 60-61: "明治女学校と巌本先生は私の恩人または恩のある学校である．[…]私は今も既に滅びた明治女学校を忘れることが出来ずにいる。あの爛漫たる才華のなかに、理もあり情もありながら、生ける信仰を欠けていた。その聡明さはキリスト教思想を解していても、本気に神に仕えようとはしていなかったであろう。そのために美しい学校がとうとう魔の国へとさらわれて行ってしまった."

Hani, however, seems to be blaming the students' lack of religious devotion and moral conduct rather than the lack of school's effort to instruct in Christianity. She describes that Meiji Jogakkō's students "had been taught Christian thought but not faith,"[77] yet it is questionable whether she sees faith as something that could actually be instructed. She adds that Meiji Jogakkō's students "attended Sunday services at a church established by Uemura Masahisa" and that, "like many of the other students, [she] was spellbound by Rev. Uemura's impassioned sermons, although in retrospect [she thought she did not] understand much."[78] In addition, Hani notes how she considered herself a Christian then, but again reasoned that, "in retrospect, it merely meant that [she] had made the choice to live by the Christian moral code."[79]

According to Sōma Kokkō, too, "[i]t was not a school teaching religion, but it followed Christian principles, even though in its somberness one could find a strong sense of freedom."[80] Thus, she seems to perceive Meiji Jogakkō positively, as religious, yet not imposing its norms on the students. Comparing Meiji Jogakkō to her experience at missionary-run Ferris Jogakkō, Sōma writes, "As I transferred from Ferris and attended Iwamoto-sensei's lectures for the first time, I could sense the respect in his speech. At Ferris, you could have asked questions as much as you wanted—all that would happen is that you would be shushed and told to stop 'being disrespectful to the Holy Spirit.'"[81] Interestingly, Sōma classified the students that were attracted to Meiji Jogakkō as either religious (*shūkyōha* 宗教派), or literature-inclined (*bungakuha* 文学派). While she placed Hani in the former group, she must have categorized herself into the latter. Sōma also mentions that some of the teachers, such as Togawa Shūkotsu, Baba Kochō, and Shimazaki Tōson, would enter the classroom, place their books on the table, and start the class after a solemn prayer.[82]

While the school defined itself as "more than Christian," and the students as well seem to have seen it as not necessarily "instructing religion," its network-community was definitely Christian. Tsuda Sen, Uemura Masahisa, Nakamura Masanao, Nitobe Inazō, and Tamura Naoomi, who published their contributions in *Jogaku zasshi* and were involved with the school, were all famous Christian figures.[83] At the same time, Jogaku Zasshisha organized numerous Christian public speeches (*enzetsukai*), and it was openly critical of the government's treatment of Christian schools and educators. As such, it would be hard to believe that Meiji Jogakkō and *Jogaku zasshi* were not recognized as Christian institutions by Meiji society.

On a personal level, too, Iwamoto's networks point to his Christian beliefs. However, the fact that Iwamoto chose to omit the "explicit" evangelization element at Meiji Jogakkō might indicate either that he was trying to avoid criticism, or that he intentionally followed the modern understanding of freedom of choice in religion, replacing it with the aim to provide his students with a secular education based on Christian morals. The third possibility is that Iwamoto saw no

[77] Irie-Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace*, 251.
[78] Ibid., 250.
[79] Ibid., 251.
[80] Sōma, *Mokui*, 39: "そこは宗教学校ではないけれども、やはりキリスト教主義により、厳粛なうちに思い切った自由があり、芸術至上の精神と実生活に織りこんで、実に新鮮で力強く."
[81] Ibid., 59-60: "フェリス女学校から転校してまいりまして、はじめてこの先生[巌本]の講話の時間に出ました時、先生の話に私は確かに敬意を感じました。フェリスではいかに疑問を抱いておっても、それを口に出してきけば「聖霊をけがすものだ」と他から圧迫される位であった."
[82] Ibid., 71: "明治学院出身の戸川、馬場、島崎先生など、教室に入っていらっしゃると、まず本を机の上におき、粛然としてお祈りをされてから講義をはじめられるという風でした."
[83] According to Kischka-Wellhäußer, "Japanese Feminism's Institutional Basis," 143, note 9, with a few exceptions among the most well-known figures in society, the precise affiliations of Meiji Christians are unclear; however, it is known that Nakamura Masanao was baptized as a Methodist, and Uchimura Kanzō and Nitobe Inazō as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

need for open evangelization, as elements of Christianity were incorporated in most subjects (even those generally seen to be promoting traditional Japanese values). This was particularly apparent in the instruction of martial arts that took place at the school from 1890.

The following section addresses how the school combined traditional with modern and religious with secular in its physical education practices and discusses the link between physical education and *bunbu* in order to shed light on the ways in which Iwamoto saw fit to mix modern and traditional education at Meiji Jogakkō.

3.b.2. Traditional versus Modern Education: *Bunbu* and Physical Education

3.b.2.a. The Definitions

First of all, it is necessary to clarify the confusion between *budō* 武道 and *bushidō* 武士道. Oleg Benesch points out that diverse terms such as *budō* (the martial way), *shidō* [士道] (the way of the samurai/gentleman), *hōkōnin no michi* [奉公人の道] (the way of the retainer), *otoko no michi* [男の道] (the way of masculinity), *heidō* [or *hyōdō* 兵道] (the way of the soldier), and many others [are often rendered] uniformly as *bushidō*, giving the impression that a homogenous and widely accepted tradition existed, when this is not supported by the evidence.[84]

According to Benesch "all modern *bushidō* theories are later constructs with no direct continuity from pre-Meiji history, while it is precisely the claims to such continuity that make *bushidō* an invented tradition."[85] Following Carol Gluck[86], Benesch supports the position that "at no point in modern Japan was there a monolithic ideology or ideology production process. Even a seemingly cohesive ideology such as *bushidō* was the result of complex interactions between many different individuals and groups with widely varying motivations, who were subjected to a plethora of social and cultural factors."[87]

Expanding on this discussion, I argue that education in martial arts at Meiji Jogakkō was not an expression of the nationalistic *bushidō* ideology, but rather a response to the social and educational ideas circulating in society at the time.[88] In this sense, I treat the development of ideas on martial arts instruction, *budō*, as separate from the ideology that was developed in the Meiji period and beyond by various ideologists, i.e., *bushidō*. However, while Meiji *bushidō* was often separated from actual physical exercises and concentrated on the state of mind / code of conduct / system of values, its ideological aspects cannot be fully separated from *budō*. In this sense, and considering the timing of martial arts instruction at Meiji Jogakkō (since 1890), it is possible to place Iwamoto and Hoshino Tenchi together with Uchimura Kanzō, Uemura Masahisa, and Nitobe Inazō among "the strongest promoters of *bushidō* from a very early point,"[89] as all five of them wrote about *bushidō* while holding views imbued by pacifism and internationalism. In their position can be seen an attempt to bridge the martial ideal (that in their ideas found its modern equivalents in the Western history or English gentlemen) to being Christian citizens of a modern(izing) monarchy. *Bushidō* discourse to them was both traditional and international, a base

[84] Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushido in Modern Japan* (Oxford University Press, 2014): 4.
[85] Ibid., 8.
[86] Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985).
[87] Benesch, *Inventing the Way*, 9. Fujitani also skillfully describes how the Meiji period was a time of active ideological invention in his *Splendid Monarchy*.
[88] Meiji Jogakkō's participation in the *ryōsai kenbo* ideology is similar—providing a constant development and original rendering of the matter, which should not be judged only based on its later developments.
[89] Benesch, *Inventing the Way*, 140.

on which native Christian literati could build their arguments, otherwise threatened by their hazardous position as patriots unacknowledged by the state. It "presented a possibility to define a national ethic that was easily combined with the Christian faith, as it was supposedly based on historical rather than religious ideals."[90]

Uchimura Kanzō, Uemura Masahisa, and Nitobe Inazō were all part of the same circles as Iwamoto, delivering speeches at the same venues, and attending the same gatherings. The men were in a position to exchange opinions, read the same materials, and harbor similar expectations. They also did not fit the new expectations from the government, as illustrated in its Imperial Rescript on Education described above. Thus, since to Uemura the void left by the "collapse" of Confucianism and Buddhism could be filled by *bushidō*—seen as a Japanese system of ethics that could complement Christianity[91]—it would not be far-fetched to assume that Iwamoto or Hoshino harbored similar views. However, the concept of *bushidō* was not only never invoked, it was rejected and even ridiculed by the school as a construct by extreme traditionalists/ nationalists.[92]

By concentrating on *budō* rather than *bushidō* and its modern interpretation as a form of physical education, I follow Denis Gainty, who argues that "themes of nationalism, spirituality, militarism, and martial arts […] constituted the tools of individuals in their efforts to exercise agency in their social context."[93] While I approach martial arts from a narrower perspective than Gainty, I aim to complement his work by providing an insight into how martial arts education at a Christian girls' school reflected 1) the social context the school was situated in and 2) the possibility for individuals (both teachers and students) to practice their own interpretations of moral and physical education. First, however, let us look at tendencies in Meiji period physical education instruction to women.

3.b.2.b. Tendencies among Educators

Kakemizu Michiko describes how physical education was practiced at missionary schools, noting that very few institutions without a Christian connection carried out any.[94] Other than missionaries, who were not well trained and would often just perform stretches before bed and in the morning, there are examples of Japanese women who built on their knowledge of classical forms of exercise to develop new types of physical education. One such example is that of Atomi Jogakkō's 跡見女學校[95] founder Atomi Kakei 跡見花蹊 (1840–1926), who used her knowledge of *buyō* 舞踊, or Japanese dance, to create *undōbu* 運動舞 in 1875[96]—a version of *taisō* that amalgamated the new concept of exercise with traditional dance. She represents the trend among women educators to reconceptualize the physical training that they had themselves received to fit into a

[90] Ibid., 88.
[91] Ibid., 65.
[92] The details will be provided in section 4.b. Iwamoto's position is unclear in that he was critical of idealizing martiality yet at times writing in similar lines along to Christian *bushidō* theorists such as Nitobe and idealizing the samurai, or likening them to the Western gentlemen. A piece of literary criticism authored by Iwamoto (signed Mushōko 無象子) in *Hyōron* 評論 2 (April 22, 1893): 19, titled "*Bushidō*" 武士道, provides valuable insights into his position. "*Bushidō*" is responding to the writing of George William Knox (1853–1912), a missionary in Japan and a professor of philosophy and ethics at the Imperial University of Tokyo. The review is positive regarding both his *A Japanese Philosopher* (*Nihon no tetsugakusha* 日本の哲学者) and *Nihon no bushi oyobi kyōiku* 日本之武士及び其教育. While the latter could not be located, the former predates Nitobe's *Bushido*, yet is similar in style in that it ascribes samurai qualities to every Japanese person as an inherent moral code. Rather than for its moralistic message, however, the works are praised for being treatises of philosophy (*tetsugaku*) and depiction of Japanese historical figures.
[93] Denis Gainty, *Martial Arts and the Body Politic in Meiji Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2013): 97.
[94] Kakemizu, *Joshi taiiku kyōshishi kenkyū*, 59.
[95] A predecessor to the currently-running Atomi Gakuen 跡見学園 in Tokyo.
[96] Ibid., 59.

classroom environment. As Meiji period male advocates of physical education, Kakemizu mentions Iwamoto, Naruse Jinzō 成瀬仁蔵 (1858–1919), and Tamura Hatsutarō 田村初太郎 (1852–1915). Naruse was involved in the running of Baika Jogakkō 梅花女学校, the predecessor to Baika Joshi Daigaku 梅花女子大学 in Osaka, since its establishment (1872), also serving as its fifth principal. He introduced several forms of physical exercise[97] into the curriculum since 1894 when he came back from his study in the U.S., especially concentrating on basketball.[98] Meanwhile, Tamura promoted swimming at Heian Jogakuin 平安女学院[99] since 1901, yet the school had introduced some exercise since 1892.[100] Iwamoto, however, while supervising the whole curriculum, was not the one behind the physical education, this role being filled by Hoshino Tenchi; likewise, it was Shirai Kikurō 白井規矩郎 (1870–1951) who conducted physical education classes at Heian Jogakuin[101]. It is clear that the ideological development of physical education has been focused on in research rather than the actual practice. Thus, numerous other instructors at these and other Meiji-period girls' schools remain overlooked.

While Kakemizu summarizes the Meiji period's physical education for women, she only briefly mentions martial arts education at Meiji Jogakkō, glossing over the martial arts training at the school in a few sentences, and referring to it as "*naginata taisō.*"[102] Alexander C. Bennett describes *naginata taisō* as "students […] perform[ing] dance-like sequences in unison with wooden weapons," such as those promoted by Ozawa Unosuke 小沢卯之助 (1865–1927).[103] Jesse C. Newman mentions that Ozawa argued for "*Shinshiki bujutsu taisō-hō* (New style of martial calisthenics) stressing both spiritual and physical benefits practitioners could obtain from the 'martial calisthenics.'" His effort is described as "a sign of the desperation of traditional fencing exponents to convince a skeptical Ministry of Education of the value of the martial arts."[104] Bennett also adds that Ozawa "declared that *bujutsu* calisthenics was designed as an educational tool for boys and girls in order to 'nurture a nation of people with physiques by no means inferior to Westerners.'"[105]

It is not certain when Ozawa was active. While there appear to be several overlaps in the experiences and possibly goals of Ozawa and Iwamoto, Meiji Jogakkō did not frame its exercises as *naginata taisō*, and actually clearly distinguished between the two. According to Bennett, "[d]uring the Meiji period, martial arts education in schools was not authorized because of two main problems: the potential for damage caused by repeated striking, and the difficulty in establishing unified teaching methods. *Bujutsu* calisthenics was developed by some educators as a way of overcoming these problems."[106] Thus, Meiji Jogakkō's *budō*, which was adapted to women

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[97] Kakemizu, *Joshi taiiku kyōshishi kenkyū,* 60, lists them as calisthenics (*jūnan taisō* 柔軟体操), François Delsarte (181171) style *taisō* (*derusāto* デルサート), the unascertained メーオルダンス, *naginata*, exercise with dumbbells (*arei taisō* 亜鈴体操), and dancing while singing English songs (*eigo gasshō no dansu* 英語合唱のダンス), etc.

[98] Refer to Baba Tetsuo 馬場哲雄, *Kindai joshi kōtō kyōiku kikan ni okeru taiiku, supōtsu no genfūkei: Naruse Jinzō no shisō to Nihon Joshi Daigakkō ni genkei wo motomete* 近代女子高等教育機関における体育・スポーツの原風景: 成瀬仁蔵の思想と日本女子大学校に原型をもとめて (Tōkyō : Kanrin Shobō 翰林書房, 2014).

[99] Established in 1875 as Miss Eddy's School in Tokyo. Later renamed into Heian Jogakkō 照暗/平安女学校 or St. Agnes' School. Currently, St. Agnes' University.

[100] Kakemizu, *Joshi taiiku kyōshishi kenkyū*, 60; 65.

[101] Murayama Shigeyo 村山茂代, "Kikuo Shirai's Hyojo-Taiso and Momotaro" (*Shirai Kikuo no hyōjō taisō to* Momotarō 白井規矩郎の表情体操と「桃太郎」), *Choreologia* 18 (1995): 55.

[102] Kakemizu, *Joshi taiiku kyōshishi kenkyū*, 60.

[103] Alexander C. Bennett (ed.), *Budo: The Martial Ways of Japan* (Tokyo: Nippon Budokan Foundation, 2011): 237.

[104] Jesse C. Newman, *History of Kyudo and Iaido in Early Japan* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2015): n/a.

[105] Alexander C. Bennett, *Kendo: Culture of the Sword* (California: Univ of California Press, 2015): 114.

[106] Bennett, *Budo*, 237.

by Hoshino without any reference to *taisō*, and led to "fierce" duels, was an unauthorized activity that would likely have stood little chance of being officially acknowledged by the government. On the other hand, as Meiji Jogakkō was able to carry out its *budō* classes, we can see that it had a relative freedom to choose its methods. To exemplify how ahead of time the school was, let us briefly review the historical developments in the education of martial arts.

3.b.2.c. Historical Reasons that Led to the National Promotion of Martial Arts

Paramore delves into the parallel evolution of martiality and physical education in Japan. According to him, until the late 1500s, "military learning" (*heigaku* 兵学) that was recorded consisted of "scholarship on practical learning techniques from the usage of weapons to the ideas on strategy" and "was primarily a set of techniques and tactics to be used in civil war." With time, however, in sixteenth-century Japan, military learning could be seen as "a new intellectual and religious tradition which came into being […] partly by employing overarching Neo-Confucian structures."[107] In the early seventeenth century in particular, with such writers as Hōjō Ujinaga (北条氏長, 1609–70), military learning was transformed into a tradition with a worldview in some ways resembling a religious outlook.[108] Gradually, "the Warring States-period self-conception of the samurai primarily in terms of combat and individual courage was replaced by an ideal which saw samurai as guardians of the social order in a broader sense, bringing peace to the land as much through their individual exemplary moral conduct and social engagement as through their military service."[109] The Confucian morality and the ideal of self-improvement and sustainment of social order (allocated to the warrior class) continued to permeate the understanding of physical education for the rest of the Edo period.

Pre-Meiji physical education, largely directed at the samurai class and its values, and revolving around martial arts, was not for everyone. Towards the end of the Edo period, however, Gainty argues that *budō* was becoming more accessible to commoners.[110] The Meiji transition and the abolition of the class system further sped up the process, finally leading to *budō* being perceived as useful to the national curriculum.

When setting the groundwork for equal education for all, the Meiji government took time to decide on its methods. The overall tendency, however, was for the officially promoted physical education to mostly consist of Western-influenced practices. The *Gakusei* 学制of 1872 set *taijutsu* 体術 (exercise) second to last among fourteen compulsory subjects for elementary schools and mentioned unspecified extracurricular physical activities for secondary schools. Soon, more specific guidelines were developed at the elementary level with *shachū taisō* 榭中体操, or "room calisthenics," and the Ministry of Education endorsed a Plan for Gymnastics (*Taisōzu* 体操図), which set the basis for a modern physical education. At the same time, though, physical education was removed from the compulsory list of subjects until solutions could be found. In the higher levels of education, it took even more time for physical education to take shape.

With the national conscription (*kokumin kaihei* 国民皆兵) policies initiated since 1873 and, later, with expansionism in mind, the physical training necessary for war was shaping the way

[107] Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism*, 53.
[108] Ibid., 72.
[109] Ibid., 71.
[110] Gainty, *Martial Arts*, 17: "martial arts were enjoyed—were conceived, consumed, and reproduced—by the general public as symbol and spectacle, and the genealogy of this appropriation of martial arts by commoners extends far back into the Tokugawa era and beyond. Early Meiji debates about education, entertainment, propriety, and health were articulated through the conceptual frame of martial arts. As such, martial arts served as an important field of meaning through which Japanese citizens from all economic backgrounds and social positions could stake claims in the shifting grounds of modern Japanese society."

physical education was perceived in Meiji. An element of loyalty to the emperor in physical training was added with the Imperial Rescript for Soldiers and Sailors (*gunjin chokuyu* 軍人勅諭) in 1882. Historically, the dividing line between *hei* 兵 or "military" and *bu* 武, "martial," is not self-evident. A distinction can be made by saying that *hei* denotes hands-on military practices and techniques, while *bu* carries with it an element of accomplishment. In addition, *hei*, especially in the modern period, applied to all capable men, while *bu*, coinciding with the word signifying the samurai rank—*bushi* 武士, remained tied to the idealized traditional role of the samurai and was later extended to the Japanese nation as a unit. It is not likely that Iwamoto or Hoshino saw the connection between physical education at Meiji Jogakkō and the war effort, or that they sought to contribute to it by providing the nation with physically strong females, as such ideas are not espoused in their writing or mentioned only to be rejected. Nevertheless, military training and developments in physical education can hardly be separated when speaking of tendencies in national discourse and policies in general and must have affected their discourses to some extent.

Secondary schools had military drills (*heishiki taisō* 兵式体操 and *tairetsu undō* 隊列運動) and, in the newly created normal schools for teacher training, physical education was introduced in 1874 as an extracurricular subject, becoming a part of the formal curriculum for both primary and middle school teacher training in 1875. The practices came to be monitored in more detail under the Meiji government's new Taisō Denshūsho 体操伝習所, or Gymnastics Research Institute, after 1878. However, while the government's attempt to take control over the physical education was based on Western models, numerous institutions carried out martial arts education instead and promoted the inclusion of martial arts into the official curriculum with, for example, the establishment of the Butokukai 武徳会 ("Martial Virtue Society") in 1895[111]. Thus, while building new frameworks regarding what should constitute a modern system of education on one hand, martial arts were being promoted as a response to / in spite of the Western type of education on the other.

Gainty proposes that the members of the government in favor of the Western exercises, for reasons of safety (noting the lack of equipment to sustain safety in *budō*) and the competitiveness that would ensue while practicing, were met with those in favor of the Japanese equivalent with arguments that martial arts would prepare the students more fully, imbuing them with national qualities like *yamato damashii*[112]. In general, however, as in the Edo period martial arts had been mostly restricted to the samurai class (men and frequently women, depending on their locale), they were not easily recognized by the rest of society.

However, since the late 1880s, journalist and politician Ozaki Yukio 尾崎行雄 (1858–1954) had started promoting *bushidō* as a potential counterpart to English chivalry and the English "gentlemanship" that he idealized, reflecting the changing attitudes towards samurai surfacing in mid-Meiji. Ozaki argued that

> "martial virtues have to be promoted in primary schools in order to form the martial character of the people at a young age. Teaching materials should instill bravery and courage, such as the Ming epics Tales of the Water Margin [*Suikoden* 水滸伝, 13th

[111] Currently Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (DNBK) (lit. "Greater Japan Martial Virtue Society"), to which Iwamoto referrs as Nippon Butoku Kai in his writing, is a Japanese martial arts organization established in 1895 in Kyoto. Having been closed in 1945, it was reestablished in 1953. According to its website (http://www.dnbk.lv/index.php/en/): "It was the first official and premier martial arts institution sanctioned by the government of Japan." Refer to Gainty, *Martial Arts*.
[112] Gainty, *Martial Arts*, 108, 110-11.

> 14th C.] and Three Kingdoms [*Sangokushi* 三国志, 3rd C.], as well as the *Nansō satomi hakkenden* [南総里見八犬伝 (1814–43)], while physical exercise and military drills should be introduced into schools like in the West."[113]

By 1895, Butokukai often petitioned for the inclusion of martial arts into the national curriculum (for men); while such appeals met with little success, they had to be addressed, as instructing martial arts became an awkward issue in the education—they were being carried out without the official support by the government.

In 1898, June 22, the Ministry of Education sent a notification containing the decision to permit martial arts as extra-curricular activities.[114] In 1910, a national meeting of normal school principals was held and it was agreed that *kenjutsu* 剣術 (fencing) and *jūjutsu* 柔術 (close combat, usually bearing no weapons) should be made regular school subjects, while female participation in *naginata* and *kyūdō* 弓道 (archery) should be encouraged;[115] in other words, martial arts became a possible subject, yet the area of instruction was restricted. In 1911, the Ministry of Education revised the regulations for middle schools and officially authorized the study of *kenjutsu* and *jūjutsu* as regular subjects, although in actuality *bujutsu* remained optional for a couple more years.[116] In 1912, the regulations for normal schools were revised, and males were officially permitted to study *kenjutsu* or *jūjutsu*.[117]

It was only in 1923 that Kanō Jigorō's Kōdōkan started *jūdō* classes for women and children (at Kaiunzaka Dōjō).[118] In 1931, reflecting the change of educational climate in pre-war Japan, *kendō* and *jūdō* became compulsory subjects at normal and middle schools for boys. Finally, in 1936, boys were permitted[119] to study *kyūdō*, and girls became authorized to study *kyūdō* and *naginata* at schools. Discontinued in 1947 revisions, the new school regulations were revised since 2006 and in 2012 martial arts became semi-compulsory on secondary level.[120] The early example of martial training at Meiji Jogakkō thus provides an important glimpse into the development of physical and martial arts education that took place without such authorization and public support.

3.b.2.d. Historical Background of the *Bunbu* Concept

The understanding of physical education at Meiji Jogakkō was, most conspicuously after 1890, based upon the *bunbu ryodō* concept. While Iwamoto does not always quote the concept in his writing, he seems to have been influenced by it, most likely due to his own educational background. Historically, Ronald Dore explains, the *bun* and *bu* balance was something that had been stressed in education since the seventeenth century. Dore translates *bun* as "civil studies," "learning," "culture," "intellectual matters," "the literary arts" and *bu* as the military arts.[121] While Dore attributes the notion that *bu* cannot be achieved without *bun* to the warrior Imagawa Ryōshun

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[113] Ozaki Yukio, *Shōbu ron*, (Tokyo: Hakubundō, 1893): 74–77, quoted in Benesch, *Inventing the Way*, 47.
[114] Bennett, *Budo*, 296.
[115] Ibid, 298.
[116] Ibid., 298.
[117] Ibid., 298.
[118] Ibid., 300.
[119] Motomura Kiyoto in Bennett, *Budo*, 61: "Middle School Order Enforcement Regulations" were revised to include *gekken* and *jūjutsu* as elective subjects in 1911. By 1931, these two activities became compulsory middle school subjects for boys and in 1936 *kyūdō* and *naginata* were added as compulsory subjects for girls.
[120] MEXT, *The Revisions of the Courses of Study for Elementary and Secondary Schools,* (https://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/elsec/title02/detail02/1373859.htm).
[121] Ronald Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2010): 16.

今川了俊 (1326–1420)[122], Paramore argues that *bunbu ryōdō* as a concept was created by Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622–85) and translates the phrase as "the Dual Way of Scholar and Warrior,"[123] not to be confused with the common translation of *bushidō* as "the Way of the Warrior."

Benesch provides an insightful analysis of the developments in the notion of *bunbu ryōdō* (that he translates as "the two ways of letteredness and martiality"), identifying it as the most prevalent theme in the writings on the subject of samurai ethics. He concludes that "almost all commentators agree that a balance between martial and civil virtues was essential. This ideal was important enough to be given priority in the shogunate's official Regulations for the Military Houses [*Buke shohatto* 武家諸法度 of 1615] that instructed the higher ranks of the warrior class in proper behavior." In addition,

> The concepts could be understood practically, as they often were in earlier history, but also as abstract philosophical concepts, and even as the basis for proto-nationalistic arguments, with this latter interpretation making *bun-bu* relevant to more than a single class. Even if thinkers agreed on the importance of the 'two ways of *bun-bu*' [*bunbu ryōdō*], their specific interpretations of those concepts could make their arguments completely opposed to one another.[124]

There was a general lack of consensus as far as the meaning of *bunbu*, as illustrated by the examples provided by Benesch and Dore. Benesch explains how Yamaga Sokō equated "leteredness" to getting ready for the five relations of lord-vassal, friend-friend, parent-child, brother-brother, and husband-wife, while "martiality" to him meant getting prepared for using swords, lances, bows, and horses.[125] Dore, meanwhile, explains how *bun* and *bu* are best expressed in the "six arts" (*rikugei*), which are: rites/etiquette, music, writing, arithmetic, archery, and chariot-driving,[126] imported from the Zhou dynasty (周, 1046–256 BCE) curriculum, which contained the subjects one had to master for attaining government positions. The first two of the six arts are considered *bun*, the last two *bu*, and arithmetic and writing were seen as necessary for both.[127]

The writing on *bushidō* and *bunbu ryōdō* from the 1880s to 1895 was quite different due to its being influenced by four trends: 1) the maturation of the relationship with the West; 2) a change in the perception of China; 3) increasing interest and pride in the native culture; and 4) the secularization of Confucianism in the culture of Meiji Japan. The first three are as proposed by Benesch,[128] while I am introducing the fourth trend. During this period, Japan was actively reconsidering its position and role in the world. Thus, reconceptualization of the martial ideas was

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[122] Ibid., 16.
[123] Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism*, 71.
[124] Benesch, *Inventing the Way*, 33.
[125] Ibid., 20.
[126] *Rikugei* 六芸: *rei* 礼, *gaku* 楽, *sho* 書, *sū* 数, *sha* 射, and *gyō* 御.
[127] Dore, *Education in Tokugawa*, 47-49. Dore provides the following details about the six arts. He argues that for rites and etiquette the Ogasawara school's practice was accepted as a part of education, though formally provided in only a few domain schools (*hankō* 藩校). Music, which might have included writing prose and poetry, was not something commonly taught, and writing might have meant calligraphy according to Kaibara Ekiken, or all training involving reading according to Yamaga Sokō. Arithmetic, apparently, was a practical skill that was not always encouraged among the samurai in the form of petty calculation. Archery was historically practiced by both men and women of the samurai class. Chariot-driving was substituted by *kyūba* 弓馬—lit. "archery while horse riding," but most commonly extended to mean all the military skills: swordsmanship, the use of the lance, weapon drill, and military strategy.
[128] Benesch, *Inventing the Way*, 11.

influenced by Japan successfully modernizing and undergoing changes in the economy and its experiences in international relations, where Japan was both rejected privileges and appraised due to its military prowess, and a need to prove that Japan is interesting and better than other counties to gain/maintain a political foothold and support from the leading powers.

Regarding the view of China, Iwamoto was under the influence of public discourse. The initial evaluation of Chinese learning in *Jogaku zasshi* changed together with the general view of the Ogasawara school of etiquette.[129] At first, both Ogasawara's teachings and *jorei* were juxtaposed to "modern" learning and seen as overemphasized in women's education. The Chinese (Confucian) *rei* in *Jogaku zasshi* was criticized while "Western" ideals were the official goal. Later, as the West stopped symbolizing the ultimate model of education in the majority of public and official discourses, in Iwamoto's writing too, the Chinese connections came to be reevaluated and treated with more specificity. In addition, the military confrontation with China in 1894-95 and its perceived success were raising the levels of national pride and interest in Japanese culture, as such also serving as an affirmation of Japan's cultural superiority in the region, allowing for a new type of (ideological and physical) relation with the region to be established. Regarding Confucianism as an ethic and not a religion (vis-à-vis Christianity and Buddhism since the 1890s) made it possible to freely apply Confucian aspects when necessary to supplement Western science.

While in the Edo period "Japan's military leadership structure prompted many thinkers to identify *bun* and *bu* with China and Japan, respectively,"[130] the West joined the equation after the late Tokugawa, as Western sciences were added to the Chinese studies that signified the *bun*. In late Tokugawa, when faced with the ideological crisis of how to place Western science vis-à-vis religious frameworks without having to compete,[131] Neo-Confucians turned to the existing frameworks of approaching knowledge by splitting *ri* 理 (organizing principle) from *ki* 気 (its expression), a duality not so different from *bun* and *bu*. Exposed to the superiority of Western astronomy in predicting celestial events, a field that Japanese Confucianism used to have authority in, it chose to respond by introducing Western science into the equation, the imported knowledge becoming the new *ki*, in a way that would not threaten, but instead potentially strengthen, the position of *ri* (Confucian moral order). Scholar and astronomer Nishikawa Joken 西川如見 (1648–1724) wrote: "[A]ccording to the relationship between principle and form, anyone possessing greater insight into the physical world should also possess greater insight into the moral order"[132]; in other words, those who have the most accurate knowledge also have the most virtue and power. Developing such ideas, after writing the treatise on astronomy *Tenmon giron* 天文議論in 1712, Nishikawa also gave a series of lectures on the subject to the reigning shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684–1751). Yoshimune later relaxed the rules on the importation of Western books and established the first government-sponsored department for the translation of foreign texts, locating it within the bureau of astronomy.[133] Later, gunnery expert and Neo-Confucian Sakuma Shōzan 佐久間象山 (1811–64) introduced a greater range of disciplines—in particular the mathematics and physics used in the gunnery of the period, thus ceding "the Neo-Confucian authority over not only the movements of the stars but also the everyday mechanics of

[129] Discussed in more detail in 4.a.
[130] Benesch, *Inventing the Way*, 29.
[131] Jason Ananda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2012). In Ch. 4, "The Science of the Gods," Josephson describes how the religious systems of Japan did not function outside of science. On the contrary, they were ways to approach the surrounding world and learning. *Shushigaku* (Neo-Confucianism) in particular laid emphasis on the study of the world as an act of personal cultivation.
[132] Ibid., 105.
[133] Ibid., 106.

the world."[134] Sakuma is also known for coining and popularizing the phrase "Eastern ethics, Western technical learning" (*tōyō dōtoku, seiyō gakugei*, 東洋道徳西洋学芸). The phrase later evolved into "Japanese spirit, Western technique" (*wakon yōsai*, 和魂洋才) when Kikkawa Tadayasu 吉川忠安 (1824–84) built up upon Sugawara no Michizane's菅原道真 (845–903) *wakon kansai* 和魂漢才 (Japanese spirit, Chinese technique), expressing the cultural shift from China and to the West.

Thus, Western science, now conflated with *ki*, was, at least to some scholars, a transient expression of the more intransient inner knowledge, *ri*. In Meiji, the same paradigm is at work in the way imported knowledge was treated. It affected the thought of such intellectuals as Iwamoto Yoshiharu, who sought for ways to connect Western learning with native worldview and spirituality. However, in Iwamoto's case, there was no clear division between spiritual and physical, or scientific and religious. In his thought, elements from Western religion and science joined Japanese modern practices and traditions, together with their Chinese influences. Thus, while on one hand arguing about the abandonment of the "evil customs" of the past (polygamy, seclusion of women, etc.) and promoting science, Iwamoto was nevertheless constantly stressing the superiority of the Japanese traditional customs and mindset that should not be lost through the study of foreign subjects. While such selective borrowing and reconceptualization of the old terminology were characteristic of the period, Iwamoto's rendering is particularly interesting due to the fact that it was applied to the education of women—a field that was usually chosen to either be kept "traditional" or "Western," the latter often due to the inclinations of the foreign management.

3.c. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed how Meiji period discourses and applications of physical education built on a variety of elements: on one side, there were notions from the West interacting with the traditional understanding; on the other, interpretations of religious aspects (especially of Confucian and Christian origin) interacting with the national goals and overarching policies (such as expansionism and universalization of the concept of a fit body). It is difficult to view physical education at Meiji Jogakkō without considering where it positioned itself against these two sets of paradigms. The attempts to respond to the changing demands of the times inspired the creation of a framework that allowed Iwamoto to have no aversion to amalgamating elements from fairly different disciplines in his educational policies. I have argued that Meiji Jogakkō used the dichotomy of *bun* and *bu* as a tool to balance the different understandings of learning.

I have also tried to shed light on the way in which physical education and *budō* as its constituent were gradually included among the formative activities girls and women had the right to participate in. While it may be argued that their participation was different than that of male students, who were expected to take part in the war effort, places like Meiji Jogakkō blurred the lines between the sexes, encouraging females to study and practice martial arts decades before they were officially endorsed by the government, or even entered the national curriculum as a recognized form of physical education for males. Subsequently, while perceived as a traditionalist move by some, the efforts to extend the right to martial arts education to women at Meiji Jogakkō was a forerunner of the tendency to make martial arts more sport-like in the contemporary sense, while also standing for the promotion of physical equality between men and women.

[134] Ibid., 108.

4. Practical Realities I: Meiji Jogakkō's "*Bu*"

As Iwamoto was introducing the new course of martial arts to his students in 1890, he described the school's approach to physical education as follows:

> Regarding physical education (*taisō*), up until now we have come up with various devices. Although the physical education 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 by those who are interested. While in *naginata* there are various schools, in our school we shall teach mostly *Hokushin ittō* style[1]. Even though we believe that it shall have a great benefit for physical exercise, for persevering spirit, also for appearance, as it is a new subject, we do not require all students to attend, only those who are interested. Up until now as well, we have not forced our students into physical exercise. […] While you shall be constantly instructed in female etiquette (*jorei*), your teachers should not have to tell you that you are not meant to be quiet in order for the study of manners to be beneficial to you physically. Is it not the essence of *jorei* to get the body adjusted to the principles of how to keep up appearances 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*. Learning *jorei*, playing, practicing *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. You should all exercise freely and without fear and grow physically strong.[2]

In the quote above we can trace Western influences, similar to Herbert Spencer's notion of the movement and play as a way of liberating the female body. At the same time, while introducing *naginata*, Iwamoto is building on ideas and practices that were already familiar to the students. *Taisō* had been introduced in the Ministry of Education's plans since 1872. *Jorei* as well was promoted by the government who set the Ogasawara school as the national standard since the 1880s. In 1890, when martial arts were introduced at the school, both *taisō* and *jorei* served as the framework within which modern martial arts could be positioned.

In an original twist, as seen in the quote above, *jorei* at Meiji Jogakkō was both the goal and the consequence of physical education, teaching girls and women how to carry themselves at all times, augmenting the connection between mind and body, thus suitable as a remedy for the "un-femininess" of physical activity in the public's eyes. At this point, we can see that physical

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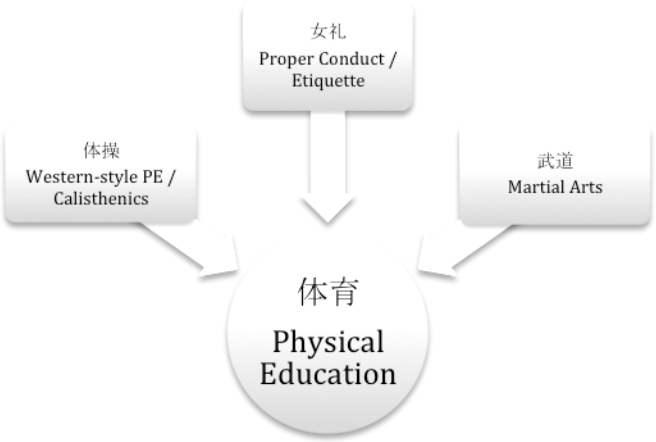
[1] *Hokushin ittō ryū* 北辰一刀流 is known for its intense duells and fast techniques with no unnecessary movements.

[2] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* 吾黨之女子教育, Chapter 1, "To the students of Meiji Jogakkō: the current state of women education" 明治女學校生徒に告ぐ。目下の女子教育法 (1892): 20.
"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."

education at Meiji Jogakkō was, and remained throughout most of its history, perceived as threefold, i.e. encompassing *taisō*, or Western-style exercises, *jorei*, or manners / etiquette for women, and *budō*, or martial arts.

Figure 3: Threefold physical education at Meiji Jogakkō



Before delving into the details, let us consider why this threefold arrangement was considered necessary by Iwamoto.

4.a. *Taisō* and *Jorei*

In the next section I will look at how *taisō* and *jorei* were ideologically reframed through time, and at how Iwamoto used fluid terminology to promote his position. His first reference to physical education is found at the beginning of Iwamoto's career as an educator of women, soon after the launch of *Jogaku zasshi* in 1885. The editorial was most likely written by either Iwamoto himself, or jointly with Kondō Kenzō. Later references are from 1890–92, when both *Jogaku zasshi* and Meiji Jogakkō were standardizing their practices and Iwamoto was deeply involved in the educational matters and politics that surrounded them. The final references are from the 1900s, when both enterprises were experiencing a decline, yet women's physical education was experiencing a "boom."

4.a.1. The Introduction

Jogaku zasshi 6 carried an editorial on the betterment of women's manners.[3] Aside from a series of texts quoting regulations on *joreishiki* for primary schools endorsed by the government that ran in *Jogaku shinshi* (the predecessor of *Jogaku zasshi*) in 1884–85, this was the first time the etiquette for women and physical education were mentioned and evaluated by Iwamoto's group. The editorial defined *jorei* and offered guidelines about its place in women's education.

The etiquette (*reishiki*) is presented as the interaction with others while respecting their status, yet without criticizing or without being submissive to them, and expressing the shared

[3] "*Joreishiki no kairyō wo nozomu*" 女禮式の改良を望む, *Jogaku zasshi* 6 (10 October, 1885).

relationship as is within the social context,[4] as well as one's feelings, by words or gestures.[5] While the men had to follow the etiquette, too, it received much more emphasis in women's education during Meiji. In a practical sense, this was a rigid subject promoted by the government with the explanations on the best ways on how to behave. Yet, in Iwamoto's interpretation, it seems to have defined both the demeanour and the mindset necessary for the modern women. *Jorei* was thus a convenient choice for Iwamoto to argue for change, as he must have seen the overlap between *jorei* and women's education in general—as both the tool and the result of the betterment of women's position in society.

The editorial compared Japan's etiquette to that found in foreign countries: China (*shinakoku* 支那國) and the West (*ōbei kakkoku* 歐米各國). The conclusion is that the Chinese version is outdated[6] and does not respect harmony (*wa* 和) or freedom[7] "as they do in the West." "The West" here is clearly idealized and, as we can see from the text, implies England. The tendency to generalize from the limited examples available from abroad was found in even the most enlightened and knowledgeable of the time; following the common practice, when Iwamoto is referring to the West, he is referring to England, the U.S., and at times Denmark, France, Prussia, and Russia. Rather than a geographical concept, "the West" was then used to refer to the nations with strong economies, advanced science, and established sea trade capable of reaching Japan.

The editorial addresses in some detail the rules of etiquette in England by comparing those from several centuries ago and the present ones. The conclusion is that, as the situation has changed in England, Japan should likewise be capable of updating its system of etiquette. Thus, the author evaluates the "Western" understanding of social interactions positively due to it being up-to-date and rejects the Chinese understanding due to the persistent "traditional" models it builds upon, pointing out that "as the world is opening up, the etiquette should be revised to meet the needs of the times"[8] in Japan as well.

Following this line of thought, the traditional form of etiquette, represented by the Ogasawara school, is met with perceptible negativity: "For example, it would not only be foolish but also impolite for us to apply the Ogasawara-style rules of etiquette and the old ceremonies today."[9] What is wrong with Ogasawara-style etiquette is left unspecified, yet it is clear that the system is judged as outdated and inapplicable to present-day interactions.

Ronald Dore describes the Ogasawara school as a "[s]chool of etiquette, originally concerned solely with formalized archery competitions, but later covering all aspects of social life, which was accepted as authoritative throughout the Edo period."[10] According to him, the Ogasawara family claimed its authority by direct esoteric transmission from a son of the Emperor Montoku 文徳天皇 (827–58) who reigned in 851–58[11] and thus its relationship with the imperial family might have been a contributing factor to revive the school after the Meiji Restoration. As

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[4] Ibid., "禮式とは他人に對して身分相應の取扱を爲し彼を貶とさず吾を屈せず彼我の間だの關係(かかりあひ)を其ままに交際上へ現はさすべき道を云ふことなり."

[5] Ibid., "禮式とは他人へ對する我身の心持の如し此の心持を或は口に言ひ或は身態(みぶり)に現はして偖て我身が彼に對して有するところの無形の心持を實際に示し彼をして之を悟らしむる譯なり."

[6] Ibid., "百年前の遺習を守らんとし."

[7] Ibid., "壓性束縛に甘んずる."

[8] Ibid., "世の開けゆくにつれて禮を現はす所の式に改革を爲して時世相應にもてなさざる可らず."

[9] Ibid., "たとひ小笠原流の禮を以て昔日の儀式となせしとは云へ之を今日に用ひんとするは尤も愚なることなるのみならず反て非禮のことなるべし."

[10] Dore, *Education in Tokugawa*, 48, footnote 3.

[11] Ibid., 48, footnote 3.

we saw in 2.a.2.a., however, *Jogaku shinshi* included the introduction into the government regulations on etiquette for women from Ogasawara Kiyomu's *Shogakkō joreishiki daiichi*. While the *Jogaku shinshi* had thus printed the government's regulations on *jorei*, they were not followed by a critical evaluation; here, thus, would be the first criticism of the official standard. Iwamoto's position is not that the subject should be abolished, however, but that it should be updated.

As we saw at the beginning of the chapter, at Meiji Jogakkō *jorei* was treated as physical education, yet the time allocated for physical education (i.e., *taisō* and martial arts) in the curricula seen in 2.c.2. does not overlap with the time for *jorei*. Dore argues that in the Edo period the rites and etiquette (*rei*) were defined as "proper social behavior."[12] As this appears to have been a part of Iwamoto's understanding of *jorei* as well, the contents of *jorei* then overlapped with the moral training that was carried out under several names at the school, including *shūshin* and *dōtoku*. Theoretically, *jorei* was thus a subject where the categories of physical and moral education could overlap.

The editorial continues, suggesting that what is suitable to elementary education in Japan is neither Chinese nor Western manners, but instead the good traditional Japanese customs reconceptualized to fit the modern day with the help of Western etiquette.[13] As Ogasawara school is seemingly excluded from the "Japanese good manners," which are not elaborated upon, we do not get to know which traditional customs are deemed worthy of maintaining. The ambiguity is intentional: those teaching advanced etiquette (*ichiryū no gisoku* 一流の儀則) will not be given guidelines as to which manners should be practiced; instead, the general principle of treating boys and girls equally, as in the Enlightened West, should be followed.[14]

To illustrate this principle, the editorial questions whether a couple should really care about holding their bowls below the eye-level or walking without stepping on the edges of the tatami mats (classical examples of etiquette) while interacting with foreigners, and criticizes the tendency to give women an exclusively Japanese-style education. In closing, the editorial calls out to the readers: "Now that the students from elementary to university level are being provided with physical education, should we make it our intention to educate the women without allowing them to move? Or can we, by keeping only the men active and leaving the women in their former state, improve the Japanese people's physique?"[15] With this, the overlap between etiquette and physical education is made clear: the magazine is pointing out that etiquette, which defines what behavior is (not) allowed for women, should change in order for the customs that govern physical education for girls to also change.

Overall, we can observe a stance that is not yet confident about the particulars in the education of *jorei* (the editorial's style being closer to social critique rather than an educator's perspective), but is quite firm about the fact that women ought to receive physical education and should not be left out of the policies promoting educational advancements. Notable here is the fact that the editorial overall describes the current situation of education in manners, while the

[12] Ibid., 47-49.

[13] "*Joreishiki no kairyō wo nozomu*" 女禮式の改良を望む, *Jogaku zasshi* 6 (10 October, 1885): "偖て今日小學校に行はるる女禮式なるものは宜しきに適ひたるや否やを問ふ人あらんに固と此の禮式たる日本在來の諸禮と西洋各國の禮法とを折衷して完全なりててふ."

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.: "近來小學校を初め大學校の子弟までも運動の 科(まなび) に昔しなき勉強を爲すときに當り婦女教育は成るべく身を動かさぬやうにとてなすことのみを本意とすべきにや日本人種を改良して吾が國民の身體を強壯にせん爲には男子のみ活發となりて婦女は依然たる 舊觀(きゅうかん) あるを宜しとすることにや."

conclusion refers to *taiiku* (physical education), the connection between the two being unquestioned and treated as self-explanatory.

4.a.2. The Developments

This section analyses the second published assessment of etiquette for women included in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, Chapter 7,[16] initially written in July 1890, five years after the first mention of *jorei* discussed above. It describes *jorei* and *taisō* side by side. In defense of *taisō*, it stresses that *jorei*, a subject traditionally deemed very important to the girls of higher classes, is complemented by *taisō* and not obstructed by it. From the way the argument is developed, we can say that the acceptance rates of *jorei* must have been significantly higher and that the majority of the population saw the two as incompatible.

> Teaching *taisō* does not contradict teaching *jorei.* While *taisō* tunes the human body, *jorei* beautifies the human demeanor. Not only do they not contradict each other, but exercise gains refinement when etiquette is added, and, when complemented by exercise, etiquette puts to practice its strongest points. That is why, we believe, the two should be encouraged together.[17]

With this, the vagueness in the first mention is dispelled and *taisō* and *jorei* are clearly promoted as a synergistic blend by Iwamoto at the school.

Although calisthenics[18], as an import from the West, was encouraged by the government since the beginning of the period in the education for boys and girls, the stance taken in the above passage from *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* still shows the need to defend *taisō* for girls around 1892. We can surmise that Iwamoto's opinion at the time was that physical education for girls had yet not satisfactorily taken root in the modern system of education, and still needed to be defended from the "traditionalists." As we saw in the quote at the beginning of chapter 4., in 1890, Iwamoto claimed that the school had never forced its students to exercise. This was not due to a lack of support for physical education at the school. Iwamoto claimed that *taisō* was criticized by numerous educators who argued that it damages womanly virtue (*jotoku wo kizutsuke* 女徳を傷つけ) and eliminates elegance from their demeanor.[19] In addition, according to Tanigama Ryōshō, parents could prevent their daughters from attending schools due to their aversion to physical education.[20] Possibly, by keeping the regulations regarding physical education flexible, the school was attempting to circumvent such criticisms and fears.

On the other hand, Iwamoto notes that foreigners scoffed at the attention paid to *jorei* at the school. He does not specify when or who criticized Meiji Jogakkō's practices as such, but points out that he is not promoting the traditional understanding of *jorei* that the "foreigners" must have seen as a sign of limiting and outdated education at other Japanese schools. Iwamoto explains that

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[16] "*Jorei to taisō*" 女禮と躰操, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 100-12.

[17] Ibid. "女禮を教ふることと躰操を教ふることは敢て矛盾するものにあらず、躰操は人の身体を整ふるもの也、女禮は人の風来を美しくするもの也、安んぞ相反せんや、啻に相反せざるのみにあらず、躰操に女禮を重ねるときは彌よ躰操の美徳を現わすことを得べし、女禮に躰操を重ねるときは彌よ女禮の徳を活かすことを得べし、故に吾人は其両つ乍らを重んず."

[18] Referred to as *taisō*, *taijutsu* 体術, etc.

[19] "*Jorei to taisō*," 105.

[20] Tanigama Ryōshō 谷釜了正, "*Joshi kyōiku no shinkō to nashionarizumu—Nihon no spōtsushi ni okeru 'kindai' no ichidanmen*" 女子体育の振興とナショナリズム—日本の女子スポ–ツ史における「近代」の一断面, *Taiiku no kagaku* 体育の科学 39, no. 9 (1989).

among the three thousand methods in the teachings (*den* 傳) of the Ogasawara school of etiquette, there is a way to walk, a way to sit, and a way to stand up. While it is difficult to enumerate and specify the different forms (*tai* 体) of ceremonies, it is even more difficult to remember and use them quickly when pressed by need. That is why, he believes, the regular efforts are not enough to acquire such skills. However, Iwamoto continues, no matter how many expressions of manners there are, the mindset behind them is single: the mind should peacefully and naturally adjust itself to the needs of the time. Therefore, he states, we should not question how many different forms there are, but rather be aware that even if it contradicts the teachings of Ogasawara, it does not necessarily contradict good manners (*rei*), even if one were to stand up when one should be lying, or lie down when one should be sitting. He gives the examples of *kendō*, when the form only becomes beneficial after one has received the secret teachings; in case of a monk, when one has attained spiritual enlightenment. Thus, to Iwamoto, the teaching of form without content has no benefit. His final advice is that those who are teaching manners should be teaching a mindset. This he explains as entailing teaching students how not to be distracted by things, not to be scared by situations, not to be surprised by people, not to look down on matters, and when their daily routines change, to constantly carry themselves around as they are, calmly enjoying the inner peace.[21]

Iwamoto's argument above shows that he treated the right mindset as an indispensable element of *jorei*, physical education, and, by extension, pertaining to education in general. Training of the mind is separated from form, or sequences of movements that have to be memorized and applied when necessary, and thus, the sets of rules to follow do not need to be specified in physical education in its broad interpretation. Mental preparedness was what mattered at the school, as we also saw in Iwamoto's response to Spencer[22] discussed in section 3.a.[23]

Interestingly, while *taisō* was defended by being paired with *jorei* within the national context, *jorei* is defended from foreigners' criticism by explaining how its role is to "cultivate the mind" and used in a way different from traditionalists' understanding. Simultaneously, however, such statements likely protected the school against claims of being "too Western." In this way, *jorei* at the school seems to have been a pliable measure for ideological support.

Allusions to esoteric Buddhist practices or *kendō* in Iwamoto's writing reflect his education and interests, as well as the influence received from Hoshino Tenchi and others.[24] Such references show that the discussed "mindset" is of religious origin, bringing its meaning close to faith or spiritual awakening. Elaborating on this necessary state of mind, Iwamoto next enters into the topic of martial arts, clarifying its connection with *jorei*.

Chapter 7 continues by Iwamoto discussing how previously, to develop the necessary mindset, the two teaching techniques of *bun* and *bu* (*bunbu niyō* 文武二用) were applied in Japan. *Bun* was the "gentle" way and *bu* was the "tough" way. According to him, the two shared a variety of teachings and techniques. The teachings of *bu* were turned into martial arts, represented by the discipline of martial strategies. Meanwhile, the techniques of *bu* were shaped into military arts, and training in swordsmanship, spearmanship, archery and horsemanship. When it came to *bun*, Iwamoto described how its teachings correspond to *bundō*—a counterpart for *budō*—represented

[21] Ibid., 105-07.

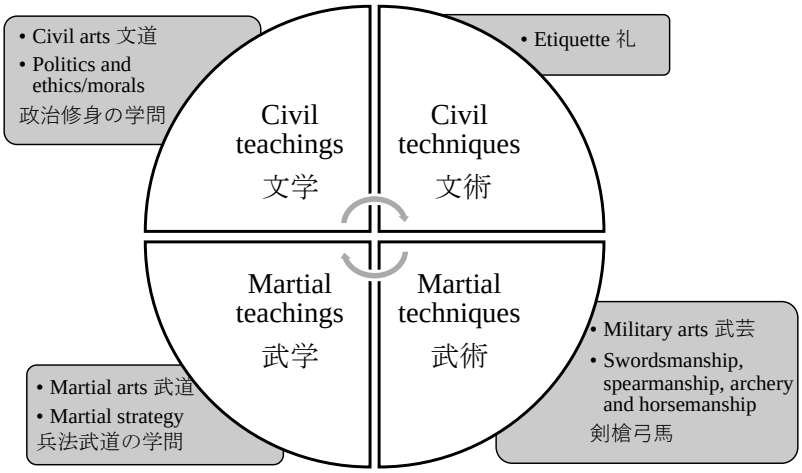
[22] "*Inishie no buiku, ima no taiiku: joshi no taiikuron wo hyōsu"* 古の武育、今の體育　女子體育論を評す, *Jogaku zasshi* 497 (October 10, 1899).

[23] This is also supported by the previous description in section 2.c.3.a. that explains Meiji Jogakkō's stance against any form of memorization without internalizing the information.

[24] Fujita, "Attitude toward Women's Education and Theory of Literature," 8, writes that Iwamoto was instructed in *kendō* by Iba Sōtarō. Meanwhile, Brownstein, "*Bungakukai*," described how Hoshino Tenchi practiced *kendō* and Buddhism.

by the study of literature and culture. According to him, *bun* is expressed in the disciplines of politics and ethics/morals. Etiquette is the one representing the techniques of *bun*.[25]

Figure 4: Teaching methods of* bun *(top) and* bu *(bottom).



Thus, to Iwamoto, *bu* has martial arts (*budō*) and strategy as its theoretical basis, which can be put into practice by a variety of martial techniques (*bujutsu*). Meanwhile, *bun*, in theory, is the study of literature and culture that manifest in the academic subjects of politics and ethics, and that can be put into practice in the form of etiquette. Instead of seeing *bun* as passive and *bu* as active, Iwamoto portrays *bun* and *bu* as consisting of theoretical and practical components.

To Iwamoto, however, *bunbu niyō,* a thing of the past, is not enough by itself in modern education. He explains how all the above (*bunbu gakujutsu* 文武学術) essentially only train the mind, and that it is fine to use them sparingly in education. He explains how the role of such "mental training" is to allow the students to get used to the "enlightening teachings" (*bunmei no kyō* 文明の教) before applying them, internalizing the knowledge. Thus, while the "enlightening scriptures" (*bunmei no sho* 文明の書) advocate increasing the instruction in intellectual subjects, and the enlightening teachings promote heightening of the moral sense (*dōnen* 道念), there is no use to them if one is surprised by things or shocked after jumping in without any preparation. This is where the etiquette comes in, which to Iwamoto is applicable in the modern day only because it is an important part of mental training (*seishin shūyō* 精神修要), complementing modern-style education by teaching students how to apply its principles in daily life.[26]

We thus see how to Iwamoto the concept of *bunbu* (as a teaching of the past) or mental training via martial arts / *jorei* needed to be matched by the other side of the coin—the "enlightening scriptures" and the "enlightening teachings," referring to the scientific knowledge from the West, but also Christianity. Thus, the Western science and Christianity, without becoming a part of either *bun* or *bu*, interweaved within the traditional understanding, becoming the necessary "other side of the coin" in Iwamoto's promotion of his educational practices.

Being theoretically relegated to the "training of the mind" did not mean that *bunbu* was seen as not applicable by itself. Indeed, if complemented by an "enlightened"/scientific approach,

[25] "*Inishie no buiku, ima no taiiku: joshi no taiikuron wo hyōsu*," *Jogaku zasshi* 497 (October 10, 1899), 107-08.
[26] Ibid., 108.

the techniques of *bun* and *bu* could very much be put to real-life practice. As mentioned in section 2.c.2., at least after 1887, when the Meiji Jogakkō's main department (*honka*) branched into the general (*futsūka*) and the vocational (*senshūka*), the students had a choice of taking up etiquette as vocational training. Iwamoto's agenda for the martial arts department established in 1891 appears to also have been for the graduates to teach martial arts at other girls' schools.

To fully understand Iwamoto's stance on *jorei*, analysis on its relationship with other "feminine" subjects taught at the school, such as sewing, music, and painting, becomes necessary. Chapter 8 in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* titled "The sewing course at a girls' school"[27] claimed that the reason why girls' schools require a class of sewing is not only so that they could acquire the skill. The greatest benefit was to be found elsewhere: developing gender-specific qualities (*seiteki tokusei* 性的特性). Iwamoto explains that in elementary education it is natural that there is no differentiation in male and female education, but education for girls aged thirteen-fourteen need to develop their feminine qualities through painting, music, and *jorei*, which can help cultivate the traits of elegance and gentleness. Painting, music, *jorei*, and sewing were all perceived as professional skills that could help secure a livelihood and a certain level of independence and autonomy in the lives of the students, but also as "traditional" skills that could leverage the "new." Iwamoto is thus both guarding the "feminine" subjects against criticism and uses them to counterbalance the "less-feminine" subjects, such as physical education and science, as in the case of pairing *jorei* with *taisō* in a symbiotic relationship.

What Iwamoto meant by "gender-specific qualities" can be seen from his writing on *tensei* 天性 (inner qualities). He claimed that, due to their physical differences (referring to childbirth), there is a "natural" behavior of women that is different from that of men, yet "how or to what extent it is different nobody yet knows…"[28] He emphasized women's freedom and autonomy by stating that "without allowing a woman to freely cultivate herself, no one can know what her talents are. […] If we want women to develop their talents for them to become true women, they should be allowed freedom and those talents will grow."[29] In addition, "the directions given by the innate qualities are more advantageous than those of the educators of contemporary Japan: if these qualities were left to lead [the education], we would have nothing to worry about […] Is not the beauty of the demeanor of women found in their inner qualities? That is why not impeding these innate qualities means that [the individual] will grow according to them."[30] These undefined "gender-specific qualities" qualities that women appear to define themselves in Iwamoto's thought, remained in his writing until the later years.[31]

Elaine Showalter, when describing the stages of women's awareness regarding their position in modern society, along with their subsequent choices to empower themselves as professionals and intellectuals, identifies the "Feminine," the "Feminist," and the "Female." She defines the feminine stage (1840–90) as the "prolonged phase of imitation of the prevailing modes of the dominant tradition, and internalization of its standards of art and its views on social roles." As we saw in the quote at the beginning of the chapter, Iwamoto referred to "feminine qualities"

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[27] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, Chapter 8, 113-23. Dated February 1887.

[28] "An Address to the 'Meiji Gakko' Pupils. The Present Educational System." (*Meiji jogakkō seito ni tsugu, meshita no joshikyōikuhō* 明治学校生徒に告ぐ、目下の女子教育法), *Jogaku zasshi* 207 (5 April, 1890): "扨て如何やうに亦如何ほどに違ふかの事は何人も未だ明知し得ざるの事なり…"

[29] Ibid.: "女子が天性の如何なるかは之を自由に發達せしめざれば分かるまじ[. . .]女子をして其天性を伸し眞の女性たらしめんとするには、之を自由にして其性を發達せしむべし."

[30] Ibid.: "天性の案内は今の日本教育家よりも利巧なるものにて、之に放任するとも決して心配の入らぬ者なり[. . .]女子の優美内環なること、其天性ならんか、然らは其天性の儘に放任するときは卽はち其天性の如くに發達すべし."

[31] "*Atarashiki jogakkō to wa nani mono zo*" 新しき女学校とは何ものぞ, *Jogaku zasshi* 516 (June 15, 1903).

(*josei-rashisa* 女性らしさ) in a similar manner: as socially imposed and thus hard to challenge. Meanwhile, Showalter described the feminist stage (1880–1920) as the "phase of protest against these standards and values, and advocacy of minority rights and values, including a demand for autonomy," and the female stage (1920–present) as marked by "self-discovery, returning inward freed from some of the dependency of opposition, a search for identity."[32]

Iwamoto, as he was active since 1885, the early stage of the feminist consciousness in Japan, was affected by the contemporaneous conditions in Japan, while also being influenced by the first and the second ideological stages in England and the U.S. Due to being active during the times when what was acceptable to women was shifting, he can be placed on the border between the first two stages as a proto-feminist figure. In Iwamoto's writing, however, due to the Japanese influences and his own experience, the three stages seem to overlap to a certain extent in his thought as the statements on *tensei* above could fit into the last, female stage.

As martial arts were added to the dynamic the perception of *taisō* in Iwamoto's writing shifted: it was the combination of *jorei* and *budō* that came across as more favored, as he juxtaposed the pair against the Western learning. While previously not so critical of the Western ways of instruction of etiquette and physical education, Iwamoto wrote the following passage in 1890.

> Westerners carry out their moral education at church and do not encourage it at school. Just the same way, they emphasize 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 not stand on par with the Japanese etiquette. That is why it is acceptable if a girls' school skips a day of learning Western manners, but not the Japanese ones.[33]

In contrast to previous statements made in 1885, Iwamoto in 1890 no longer seems to be promoting a balance between Western and Japanese etiquette but treats the two as different. Both are deemed necessary in women's education, as we see from the school's curriculum, yet the Japanese one is clearly defined as superior. In the quote above, though, it is not entirely clear whether by Japanese etiquette Iwamoto is referring to the "traditional" (other schools') or the "modernized-traditional" (Meiji Jogakkō's) version of the subject. Importantly, he points out that the moral aspect lacking in both the Western etiquette and Western physical education is why they cannot replace moral education in Japan. The Japanese equivalents, *budō* and *jorei*, however, are proposed as perfectly capable of moral instruction, which also makes their overlap with Christianity possible.

Iwamoto repeatedly describes how he searched for ways to instruct women in a Japanese manner throughout the years. The above change in attitude likely reflects his experience, and is a way to counter the education he felt overemphasized Western learning. Needless to say, he was also influenced by the discourse surrounding martiality and moral training in Japan at the time

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[32] Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*, 11.

[33] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 110 (originally printed in July, 1890): "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."

(discussed in the previous chapter). The precarious situation of Meiji Jogakkō in the climate of rising nationalism of the 1890s also shaped the need to define curriculum in a way that would successfully situate it within both Christian and Japanese contexts.

As such, recommending *jorei* was a way to advocate a type of "moral" training that was not entirely divorced from the government-approved etiquette, but was sufficiently vague not to be controlled by the government, and allowed some room for Iwamoto's own ideas on religion and spirituality. Thus, just as Iwamoto was redefining the boundaries of *ryōsai kenbo* to support his discourse (see section 2.b.1), in the case of *jorei*, too, it is clear that he made an effort to apply government-supported concepts, yet expanded their context, interpreting them to suit Meiji Jogakkō's needs, and defended them against other interpretations, both from within and without the country. Unsurprisingly, when Iwamoto set out to bring all of the elements of Meiji Jogakkō's education together, *jorei*, defined as a means to cultivate the mind (*seishin*), became an indispensable component.

4.a.3. The Crystallization

We have seen how, in the first mention of *taisō* in 1885, girls and women's right to receive physical education was supported by the idea that they should be treated like their male counterparts. Up until the early 1890s, *taisō* was supported by *jorei* as the latter was accepted in women's education in Japan; simultaneously, *jorei* was promoted as a type of physical training that could be supported by the Westerners, too. Thus, by building upon the symbiotic relationship of the two, Iwamoto appealed to the promoters of both the modern and traditional trends in education. Let us return to Iwamoto's response to Spencer[34] and see what it has to say about *jorei* and *taisō* about a decade after *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* was published.

To Iwamoto in 1899, *jorei* is a part of *taiiku* and, through physical education in general, is responsible for completing the educational build-up of a human being. In "*Inishie no buiku, ima no taiiku*," *jorei* is discussed as intrinsic in physical, if not all, education for women, and Iwamoto feels the need to reiterate the necessity of *jorei* and defend it against criticism. Here, an understanding of *taisō* as limited to physical training only[35] is used as an antithesis to *jorei*, showing that, in Iwamoto's thought, *taisō* has lost its liberating appeal due to having been stripped of the flexible interpretation that *jorei* still had. In addition, the position of *jorei* is described as threatened by the Western forms of physical education. That is, the power balance has flipped. Iwamoto points out that physical education took root in Japan without the mental training aspect that he had hoped for.

Iwamoto's later mentions of *taisō* and *jorei* for women are short and do not offer much detail. However, *Jogaku zasshi*'s "*Jogaku*" section in January 1895[36] mentions that many great minds see the need to promote physical education for women at school, yet the public opinion (*zokuron* 俗論) is stubbornly resisting the change. On one hand, it reports, Fukuzawa Yukichi (referred to as Fukuzawa-*sensei*) promoted physical education; Inoue Kowashi 井上毅 (1844–95), Minister of Education (1893–94), admonished against the *tsustsusode* 筒袖 sleeves for female students (*josei* 女生) due to them restricting movement; Kazoku Jogakkō's principal Hosokawa Junjirō 細川潤次郎 (1834–1923) made an announcement at the school's sports day about

[34] "*Inishie no buiku, ima no taiiku: joshi no taiikuron wo hyōsu*" 古の武育、今の體育　女子體育論を評す," *Jogaku zasshi* 497 (10 October, 1899): 1-5.
[35] Ibid.: "身躰的操練即ち躰操."
[36] "*Jogakukai no taiikuron*" 女学界の体育論, *Jogaku zasshi* 406 (January 25, 1895).

increasing the hours for physical education from one to three a week (showing that previously not all the schools had followed the Ministry of Education's guidelines to have three hours of physical education a week); and Joshi Kōtō Shihan Gakkō's principal Shinoda Toshihide 篠田利英 (1857–1944) used statistics to argue that the mortality rates of women going to higher schools are not exceeding the average, as a counter argument to the opinion that women overexert themselves in higher education. On the other hand, however, it reports, an unspecified famous teacher has claimed that physical education for women is unnecessary as there is no time for women to keep up exercising after they marry, and thus they should get used to no exercise from the time they are at school. Meanwhile, a school in Kansai expressed worries that if the girls tan during physical education, the parents will withdraw them from school. The passage concludes by lamenting that such conventional views that take sickly for beautiful, and consider being subservient a virtue, are still hard to shake off.[37] Such discourse proves that it was against great odds that physical education was promoted by Meiji Jogakkō (and other women's schools).

Let us now analyze the tendencies in the school's promotion of martial arts to see how the three types of physical education were practically carried out and functioned together.

4.b. Martial Education

4.b.1. Iwamoto's "*Budō*"

4.b.1.a. The First Mentions

In 1890, *Jogaku zasshi*'s section of miscellanies (*zatsuroku* 雑録) ran a small piece[38] signed by Yamashita Ishirō 山下石翁, one of Iwamoto's pen names[39]. It was a response to Hoshino's text in the same issue, where he spoke in favor of physical education for women.[40] In support of Hoshino, the piece claims that, after having observed various types of physical education for women, certain things have become clear to the author. They are: 1) military drills are not suitable for girls, as their purpose is a pompous display of "samurainess."[41] 2) The recent innovation of *taisō* for women is not the most appropriate solution either, as it is mechanical.[42] 3) Among other promoted options, *naginata* seems to be the best. 4) Rather than *Yagyū* 柳生 style, *Haru* 春 style of *naginata*[43] is fitting to women as it is dance-like and makes them look beautiful and extremely feminine.[44] 5) As *naginata* has competitions (*shiai* 試合), the fear of training becoming mechanical is lost, yet roughness is not present.[45] Thus, as it cultivates elegance and courage, *naginata* is the best type of *taisō* that could be found for women.[46]

Here, *taisō* is equated to physical education, and *budō* (*naginata* in this case) fits within the category. However, as we shall see in Iwamoto's and Hoshino's later writings, *budō* is not equated to *taisō* and there is a gradually strengthening emphasis on *budō*'s role in cultivating

[37] Ibid.: "蓋し病弱を以て美なりとし、卑屈を以て貞なりとせる俗論の好尚は、速やかに之を打破せざる可らず."
[38] "To teach Pupils in Girls' Schools the use of '*Naginata*' or Spears" (*Joseito ni naginata wo oshiyuru* 女性徒に薙刀を教ゆる), *Jogaku zasshi* 194 (January 1, 1890).
[39] Refer to Noheji et al.'s *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*, 101-48, for the full list of Iwamoto's contributions.
[40] Hoshino contributed "*Kenjo no tame ni naku*" 賢女の為めに泣く (in the *kisho* 奇書 section).
[41] "To teach Pupils in Girls' Schools the use of '*Naginata*' or Spears" (*Joseito ni naginata wo oshiyuru* 女性徒に薙刀を教ゆる), *Jogaku zasshi* 194 (January 1, 1890): "武張るのみで女には適しません."
[42] Ibid.: "女生に当てはめた新式の体操も原来機械的にすることです."
[43] Hoshino, however, taught *Yagyū* style.
[44] Ibid.: "風姿も美しく、至極女らしひ."
[45] Ibid.: "機械的にも流れず、去りとて粗暴にも渡らず."
[46] Ibid.: "優美なる中凛々たる勇ましさを養ふのですから恐らく女性の体操には之ほど善いがあるまいと信じます."

mentality. The emphasis that *Haru*-style *budō* cultivates feminine qualities is also replaced with a more effective connection between *budō* and *jorei*, as we have seen in the previous section.

When a few months later Iwamoto addressed the students,[47] (as we saw at the beginning of this chapter), his argument was already formulated differently. It was the first official mention of *budō* as a subject at the school, announcing the introductory stage in the development of Iwamoto's thought on martial arts and as an indispensable constituent in the education of women. The address stated that the overall policy at Meiji Jogakkō was not to enforce physical education, leaving the decision whether to take the subject to the girls themselves, while strongly encouraging them to do so. The new addition, i.e., *budō*/*naginata* was juxtaposed with the physical education that had already been adopted by the school, that is, Western-style *taisō*. Their goals were to 1) provide physical exercise, 2) augment the persevering spirit (*kisetsu*), and 3) improve appearance (*fūsai*), all while not damaging the feminine qualities. In other words, they were both meant to cultivate women's bodies and minds in a way that would be socially acceptable.

4.b.1.b. The Confidence

Chapter 10 of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* (1892) titled "*Budō no ben*" 武道の辨[48] reflected on the two years of experience with martial arts education at the school,[49] giving details and raising several issues. The text was split into the following sections: 1) "The New Acclaim" (*Shinkassai* 新喝采), followed by 2) "The Martial Art, or Way" (*Bu no gei, oyobi michi* 武の藝, 及び道), 3) "The Mind Behind Various Arts" (*Shogei no seishin* 諸藝の精神), 4) "The Secrets of Martial Arts" (*Bugei ōmyō* 武道奥妙), 5) "The Inseparability of Martial and Civil Arts" (*Bunbu funi* 文武不二), and 6) "Martial Education" (*Buiku* 武育).

"The New Acclaim" expresses Iwamoto's confidence in the achievements of the school. First, he reports the change in the students: they have acquired "dignified strength of character" and a "graceful and somber beauty," while keeping their good manners.[50] Secondly, as an ideological development, Iwamoto reports that a leading student of the Ogasawara family had acknowledged the benefits of instructing martial arts to girls,[51] a fact he sees as an approval of his own position. Finally, he announces that the educational practices at Meiji Jogakkō have been publicly acclaimed: the education in martial arts has received public attention and the students have been asked to perform at the Teikoku (Imperial) Hotel on June 20, 1891. The performance was likely considered quite prestigious, as the venue enjoyed a fame similar to that of the Rokumeikan 鹿鳴館 (1883–1940), where all the "important" Western-style events, such as charity bazaars, took place. The readers are left to refer to the newspapers for the public reception, and details are left out in the reprinted version of the editorial in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*: "On 20 June, there is a recital at the Teikoku Hotel. Three of Meiji Jogakkō's students—Matsui Man, Satō Suke, and Kawano Take will perform the *naginata* practice they regularly carry out at the school. How the spectators, more than a thousand in number, will see and evaluate it shall be covered in local

[47] "An Address to the 'Meiji Gakko' Pupils. The Present Educational System." (*Meiji jogakkō seito ni tsugu, meshita no joshikyōikuhō* 明治学校生徒に告ぐ、目下の女子教育法), *Jogaku zasshi* 207 (5 April, 1890).

[48] Translated in *Jogaku zasshi* as "On the Warlike Accomplishments," it ran as editorials in numbers 271 and 272, on 27 June and 4 July, 1891, respectively.

[49] "*Budō no ben*" 武道の辨, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 129: "二年前明治女學校は、其體操の別科として武道の一目を添え、星野愼之輔君を聘して有志の女性に就いて之を學ぶことを許しぬ."

[50] Ibid., 130: "爾來二年、明治女學校有志女性が修武の效果顯然として明けし。彼等が風采は凛然として一種の氣骨を備ふるに至り、同時に言ふべからざる温雅肅々の美容を添え、嘗も暴びたる體なし."

[51] Ibid., 130: "之を小笠原家の高弟に聞く、武藝鍛錬の風采は、女禮修業の身態(みぶり)」に異なることなしと、果して然り."

newspapers."[52] Overall, Iwamoto points out, while there seems to be very few people who know much about *budō*, there is now a certain level of approval and, thus, some hope.[53]

In "The Martial Art, or Way" Iwamoto argues that just as *bundō* is more than letters, *budō* does not end with *naginata*. He draws parallels between *budō* and Buddhism and ascetic practices, and finds similarities among the three in that they train the soul not to give in to the whims of the body by instilling a second nature (*daini no tensei* 第二の天性), and aim to bring the heart/soul and the body together. Physiology and psychology are likened by Iwamoto to brackish water or twilight—existing into a state of duality, impossible to separate.[54] An important point here is that Iwamoto refers to the West as a society of *bun*, and Japan of old as a society of *bu*, and notes that the times are asking for the *bun* and *bu* to be united in education for the benefit of both Japan and the West.[55] This is slightly different from his mention of *bunbu niyō* 文武二用 in Chapter 7 of *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, that we saw in 4.a.2., where *bun* and *bu* were both presented as Japanese in origin but had to be complemented by science and Christianity (the enlightening teachings and scriptures).

"The Mind Behind Various Arts" introduces tea ceremony (*sadō* 茶道), etiquette (*reidō* 禮道), and poetry (*kadō* 歌道) as examples of ways to cultivate oneself (*michi* 道). The section states that as the Japanese traditions of Buddhism and Confucianism were accessible only to the literate few and had little influence over the populace, the folk found their own ways to cultivate their moral ideals, and that materialized into various arts.[56] As samurai were the ones who learned tea ceremony, etiquette, and poetry, Iwamoto reasons, the ultimate education (*bu*) was provided to them, equivalent to the gentlemen (*zentoruman* ゼントルマン) of the modern day. He describes how, while refined morality could be found even in the fun pastimes, *bushi*, the samurai, had exercised something that was not found in other arts.

> *Bushi* develop the beautiful virtues of negating the needs of their physical body for the sake of virtue, dying in hardship but retaining their principles, helping the weak and discouraging the mighty. The reason they could become the knights of the East and embellish our feudal era lies in such cultivation. This cultivation is known as *budō*.[57]

While generally critical of overemphasis on tradition and nationalistic trends in education, here Iwamoto seems to support the parallels drawn between the Western "gentlemen" or "knights" and

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[52] Ibid., 130: "六月二十日、帝國ホテルに音樂會あり、此の時、明治女學校生徒、松井まん、佐藤すけ、河野たけの三子、平素鍛養修練する所ろの薙刀を演ず。千餘の看衆、如何に之を觀、如何に之を評しけるかは、當時世上の新聞記事により推知することを得べし."

[53] Ibid., 128: "未だ深く武道を知るものにあらずと言へども、窺つて其微光を認ためたる所ろのものなきにしもあらず."

[54] Ibid., 132: "生理心理などの學にて論つらふべき者ゆへ、今は言はず。左れど、兩つのものの相關係するや、喩へば河口の流れに、淡水と鹹水との相混ずるが如く、朝夕のうす明りに光と暗らきとの相接はるが如し."

[55] Ibid., 135：日本昔時の武家は誰武を以て能く世の活法に通じぬ、西洋文明國の男女は誰文を以て能く得業を修めね。左れど、二者もし文武を合せ學ばば、效果の習得更らに用意かりけん。況んや、世は変遷の機に際し、万事移り行きの途中に在る頃ほひは、必ずや文武の二道を以て人を教へずんば不可也。更に況んや女性の本姓旨と文に僻するに於てをや、彌よ以て之に武を配合せしめずんばある可からず。

[56] Ibid., 139: "左れど、人十年文字なきことを得、一日も道なきことを得ず。此を以て、道念の理想さまざまの形を以て發表し、もろもろのの藝に附してその活力を動し來れり。我國從來の諸藝が、多くは高尚なる道の極意を存して、たえて機械的に沒落せざりしの所以、一に此邊に存すとこそ思はれたり."

[57] Ibid., 140: "武士が身を殺して仁を爲し、節を守りて難に死し、弱きを助けて強きを挫くなどの美徳を立て、東洋の勳爵士(ナイト)となりて我國の封建時代を飾りたる所以のものは、武の教養の能く此の大道に叶ひたるが故にあり。而して此高尚なる教養を、武道の教とは云ふ."

the Japanese *bushi*, parallels that were, as noted in chapter 3., also drawn by other Christian *bushidō* ideologists. He glorifies the feudal times, gesturing towards the general trend in the 1890s and 1900s to reimagine the *bushi* and the past within a nationalistic, yet simultaneously Christian and cosmopolitan, framework. The parallel drawn between *budō* and the traditional arts (tea ceremony, etiquette, and poetry), in addition to the contrast between such arts as moral ways (*michi*), devised by the common people to cultivate themselves, and Confucianism and Buddhism is interesting.

"The Secret of Martial Arts" describes how, when choosing a successor, a martial arts master would make his decision depending on the candidate's virtue (*toku* 徳) and not the skill (*gei* 藝). Consequently, Iwamoto concludes, what matters in martial arts is virtue.[58] He quotes from the *Yagyū*-style teachings[59]: those learning martial arts seek for complete control over their bodies, attempting to bring their heart and body together; they learn how to be unperturbed by peril, yet swift and sure when the time to move comes, thus acquiring the secret behind excellence in *budō*.[60] Furthermore Iwamoto describes the *Yagyū* style, famous for its swordsmanship, and the *Kitō* 起倒 style, famous for *jūjutsu*, defining them as the shapers of *budō* principles. According to Iwamoto, *Yagyū*'s secrets lie in breathing techniques and the "immovable body" (*fudōtai* 不動体), while *Kitō*'s are to be found in using the enemy's strength against them (the concept of *aiki* 合気) and the "immovable heart" (*fudōshin* 不動心). *Shintō isshin* style 神道一心流 of *kenjutsu* and *naginata* is also mentioned when speaking about the stillness of heart.

In "The Inseparability of Martial and Civil Arts," Iwamoto draws a parallel between scholarship and martial arts, claiming that scholarship requires devotion and sacrifice that neither *bun* nor *bu* are complete without. Overall, however, it does not matter where wisdom comes from,[61] he says, and draws equally from Confucius and Buddhism, and the Greeks and Romans to explain the concepts of sacrifice and devotion.

He goes on to quote from several such sources, starting with Confucian scholars Yokoi Shōnan 横井小楠 (1809–69) and Fujita Tōko 藤田東湖 (1806–55). Yokoi was from Kumamoto domain, and as a *kaikokuronsha* 開国論者 argued for the opening of the ports to foreign exchange and reinstating the Shogunate. His 1860 *Kokuze sanron* 国是三論, or three theories for government policy, consisted of "*Fukokuron*" 富国論 (theory of rich nation), "*Kyōheiron*" 強兵論 (theory of strong army), and "*Shidō*" 士道 (chivalry / samurai code). While it is unclear what part Iwamoto is referring to, "*Shidō*" is a likely guess. Fujita, on the other hand, was from the Mitō domain and influenced the *sonnō jōi* 尊皇攘夷 (revere the emperor, expel the barbarians) movement. Iwamoto quoted from his *Kōdōkanki* 弘道館記 (1838), a treatise known to have influenced pro-imperial thought. He referred to Fujita's writing on the inseparability of *bun* and *bu* (*bunbu fuki* 文武不岐), where scholarship is likened to the martial arts, stressing the necessity for effort and the right mindset: stillness of heart, evasion of needless thoughts, and readiness to move with confidence and speed when needed[62]. It is interesting to see Iwamoto referring to works

[58] Ibid., 140: "武道の極意とは、即はち徳なるがゆえ也."
[59] Ibid., 141: "柳生流の兵法."
[60] Ibid.: "事に臨みて心を動かさず、物に接して躰を亂さず、能く眼前の實景を見留めて、處すべきの工夫を考ふるを、武の藝の主旨となす." Also, ibid., 144: 之を武士平常の心念とす."
[61] Ibid. 145: "知識到底異なることなし."
[62] Ibid., 145. "即はち知る、文武到底一なることを。夫れ、知識を得て、人の道を知り、天地に居て吾等が進むべく取るべきの方向を決するは、學文の 要にあらずや。宛がら是れ、劍を提さげて的に臨み、其の間處を發見して、進入するに異ならず." In the above, an element of stillness is met by an element of movement: "知識を得て—劍を提さげて的に

by authors contributing to the *fukoku kyōhei* movement, yet these sources were most likely chosen by Iwamoto as he saw them as approved of by the Meiji ideologues. Regardless of the reason behind the selection, we can see an interesting side to Iwamoto in that he discusses martial arts in detail and draws on the work of such Confucian ideologists and not only on that of contemporaries such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and Mori Arinori, whose influence on Iwamoto is often emphasized in previous research.

Iwamoto also quotes Buddhist scriptures[63] and Confucius himself, while arguing for the compatibility between all moral theories and providing an original blend of ideas as the basis for his argument.

> According to Confucius, a person of letters is also a person of armaments. In the past, education involved both martial and literary arts, omitting neither. […] This was also the case in ancient Greece and Rome, but in Christian customs, the inculcation of martial arts is left out. However, the essence of Christianity is similar to that of *budō* and thus the believers attain the same benefits without having to practice martial arts, just as the people practicing meditation (ascetic practices) discover *budō* naturally.[64]

In contrast to the previous quote on *jorei* seen in 4.a.2., also from *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, where the Western martial training and etiquette are but a "false adornment," here they are left out completely and replaced by the Japanese equivalents.

As martial arts get divorced from physical exercise in Iwamoto's writing, he approaches the border of the realm of *bushidō* theories. Indeed, in the following paragraph, he bemoans the moral decline within the nation, blaming it on the educational system that has overemphasized the civil/literary/*bun* education. As an educator, he admits that the new generation has turned out disappointingly and sympathizes with those that find the past nostalgic.

> Since the Restoration, the instruction of martial arts has been abandoned while the literary education has been fostered. This literary education leaves out the element of religious devotion and develops only self-interest and greed. The students grow worse every day due to this; fidelity to principles and sense of honor have become obsolete. The virtues of voluntarily offering one's life for the benefit of others and of suffering for the loved ones are nearly extinct. The patriots' guts have become as soft as tofu, while compassion in the youngsters is now as pale as water. Why not prefer the *bushi* of the olden days, the system of peerage, and the order of merit of the feudal days![65]

臨み, 人の道を知り—其の間處を發見して; 天地に居て吾等が進むべく取るべきの方向を決する—進入する," referring to the understanding that *bun* is the still state, while *bu* is the active.

[63] Ibid., 146: "經に云く、仁者に敵なしと。又云く、肉に於て死するものは、道に於て活くと。武道の極意は此に到らずば、遂に未だ可ならず."

[64] Ibid., 147: "孔子云く、文事ある者は必らず武備ありと。昔しは、教えに文武を兼ね、其一を偏廢せざりき。希臘羅馬の教育亦た然ありきと云へど、基督教の行はるるに及びて、武育を廢しぬ。蓋し基督教の極意は武道に均しく、其信仰に達するものは、別に武藝の修練を要せず直ちに堂に入ることあるを以ての故なり。たとへば禪定の人自づからして武道に適ふが如し."

[65] Ibid., 147-48: "維新以來、武育を偏廢して、單り文育に走り、文育中、宗教獻身の分子を除きて、只管ら利己利欲の主旨を開發す。子弟此を以て日に惡化し、節義廉恥の風廢れ、仁に死して道を樂しみ、人を愛して自から傷ふの美德殆ど亡せたり。志士の膽は豆腐よりも脆ろく、壯士の情は水よりも淡し。吾人は古への武士を慕ふ、封建の勳爵士をぞ慕う."

By pooling from a variety of ideas for his argument on *budō*, Iwamoto predates by nearly a decade the approach of treatises such as Nitobe Inazo's *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (1900), while also, as we saw in 3.b.2., expressing commonalities with other authors of his own time.

The essay concludes with "Martial Education," which focuses on the topic of martial arts in the education of women.

> *Bun* and *bu* constitute a unit. Even so, *bun* is superior when it comes to the acquisition of knowledge and *bu* is superior when building up character. That is why, by combining the two and using them in education, the process of cultivation 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. Who will save the pitiful in their mortal bodies? Martial arts help us make our hearts the masters of our corporeal selves.[66]

Following the argument above, the Western and Japanese civil/literary education (*bun*) is shown as the necessary other half of the Japanese/martial education (*bu*), and both are compatible with the religious instruction (particularly Iwamoto's interpretation of Christianity, described by him as overlapping with other traditions), which also seems to gain its strength by building upon this duality. Iwamoto continues:

> Especially in the case of women, it seems that literary education is easily overemphasized. The education in the martial arts is all the more important for women, who can so rarely fend for themselves. When it comes to educating women, the difficulties the authorities have to face form a bottomless swamp, and as a result, to our great chagrin, nothing ever changes. How many times have we cried silent tears as educators! However, from our experience, such outdated customs, when under the influence of martial instruction, can be done away with surprisingly easy. Thanks to this, the women become awe-inspiring, yet add the warmth of empathy to their characters. Who can we call the strongest and the kindest if not the *bushi* of the olden days! It is likewise with women who are trained in *bu*. I recommend the educators of women to employ the teaching of martial arts in their schools most enthusiastically. This is not a fantasy of ours but something we have experienced first-hand and then formulated in order to share.[67]

Thus, Iwamoto's argument culminates with the idea that, in addition to aiding women to fend for themselves, martial education can also help solve many other issues in women's education. It

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[66] Ibid., 148: "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ならんとす。嗚呼われ困苦の人なる哉、此の死の躰より吾を救はんものは誰ぞや。死の躰をして心の僕とするものは即ち武藝なり."

[67] Ibid., 148-49: "特に性來文に偏し易く、武備を欠くことの就中過多なる女性に於ては武道の教育を要すること、一層切なり。女子を教育するに當り、當路者を苦しむる所ろのもの澤なり、之が爲めに千々に心を碎けども、女性の習慣久しふして化せず、教育者として暗涙を湛へしむること幾回ぞ。而して此類の舊習慣は、武邊の教育を以て思の外容易すく打破せらるることを經驗す。女性は之が爲めに凜然たり、而して優雅の貞を増やしぬ、守る所ろ厳然たり、而して情けの温かきを加ふ。見よ、尤とも強くして尤とも優しかりしは、古の武士にあらずや。武育が女性に於けるの感化亦何を以て之に異ならん。吾人は、女子教育者が奮つて武育を其校内に隆んにせんことを勸告す。是れ吾人の空想にあらず、驗知して而して後ち斷定する所ろのもの也."

appears that Iwamoto's goals around 1892 are the same as in 1885: replacing "outdated customs," emphasizing a balanced education, stressing women's autonomy, and a subdued but ever-present emphasis on Christianity. However, the elements that make up his arguments have become more specific due to him having adjusted to the ideological climate that started favoring reimagining Japanese traditions in a way that borrowed from martial philosophies.

4.b.1.c. The Disappointment

Around the 1900s, there were some changes in the way Iwamoto perceived martial topics. For instance, Iwamoto is seen ridiculing people who are too keen about the martial past in "The Aim of Novelists" (March 23, 1889).[68] Later, in "*Bujutsu ryūkō no kiun*" 武術流行の機運 (July 25, 1903), he describes how the traditional martial arts, that, he claims, were on the brink of extinction after the Restoration, have been revived and are even popular.[69] Slightly sarcastically, or self-critically, he notes that suddenly his countrymen remembered their national characteristics (*kokusui* 国粋) and are attempting to reenforce them. In contrast, he notes, Western-style physical education is still deemed inapplicable in Japan due to being devised according to the inclination of the Westerners and aimed towards orderly exercise in groups.[70] According to Iwamoto, it is because of such tendencies that Nihon Taiikukai 日本体育会[71] is not growing, while Nihon Butokukai 日本武徳会[72] is becoming stronger. To him, such developments are also reflected in women's physical education: government-run girls' schools are organizing *naginata* performances and boys' schools without a *dōjō* hall for training are a rare sight.

Iwamoto's writing could be read as celebratory, yet it was not. While describing "the boom," Iwamoto is openly critical of the situation in martial arts instruction and physical education in general. One reason for Iwamoto's indignation is that Butokukai offered a nationalistic, *ryōsai kenbo*-esque type of martial arts for women. Denis Gainty notes that he could not locate any references to female members as per the Butokukai rules: "anyone who contributed to the organisation's goals could be a member; however, [... w]hile reference to martial arts and moral training for women and girls is present in Butokukai publications—often in reference to discouraging male chauvinism (*dansonjohi*) and lauding Japanese women as the mothers and wives of warriors—the group's leaders, publication authors, and membership (recorded in tournament records) was overwhelmingly male."[73]

Another issue was the changing face of public discourse on martiality: "Buoyed by the success of the earlier conflict [Sino-Japanese War], much Japanese thought became increasingly nationalistic, and it was natural that a 'native' ethic such as *bushidō* would gain broad currency during this period. Whereas earlier *bushidō* theories tended to be more 'internationalist' than nationalistic, the character of discourse changed considerably after 1895,"[74]becoming nationalistic and thus limited from Iwamoto's perspective.

Lastly, the sportification of martial arts was a problem. From Iwamoto's writing, we can gather that *budō* became more accessible at schools, as after 1898 the Ministry of Education

[68] *Shōsetsuka no chakugan* 小説家の着眼, *Jogaku zasshi* 154 (March 23, 1889).
[69] "*Bujutsu ryūkō no kiun*" 武術流行の機運, *Jogaku zasshi* 518 (July 25, 1903).
[70] Ibid.: "況んや、西洋に行はるる躰育は、大率ね、隊伍団結を好める西洋人の趣味と共に発達し、東洋個人的の習慣者に適はず、尚ほ未だ日本人の快楽と相伴なふこと能はざるをは."
[71] Japan Association of Physical Education. 1891–present. Current title: Nippon Sport Science University (Nihon Taiiku Daigaku 日本体育大学), Tokyo.
[72] "Martial Virtue Society" established in 1895. Already seen in 3.b.2.c.
[73] Gainty, *Martial Arts*, 46.
[74] Benesch, *Inventing the Way*, 12.

permitted martial arts as extra-curricular activities.[75] While Iwamoto was emphasizing the spread of *budō* at the expense of *taisō*, he did not negate the need for *taisō* as a form of exercise that should be accessible to all students. It could be that, after having helped set the idea that physical education had to be accessible to all students (and thus organized and safe), *taisō* gradually lost favor against the "sportified" martial arts that were still not fully accessible to women.

Iwamoto argued that the esoteric and theoretical aspects, or essence (*shinzui* 真髄), of *budō* should not be left out. To support his position, he borrowed authority from Kaeriyama Kan* 歸山環, the fifteenth head of the *Jikishinkage* 直眞陰[76] style, by inserting a quote that is described as taken from his "small talk on martial arts," *Budō shōwa* 武道小話:

> This seems to be the onset of an epidemic: the hands stop doing what the hearts are telling them. What teaches this skill is *bun*, when taught from the heart, and *bu*, when approached from the hand. Even if the *bun* and *bu* separate into two, they are the great philosophy behind scholarship old and new, through which metamorphosis, balanced and wonderful, can be achieved.[77]

The above quote aptly summarizes Iwamoto's own position regarding the *bun* and *bu* as they have appeared in his ideology on education, especially how he theorized the concept of balance, lamenting the fact that a split is being made between skills or physical education and the training of the mind or character. The split, as we saw Iwamoto argued in 3.a., was happening due to the perception of education from a Spencarian point of view that built on science and rejected the spiritual element; yet which also, at the time, represented the "Western" style of education in the eyes of legislators.

Iwamoto reiterates the need for cultivation of the heart and "metamorphosis" via martial arts seen in quote from Kaeriyama by stating that *bu* evolves and changes depending on the person it is carried out by.[78] From this, it is clear that "one-fits-all" *taisō*-like drills for instructing in martial arts could not have been acceptable to Iwamoto. He speaks about the traditional arts as if they were the "real" martial arts, that, according to him, are now preserved by only a few masters. This rareness, he claims, does not mean that the teaching of martial arts should be stopped, however, as the martial arts in Japan, the proper kind and not the one that is gaining foothold, are among the strongest physical education traditions in the world.[79] He elaborates in the following quote, essentially rephrasing Kaeriyama to fit his own experience as a teacher:

> It is hard to describe the relationship between the body and the mind/heart, as only someone with a soul split into two could understand this fully. When people of these days attempt to cultivate mind and body, how often the instruction spends time on

[75] As discussed in 3.b.2.c.
[76] Kashima Shinden Jikishinkage-ryū 鹿島神傳直心影流.
[77] "*Bujutsu ryūkō no kiun,*" 4: "心手相ひ一致せざろ、萬人の患いなり。即ち、心よりして之を教ゆるを文とし、手よりして之を教ゆるを武とす。文武分れて二なれ共、茲に圓滿靈妙の化を遂げんことを旨とする、古今學問の大道なり."
[78] Ibid.: "武は、身躰に就て化育するより始む、故に之を實行に伴隨せしむ."
[79] Ibid.: "日本の武術は世界躰育中の第一列に位すべき也。但だ吾言ふ所の躰育は、眞大の躰育に付て言ふ。今の躰育を言ふものは、寧ろ之を卑しくするものに非ずや."

> working the muscles and forgetting the mind and soul. Physical education starts and is accomplished only with the training of the mind/heart.[80]

Continuing his argument, Iwamoto emphasizes his interest in *budō* as a tool in education by stating that it is more than a set of techniques and that the correct training in martial arts takes place beyond the physical realm: in the mind.

> In swordsmanship, the heart is the sword. However, in order not to forget the heart and have the sword take it over, the "sword without the sword" is chosen instead. Bladeless blade symbolizes a heart detached from desires and passions and is the key to the essence of *budō*. […] This is the line that needs to be crossed to achieve the enlightenment. […] The martial technique encapsulates the vigor found in physical education, and in martial art can be found the wonder of cultivating one's mind.[81]

He chides the modern promoters of physical education by referring to the "better" past and emphasizes that martial arts are a way to access, and to pass on, the knowledge of the sages preserved in the forms (*kata* 型).[82] That is, he ascribes spiritual and intellectual value to the movements and believes the majority ignores this value. There is a slight hypocrisy in his criticism of Nihon Taiikukai and Nihon Butokukai. He argues that the two are pulling in opposite directions, the former focusing on the form and the latter furthering the spread of martial arts by concentrating more on the esoterics and pleasure than on exercising martial arts. Yet, despite such criticism, in Iwamoto's writings we see him replace his own earlier scientific arguments of Spencerian derivation with references to such esoteric practices.

Around the 1890s Iwamoto had positioned himself as an outsider to the world of martial arts, admitting to a lack of knowledge that also allowed him to pick and choose the information that he saw the most suitable to promote his cause. Nevertheless, after a few years, when support for such ideas was growing in his circles, he fell in line with other Christian opinion leaders' opinions on *bushidō*, glorifying the martial arts as compatible with Christianity. Unlike others, however, he consistently emphasized the suitability of martial arts in women's education. Finally, his style of writing became sarcastic, reflecting his disappointment regarding the martial arts instruction heading towards mainstream but leaving out the moral training aspect that he had come to promote. Despite this change, Iwamoto is building on his consistently-present claim that in martial arts there is a clue on how all education should be carried out. His arguments revolved around the concept of *bun* and *bu* and balance that they represented, at times between body and mind, at times between Japanese and Western or old and new ideas and practices.

It is interesting to see Iwamoto, an educator who identified himself as Christian and pragmatic in his choice of educational policies, developing his theory of education and tying those ideas to practices at Meiji Jogakkō by referring to esoteric teachings from schools of martial arts. However, he is doing his job as a representative of a school and is appealing to those who are

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[80] Ibid., 5: "身心相關の妙、容易く辨じがたし、人只不二靈契に實際を知了せば可なり。今人その身心に就て鍛錬せんとする時、先づ身體の上に施行する學科の永くたゞ筋肉の上に留まり、引いて精念神靈の上に及ばずとするもの、何處にある乎。躰育は、即はち心育の初にして、又心育の大成なり."

[81] Ibid.: "劍は心形の刀なり。然れども、劍あり反つて心を忘るるが故に、亦た無刀の刀を擇ぶ。無刀の刀、是れ無心の心、武道の極意の妙諦なり。[…]之を成佛の境と云ふ。[…]嗚呼、武術は躰育の精を集め、武道は修養の靈妙を存す." Iwamoto is likely referring to the teachings of *Shingyōtō-ryū* 心形刀流.

[82] Ibid.: "型は達人自得の記録なり。豈に輕々看過すべけんや."

interested in martial arts and value spirituality over plain science. While Iwamoto was the mastermind behind the ideology that drew the school forward and kept the teachers together, he was not the man behind the actual instruction of the subject. For that, he sought out and hired Hoshino Tenchi, who had more practical insights.

4.b.2. Hoshino's "*Budō*"

Between 1890–97[83], Hoshino taught martial arts, Eastern philosophy (*tōyō tetsugaku* 東洋哲学), psychology, Western and Chinese literature, and ran a Christian Sunday class at Meiji Jogakkō. All of these complemented each other in his writing and made up the mental training (*seishin shūyō* 精神修養) whose teaching he was tasked with at the school,[84] where he exercised a level of autonomy.

4.b.2.a. The Motives

Hoshino explains in a biographical interview *Mokuho shichijūnen*[85] (1938) that he was not happy with the type (or, to him, "nonexistence") of women's education provided in Meiji Japan.

> The girls and women of our country have for long been suppressed and sunk into servitude. Geniuses and heroes are all raised at their mother's knee. Taking away the right to scholarship, the right to own capital, and legal rights from such women is bullying the weak ones. What cowards men are! I thought to myself that I must hurry and educate the weak ones, set the ideals higher, and stop just thinking of myself. Luckily, a school cultivating new knowledge, Meiji Jogakkō, welcomed me in. This school alone was a beacon for the education of women.[86]

Here he echoes Iwamoto in criticizing both the government and the missionary schools for failing to understand the needs of girls. According to him, the government avoided religion, looked down on literature, and did not care for the cultivation of the 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, while the missionary schools made the mistake of not trying to understand Japan and worshipped the Western ways.

> Look at the indifference of the government! At the moment, there is a single girls' normal school [referring to Tokyo Women's Normal School], and it completely fails to understand the needs of girls—avoids religion, looks down on the romantic literature, does not encourage the aesthetic sensitivity, runs a lopsided curriculum, and uselessly

[83] Hoshino made his first contribution to *Jogaku zasshi* 137 (November 24, 1888), and thus we can surmise that exchange of ideas between him and Iwamoto took place even before the 1890s. Iwamoto's writing and Hoshino's later contributions to the magazine indicate that he might have actually started his classes as early as 1888. Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*, writes that Hoshino stayed at Meiji Jogakkō from 1890 to 1895, yet Hoshino, *Mokuho*, 200, refers to the period as seven years himself.

[84] Hoshino, *Mokuho*, 173.

[85] Possible rendering into English is "seventy years of walking in silence." The title is close to Sōma Kokkō's memoir *Mokui* 黙移 (1934), translated by Copeland (*Lost Leaves*) as *Silent Changes*, signifying the passage of time without expressing one's thoughts.

[86] Hoshino, *Mokuho*, 169: "吾邦の女子は永らく男子の壓制で卑屈に陥沒して居る。如何なる英俊でも豪傑でも、母の膝で育てられぬ者はない。其女から學術と金權と法權とを奪つて、弱いもの虐めをして居る。何といふ卑怯な男性だろう。私は此弱い者を教育して、其觀念理想を高めるのが急務でなければならぬ。一身の事を考へて居る場合ではない。幸ひ明治女學校といふ新知識養成所で私を迎へて居る。一校たりとも吾邦のために女子教育の烽火を擧げねばならぬ."

> sends out into the world nothing but "fake men." How about the religious schools of Westerners that are leading the education of women in Japan? They too in unison completely disregard the native sentiment, sending out superficial girls and care only about all things Western. By carrying out such education, the motherhood of the new Japan cannot be brought out. And that is because both types of schools fail to understand the concept of "self."[87]

Hoshino, a man of letters of samurai background, influenced by Christianity and who had received a similar education to Iwamoto, is reiterating Iwamoto's position. However, the wording is different, as he is remembering his experience at the school in 1937, amidst new discourses. For instance, the emphasis on "motherhood" and "self", while implied, do not come as strong in Iwamoto's writing; Iwamoto was also more careful when discussing romantic literature, as we shall see in chapter 5.

Hoshino describes the conditions around the year 1890, when he was putting his ideas to test for the first time.

> As there were many students from the former samurai families at the school at the time, there were many willing to participate in the newly established Martial Arts class. At first, I selected the best five out of fifty students and taught them ten selected moves. Each then served as an example for nine students to follow. As a teacher, my job was to make rounds while everyone was practicing and to point out the mistakes. In a month or two, as the students came to energetically move in unison, the popularity of the classes grew within the school.[88]

The classes became well-known not only within the school but outside of it as well. When the school moved in 1892, the weight the school placed on the instruction of martial arts materialized in the building of a large *dōjō*: "As the school moved to Shimorokubanchō, in the yard a new *dōjō* was constructed, and *jūjutsu* and *bōjutsu* started thriving. The students taking the classes became steady and confident in their movements as well as appeared beautiful due to being healthy, composed, and graceful."[89] The types of *jūjutsu* (mostly weapon-free self-defense techniques) and *bōjutsu* (techniques using a staff) used, described later in the section, were classical elements found across various Japanese martial arts.

Despite the popularity among the students and a favorable evaluation by the teachers, the school was fighting against the odds, and Hoshino in the quote below gives ironic examples of how his classes or student martial art performances were seen by the outsiders.

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[87] Ibid., 169-70: "現政府の冷淡さを看よ。現に女子師範が唯一ある計りで、それも全然女子を理解しないから、宗教を退け、軟文學を冷視して情操を顧みず、科學一方に偏して、徒らに變性男子を社會に送り出すに過ぎず、さりとて女子教育を導いてくれる歐米人の宗教學校は如何。それも一校に吾國情の無理解から徒らに歐米に心醉した輕佻浮薄な女性を送り出している。此等をして新日本の母性たらしむる事は出來ない。雙方共に自己を理解しない結果である."

[88] Ibid., 174-75: "其頃は一般に士族出の娘が多いので、新設の武藝科募集には多數の志願者に當惑する始末であつた。先づ五十名中から上級生五名を選拔して、之に薙刀術十手を教へ込み、之を稽古臺として九人づつ受持たしめ、荒こなしが着くのを待つて、師範たる私が一人づつ之を仕上げるといふ遣り方で、一二ヶ月もすると、漸く一同の元氣が溌剌と動き出し、校内の人氣が何となく緊張し出した."

[89] Ibid., 185: "下六番町へ移轉した女學校校庭には武藝道場も新築され、柔術も棒術も、盛んに教授が開始され、武藝組の姿勢は腰が落着いて胸が張り、沈着で温雅な健康美を現はし始め[た]."

> The word spread and many visitors from outside the school started coming to observe the exercises. We had an open-school day and invited the parents. At the time, we were ridiculed in the newspapers. The opinion was that to practice *naginata* or *jūjutsu* in those days, after having pulled them out with great curiosity from some secondhand store, made no sense at a school for girls. A foreign newspaper's review was that "The thing called *jūjutsu* is sorcery. One moment a small girl placed her hand on the chest of a sturdy man, the next moment the man was on the ground. We are utterly baffled." […] Occasionally, the *kangakusha* [scholars of classical Chinese literature], who came to observe the classes, would, caught up in some bizarre emotion, praise me.[90]

Thus, there were at least three common patterns in the reception of martial arts at the school: foreign journalists seeing the martial arts training as a performance of magic tricks; the Japanese journalists sneering at the school for doing something so outdated; and the traditionalists encouraging Hoshino for augmenting the spirit of old. He summarizes the situation by saying: "It was clear that society knew next to nothing about martial arts."[91]

4.b.2.b. The Practice

Regarding the practical aspects of instruction, like Iwamoto, Hoshino stressed the importance of the spiritual element, mentioning the same keywords—morality, mind, religion, etiquette. However, he added his own nuances of psychology, such as willpower and the cultivation of "self," and the emphasis on building esthetic sensitivity via approaching romantic and classical Chinese literature.

> 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 level. By instructing in etiquette, it is possible to purge the mind of mental anxieties and lead it towards morality. However, as students advance, it becomes important to lead them by mental principles. To make the necessary preparations, I undertook a Psychology course. At the beginning, there was no reference to "will" in Psychology, thus I chose to interpret it via martial arts.[92]

Hoshino saw *budō* as a multilayered system of instruction based on psychological processes. To Hoshino, the forms and movements could be taught first, enhancing the students' morale and self-control, yet they were not enough and had to be supplemented with 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.

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[90] Ibid., 185-86: "校外の評判も高くなり、各種の參觀人が交々くるやうになつた。そこで或日、父兄を招集して武藝の演習を參觀させた事がある。其時の新聞社の評には今時物珍しくも古道具屋からでも引出して來たやうな薙刀だの、柔術だのを女學校で教習させるとは譯の分らぬ事だ、と冷笑した。外國新聞記者は「柔術といふものは魔術だ。壯漢の胸へ一少女の手が觸れたかと思ふと、其壯漢は忽ち投倒されて仕舞つた。私達は一向譯が分からぬ。」斯ういふやうな有樣で、其頃は武藝に付ての社會の認識は暗點であつた。折々參觀に來た漢學者達は、異樣な感に打たれて贊嘆された事がある。學ぶ者は又精神界の研究に慣らされて居るので、興味深く熱心に研究しては往々卓論を提起する者がある."

[91] Ibid., 186: "其頃は武藝に付ての社會の認識は暗點であつた."

[92] Ibid., 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、道德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."

> 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 only introduced him in passing. 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 texts, as well as their ideals and reception.[93]

As there was a pull by the traditionalists to go back to the Confucianism-based education at the time, Hoshino felt the need to stress that his interest in *kanbun* had different reasons: "I also approached the teachers to point out that we were doing this to develop the students' skills and not for augmenting nationalism."[94]

Just like the school was treating Christianity as a subject to be challenged and discussed, Confucian classics were also 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 students' reception.

> The students were used to the research of spiritual matters and would study with great interest and zeal. At times, when reading the *Shijing* (*Shikyō* 詩経, Classic of Poetry), they would come up with new possible interpretations. At times, jumping to interpretations from the point of view of martial arts, they would claim that *Kannon sūtra*, the martial concept of freeing oneself from worldly or worthless thoughts, and the Christian understanding of selflessness experienced in prayer fall within the same category. The lecture served as training in both ethics (*shūshin*) and literature, ultimately inspiring students to be intrigued by literature. We came to often analyze texts and finally started learning rhetoric. Pointing out the reasons behind the Japanese girls' unskillfulness in conversation, and to encourage a variety of opinions, I introduced *Les Misérables*[95] and *Wakefield*[96].[97]

Thus, the girls were being taught how to approach knowledge and to express themselves (rhetoric), delved into spiritual issues by discussing 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

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[93] Ibid., 186-87: "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."

[94] Ibid., 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."

[95] A French historical novel by Victor Hugo (1802–84), first published in 1862.

[96] *The Vicar of Wakefield*—a novel by Irish writer Oliver Goldsmith (1728–74), published in 1766.

[97] Ibid., 186-87: "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."

Buddhist, Christian, and martial philosophies. Was it all instruction in martial arts? Borrowing Hoshino's words,

> I was employed as an instructor in mental training and martial arts. To fully achieve this, I started lectures on such subjects as Psychology and Advanced Classical Chinese Literature and led debates on Asian Philosophy. I also became the schoolmaster of the Sunday-school and involved myself deeply into carrying out talks on how to self-cultivate according to Christian teachings.[98]

From the above, it is unclear whether the mental training and martial arts had clear boundaries or constituted one whole in Hoshino's educational scheme. However, further hints are given in the following, where he discusses the reasons behind the way in which he chose to organize his teaching.

> First, when moving, it is necessary to relax, know your enemy, and search for self. When still, it is necessary to train one's willpower and sensitivity by being exposed to literature that harbors aesthetic, moral, and religious sentiments. Thinking thus, I 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*.[99]

Hoshino, as well as Iwamoto, building on knowledge collected from various sources about martial teachings, *budō,* and its elements, focus on the "still" state (sometimes identified as *bun*) and the "active" state (likewise, *bu*) as two sides of the same coin, encompassing the meaning of education at large and underlying the approach to knowledge and attitude in life in general.

4.b.2.c. The Results

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 thirty-one moves of *Ittō*-style *naginata* for a year. Then *Yagyū*-style *bōjutsu* and eighteen moves of self-defense *jūjutsu*. The students who completed this level were granted the beginner rank (*shodan*) certificate. Further on, after acquiring ten moves of *naginata* of various styles, twelve moves of *jūjutsu* facing the opponent, ten additional moves of *bōjutsu*, seven moves of *Yagyū*-style *naginata*, ten moves using a dagger, including a permission to kill when protecting life, the students were granted the intermediate rank (*chūdan*) certificate. As the movements became students' second nature, they were granted the license with the list of gained skills (*mokurokudan*). Overall, the course took five years to complete. During approximately seven years I was teaching at Meiji Jogakkō, twenty-six students were

[98] Ibid., 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."

[99] Ibid., 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、懷劍術を柳生流から、棒術と柔術とを併せて女流型の手を編成し[た。]"

> granted first and second ranks, and three the license. If I had another year or two, four more students would have graduated.[100]

He then gives names of several of the students and their particularly exceptional qualities: Matsui Man (Hoshino's wife and a teacher at Meiji Jogakkō), Satō Suke (who performed alongside Matsui Man and Kawano Take at Teikoku Hotel as described in 4.b.1.b.), and Murase Tsuru 村瀬鶴. Yamaguchi Kō 山口好, Nakayama Hikaru 中山光, and Fujishima Yuki 藤嶋雪 are also described as bright (*meiki* 名器) in subjects beyond *budō*: Yamaguchi is praised for her intelligence (*sōmei* 聡明), Yamanaka for her faith (*shinnen* 信念), and Fujishima for her sensitivity (*jōsō* 情操). We can assume that these were the qualities that he encouraged and regarded highly. Even more important are the additional outcomes that he mentions.

> All the students who received higher than the beginner's (*shodan*) qualification acquired good posture, stable movement, elegant manner, and everyone who saw them could not spare compliments. After three or four years, I heard many stories about how, thanks to the acquired self-defense techniques, the students managed to save themselves. One escaped when attacked by a drunkard; another tumbled down the stairs without even her lantern getting extinguished; one more, in an emergency, safely traveled the mountains at night; another, all by herself, subdued a robber at night… There were numerous accounts of how the training affected the lives of the students.[101]

We can see from above that, when it came to the benefits the girls experienced thanks to learning martial arts, Hoshino mentions both the gracefulness and swiftness of movement and the brave heart and quick mind. It would not be wrong to say that these were among the traits that Hoshino saw as necessary for his ideal image of modern women in Japan.

As mentioned before, when the school had to display its achievements in the education of girls to outside observers, it was *budō* they turned to. Not only during the official days when parents were invited to observe the education carried out at the school, but also during important public events for charity, Meiji Jogakkō had its students perform martial arts. In the following passage, Hoshino describes the reception of such performances.

> "Presentation at the Teikoku Hotel"
> Once, we had a performance at Shiba no Yayoi. At the time, the students were all beginners and we had no issues. However, when the Aikoku Fujinkai sponsored an event at the Teikoku Hotel in Tsukiji, we saw some reaction. The newspaper reviews still lacked reference to the connection between education and martial arts and only

[100] Ibid., 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."

[101] Ibid., 201: "「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。或者は酔漢の暴行を免れ、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、單身夜盗を説き伏せたとか、種々修行の功果を聞く事は數ふるに暇が無い."

> seemed to have spared us the openly harsh criticism. The foreign journalists still spoke of magic tricks. […] There were three students of beginner and three of intermediate levels. I myself participated in the duel with the intermediate level students. The match was quite fierce.[102]

Here, while we do not know when the first performance took place, we find out that the Teikoku Hotel performance did not receive the acclaim Iwamoto had hoped for in 4.b.1.b. However, while few seem to have been praising the performances, they were still deemed worth sponsoring, and thus the situation may not have been as bad as Hoshino claims.

Overall, it would appear that Hoshino concentrated more on the practical and physical benefits of *budō*, while in Iwamoto's writings the connection between martial arts and Christianity/spirituality and the mental cultivation of the students seems more prominent. However, Hoshino's recollections quoted above are written over 40 years after the events, grounded in a different personal as well as discursive space. Hoshino's writing that was contemporaneous to Iwamoto's is analyzed below in order to get a clearer picture of his educational theories and see where they overlap with Iwamoto's. While Hoshino wrote in *Jogaku zasshi* as well, it is his contribution in *Jogakusei* that should not be overlooked; his writing in this magazine skilfully combined his passion for literature and martial arts.

4.b.2.d. Martial Writing

Hoshino's writing can be found in a variety of forms and under several pseudonyms.[103] Hoshino Shin was Hoshino's professional name. When he used it, the text would usually deal with the practical nuances of education. For instance, *Jogaku zasshi*'s miscellanies section (*zatsuroku* 雑録) ran "The Comments on the 'The art of testing *naginata*'" (October 3, 1890),[104] which was a response to law specialist and martial artist Aoyama Shūji 青山衆司. It was published under the professional name and referred to Hoshino as "Meiji Jogakkō's teacher of *naginata* and *jūjutsu*."[105] Later, the same section carried Hoshino's writing on the study of Chinese classics (February to March, 1891)[106] that also referred to English literature. The purpose was again to introduce what kind of education was taking place at Meiji Jogakkō. Hoshino's work was put into spotlight when he contributed leading articles "Military Spirit, its Rise" (November to December 1892)[107] and

[102] Ibid., 202: "「帝國ホテルの發表會」芝の彌生館で一度び公開したことがあり、其時は初段者ばかりで問題にはならなかつたが、其後愛國婦人會主催で、築地の帝國ホテル公開した時は多少の反映を見た。併し新聞評などは、未だに教育と武藝の關係などには一言も觸れて居なかった。たゞ尠しく冷評觀が愼まれた位に見えた。外字新聞の方は相變らず魔術よはりをして居た[…] 武芸の方は初段級三人、中段級三人で、中段生は私自身受け手に立つて、随分烈しい試合を見せた."

[103] For a list of Hoshino's pen names and contributions, refer to Noheji and Matsubara, *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*. The reason behind such a variety of names was possibly twofold: to mask the fact that the magazine was run by mostly Hoshino alone, and to provide a certain freedom of expression, by signing in a name that would suggest that the author is a female, and, most likely, of similar age and status to the reader.

[104] "'*Naginatajutsu' wo yomu*"「薙刀術」を読む, as Hoshino Shin 星野慎, *Jogaku zasshi* 233 (October 3, 1890). English title as found in the original.

[105] Hoshino is simultaneously referred to as a silviculturist (*ringakushi* 林学士) and, judging from the fact that Jogaku Zasshisha endorsed (or published) his textbook titled *Konchū shokubutsu kinseki saishuhō* (refer to Table 28), he may have taught natural sciences as well.

[106] *Jogaku zasshi* 253-55 (February to March, 1891), "*Kangakuben*" 漢学弁, as Tenchiko 天知子. English title: "On Chinese."

[107] "*Budō no hatsugen*" 武道の発源 in *Jogaku zasshi* 331-33 (November to December 1892), as Tenchiko. English title as found in the original.

"Women's Education and *Budō*" (December 1893 – January 1894).[108] In addition, he reviewed the writing of others in the literary criticism section. For instance, in November, 1890,[109] he covered "*Budō hitsuketsu aiki no jutsu*" 武道祕決 合氣之術 (completed in 1892) by Bukotsu Koji 無骨居士 (most likely Kondō Yoshizō 近藤嘉三). Bukotsu was among those who furthered the usage of the term *aiki* that is widely used in the current martial art discourse, yet from his own, somewhat mystical, perspective that Hoshino was critical of. Hoshino also contributed original writing in the fiction section. One example is "The Shadowless Sword" (October to November 1891)[110] that first ran in *Jogakusei* and discussed martial themes in a fictionalized setting. *Jogakusei* also ran "The Marks on the Sword,"[111] a shorter version or similar martial fiction, as a special New Year addition to the magazine. As both of these novels appeared in *Jogakusei*, it is clear that they were aimed at the female-student readership. It is telling to see the school openly promoting the practical and fictional writing on martial arts to women.

Jogakusei (1890–92) that Hoshino published primarily for the readership of female students from Meiji Jogakkō and other, mostly missionary, schools must have been to Hoshino the perfect means to relate the contents of his lessons to audiences beyond the school. The following table shows selected Hoshino's writing in *Jogakusei*, revealing details behind the contents of his classes and showing what he deemed fit for girls to learn.

***Table 18: Hoshino's writing in* Jogakusei**

***Jogakusei* no. (date)**	**Column/ pseudonym**	**Japanese title of the contribution**	**My translation of the title and contents**
1 (May 21, 1890)	*kōburan* 講武欄 / Tenchiko 天知子	*Jokai no budō* 女界の武道	"Martial arts in women's lives."
2 (June 23, 1890)	*kōbu* 講武 / Tenchiō 風柳斎天知翁	*Budō no shinka* 武道の眞價	"True value of martial arts."
		Bugi kōen 武技講演	"Lecture on martial arts."
		Naginatajutsu 薙刀術	"*Naginata* technique." Included images and continued as "*Kumite*" 組手 in no. 3-6.
4 (August 21, 1890)	leading article / Tenchiko	*Shire, nao, gijidō no gotoshi* 知れ、猶、議事堂の如し.	Writes on how *Jogakusei* is meant to be "the Diet" of the girl students – a place to discuss their insights.
6 (October 21, 1890)	*burinrin* 武凛々	*Miyamoto Mushashi no kettō* 宮本武蔵の決闘	"Miyamoto Musashi's final battle." Miyamoto Musashi (1584–1645) is a legandary swordmaster and author of treatises in martial arts.
		Tanryoku wo fukikomu 胆力を吹込む	"Inspiring others with courage."
		Musōken 無想剣	"The Shadowless Sword."
7 (November 21, 1890)	*burindan* 武凛談 / Fūryūsai 風流斎	*Monzen no kawara* 門前の瓦	"Family crest."
		Matsukaze no kiai 松風の気合ひ	"The spirit of the wind in the pines." Possibly a martial arts term.

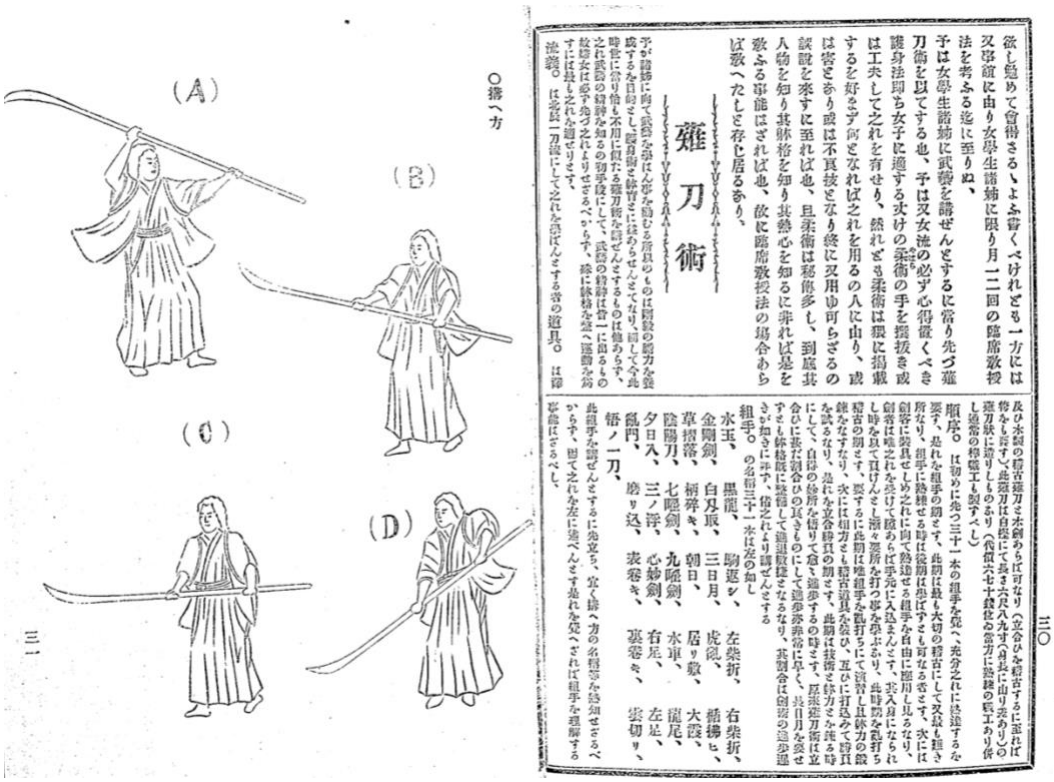
[108] "*Joshikyōiku to budō*" 女子教育と武道, *Jogaku zasshi* 359-61 (December 1893 – January 1894), as Hoshino Shinnosuke 星野慎之輔. Title translated by me.
[109] *Jogaku zasshi* 239 (November 15, 1890), as Hoshino Shinnosuke.
[110] "*Musōken*" 無想剣 ran in *Jogaku zasshi* 286-90 (October to November 1891) after being published in *Jogakusei* 16 (September 21, 1891) as an appendix novel. Signed as Ankōko. English title translated by me.
[111] "*Tachikidzu*" 太刀創, *Jogakusei* 20 (January 23, 1892). Signed as Ankōko. English title translated by me.

8 (December 21, 1890)	*burindan* / Fūryūsai	*Budō wa shinkō nari* 武道は信仰なり	"Martial arts are a system of beliefs."
10-12 (February 26, 1891) to (April 22, 1891)	*Manabi no shiori* 学びのしをり Hoshino Shin	*Kanbungaku: Tōshisen no kaishaku* 漢文学: 唐詩選の解釈	On interpreting Tang-period poems that were also taught at Meiji Jogakkō.
14 (June 23, 1891).	leading article / Hoshino Shin	*Budō no kaiku* 武道の化育	"Transforming power of martial arts education." Had subsections titled "The character of the samurai" (*Bushi no kifū* 武士の気風), "The harmony between martial and civil arts" (*Bunbu itto* 文武一途) and "Characteristics of martial arts" (*Tokuseijō no budō* 特性上の武道).
	contributions (*yosebumi* 寄せぶみ)/ Nobu のぶ, possibly Hoshino	*Meiji Jogakkō ongakukai ni naginatajutsu wo mite* 明治女学校音楽会に薙刀術を見て	"Impressions from the *naginata* performance at Meiji Jogakkō's recital."
16 (September 21, 1891)	annex (*furoku* 付録) / 暗光子	*Shōsetsu Musōken* 小説無想剣	Novel "The Shadowless Sword."
17 (October 21, 1891)	leading article/ Hoshino Shin	*Ana-iri jinshu* 穴入り人種	"Humans living in holes," with subsections on feudalistic thought (*hōken shisō* 封建思想), humanitarian practitioners (*jindō shūgyōsha* 人道修業者), martial practitioners (*busha shūgyōsha* 武者修業者), and selfish practitioners (*jiri no shūgyōsha* 自利の修業者).
	random notes (*manpitsu* 漫筆) / Ankōko 暗光子	*Hakajirushi* 墓標	"A grave post" spoke about how people are known after their death.
	random notes / Tenchiko	*Budōkakun* 武道家訓	"Martial teachings for the home" spoke on the necessity of determination (*kakugo* 覚悟), being on guard (*muyudan* 無油断), emotional strength (*shinkiryoku* 心気力), and observation skills (*kansatsuryoku* 観察力).
18 (November 30, 1891)	leading article / Hoshino Shin	*Gisonben* 義損辨	"Ideas on sacrifice."
	random notes / Ankōko	*Hyakkan zappitsu* 百感雑筆 (continued until issue 21, then 25)	"Miscellaneous thoughts." On the traits necessary for the warriors (*bushi kifū* 武士気風): keeping promises, enthusiasm (*nesshin* 熱心) and honesty (*shisei* 至誠), willingness to make mistakes and learn from them, determination to improve oneself, having meaningful conversations. The final section speaks about raising children (agreement between parents and leading by example) and includes a Christian reference.
	on the topic of earthquake (*shinsaikanwa* 震災感話) / Ankōko	*Neo no tani ni bu wo arasou* 根尾の谷に武を争う	"A fight at the Valley of Neo." Based on the Mino-Owari earthquake that took place on October 28 in Gifu, Aichi, and Fukui. Speaks about the mentality influenced by *budō* (not panicking and being resolved to die if necessary).
	on the topic of earthquake / Tenchiko	*Jishin yakō no kan* 地震夜行の感	"The Earthquake in the night."
19	leading article / Hoshino Shin	*Kyōikusha* 教育者	"The educator."

(December 26, 1891)	random notes / Tenchiko	*Katō Kiyomasa no shinki* 加藤清正の真気	"Katō Kiyomasa's real intentions."
	talk (*kanwa* 感話) / Ankōko	*Gōtō ni aishi yo*" 強盗に遇ひし夜	"The night we were robbed." Depicts an incident when a robber was subdued (presumably by a student at her home after studying martial arts for 5 years).
20 January 23, 1892	leading article / Hoshino Shin	*Gakuue no ase* 額上の汗	"Sweat on one's brow."
	New Year novel 新年付録小説 / Ankōko	*Tachikidzu* 太刀創	"The Marks on the Sword." Marked at the first installment.
21 (February 25, 1892)	leading article / Hoshino Shin	*Sen no Rikyū oyobi sadō wo ronzu* 千利休及び茶道を論ず	"Sen no Rikyū and tea ceremony" in four parts. 1) "The forefather of tea" (*Chaso no jinbutsu* 茶祖の人物, 2) "The training in *bun*, *bu*, and zen" (*Bunbu oyobi zendō no tanren* 文武及び禅道の鍛錬), 3) "The elements of teaching *sadō*" (*Sadō kyōiku no yōsu* 茶道教育の要素), 4) "The essence of the tea ceremony" (*Sadō no gokui* 茶道の極意).
22 (March 22, 1892)	leading article / Hoshino Shin	*Gunji oyobi heisho* 軍師及び兵書	"Soldiers and military treatises." With a subsection titled "Education in the warring states" (*Sengoku no kyōikuka*" 戦国の教育科).
		Jinbutsu shūyō 人物修養	"Cultivating an individual."
24 (May 21, 1892)	leading article / Hoshino Shin	*Kyōki* 俠気	"Chivalry."
27 (September 22, 1892)	leading article / Tenchiko	*Fugū no eiyū wo kyūjo seyo* 不遇の英雄を救助せよ	"Save the hero in trouble."

"*Naginatajutsu*" section included illustrations like the following, emphasizing the practical intent of the writing.

Image 5: "*Naginatajustu,*" Jogakusei 2



In *Jogakusei*, Hoshino dedicated a section to martial topics (it was titled *kōburan* 講武欄 at first, evolved into *burinrin* 武凛々 in issue 6 and *burindan* 武凛談 in issues 7 and 8) that eventually disappeared as martial topics became more prominent throughout the whole magazine. The issues dealt with detailed instructions on how to carry out the practical and theoretical parts of *budō*, but also depicted brave male and female characters. Many pieces were signed by Hoshino Shin, the fact that indicated his intention to emphasize his connection with Meiji Jogakkō. A direct link to Meiji Jogakkō is also visible in a short piece carrying the impressions about the *naginata* performance at Meiji Jogakkō's recital.[112] It sang praises imbued with Christian ideals to the beauty and courage of the three Meiji Jogakkō students who performed at the aforementioned event at the Teikoku Hotel.

Predating similar columns in magazines like *Butokushi* 武徳詩 (1906–09) that serialized "*Bushidō jokunmyō*" 武士道女訓妙 (*bushidō* teachings for women) and "*Bushidō kakunmyō*" 武士道家訓妙 (*bushidō* teachings for home), *Jogakusei* carried "*Budōkakun*" 武道家訓, or martial teachings for the home. It raised such topics as determination, being on guard, emotional strength, and observation skills to be learned for the women of the household. Rendering the classical *kakun*, normally translated as "house codes" as they referred to the teachings of the medieval warrior houses, into writing on household matters for women is interesting as it shows how old terms were being reinterpreted to suit modern conditions.

"The training in *bun*, *bu*, and zen" (February 25, 1892)[113] made the connection between martiality, Zen Buddhism, literature and art—all apparent elements in Hoshino's thought and,

[112] Ibid., "*Meiji Jogakkō ongakukai ni naginatajutsu wo mite*" 明治女学校音楽会に薙刀術を見て, by Nobu のぶ, possibly Hoshino.

113 "*Bunbu oyobi zendō no tanren*" 文武及び禅道の鍛錬, *Jogakusei* 21 (February 25, 1892), part of "Sen no Rikyū and tea ceremony."

consequently, his practices at Meiji Jogakkō. According to Michael C. Brownstein, "Hoshino Tenchi's passion for martial arts and his conversion to Christianity both stemmed from his belief in physical and spiritual discipline as a means to greatness."[114] In addition,

> In his writings for *Jogaku zasshi* in 1892, Hoshino developed a heroic ideal that combined the martial spirit of a former age with the Christian idealism of his own. To flesh out his ideal, Hoshino turned to examples from Chinese and Japanese history. He wrote biographical sketches of [tea ceremony master] Sen no Rikyū [千利休 (1522–91)], [*Tsurezuregusa*'s author] Yoshida Kenkō [吉田兼好 (c. 1283 c. 1350/52)], and others—men that Tenchi felt triumphed over the passions of the body.[115]

Such choice of topics might also indicate that Hoshino attempted to "localize" Christianity, finding overlaps in local traditions. Showing that he saw no issue in matching aspects of various traditions, he also dedicated his time to practicing Zen Buddhism, spending three weeks at a Zen temple in Kamakura in 1892, and contributed articles relating to Buddhism to *Jogaku zasshi*.

Hoshino's series "Women's Education and *Budō*" (December 1893 – January 1894)[116] displays a maturity of ideas. The first installment[117] explains that he had covered similar contents in an address made at a summer school for girls.[118] Whether there was any instruction of martial arts taking place at the summer school, or where and for how long it took place, is left unspecified.

Hoshino starts by stating that, first of all, *budō* is hard to comprehend for contemporary people, especially as it is a challenge to put into words something that can be gleaned only through practice and experience.[119] However, he nevertheless believes that four issues should be addressed. The first one is regarding the reception of martial arts in girls' education.[120] Hoshino gives three common claims, each for and against martial instruction for women. Calling for a deeper understanding of *budō*, he explains that the current supporters are often misinformed and thus are no better than the critics.

According to him, some of those against argue that interest in martial arts would bring out violent and rough traits and that martial skills are not good for women.[121] Others claim that among martial arts (*bugei* 武芸)[122], training in *jūjutsu* would still make sense today, yet using a tool like *naginata*—a relic from the Warring States period (15th–16th C.)—does not.[123] Finally, some insist that in a time of peace, when women should be graceful and gentle, instructing them in the ways of war is harmful.[124] Hoshino dismisses these claims as immature and coming from people who have not experienced martial arts first-hand.

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[114] Brownstein, "*Bungakukai*," 332.
[115] Ibid.
[116] "*Joshikyōiku to budō*" 女子教育と武道, *Jogaku zasshi* 359-61 (December 1893 – January 1894).
[117] Ibid., 359 (December 9, 1893).
[118] Ibid.: "女子夏季学校公演記."
[119] Ibid.: "言外自得の思想たる道感は言語文字に現し難きなるものをや."
[120] Ibid.: "第一　女子武道教育の賛否者に付て."
[121] Ibid.: "女子の武芸三昧は必ず殺伐の気風を養ふて荒々らしくすべく且や女子の腕だては固より無用の長物なるべきにと."
[122] *Bugei*, also meaning martial arts, was used by Hoshino to mean "skills" or "techniques" in contrast with *budō* that contains the character of *michi* 道, or "way," to denote the presence of the mental training.
[123] Ibid.: "武芸の中にても柔術の如きは今日の時代に或は宜しからん然れども薙刀の如きは戦国の遺器のみ今日此無念の長器を弄するの必要あることなしと."
[124] Ibid.: "太平の世といひ温雅柔順たるべき女生に筝気を起さしめて戦国気風を養ふの害ありと."

Among those who praise *budō*, Hoshino lists three prevalent tendencies. The first group claims that among the types of physical education available, only *budō* is acceptable.[125] This kind of praise to Hoshino is a nuisance (*meiwaku* 迷惑) as, first of all, there are other great ways to carry out physical education, such as *taisō*; second, this kind of argument is disguising the promotion of *budō* as promotion of physical education;[126] and, finally, conflating *budō* with other forms of physical education does not do justice to *budō*, as the latter is more than just physical training.[127] The second group claims that just as men must become soldiers,[128] women too should become able to defend the country in time of need.[129] If that is what you want, Hoshino replies, would not instructing women to shoot make more sense? The third group, that Hoshino does not disagree with completely, urges women to become livelier and stronger[130] with the help of learning martial arts. While proponents of this position tend to look down on women as inferior to men,[131] Hoshino notes, to him it is so far the most advanced type of argument.

In the second installment,[132] which addresses the difference between *bujutsu* and *budō*,[133] Hoshino provides his own interpretation of *bunbu*. He, like Iwamoto, speaks of *michi*, which he equates to mental training (*shinjutsu no shūyō* 心術の修養) and sees as an indispensable part of *budō*. Hoshino reasons how *bun* and *bu* are, in the broad sense, represented by the English words "sublimity" and "beauty" that he defines as two universal aspects that are necessarily present in arts, religion, and education. In the narrow sense, he explains, *bun* and *bu* are represented by certain arts (*geijutsu*), *bujutsu* being but one of them.[134] Following this logic, *naginata*, swordsmanship, and *jūjutsu* are all but a means to train the heart and "grasp the way"[135] and *bunbu* does not end with them.

The final installment[136] delves into women's mental training.[137] According to Hoshino, when it comes to such training, there are various ways to carry it out, yet they can largely be split into ideal (*risōteki* 理想的) and practical (*jikkenteki* 実験的) means. They can also be referred to as conduct (*okonai* 行ひ) and faith (*shinkō* 信仰), or methods of meditative contemplation (*kanpō* 観法) and awareness (*shikihō* 識法), or physical training (*tanren* 鍛錬) and scholarship (*gakumon* 學問). While *bujutsu*, or martial techniques, is on the "practical" side, only by adding the "ideal"

[125] Ibid.: "女子の体育は今日甚だ遺憾とするもの多し武術最も然るべしと."
[126] Ibid.: "体育の意味のみを以て武道勧めんや."
[127] Ibid.: "体育の如きは此道を修むるの副産物とも申すべきか."
[128] Ibid.: "皆国民軍の義務あるにあらずや."
[129] Ibid.: "一朝事あるの時手を拱きて止むの愚を学ぶべきや."
[130] Ibid.: "気力を奮起せしむるもの武術に如く可からずと."
[131] Ibid.: "女は男より腕力乏しきが故に劣等人種なりと断定する."
[132] "*Joshikyōiku to budō*," *Jogaku zasshi* 360 (December 23, 1893).
[133] Ibid.: "武術と武道との区別に付て."
[134] "*Joshikyōiku to budō,*" *Jogaku zasshi* 359 (December 9, 1893): "現はるる所剛柔細大精粗等の別に由り一はサブライムと成り一はビューティーと成る、美術や宗教や教育や一として此趣きを待て完成せざるはなし、吾が東洋の一隅天に於て此雙美は武と文との文字に訳されるなり、然れども文武にも広き意味にての文と武はサブライムと成り一はビューティーなり、其狭き意味にて言ふ所の文武は各々其芸術に付ていふなり、古来文武は一途なりと説くは要するに此広義に於ていふなるべし、吾邦古来の教育に於て文武は両輪の如しと奨励したるは実に此意味あればなり."
[135] Ibid.: "武術といへば既にアートの範囲に止まるなり、されば薙刀といひ剣といひ柔術といふも必竟心意(こころ)を練りて道を狩とする手段に過ぎず."
[136] "*Joshikyōiku to budō*," *Jogaku zasshi* 361 (January 6, 1894).
[137] Ibid.: "女子精神的修養に付て."

does it become complete.[138] Moreover, according to Hoshino, human psychology is made up of three elements—knowledge, emotion, and volition (*chi jō i* 智情意). "Knowledge" gets cultivated through seeing and hearing, i.e., through scholarship. "Emotion" is taken care of by religion and "polite literature" (*bibungaku* 美文學). Finally, "volition" is harbored via experience, and this is where *budō* steps in.[139]

Here, Hoshino is providing his own version of the three pillars of education: *chi* representing Iwamoto's *chiiku* and Spencer's intellectual education, *jō* representing Iwamoto's *tokuiku* and Spencer's moral education, and *i* representing Iwamoto's *taiiku*, or Spencer's physical education.[140] Hoshino admonishes that if one of the three is neglected, especially *i*, volition, the balance in education shall not be established and the students will be weak and emotionally unstable. Hoshino writes, "We do not hesitate to promote *budō*. If it is not applied to education, education shall not move away from un-internalized rote-learning and worship of imitation."[141] This is a strong statement ascribing martial arts a crucial role in education.

Hoshino continues by addressing the things to keep in mind when instructing girls in martial arts.[142] To him, much depends on the teacher. The relationship between the teacher and the student should be of mutual respect and love, just like that of the parent and child,[143] the teacher leading the student, and not controlling her.[144] The benefits that he saw the students acquiring through martial arts were as follows: those who were frivolous and restless have calmed down, those that were cruel have become kind, those who were misbehaved corrected their conduct, those who hesitated and faltered started actively taking decisions, and those who were timid have become calm and composed.[145] That is, their mind has become "one": attained a state of harmony.[146]

"Women's Education and *Budō*" mirrors the major points in Iwamoto's contemporaneous arguments, yet it is also consistent with Hoshino's reflections in *Mokuho shichijūnen*. We can see that Hoshino is rendering *bunbu* differently from Iwamoto's in that Hoshino is influenced by the modern ideas from Psychology and Literature. For instance, his emphasis on "will" and explanation on how he drew from martial arts theories to supplement the modern writing is telling of how he combined the new and old ideas. Similarly, words like sublimity and beauty were referred to by Tsubouchi Shōyō[147] when he theorized on literature, yet Hoshino uses them as

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[138] Ibid.: "精神的修養には種々の方法あるべしと雖ども、実験的と理想的との二つに分けて不可なるべし、尚ほ行ひと信仰といふが如き、観法と識法といふが如きか、鍛錬と学問といふが如きか、然れば武術は実験的の方に属すべきなり、此二つの修養相待て始めて完成なると得べし."

[139] Ibid.: "人の心理を智情意の三つ分ちて言えば、智は見聞の学問に由りて養ふべく、情は宗教と美文学を以て養ふべく、而して意は実際の経験に由りて養ふべし、武道は即ち此意志を教育するものといふを得べし."

[140] The fact that religion is placed alongside literature in the education of the emotion, or morals in Iwamoto's case, underscores that literature held an important place at the school due to it being seen as a tool to supplement religious training.

[141] Ibid.: "吾人は、武道教育を進むるに憚らざるなり、然らざればいつまでも客観的注入的に依頼して模倣的崇拝的の教育に終わらんとす."

[142] Ibid.: "武道教授の注意に付て."

[143] Ibid.: "互いに敬愛して親子の如き."

[144] Ibid.: "師として己れの技術と知力とに従はしめんと思ふことなく唯斯の道の媒介者と成りて心を以て心に伝ふることを専念するの他なし."

[145] Ibid.: "軽佻と浮躁の者いづれも沈着と成り、殺伐なる者は穏かとなり、しだらなき者は締まりよき者となり、逡巡蹉跎の気象は決断を快活の上に現はすに到り、ビクビクせし者は泰然たる風采を呈するに至れり."

[146] Ibid.: "一心定まり来たりたる結果のみ." Other than *isshin* 一心, Hoshino used *ikki* 一気 in the same meaning within the text.

[147] Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," 150, note 10: "Based on the notion of belles-lettres in *Shūji oyobi kabun* (1879) Shōyō explains that 'sublimity, beauty, pathos, and ludicrousness—these are essential elements of belles-letters (*kabun*),

equivalents of *bun* and *bu* when trying to expand them to the international context. It is also especially interesting to see how the "knowledge, emotion, and volition" he presents overlap with the writing of Iwamoto and Spencer, how he has internalized and reimagined the concepts that were prevalent at the time. Finally, Hoshino, whose contribution to the development of the martial arts education for women has been neglected by research, is important as he provides an insight into the undercurrents of the times that the educators in martial arts had to maneuver, especially the reception and ideas that were common regarding women's position in martial arts.

4.c. Conclusions (Femininity vs. Masculinity in Physical Education)

According to Tanigama Ryōshō, while there was much resistance to the physical education (*taisō*) for girls and women promoted by the government at first,[148] after the Sino-Japanese War (1884–85), the government tied the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal to sports to 1) promote physical strength of women who could protect Japan as the husbands were away, 2) prepare women's minds to face foreigners, whose presence and perceived threat in Japan was growing, and 3) provide skilled workers that the developing economy, especially factories, required.[149] As a result, exercising became the responsibility of girls and women as "national" bodies. However, while the above reasons might have been behind the government's support of physical training, the arguments made by Iwamoto or Hoshino emphasize the needs of the individual and build upon the example of such ideologists as Spencer who believed in physical training for the sake of well-balanced individual growth. To Iwamoto, who came from a position of an enlightenment activist, physical education was a means to 1) liberate women's bodies by allowing physical and mental confidence, 2) assure their health and thus the ability to benefit society in the Christian sense, and 3) provide the moral and mental training that would assure a kind, yet sturdy, character, deemed necessary to adapt to the changing Japanese society. Hoshino added to his classes and arguments elements from literary criticism, critical thinking and rhetoric, supporting the cultivation of emotions and an artistic sense, and an emphasis on volition and quick mental reflexes; he also described the visible physical empowerment of the students and the ensuing practical benefits.

Febe Dalipe Pamonag[150] and Yoshinori Fujii,[151] among others, have pointed out that Iwamoto's promotion of women's education had dual foundations and was not based only on Christian beliefs but also on nationalistic sentiments. Such a position coincided and interacted with ideas of other Japanese Christians such as Uemura Masahisa, who looked for a balance between Christianity and *budō*/*bushidō*. However, Iwamoto's and Hoshino's nationalistic tendencies are sporadic, usually responding to certain public discourses or pieces of literature, and cannot be deemed to be the main motivating factor behind their decision to instruct women in the martial arts.

I argue that, as Meiji Jogakkō sought to balance ideas from various schools of thought in its curriculum in accordance to both external pressures and internal goals, the school searched for a kind of moral training that could supplement academic knowledge in a way acceptable to the government and society. As a result of this process, the school decided to incorporate traditional aspects while also protecting its status as a Christian institution. The application at the school of both martial arts and *jorei* were outcomes of this intent.

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particularly indispensable for the language of the novel' (*Shōsetsu shinzui*, 102)." In this, Hoshino is likely building upon Tsubouchi Shōyō's discourse.

[148] Tanigama, "*Joshi kyōiku no shinkō to nashionarizumu*," 722.

[149] Ibid., 721. Point 2) is not elaborated upon by Tanigama and it is unclear what he means.

[150] Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood*.

[151] Fujii, *Seigi to ai ni ikite*.

Both Iwamoto and Hoshino saw martial arts in a similar way to *taisō*—as a means to improve overall health and liberate bodies and minds. However, *budō* to them was more than *taisō*: described as useful in daily life, it was seen as a means to learn self-defense and awareness of one's movement and demeanor, build up morale, character, and critical thinking. At the same time, it was seen as a means to mediate the "foreign" Christian instruction in morals and augment it with a native form of mental training.

Seen as possessing the ability to make sure that "feminine qualities were retained," *jorei* was deemed necessary in the defense of physical instruction for women, especially when it came to the foreign style of exercise that was seen as lacking in terms of training the mind. *Jorei* was considered particularly helpful in maintaining the balance between intellectual, moral, and physical education. It also represented a tie between the traditional and modern understanding of education, in addition to serving as a link between physical and mental training. Being vaguely defined, it could represent a variety of ideas that would not fit under other labels, thus allowing for a certain degree of flexibility. *Budō*, being similar to *jorei* in that it was traditional and Japanese, needed less ideological support, and thus *jorei* was less emphasized when the school switched over to martial arts from calisthenics as the primary means of physical education.

Both Iwamoto and Hoshino interpreted the *bunbu* duality to suit their own, developing, needs. Both portrayed *budō* and its elements, *bun* (the "still/gentle" state) and *bu* (the "active/rough" state) as two sides of the same coin that signified the meaning of education at large, underlying the approach to knowledge and the general attitude in life. They also pointed out that *bun* and *bu* were portrayed incomplete by themselves and had to be supplemented by instruction in religion and science. While Iwamoto had argued that Western, science-oriented education can be expressed as *bun* and the Japanese spiritual basis found in martial education can be described as *bu*, Hoshino extended the terms to the two sides of education and art regardless of country. While *budō* served as a metaphor for Iwamoto and Hoshino after 1892 to signify scholarship at large, at around the same time, martial arts can be seen as divorced from physical exercise, Iwamoto coming close to supporting ideals promoted by some *bushidō* theorists.[152] Nevertheless, in both Iwamoto's and Hoshino's writing we also see them consistently ridiculing those too keen on idealizing Japan's martial past. Both Iwamoto and Hoshino, by ridiculing "extreme" traditionalists and Westernizers alike, created a niche for their own interpretations of the role of martial arts in modern women's education, their ideas on *budō* and *bunbu* being fluid, flexible, and growing out of discourses arising from within society, and functioning as descriptive rather than prescriptive terminology for the school's practices.

Hoshino notes in *Mokuho shichijūnen* that Western journalists saw the students' performances as tricks and magic, at a time when martial arts for women was not yet fully accepted in Japan either. As a matter of fact, the road to acceptance in the country to a certain extent parallels the way in which the foreign perception and experience of martial arts such as *jūjutsu*[153] changed abroad.

Hashimoto Yorimitsu, noting the skeptical reception of martial arts in the West before the 1900s, explains the dilemma of Asian intellectuals engaged in explaining and translating Orientalism as follows: "[o]nce having exorcised the demonized image, they then often failed to explain the differences between their subject and its Western counterpart," in this case, Western

[152] As we saw in 4.a.2., to Iwamoto, around the time of compiling *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* at least, the samurai of the olden days were the strongest and the kindest, and somebody women of the day should align to.
[153] In all its variety of English spellings: *jiujitsu*, *jujutsu*, etc.

sports such as wrestling.[154] Nevertheless, *jūdo* was taken to the U.S. and introduced to men by Kanō Jigorō's student Yamashita Yoshiaki 山下義韶[155] (1865–1935) during his stay in the 1900s, while his wife, Yamashita Fude (c.1878–?), instructed women.[156] Meanwhile, it is said that the British suffragettes had started to employ *jūjutsu* as a way of self-defense since around the 1910s,[157] when it experienced a boom after the Russo-Japanese war.[158] Around the same period, in New Zealand, *jūjutsu* was used as a performative art, in an entertaining, but still gender-challenging, way.[159] Wendy Rouse points out that it was easier for women to turn to the "imported and exotic" ways of Japanese martial arts to educate themselves physically. According to her, Japanese martial arts, the appeal of which was found in the concept of *aiki* (a person of lesser build overthrowing a larger opponent with apparent ease) was a threat to Western sports, especially boxing and wrestling, and the ideals of Western masculinity, physical superiority, and race. On the other hand, while partially appropriated into Western practices, martial arts were simultaneously discredited as unchivalrous trickery, performance, and associated with the feminine.[160] Denis Gainty noted that the "swordless" martial arts were not necessarily linked with the ideal of masculinity in Japan either,[161] which unmistakably influenced the types of martial arts available for women. According to Iwamoto's writings, martial arts were finally being permitted to Japanese women on a growing scale around the 1900s, which means that their popularity coincided with the first experiences of martial arts by Western women, providing examples of their potential application in a variety of contexts and for varied needs. It is thought-provoking how the understanding of gender and movement or strength influenced such reception of martial arts. Importantly, it was women themselves who took martial arts abroad and met the foreign demand by shaping it into a cultural export. Thus, while not fully accepted in society—in Japan as well as abroad—at the beginning of the twentieth century, martial arts nevertheless served as a way to express oneself, in addition to forging international bonds between women practitioners.

[154] Hashimoto Yorimitsu, "Soft Power of the Soft Art: Jiu-jitsu in the British Empire of the Early 20th Century," *Kokusai shinpojiumu* 国際シンポジウム 38 (2011): 70.

[155] Also known as Yamashita Yoshitsugu 山下義韶.

[156] Wendy Rouse and Beth Slutsky, "Empowering the Physical and Political Self: Women and the Practice of Self-Defense, 1890–1920.," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 13, no. 4 (2014): 470–99.

[157] Hashimoto, "Soft Power of the Soft Art," 77-78. The study mentions how, to become able to fight off the suffragettes, the London police hired a *jūjutsu* instructor in 1905 (Ibid., 73).

[158] Ibid., 72.

[159] Diana Looser, "Radical Bodies and Dangerous Ladies: Martial Arts and Women's Performance, 1900–1918." *Theatre Research International* 36, no. 1 (2010): 3–19.

[160] Wendy Rouse, "Jiu-Jitsuing Uncle Sam, The Unmanly Art of Jiu-Jitsu and the Yellow Peril Threat in the Progressive Era United States." *Pacific Historical Review* 84 no. 4 (2015): 448-477.

[161] Gainty, *Martial Arts*, 26: "*Jūjutsu* and *jūdō*, however, never had quite the cachet of fencing when it came to representing Japan's putative samurai spirit."

5. Practical Realities II: Meiji Jogakkō's "*Bun*"

As discussed in Chapter 4., Iwamoto saw *bun* as the sum of issues and practices related to intellectual cultivation and literary learning in its broad definition. The fact that *bun* was perceived as more Western than *bu* in Iwamoto's thought shows how Western scientific knowledge and literature, neither perfectly separable from Christian connotations at the time, permeated what was taught at the school.

This chapter analyses how Iwamoto arrived to his ideas and methods regarding the intellectual cultivation at Meiji Jogakkō, concentrating on 1) what texts were circulated; 2) how intellectual cultivation fit within the curriculum; 3) how reading was promoted for extracurricular / lifelong education; and 4) what literature's purpose in the overall aspirations of Iwamoto and the school was. Relevant background details are provided and parallels are drawn among experiences to illustrate the developments in Iwamoto's and his peers' understanding of literature's role in education, and their subsequent writing and publishing activities.

5.a. Iwamoto's *Bun*: Literature as Education

According to Yabu Teiko, Tsubouchi Shōyō's 坪内逍遥 (1859–1935) influence on Iwamoto's understanding of literature is clear.[1] Tsubouchi's "The Essence of the Novel" (*Shōsetsu shinzui* 小説神髄, September 1885 – June 1886), a serialized essay that initiated a nation-wide discourse on the desired qualities of modern literature, was completed immediately before Iwamoto's first attempt at theorizing literature's role in education. Thus, in the second half of the 1880s, by referring to *Shōsetsu shinzui*, Iwamoto is following the newest developments in the literary scene. Tomi Suzuki points out the following similarities between Tsubouchi Shōyō's and Iwamoto's writing:

> Shōyō draws a fine line between "obscene and vulgar fiction," which induces base and licentious desire, and the realistic "artistic novel," which deals with "love" (*airen* [愛恋], a neologism and translation of the Western word "love") and encourages reflection on the meaning of life. Here Shōyō mixes the Confucian condemnation of licentiousness, the Victorian view of sexuality (with its division between "base, carnal desire" and "pure, spiritual love"), and modern psychology (with its emphasis on the significance of conflicting desires and passions)—a mixture that was shared by many of his Western-educated contemporaries, including Iwamoto Yoshiharu, the leader of [*Jogaku zasshi*].[2]

She also argues that "[w]hile the reform of fiction had been proposed in the early 1880s in the political context of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (in an attempt to disseminate new political ideals widely), Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui* emphasized the autonomous cultural value of the novel, severing its significance from direct political or moral implications."[3] Such liberation opened a path for authors like Iwamoto to appeal to the readers regarding the issues of morality and women's rights from a new angle: using literature as art depicting universal human psychology.

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[1] Yabu Teiko 藪禎子, Yoshida Masanobu 吉田正信, and Izuhara Takatoshi 出原隆俊, *Kirisutosha hyōronshū* キリスト者評論集 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2002), 75, note 3. Yabu Teiko provides commentary on several of Iwamoto's reflections on the topic of literature. While my analysis focuses on education and also uses materials that were not annotated by Yabu, section 5.a. is indebted to her work due to her placing Iwamoto's writing among the contemporaneous discourses on literature.
[2] Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," 149-50.
[3] Ibid., 147.

Other intellectuals kindled the discourse by contributing their opinions to the debate on the purpose of fiction. Tsubouchi's exchange with Mori Ōgai 森鴎外 (1862–1922) on how to judge novels is known as *botsurisō ronsō* 没理想論争, the first modern debate on the topic of literature in Japan.[4]

In such a dynamic environment, while Iwamoto followed Tsubouchi's ideas quite closely in the beginning, he interpreted them from his position as an educator. As Iwamoto's ideas were challenged and started to show growth and originality, his terminology was in flux. When referring to "literature," he started with *shōsetsu* 小説, *bunpitsu* 文筆, and *bunshō* 文章, followed by *bungaku* 文學 and *shō* 書, finally arriving to *bun* 文. Ideas of Hoshino, who taught literature at the school, and the later appearance of *Jogakusei* and *Bungakukai*, helped to develop Iwamoto's position as well, in addition to the activities of female authors and the events in the literary scene he observed. The development of Iwamoto's literary ideas falls within the scope of literature research, however.[5] What I will focus on instead is his understanding of the relationship between literature and education and whether the hypothesis that Iwamoto was using literature as a tool to "complete" and "balance" education holds. First, it is, nevertheless, necessary to analyze the Meiji-period terminology used to define literature as the terms had broad interpretations, complicating the public discourses and a contemporary reading of Iwamoto.

At the time when Iwamoto was theorizing on literature in education, there was a general gap between the traditional and modern understandings of literature. Takahashi Ichirō explains that *shōsetsu*, the term for "novel" in Meiji Japan, was used in the Edo era to identify writing about commoners, or the writing of little value.[6] In addition, when contrasted to the orthodox Confucian teachings that argued for depictions "without adornment," the fictional writing was seen as immoral.[7] On the other hand, *bungaku*—currently used as the equivalent of "literature"—was a word that referred to learning in general and was close in meaning to the current understanding of *gakumon*, or learning/education, and *shisō*, or thought/ideology, and was strongly tied to moral instruction and the Chinese classics or the "high" literature that was to be evaluated by how moralistic and "realistic" it was.[8] *Shōsetsu*, *haiku*, and *kabuki*, all seen as fictional writing for entertainment purposes, were either not considered *bungaku*, or as *bungaku* of poor quality.[9] Such an understanding of literature was not challenged until Tsubouchi and others started introducing modern foreign ideas on literature, translating the English word "novel" as *shōsetsu* and adding a new meaning to the word. The new understanding, however, did not take root immediately and its influence was gradual and partial within Meiji. For example, educators such as Fukuzawa Yukichi criticized Tsubouchi's *Tōsei shosei katagi* 当世書生気質 (1885) as an immoral piece of writing. According to Takahashi, Fukuzawa's position signifies how even the "most modernized" educator did not diverge from the Confucian understanding of literature and that this was the case

[4] For the criticism Mori had regarding Iwamoto's position on imagination, etc., refer to Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū,* 533, note 7.

[5] Refer to Inoue Teruko 井上輝子, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no bungakuron*" 巌本善治の文学論 *Bungaku* 文学 37, no. 10 (1969): 97-110 and Fujita, "Attitude toward Women's Education and Theory of Literature" among others.

[6] Takahashi Ichirō 高橋一郎, "*Meijiki ni okeru 'shōsetsu' imēji no tenkan—Akuzoku media kara kyōikuteki media e*" 明治期における「小説」イメ-ジの転換—俗悪メディアから教育的メディアへ, in *Kodomo to nyūsu media* 子供とニュースメディア, ed. Kitada Akihiro 北田暁大, Ōtawa Naoki 大多和直樹 (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā 日本図書センター, 2007), 164: "小人・民衆に関する説" or "とるにたりない説."

[7] Ibid.: "反道徳的." In Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*, 44-45, we can see an interesting overlap: "In strict evangelical circles, all imaginative literature was suspect, and children were taught that storytelling could lead to untruth and transgressions" and "that to invent a story of any kind was a sin." This was thus possibly not an uncommon position in the Christian schools in Japan.

[8] Takahashi, "'*Shōsetsu' imēji no tankan*," 165.

[9] Ibid.: "「下の文学」, 「俗文学」."

throughout the Meiji period.[10] However, as shall be argued in the following sections, Iwamoto, while also critical of modern writing, simultaneously acknowledged its irreplaceable role in education, and thus did not follow this pattern.

Iwamoto was fighting against the odds, however. Takahashi, by looking at a magazine that he considers to be the most representative of the pedagogical thought of the period, *Kyōiku jiron* 教育持論 (published by Kaihatsusha 開発社 in 1885–1934), provides examples of Meiji educators describing *shōsetsu* as a vulgar medium[11] and the enemy of learning,[12] with the capacity to ruin the nation; such arguments are known as the *shōsetsu bōkokuron* 小説亡国論.[13] Takahashi argues that the educators' "dislike" of *shōsetsu* grew in strength over the years instead of being gradually weakened by the new ideas due to several tendencies that coincided with the reconceptualization of literature and the introduction of the modern system of education. As the sexualized and violent behavior of youths[14] and juvenile crime was gradually escalating into a "social problem"[15], serious enough to be addressed by the government around the 1900s. Takahashi explains that it was easy to make the connection: on one hand, the new system of education was blamed; on the other, educators blamed the modern literature.

Takahashi provides an interesting example from *Kyōiku jiron* published in 1902, titled "*Kyōshi gakusei no fūki*" 教師學生の風紀, or "the public morals of teachers and students." As is clear from the title, not only the students, who were expelled if found out, but the teachers too, were scrutinized and relieved from their posts for a variety of transgressions, some of which were period-specific, such as exchange of love letters, or bringing girl students to the school's night-duty room or parties.[16] Takahashi points out that the moral requirements held for literature and the perceived moral crisis were likewise built on values that would not necessarily hold today. For instance, free love, as in freedom to fall in love and choose ones' partner without the traditional consent of parents, was a contentious topic.[17] It would be hard to imagine that Meiji Jogakkō, where the emphasis was placed on the need for male and female socialization prior to marriage, could have escaped public scrutiny or criticism.

Takahashi explains how the "scandalous" behavior of students and teachers was frequently reported in newspapers, making society doubt schools were a good place to make the students other than disrespectful.[18] As the educators had to respond to such criticism and the apparent loss of public morals, to Takahashi, *shōsetsu* was an easy target to become a scapegoat.[19] Thus, they portrayed fiction, especially romantic, and its authors as something that the nation should be "saved from,"[20] often tying *shōsetsu* with such words as indecency, obscenity, etc., and disorder or degradation of students' morals. Iwamoto took part in this discourse on how literature affected public morals. However, he focused his criticism on what he perceived as writing lacking respect for women and their perspective rather than romantic love.

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.: "俗悪メディア."
[12] Ibid.: "教育の敵."
[13] Ibid., 162.
[14] Ibid., 168.
[15] Ibid., 168: "社会問題."
[16] Ibid., 168-69, referring to *Kyōiku jiron* 462, 34-35.
[17] Ibid., 176-77, note 32.
[18] Ibid., 169: "生意気."
[19] Ibid., 170. Other scapegoats appear to have been other types of entertaining media and living in boarding houses (strictly supervised school dormitories were the preferred option of residence for the students, male and female).
[20] Ibid., 170. Quoted from "The responsibility of romantic fiction authors" (*Rennai shōsetsu sakusha no sekinin* 恋愛小説作者の責任), *Kyōiku jiron* 623, 45 (1902): "国民の元気品格を衰弱堕落の中より救済せよ."

Despite being criticized for harming morals, *shōsetsu*[21] became increasingly more popular and accessible in newspapers and magazines (magazines for women and juveniles being no exception), largely affecting their sales. For instance, *ōshinbun*, described in 2.a.2.b., initially avoided serializing "fictional writing" until 1890 when their sales plummeted.[22] With the increased visibility of *shōsetsu*, the criticism too intensified, targeting the magazines and newspapers for being commercial and stooping to publishing materials "for entertainment purposes"[23]. Takahashi believes that the criticism increased exponentially as the educators felt their status and traditional understanding of education being challenged by the emerging new culture.[24]

In a piece published in *Jogaku zasshi* in 1892, Iwamoto responded to this situation by stating that it is not in a school's or a journal's capacity to prevent women from reading fiction that they happen to enjoy.[25] However, Iwamoto, while never against fiction in general, also displayed sensitivity to the tendencies, and in another piece from 1889 we see him advising female authors against fixating on writing fiction and love stories, urging them instead to widen their horizons by also trying their hand at textbooks and scientific manuals.[26]

Takahashi notes that after 1902 a shift in educators' approach became apparent and they started moving away from attempting to suppress students' desires to edifying them.[27] This is true especially after 1905, when Tsubouchi Shōyō wrote "The Uses of literature" ("*Bungaku no kōyō*" 文學の効用),[28] in which he defended literature by stating that authors are serious about what they are doing and fiction can be used in a variety of ways, such as to instruct in morals and humanity,[29] or expose the readers to the foreign customs and deepen international understanding, thus benefiting the nation. While Takahashi believes that with this Tsubouchi went back on his previous statements and conformed to the traditional understanding of literature, thus appealing to the traditionalists to gain their support,[30] Tsubouchi's effort was also a search for a middle ground between literature and education, close to what Iwamoto sought for in his practices. When in 1907 Iwaya Sazanami 巌谷小波 (1870–1933), now well-known as an author of children's literature, wrote that educators should teach the students how to approach writing and work on providing suitable literature themselves,[31] he reiterated something that Iwamoto had been arguing for since his "On the Novel"[32] in 1887: that it is not literature that is doing the harm but the lack of appropriate guidance in reading,[33] and that if literature can cause a moral crisis, it can also be used to fix it.[34] When assessing Iwamoto's relationship with literature, it is thus important to keep in mind that he, who had started his career as an educator while already a journalist/writer, continuously searched for an understanding between the writers and educators, and the old and

[21] They were not exactly the so-called "modern *shōsetsu*", but closer to "*yomimono*," that is, "low" genres that precede the realist novel that later became the representative modern genre and was included in textbooks as "educational enough."
[22] Ibid., 176, note 20.
[23] Ibid., 167, "娯楽主義, 営利守護."
[24] Ibid.
[25] "In Pursuit of Spring" ("*Geishungyō*" 迎春行) No.4 (21), "*Joshi no bungaku*" 女子の文學. *Jogaku zasshi* 313 (April 16, 1892).
[26] "Novels as They Ought to Be" ("*Joryū shōsetsuka no honshoku*" 女流小説家之本色), *Jogaku zasshi* 153 (March 16, 1889).
[27] Takahashi, "'*Shōsetsu' imēji no tankan*," 171.
[28] Ibid., 171, referring to *Kyōiku jiron* 710 (1905): 7-8.
[29] Ibid, 171: "日常道徳や人情."
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., referring to "*Kyōiku to bungei no kankei*" 教育と文芸の関係, *Kyōiku jiron* 826 (1908): 6.
[32] "On the Novel: No. II. – On what point to judge Novels?" (*Shōsetsuron 2: Shōsetsu no zen'aku wo hihyō suru hyōjun no koto* 小説論（第二）小説の善悪を批評する標準の事, *Jogaku zasshi* 83 (November 5, 1887).
[33] Ibid.: "読書指導法."
[34] Takahashi, "'*Shōsetsu' imēji no tankan*," 171.

new in education as a pedagogue responsible for running a women's school that was under great scrutiny in terms of its moral education. He thus had different concerns than those who belonged to either side of the conflict as only educators or only journalists/writers, and offered early insights about the role of literature in education.

Takahashi's study provides an interesting background detail to the general position regarding reading in the period. Monbushō in Meiji did not see it as its responsibility to interfere with the after-school reading, an important element of the educational model at Meiji Jogakkō, and the issues regarding the literature read outside of the official curricula fell within the jurisdiction of the Home Ministry's (*Naimushō* 内務省) police authorities (*keisatsu tōkyoku* 警察当局). Takahashi argues that the understanding of education taking place outside of school was not established at that time[35]. Nevertheless, it would be more apt to say that, while the understanding existed, as demonstrated by the fact that extracurricular religious instruction was regulated (as described in 3.b.1.), there was yet no framework to supervise the literature that students read independently.[36]

Iwamoto was thus writing at a time when most educators considered the reading of fiction (or modern-style literature) within or without the school as harmful, or at least as not to be encouraged, while the government placed it outside of educational matters.

5.a.1. Literature as Art Instructing Morality

We are introduced to Iwamoto's ideas on literature in the first of three editorials titled "Women and *shōsetsu*" (June 25, 1886),[37] where he uses the word *shōsetsu* to describe both Japanese and foreign, old and new writing.[38] Iwamoto opens the editorial by clarifying the connection between arts and their "moralizing power" and educational potential.

He writes: "There is a thing called art (*bijutsu*) in the world. While its purpose is to lift the spirits,[39] it also naturally leads people towards the good by representing the moral qualities thus making the world a better place."[40] Yabu Teiko points out that Tsubouchi also defined *shōsetsu* as art[41] and that, while Tsubouchi did not necessarily built on the *kanzen chōaku* principle[42] in his writing, he did not reject it or treat it as unimportant. In this, we can say that Iwamoto is building on *Shōsetsu shinzui*.[43]

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[35] Ibid., 172.

[36] Finally, under the pressure of public opinion, in 1911, Monbushō created two bodies: Tsūzoku Kyōiku Chōsa Iinkai 通俗教育調査委員会 ("the comity to supervise the 'commonplace' education") and Bungei Iinkai 文芸委員会 ("the literature comity") that started to issue recommendations and approvals regarding the literature appropriate to students, thus eventually making extracurricular reading a part of the norm at schools in Taishō.

[37] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*" 女子と小説, *Jogaku zasshi* 27 (June 25, 1886).

[38] For instance, he lists *Genji monogatari* or *Jōruri monogatari* as major works among the Japanese *shōsetsu*. For the full list, refer to 5.b.3.

[39] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*": "心目を娯まする."

[40] Ibid.: "世に美術と称ふるものあり専ら人のをまするあいだに自ら勧善懲悪の趣を示し世人を高尚の道に導きて此世を黄金世界に近づかしめんとはするなり."

[41] Regarding Iwamoto's placement of *shōsetsu* among *bijutsu* 美術 (translation of the English "fine arts"), refer to Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 532, notes 2-3. Yabu writes how we can see the same pattern in *Shōsetsu shinzui* as well.

[42] "Poetic justice." In Iwamoto's reasoning, as long as realistic characters' struggles were accurately depicted, and the author was aware of not encouraging "vice" by awarding the wrongdoers and punishing the innocent, any topic was didactic. However, his understanding of what actions were good, and thus to be encouraged, ultimately depended on his subjective agenda as a social reformist and as an educator.

[43] Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 75, note 4.

In the editorial, Iwamoto includes *shōsetsu* among the "major arts"[44]. He places sculpture with painting as arts that please the eye, "lift the heart,"[45] and give a physical shape to the most beautiful things in the world; music with poetry as arts that please the ear, "move the heart,"[46] and have the power to dispel evil; and theatre with *shōsetsu* as arts that mirror the sentiment and customs of the world, allowing the viewer/reader to experience them as if first-hand[47]. Consequently, *shōsetsu* is seen as a powerful instrument to affect people's understanding of the world and society by allowing them to empathize and to learn from others' experiences.

Furthermore, as his later writing and the students' memoirs show (5.c.1.), theatre, as a way to perform text, was also highly valued by Iwamoto. He supported traditional Japanese theatre such as *kabuki* and encouraged women to become performers. Such a stance was not common among intellectuals, let alone educators at the time. For instance, geisha, possibly among the highest standing among female performers at the time who could marry politicians, were looked down upon by the "higher society" and the Christian circles.

Jogaku zasshi seems to have supported female performers until at least 1890, when the magazine carried an English announcement that, among other positive developments in Japan, "[a]ccording to the new law, actresses are licensed to take part [in performances] with professionals of the other sex."[48] Prior, women were prohibited from performing alongside males since the Edo period for "propriety" reasons. This was followed up in the next issue of *Jogaku zasshi* with Iwamoto's editorial "Woman and the Stage"[49] where he elaborated on this social change. It accurately described the development of popular theatre in Japan, starting from *kabuki*, noting how women were among its initiators. In the editorial, Iwamoto draws attention to the prejudice against the profession and describes the ostracism of actors that were not in the Noh tradition during the Edo period, mentioning that they fell victim to the government's policies but after the reform had been assimilated as the "new commoners" together with the outcastes.[50] Iwamoto also tied theatrical performance to literature by asking why the former should be despised when the latter is lauded. To support his argument, he mentions that even the inventor Thomas Edison (1847–1931) argued that stage ought to become the place of moral instruction,[51] while there are some who present Shakespeare as a saint. He then labeled the arts, *shōsetsu* included, as "great for women," and claimed that women performing alongside men is a positive development: both for women, as it offers a new venue for employment, and for the art itself. Finally, he listed seven foreign actresses noting that he is waiting for great female performers to appear in Japan as well. As we shall see, using both classical and foreign examples simultaneously was Iwamoto's method of choice for validating literature-related practices promoted at Meiji Jogakkō.

At the early stage of his theories on literature that we see in "Women and *shōsetsu*," however, Iwamoto does not refer to Western fiction, describing it as little-known and thus not influential in Japan; instead, he analyzes the trends in the available Japanese literary market. To him, the writing that can be found falls into two categories: openly didactic and passively didactic;

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[44] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*": "主なる美術."

[45] Ibid.: "彫刻" and "絵画" as "心を高くさする" arts.

[46] Ibid.: "音楽" and "詩歌" as "心を動かす" arts.

[47] Ibid.: "小説" and "芝居" as "世の中の人情風俗をありのままに現はしてその中におのづからの観越ある趣を示す" arts.

[48] *Jogaku zasshi* 228 (August 30, 1890). Original in English.

[49] "*Engeki, Onna haiyū*." *Jogaku zasshi* 229 (September 6, 1890). English title as in the original.

[50] Words used: policies—*seiryaku* 政略, new commoners—*shinheimin* 新平民, outcastes—*hinin* 非人 and *eta* 穢多.

[51] Ibid., 2: "エヂソン曰く、劇場は須らく道徳の教所たるべしと." While the quote could not be located, Edison is known to have been an avid theatre-goer.

the split is determined by how the text approaches the evaluation of characters' deeds, i.e., how explicit it makes the *kanzen chōaku* principle.

To Iwamoto, the openly didactic fiction is represented by the *yomihon* 読本[52] of Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴 (1767–1848). As examples, he lists *Nansō satomi hakkenden*[53] and *Asaina shimameguri no ki* 朝夷巡島記 (1815–27), describing them as "aiming to influence people by depicting the classical virtues,"[54] and *Musō byōei kochō monogatari* 夢想兵衛胡蝶物語 (1810), which portrays "the fake in the word in hope to awaken the people."[55] Iwamoto defines the first two pieces as "promoting good behavior," and the last one as "admonishing against evil."[56]

The other group, he claims, is represented by the *ninjōbon* 人情本[57] of Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1790–1844). Iwamoto argues that even though Tamenga's writing is "for the most part vulgar,"[58] it has value. For instance, *Shunshoku umegoyomi* 春色梅児誉美 (1823–24) depicts the mentalities of geishas and courtesans,[59] while *Shingyō hachiman gane* 春暁八幡佳年 (1827–29) portrays the feelings of mid-Heian maidens. Other examples given are Murasaki Shikibu's 紫式部 (970?–1019) *Genji monogatari* and its parody *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* 偐紫田舎源氏 (1829–42) by Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦 (1783–1842). To Iwamoto, this group describes the world as-is and thus is also didactic due to, even if indirectly, building upon the *kanzen chōaku* principle.[60]

Iwamoto concludes that, as all available *shōsetsu* seem to use "poetic justice," "just like watching plays is said to be a way to absorb knowledge quickly, reading *shōsetsu* is a good way to learn, too."[61] This is interesting, as Iwamoto in this way is "defending" texts like *Genji monogatari* that were not considered suitable readings for women,[62] while also stressing their educational value in modern Japan.

However, while Iwamoto believed that *shōsetsu* as a genre could educate, he was also aware that not all of its representatives were suitable to be used in women's education. He explains that "among the currently-available pieces of writing, none truly meet the criteria to be called excellent *shōsetsu*"[63] due to the reasons given below.

First, if the text is openly didactic and the author poses as a judge of right or wrong as if they were Confucius himself, the writing is neither *shōsetsu* nor art.[64] Instead, just like the other

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[52] Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 1243: "A serious, often didactic form of *gesaku* fiction." Text-based moralistic writing, usually too difficult for the masses. Often used historical figures and legends.

[53] *Nansō satomi hakkenden* appeared in 3.b.2.c. while being promoted by Ozaki Yukio as a story to teach martiality.

[54] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*" 女子と小説, *Jogaku zasshi* 27 (June 25, 1886): "八行三徳を人にかたどりて世人の規模を作り." Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 76, notes 7-8: *hakkō* (eight practices) being *jin* 仁 (benevolence), *gi* 義 (righteousness), (ritual norms and propriety), *chi* 智 (wisdom), *chū* 忠 (loyalty/faithfulness), *shin* 信 (honesty), *kō* 孝 (filial piety), and *tei* 悌 (respect for one's elders/harmony among siblings); and *santoku* (three virtues) being *chi* 智 (wisdom), *jin* 仁 (benevolence), and *yū* 勇 (valor). Note that these terms come from a Confucian context and have several interpretations that do not necessarily fit within the English approximations above.

[55] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*" 女子と小説, *Jogaku zasshi* 27 (June 25, 1886): "世人の心をさましたる."

[56] Ibid.: "一は勧ることを専らとし、一は懲らすことを専らとした者なり."

[57] Fiction focusing on romantic love. *Ninjōbon*'s were popular among women.

[58] Ibid.: "大抵野卑."

[59] Ibid.: "芸娼妓の心意気."

[60] Ibid.: "之を人情本又は世のうつし文とは云ふなり然れどもいづれも勧善懲悪を土台としただ之を直接にすると間接にすると相違によりて掛る二色の書類をば生ずることなり."

[61] Ibid.: "を早學文の場所と云ふ如く小説もまた容易に人を教ゆるの書物なり."

[62] Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?".

[63] Ibid.: "其好むこと如此く切にして世に之が望をみたすべき良好の小説あるなし."

[64] Ibid.: "従来の小説の如く著者が裁判官となり又は孔夫子をも気取り春秋の外伝をつづる如き心意気にて小説のうちに褒貶賞罰の言葉をかかぐるは反つて小説の体を失ひ美術の本旨にかなはず."

forms of art, *shōsetsu* should depict the world as-is.[65] He does not specify what he means here, yet we later see that he was opinionated about the language used, narrator's position, and providing balanced depictions by covering both positives and negatives.

Next, commenting on the current discourse on *shōsetsu*,[66] Iwamoto notes that some argue that all that matters in writing is the depiction of human emotion[67] and thus the power of *shōsetsu* as an educational tool is overlooked. In short, he argues that describing the emotions but not the reasons behind them, which he called the moral "base"[68], fails to influence the public. Consequently, writing without any moral message, the other extreme, is equally unacceptable to Iwamoto.

Lastly, for the *shōsetsu* to affect the masses successfully, they have to be accessible and appeal to everyone.[69] Listing some popular titles,[70] he argues that the current writing is aimed at men and that only the writing catering to the male audience is deemed to be of quality.[71] He bemoans the fact that women are thus overlooked, noting that they are in general keener to read fiction than men.[72]

Iwamoto proceeds to discuss the writing available to women and its shortcomings, allowing us a glimpse into the additional requirements he had for literary texts to become beneficial in women's education: acceptable depiction of female characters, suitable choice of language (script), and high overall quality. He illustrates these points with examples from the available literature. Among the new popular pieces that depict women, Iwamoto lists Tōkai Sanshi's 東海散士 (1852–1922) *Kajin no kigū* 佳人ノ奇偶 (1885–97), which he criticizes as aimed at readers well-versed in the Chinese classics and thus inaccessible to most of the female readership. Likewise, Iwamoto finds that Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Imo to sekagami* 妹と背かがみ (1886), describing the conditions of women's lives, aims to teach men how to choose the right partner in marriage. Finally, Akiba Hamatarō's 秋庭浜太郎 (years unknown) *Keishū bidan Naporeon gaiden* 閨秀美談那翁外伝 (1885), a translation of John Stevens Cabot Abbott's (1805–77) *The History of Napoleon Bonaparte* (1883), depicts women traveling around the world; however, to Iwamoto it is hardly a work of quality. According to him, other works, such as retellings of popular pieces (the aforementioned *Shunshoku umegoyomi* and *Shingyō hachiman gane,* in addition to Shunsui's *Shunshoku tatsumi no sono* 春色辰巳の園 (1833–35) and *Shunshoku eitai dango* 春色英対暖語 (1838),[73] portray women as powerless playthings, whose greatest virtue is bringing financial gain to men. He evaluates the common male characters as weak and driven by lust and overindulgence,

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[65] Ibid.: "此有様をそのままに写し得たらんものは即ち其小説をして勧善懲悪の教に効能あらしめたるものなるべし."
[66] Ibid.: "近頃小説の議論."
[67] Ibid.: "人情."
[68] Ibid.: "土台."
[69] Ibid.: "さかむにすることも亦た大切なり."
[70] Such as Yano Ryūkei's (1851–1931) *Tēbe meishi keikoku bidan* 斉武名士 経国美談 (1883–84) with an English title *Young Politicians of Thebes*; *Seitō yodan shunnōden* 政党余談 春鶯囀 (1884)—Seki Naohiko's 関直彦 (1857–1934) translation of *Coningsby, or The New Generation* (1844) by Benjamin Disraeli; *Tōsei shosei katagi: Ichidoku santan* (1885) by Tsubouchi Shōyō; and Ozaki Yukio's *Keisei ikun* 経世偉 (1886), with an English title *The Public Life of Lord Beaconsfield* and described the life and work of Disraeli. In all of these, historical and political themes prevail. To Iwamoto, this is the type of writing for male students (*gakkō shosei* 学校書生) that is meant to lead them into pursuing careers (*risshin shusse* 立身出世).
[71] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*" 女子と小, *Jogaku zasshi* 27 (June 25, 1886): "一言すれば今日の小説は男子の読むべきものが多く又読むべしと思ふ小説はいづれも男子を客としつづりたるやうに思はるるなり."
[72] Ibid.: "然るに女子は男子よりも小説を好むものなり." He likely bases this on the prevalence of female readers among the readership of *koshinbun*, etc.
[73] There is a chance that other works were implied instead. Refer to Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 80, notes 25 and 26.

and the female ones as jealous and gossiping. To Iwamoto, such writing that portrays "animal-like" characters brings nothing but harm to the readers.

In these editorials, Iwamoto calls for "improving" *shōsetsu*, and the arts in general, identifying that as a step towards enlightening and reforming society.[74] He ties the previous arguments together by stating that while he is appealing to, presumably male, authors to help fix the "deplorable state" of *shōsetsu* by raising their standards, he also harbors hopes for women to become authors.[75] The overall message is then that women authors wishing to have an impact on society should write *shōsetsu* and, when doing so, they should make the language accessible, find an appropriate message without overemphasizing or disregarding the morals that are motivating the characters, and thus build realistic dramatis personae from whose experiences modern women and men could learn.

While openly critical of the shortcomings in the available *shōsetsu*, Iwamoto also advocated for their educational potential and position among other established arts, defended women's right to write, and offered advice on how to shape one's writing into a tool for achieving personal and national goals.

5.a.2. The Potential of Female Authors

In the second (July 15, 1886) and third (August 15, 1886) parts of the "Women and *shōsetsu*" editorial series, Iwamoto discusses what is necessary for a person to become a *shōsetsu* writer. In his opinion, the minimum requirements are 1) rich imagination,[76] 2) strong observation skills,[77] and 3) unclouded perception.[78] He describes each of these traits and argues that they are found in women's "nature."[79] In that, he is following in the footsteps of literature critic George Henry Lewes (1817–78), who in 1852 identified the feminine literary traits as "observation" and "sentiment."[80] Iwamoto, however, also stressed the need for appropriate education for female authors. While, as Elaine Showalter points out, in Victorian England "[t]he results of restrictive education and intensive conditioning were taken as innate evidence of natural preference;"[81] to Iwamoto, if developed, these "innate dispositions of women" could grow beyond expectations, women authors easily surpassing their male counterparts.[82] While appealing to the readers by referring to the "common knowledge from Japan and the West" about women's characters and capabilities, Iwamoto emphasized the role of education and attempted to include the writing of fictional literature, represented in his thought at this stage by the word *shōsetsu*, into the list of publicly acceptable activities/occupations for women.

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[74] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*" 女子と小説, *Jogaku zasshi* 27 (June 25, 1886): "是等は皆な美術中の首位を占るものにて何れも夫人女子に大なる関係あれば吾人はつぎつぎに思ふところを述べてその改良を望み亦た読者の注意をも仰がんとすれば…" Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 75, note 10, mentions that *Shōsetsu shinzui* also spoke on the necessity to improve *shōsetsu*.

[75] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*" 女子と小説, *Jogaku zasshi* 27 (June 25, 1886): "吾人は今まかかる小説家の注意を乞ふと共に小説の著作は女子の一芸として甚だ宜しきものなると信じ今ま有力なる婦人諸子に対して大いに望むところあらんとするものなり."

[76] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*," *Jogaku zasshi* 29 (July 15, 1886): "想像に富むこと."

[77] Ibid.: "観察の深きこと."

[78] Ibid.: "覚知の鋭きこと." It is also translated by Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," 152, as "sensitivity/ emotional capacity (*kakuchiryoku, kandō no kokoro*)."

[79] Ibid.: "性質."

[80] Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*, 5.

[81] Ibid., 27.

[82] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*," *Jogaku zasshi* 32, August 15, 1886: "若しよく勤めなば男子にまさるほどの作者にならんこと決して難きにあらざるべし."

Having set the stage by stating that women can and should write *shōsetsu* (seen both as a supplement and as an outcome to successful education), Iwamoto progresses with his argument in in *Jogaku zasshi* 79-80[83] by stating that writing in general (defined as *bunpitsu* 文筆) is a woman-friendly profession. First, in *Jogaku zasshi* 79 (October 8, 1887), possibly appealing to nationalistic sentiment, Iwamoto compares Western women to their Japanese counterparts and argues that while in the West women are out of their homes, working, and striving to receive an equal salary to men, in Japan being sickly and weak is considered a sign of beauty.[84] Seemingly attempting to dispel prevalent myths about working women, Iwamoto writes that there is no need for men to fear that women will attempt to compete with them in the workforce. He adds that, while some become "brave women" (*onnajōbu* 女丈夫) and work like men, ninety percent of women are likely to marry and have children.[85] This is an interesting comment that indicates a concern possibly prevalent in society at the time: the possibility of losing one's job if women were to enter the workforce. On the other hand, Iwamoto's approximation has ten percent of contemporary women as capable to work just like men, that is, become financially independent and likely remain unmarried. As we have seen in 2.b.1, to Iwamoto becoming an independent professional was a legitimate option for women,[86] and ten percent is definitely not a small percentage. Furthermore, Iwamoto adds that even if women marry and have children, it does not imply that wives should be confined to their homes.[87] While noting that there are many jobs inaccessible to women who have families, due to women's social status,[88] because they are too physically strenuous, or because it would be hard to balance a demanding position with looking after children and a household, Iwamoto recommended writing as a profession, since it could be done from home, away from the eyes of the judgmental society, even by those with weak constitutions. Writing from home, however, was not the only option he proposed.

Jogaku zasshi (October 15, 1887) emphasized the importance of female journalists. In the editorial, Iwamoto argued that even more than authors of autobiographies, histories, or fiction,[89] there is a need for women to become newspaper and magazine reporters to provide impetus and drive change,[90] regardless of the many hardships involved.[91] Iwamoto noted that it is hard for men to change their old ways and that they tend to promote a certain type of education to raise a type of "good wife" (*ryōsai*) that is convenient for them, shaping the education and their arguments

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[83] "Woman and Literary Work: No. I." (*Joshi to bunpitsu no waza 1: Bunpitsu no waza joryū ni kōtsugō no koto* 女子と文筆の業（第一）文筆の業女流に好都合の事), *Jogaku zasshi* 79 (October 8, 1887). *Jogaku zasshi* 80 (October 15, 1887) ran the sequel under the same English title, but with a different Japanese subtitle (*2: Shinbun zasshi kisha no koto*（第二）新聞雑誌女記者の事).

[84] "Woman and Literary Work: No. I.": "歩まざるを以て優なりとし、動かざるを以て美なりとし運動足らず消化健やかならずして顔色の蒼白なるを以て窈窕たる淑女となす."

[85] Ibid.: "十中九分の女子は後ち大抵人の妻と為り母となつて一軒の家族を修むべきものなりと云わば凡そ如何なる芸術か尤もよく其身分に好都合なるべきか其事此に至つて甚だ明白となるべし."

[86] Ibid.: "女丈夫と為ることも殊更に之に不同意を表せず."

[87] Ibid.: "吾人は家族（ホーム）を以て婦人の管轄領と為せども家屋（ハウス）を以て女子の境界を限ぎるものにあらず."

[88] Women of higher social standing, such as Ōyama Sutematsu (1860–1919), could not work without causing their families public bashing and instead chose to do charity work without drawing too much attention to themselves. Refer to Akiko Kuno, *Unexpected Destinations: The Poignant Story of Japan's First Vassar Graduate* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1993): 184-88 in particular.

[89] "Woman and Literary Work: No. I.": "伝記歴史小説物語."

[90] "Woman and Literary Work: No. I[I]," *Jogaku zasshi* 80 (October 15, 1887): "吾人は只だ女流がよく新聞雑誌の記者たるに敵すと申して止むものにあらず其実更に一歩を進めて当今の時勢此流の姉妹が奮発して自ら記者と為られんことを必要と甚だ強く之を進め参らす者なり."

[91] "Woman and Literary Work: No. I.": "そもそも文筆の業を執るものの中に就て凡そ新聞雑誌の記者ほど多忙なるはあるべからず亦た之れほど頓智、判断、勉強、忍耐等の諸徳を要するもの."

according to their own needs.[92] Thus, without leaving things to men, he urged, women should speak up as reporters.

With pride, Iwamoto added that *Jogaku zasshi* was the first to promote women's rights in the literary scene.[93] According to him, a year after the publication of the first number of *Jogaku zasshi*, other publications aimed at women appeared,[94] along with those promoting education for both men and women.[95] However, he also pointed out that in Japan there was still not a single female reporter or editor-in-chief, in contrast to a long list of English-language (American) publications and their female reporters that Iwamoto provided for comparison. He argued that, to remedy the situation, firstly, the laws that reflect the reality of the literary scene of Japan, such as *Shinbunshi jōrei* article 7, which prohibited any woman to become an owner, editor-in-chief, or printer of a newspaper or a magazine, ought to be removed. Iwamoto's position was put to practice when Hani Motoko, who is known as one among the first established female newspaper reporters in Japan, was trained at Meiji Jogakkō and Jogaku Zasshisha in 1891–92.[96]

In Iwamoto's early thought, the relationship between writing and education is thus represented by the parallels he draws with freedom of speech: for the women to be able to express their needs, they not only had to be legally permitted to do so but also had to be educated so as to be able to do it successfully. To Iwamoto, writing was also a way to disseminate knowledge and influence the audience—something that he deemed women were good at, should do, and should be trained to do. Rather than giving clear-cut advice on what topics to address, Iwamoto saw the need to first convince the readers, those in charge of making legislations, and women themselves of their capabilities in the Meiji literary scene and the necessity of their input. To assure the appearance of such capable women, he argued, suitable education (such as that offered at Meiji Jogakkō) was indispensable.

5.a.3. *Shōsetsu* and Education

In the three-part editorial series titled "On the Novel,"[97] Iwamoto defined *shōsetsu* as being among the few accessible means for girls to learn about the world and build expectations regarding their futures. Due to this, novels were an essential element in his *jogaku* thought. Being at an impressionable age, he wrote, school girls should receive guidance regarding their reading.[98] He thus defined extracurricular reading as falling within the system of education, and educators as

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[92] "Woman and Literary Work: No. I[I]": "男尊論者の言のみ遂に今の女性に学問させ芸を仕込みて以て己が希望する一種の所云る良妻と為さんと欲する."

[93] Ibid.: "我国の文海に於て初めて女権論を出張したるものは吾人女学雑誌社社中の人なり."

[94] Iwamoto listed *Jogaku sōshi* 女学総誌, most likely referring to *Kijo no tomo* 貴女の友 (1887-92) that is thought to have had 80-81 issues; unidentified *Jogaku shinbun* 女学新聞, *Joshi shokugyō shinbunshi* 女子職業新聞誌, and *Sōgiroku* 総義; and the previously mentioned *Iratsume*.

[95] Such as *Danjo kangaku shinshi* 男女勧学新誌 that I could not locate.

[96] Irie-Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace*, 215-18.

[97] "Morality of Novel Reading" (*Shōsetsuron 1: Shōsetsu wo yomu zen'aku no koto* 小説論（第一）小説を讀む善惡の事), *Jogaku zasshi* 82 (October 29, 1887); "On the Novel: No. II. On what point to judge Novels?" 小説論（第二）(*2: Shōsetsu no zen'aku wo hihyō suru hyōjun no koto* 小説の善惡を批評する標準の事), *Jogaku zasshi* 83 (November 5, 1887); "On the Novel: No. III.—How to read Practical and not Romantic Side of Novels?" (*3: Joryū, shōsetsu wo yomu no kakugo no koto* 小説論（第三）女流、小説を讀むの覺悟の事), *Jogaku zasshi* 84 (November 12, 1887).

[98] "Morality of Novel Reading" (*Shōsetsuron 1: Shōsetsu wo yomu zen'aku no koto* 小説論（第一）小説を讀む善惡の事), *Jogaku zasshi* 82 (October 29, 1887): "学校に学問する所ろの女生徒諸君及び歯(よは)ひ未だ二九に達せず婚縁尚ほ定まらざる如き若年の娘子達小説を愛読する第一の花客(とくい)と云ふべし然るに此時代の女流生ひ立の模様如何んは女学惣躰の進歩に対して最大一の関係あるものなるが故に凡そ小説の道徳を論じ小説の改良を論じる小説果たして人に益あるや否やを論定する如きは女学者が当に熱心に論弁すべきものと信ず."

responsible for educating themselves regarding suitable literature to be recommended to students. In this, as we saw in 5.a., Iwamoto predated his peers' and the government's efforts to provide reading guidelines for the students.

The first editorial in the series addressed the history of the concept of *shōsetsu* and various pre-modern and modern discourses about it and its uses in teaching; the second covered the recommended reading approach, and the third provided an example of how to analyze and evaluate a *shōsetsu*.

In the first part of "On the Novel" (October 29, 1887), Iwamoto introduces the history of the concept of *shōsetsu*, tying political and social conditions to developments in culture. He opens the editorial by quoting American historian John Lord's (1810–94) description of the nineteenth century as the era of people's histories[99]—fiction based on lives of ordinary people—claiming that it was the writers' skillful depictions of social conditions that have initiated the writing boom in the West. Iwamoto especially praises Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) for having brought new life to fiction,[100] Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803–73) for erudite and gallant style, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63) for his exquisite and meticulous writing, and Charles Dickens (1812–70) for his lively and humorous pieces.

Iwamoto argues that the literary trends reflect the developments in society and thus, judging from the writing culture in 1880–81, Japan was clearly in turmoil and people deplored their government. Iwamoto is referring to the time when the Freedom and People's Rights Movement was flourishing[101] and there were initiatives to modernize the *shōsetsu* to meet the needs of the movement. He proceeds to question the reasons behind the present (1887) "era of *shōsetsu*" in Japan and the developments in society that have spurred it.[102] Instead of providing answers, he summarizes the literary discussion in Japan that he defines as relevant to "our sisters."[103]

Firstly, regarding the public concern whether *shōsetsu* should be read at all, Iwamoto notes that some agree (himself included), some disagree, and some linger in between. As the most frequently encountered argument against reading *shōsetsu* he introduces the moralists'[104] claim that *shōsetsu* weaken the readers' response to real-life events as they are made to move the readers beyond the realistic situations. Iwamoto counters this by explaining that *shōsetsu* describing unrealistic things in an unrealistic style[105] are poorly written[106]. However, judging all *shōsetsu* as harmful after having read one poor piece to Iwamoto is like "having had spoilt rice and then claiming that rice is bad for health, or eating half-cooked rice and then concluding that rice causes diarrhea." This blunt allegory is supported by a comparison between the Bible and *shōsetsu*. To Iwamoto, those who criticize *shōsetsu* for being immoral would, seeing the numerous descriptions of unlawful actions, criticize the Bible for being a corrupt, or foolish, piece of writing.[107] While the point Iwamoto is making here is that writing teaches through metaphor and allegory, the fact

[99] Ibid.: "稗史小説."
[100] Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 86-67, note 6: Iwamoto is referring to *Waverley* (1814) that broke the ground for a new style of historical novels in the West.
[101] Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 86, note 4.
[102] "Morality of Novel Reading": "其流行は元来文明と自由と国民の元気との上に就て将た之を祝すべきか否や大に論弁を試みたきものあり."
[103] Ibid.: "わが姉妹."
[104] Ibid.: "極端に走る道徳論者."
[105] Ibid.: "実際に外づれたる出来事と句調とを以て作りたる小."
[106] Ibid.: "悪作."
[107] Ibid.: "小説を読むことを不可とするものあらば、その人は遂に聖書中比喩によつて脱法したる多きを見て之を道徳に反するものと認ためざるべからざるに至る迂遠亦極まるものと言ふべし."

that he had no qualms about comparing *shōsetsu* to the Bible when it came to seeing them as tools for moral education is an important characteristic of his thought and practice as an educator.

Regarding those who "linger in between," Iwamoto explains that some claim it is possible to read only the novels that promote public morals, avoiding those that do not. He rejects this by stating that it is not possible to prevent a girl from picking something "unsuitable" up, as it is natural for certain types of writing to be more appealing than others. According to Iwamoto, people enjoy reading what they can relate to: stories reminiscent of their experiences or the future they anticipate for themselves. That is why, he argues, the reports in the newspapers are more exciting than the lectures of professors, and the students who fall asleep on their English language textbooks[108] end up staying awake poring over *Keikoku bidan*. Thus, Iwamoto concludes, rather than trying to control the topics discussed in *shōsetsu*, what is necessary is to teach students to be critical and to discern the quality of writing for themselves. In "On what point to judge Novels?" (November 5, 1887), the second part of "On the Novel" series, he goes on to suggest how.

Iwamoto reiterates his position seen in 5.a.1. and states that some argue that a good[109] *shōsetsu* is often defined by whether it is 1) interesting (has a good plot), 2) well-written (has a good structure), or 3) provides the very best teaching and moral examples (follows the principle of *kanzen chōaku*)[110]; yet, to him, while all three requirements are important, whether or not the writing depicts the ways of the world and human nature accurately is the indispensable element. He builds upon this understanding when explaining how to approach reading.

Iwamoto reminds his readers that simplistic stories with happy endings are outdated, claiming that they are nothing more than the author's fancies,[111] enjoyed only by those who know very little of literature.[112] With knowledge and awareness, he claims, the limitations of such writing become clear. Building on this notion, he proceeds to discredit traditional Japanese stories for their unrealistic elements, illustrating his argument with the fast-progressing plot and reincarnation of dogs in *Nansō satomi hakkenden*[113] or the hero's unmatched skill in fighting off enemies such as in Kyokutei Bakin's *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki*[114] 椿説弓張月 (1807–11).[115] To Iwamoto, there is a hierarchy in literature: made-up stories (*tsukurimono*) are inferior to love stories (*ninjōbon*); people's stories / unofficial histories (*haishi*) are subordinate to *shōsetsu*; and finally, pieces such as *Nansō satomi hakkenden* or *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* lose against *Genji monogatari* or *Jōruri monogatari* 浄瑠璃物語 (1475, author unknown)[116], all because of where on the scale of "realism" they are.

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[108] "On the Novel: No. I.": "リーダー."

[109] "On the Novel: No. II. On what point to judge Novels?" 小説論（第二）(*2: Shōsetsu no zen'aku wo hihyō suru hyōjun no koto* 小説の善惡を批評する標準の事), *Jogaku zasshi* 83 (November 5, 1887): "良好."

[110] Ibid.: "勧善懲悪の趣を示し人を導ひて英雄とし善人とし美人とし貞婦と為し得るが如きを以て其上乘を得たるものと為せり."

[111] Ibid.: "妄想."

[112] Ibid.: "文学に暗き人."

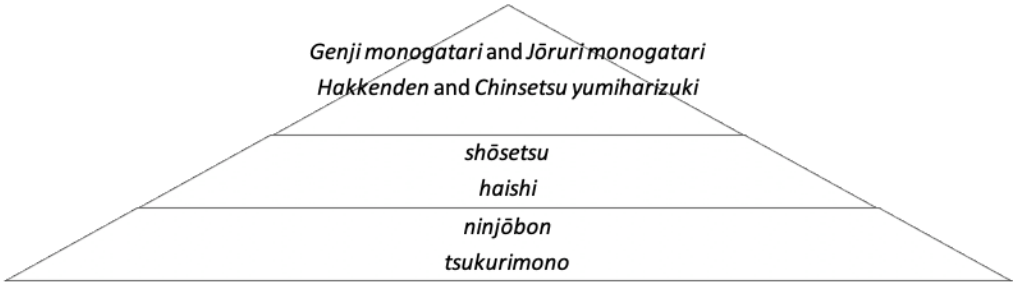
[113] *Nansō satomi hakkenden* appeared in 3.b.2.c., being promoted by Ozaki Yukio as a story to teach martiality.

[114] Yabu, *Kirisutokyō hyōronshū*, 94, note 6, suggests that Iwamoto is referring to *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* here as he mentions it in the same editorial.

[115] "On the Novel: No. II.": "桃太郎の征伐は言ふまでも愚か八つの犬十の杉が急に進化して人間に生れ代る如き或は一人にして数十人力の大力を有し勝手気儘に人を制し或は乍(たち)まち百人に敵すべき剛の勇士と為つて剣劇急に神(しん)に入り至る所ろとして相手なきものとなれると云ふが如き."

[116] Ibid.: "作り物は人情本に及ばず稗史は所云る小説に及ばず八犬伝弓張月は遺憾ながら源氏物語浄瑠璃物語等に及ばず也."

Figure 4: Value of realism in literature in Iwamoto's thought.



Iwamoto claimed that this is reflected in practice: while in the writing before the modern reform it was an abstract idea[117] that mattered, Meiji readers prefer depictions of the world surrounding them and of the way people feel or behave.[118] According to him, Western literature is the same: the plot is very simple (a man falls in love with a woman and marries her in the end, the hero has to overcome certain hardships), yet, while the explanations of the background to the events are basic and there is not much change in the setting, the development of human emotion is explained in great detail. Iwamoto describes how in *shōsetsu*, the intricacies of the heart are understood and the highest level of human emotion is depicted, leaving the reader nodding in agreement: "This is how such situations should be handled"…[119] Thus, according to Iwamoto, when a story makes the readers feel as if they too are inside of it, or, conversely, allows them to quietly observe the characters as if they too existed in real life, that is when a story is truly good[120]; accordingly, this is when it is usable in education.

In the final installment, subtitled "How to read Practical and not Romantic Side of Novels?" (November 12, 1887), the readers are given more specific instructions on how to assess their reading.[121] To this end, Iwamoto speaks on allegorical writing, giving as examples John Bunyan's (?–1688) *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), Samuel Johnson's *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (1759), Benjamin Disraeli's *Coningsby* translated as *Seitō yodan shunnōden* (1884) by Seki Naohiko, Ozaki Yukio's *Keisei ikun* (1886) describing the life and work of Disraeli, and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). If one keeps in mind the allegory, and questions how well it is reflecting reality,[122] Iwamoto argues, one can critically enjoy and learn from the leading *shōsetsu* of recent years. Even novels such as *Tōsei shosei katagi*, *Imo to sekagami*, and *Ukigumo* 浮雲 (1887–91, Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭四迷 (1864–1909)), which Iwamoto describes as "pure" novels[123] that are known for being vulgar[124] and avoided by those of high

[117] Ibid.: "趣向."
[118] Ibid.: "専ら実際の世情人情を写し出さんことを主とするの傾きとなれり."
[119] Ibid.: "心思の微を分ち人情の極を穿ち泣かざるの涙言はざるの怨をも胸頭に打掛けたるの手立によつて明白子細に写し出し読むものをして然り然りと點頭(うなづ)かせ我も嘗ては左様の事ありき亦此後或は如の此きことあらん世間に此類の人あり此時には必らず如此く処置することならんと思わせ."
[120] Ibid.: "高等なる小説の品格を得たるものと云ふべし."
[121] "On the Novel: No. III.—How to read Practical and not Romantic Side of Novels?" (*3: Joryū, shōsetsu wo yomu no kakugo no koto* 小説論（第三）女流、小説を讀むの覺悟の事), *Jogaku zasshi* 84 (November 12, 1887): "先眼を此寓意の一点の着して専ら其主旨の在る所を承知するの覚悟あらざるべからず."
[122] Ibid.: "真正純粋の小説なるものに付て之を言はば、之を評するには其小説中の記事よく実際に当れるや否やを採つて之善悪を批評すべし故に亦た之を愛読するものは先づ之に依りて世上実際の有様を味ふことを覚悟するを専一とすべきこと也."
[123] Ibid.: "所云る彼の純粋小説."
[124] Ibid.: "野卑."

morals and learning[125], he argues are worth reading. To Iwamoto, even when despising and pitying the characters of *Tōsei shosei katagi*, one has to agree that the novel captures the current conditions very well.[126] He nevertheless criticizes Tsubouchi for leaving out the majority of decent students and instead focusing on a minority of lazy, unmotivated[127] ones, omitting the variety of personalities that exists in real life,[128] and concentrating on the "lowliest of characters, who only indulge their lust."[129] Yet, while critical of the author for his biased focus,[130] Iwamoto also stresses that Tsubouchi should be acknowledged for his unusual and skillful depictions.[131] According to Iwamoto, only if one begins admiring and wishing to become like Komachida (the hero of the story), there is possible harm.[132] Meanwhile, for the female readers, he sees harm if they start aspiring to emulate the fictional romances, as there is a fear that they may construct an image of an ideal man who does not exist and thus discredit a suitable partner.[133] In this, Iwamoto is echoing the concerns expressed by other educators, that fiction could distort one's perception of reality; nevertheless, his definition of dangers lurking for women readers is not indecency, it is the unrealistic expectations that would lead to disillusionment and disappointment. At a time when most marriages were arranged, Iwamoto's emphasis on individual choice is clear, despite the caution to be realistic and not wait too long.

The effect literature has on the readers is further explored in the editorials titled "Ideal Literature" (March 9, 1889),[134] "Novels as They Ought to Be" (March 16, 1889),[135] and "The Aim of Novelists" (March 23, 1889).[136] A lexicological shift from *shōsetsu* (novel) to *bunshō* (text) is seen in Iwamoto's writing, who, according to Yabu Teiko, in response to criticism from Mori Ōgai, strove to clarify his position on *shōsetsu* and *bungaku*, extending the following ideas to the understanding of literature in broad terms.[137]

5.a.4. Religion and the Writer as an Activist

In 1889, the religion-literature-education connection played out in Iwamoto's thought as he built upon a Christianity-supported angle that he had previously alluded to but left unexplored. Iwamoto delved into the details regarding writing's effect on the populace as social activism, urging women to see literature as a way to reform society, starting from the men that are close to them, and expanding it onto the whole of Japan. This tendency coincides with a shift in Iwamoto's focus towards producing more politicized writing, as seen in 2.b.2.b.

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[125] Ibid.: "士君子."
[126] Ibid.: "凡上に挙げざるを得ざるなり."
[127] Ibid.: "怠惰生 (なまけもの)."
[128] Ibid.: "凡そ霊の上に於て心の上に於て情の上に於て千態万状の経歴に遭遇する書生甚はだ多し."
[129] Ibid.: "単に肉欲界に放蕩する下等最末の書生のみ." Iwamoto's position regarding temperance must have been at play here, too.
[130] Ibid.: "不平を寄せる."
[131] Ibid.: "妙を博したるものとして見るべし."
[132] Ibid.: "知らず識らず奇異変化の生涯を望んで身も亦た小町田たらんことを欲するの過ちに陥いりたるもの　此に至つては輒はち小説を読むの弊害初めて起きる."
[133] Ibid.: "心中に一個の理想才子を造り出して世上の男子を悉く之と比較し彼も不可なり此も不可なりと選択するの長日月空しく去つて端なく其身が白髪の老婦人たるを知らず[...]小説の読む覚悟を誤りたるの罪に帰するものなり." The criticism of losing oneself in fiction appear close to the admonition in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1817) that teases women for being gullible readers.
[134] "*Bunshōjō no risō*" 文章上の理想, *Jogaku zasshi* 152 (March 9, 1889).
[135] "*Joryū shōsetsuka no honshoku*" 女流小説家之本色, *Jogaku zasshi* 153 (March 16, 1889).
[136] "*Shōsetsuka no chakugan*" 小説家の着眼, *Jogaku zasshi* 154 (March 23, 1889).
[137] *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 162-63, note 12.

Iwamoto starts his argument using the example of the Bible and then proceeds to fiction, blurring the line between religious and secular texts. "Ideal Literature" starts with a long quote from Hepburn et. al's translation of the New Testament (*Shin'yaku seisho* 新約聖書, 1880) that talks about how beauty comes from the soul, rather than from the physical features.[138] Iwamoto expands this reasoning to texts (*bunshō*) that he claims contain crystallized human emotions.[139] He ascribes spiritual power to texts[140] and argues that, due to this power capable to reach numerous people and cause revolutions,[141] they ought to be treated with caution.[142] He also compares texts to teachers, claiming that texts are even more powerful role models than humans.[143]

As an example of misused literature, Iwamoto mentions *gesaku*: the umbrella term for fiction of the late Edo period. He believes that both readers and writers are content with how impure it is, and thus, "while obscenities have been forbidden in the streets, they are preserved in such leading literary magazines as *Miyako no hana*[144]."[145] Iwamoto summarizes the latest developments by stating that refined literature is slow to develop, while crude literature is emerging fast.

Iwamoto further argues that the U.K., Germany, and the U.S. are all aware of the potential damage inflicted by unvirtuous texts and are trying to pass censorship laws, yet this could not be ascertained. It is left unspecified what he means by "unvirtuous." However, Iwamoto gives naturalist Émile Zola's (1840–1902) writing as an internationally contentious example. Based on Iwamoto's arguments on how literary works should show respect to women, he likely found such Zola's works, for example *Nana* (1880), which deals with sexual exploitation, too explicit. Despite Iwamoto emphasizing the depiction of life "as-is," he was also part of the short-lived Romantic movement in Japan[146] and must have found Zola's naturalism shocking. With this argument, he stresses that Japan is lagging behind the developed nations by not addressing such matters as the quality of its national literature, "shaming" the literati into action.

To remedy the situation in Japan, Iwamoto suggests two steps: 1) women should protest; 2) women should write themselves.[147] He explains that, as the majority of readers, women's

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[138] "Ideal Literature" (*Bunshōjō no risō* 文章上の理想), *Jogaku zasshi* 152 (March 9, 1889): "風采は猶ほ霊体の如し、肉交へ血流るるの間に存す."

[139] Ibid.: "文章は人心の粋なり."

[140] Ibid.: "無形の霊はよく之を結び."

[141] Ibid.: "文章は見る可らざる所に発して見る可らざる所に入る、人の心の尤も深き所ろに出でて亦た尤も深き所ろに徹するもの也、足なしと雖ども能く千里を行き、手なしと雖ども能く万人を動かし、或ひは暴けき武夫(ものゝふ)を泣(た)かせ、或ひは太平の天下に革命を起す、皆是れ文章の力なり."

[142] Ibid.: "文章に懼るる所ろは其の感化の不知不覚の間に深く骨随に入るにあり."

[143] Ibid.: "夫れ人一日君子と同居せば自然にして化せらる、而して清潔なる文章の人を化するは君子よりも強し."

[144] 都の花 (1988–93). According to Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 160, note 10, it was the first commercial literary magazine in Japan and the leader of the genre. Yamada Bimyō, who had ties with Meiji Jogakkō and Jogaku Zasshisha, was its long-term editor and it is thus interesting to see Iwamoto criticizing the magazine for obscenities.

[145] "Ideal Literature" (*Bunshōjō no risō* 文章上の理想), *Jogaku zasshi* 152 (March 9, 1889): "今や乞食芝居に於ても尚猥褻の所作を行ふことを制せらる、然るに堂々たる東都一二流の小説雑誌に於て、夜閨両枕あり淫少年しだらなく蓐に入るの事を細叙して載するに到ては、文学社会の空気亦た毒を極むると云ふべし." Iwamoto refers to *Kusare tamago* くされたまご (1889) by Saganoya Omuro (1863–1947). Refer to Mikawa Tomohisa 三川智央, "*Saganoya Omuro Kusare tamago to shōsetsu ronryaku ronsō*" 嵯峨の屋おむろ「くされたまご」と「小説論略」論, *Kanazawa Daigaku kokugo kokubun* 金沢大学国語国文 34 (2009): 18-27.

[146] Refer to Fujita, "Romanticism and Christianity."

[147] "Ideal Literature" (*Bunshōjō no risō* 文章上の理想), *Jogaku zasshi* 152 (March 9, 1889): "攻の尤も大いなる者に二つあり、一は女性が挙りて不道徳文章に反対する事、二は女性が勤めて清潔なる文章を著作すること是れ也."

opinion is a powerful tool: by boycotting certain types of literature, or by criticism, they can awaken the masses, which is a powerful and befitting social action.

Iwamoto goes on to state that through the writing of women the world will know of "pure love, warm charitable hearts, and noble ideas" and that "as women have the power to pacify, purify, and make the homes joyous, they can do the same for all of Japan."[148] Here he appears to build on his *ryōsai kenbo* and "home" theories to apply the allegory characteristic to the period and use family unit as a representative of Japan as a whole.[149] While his argument comes across as limiting women, it is important to remember that such position was progressive among male and female women educators at the time. Rather than being "prescriptive," Iwamoto is trying to be "defensive" to allow women authority over matters of education, family life, and literature.

In the next issue's "Novels as They Ought to Be"[150] (March 16, 1889), Iwamoto claims that the following themes reflect women's "feminine essence"[151]: the situation of geishas and prostitutes, children that are deprived of schooling, the terminally ill, adultery,[152] and the beauty of nature in Japan. Iwamoto's understanding of the differences between men's and women's dispositions did not go beyond the general understanding at the time,[153] yet he also advises women to be different from men by studying male authors, but not to imitate them. He uses the examples of Mme de Staël (Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein) (1766–1817), describing her as a threat to Napoleon himself, and Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–96) as having attracted the gaze of millions to the issue of slavery, to argue that women have the power to shed light on the unreasonable in the world.

Iwamoto's reasoning above parallels with the women's experiences in the West, and an argument emphasizing the topic of slavery as appropriate for women authors or even a feminine subject.[154] For example, according to Showalter,

> Protest fiction represented another projection of female experience onto another group; it translated the felt pain and oppression of women into the championship of millworkers, child laborers, prostitutes, and slaves. Women were aware that protest fiction converted anger and frustration into an acceptable form of feminine and Christian expression. In the social novels of the 1840s and 1850s, and the problem novels of the 1860s and 1870s, women writers were pushing back the boundaries of their sphere, and presenting their profession as one that required not only freedom of language and thought, but also mobility and activity in the world.[155]

Iwamoto was supportive of such undercurrents in women's writing abroad and therefore attempted to emulate the same level of activity among women authors in Japan by suggesting politically-charged topics.

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[148] Ibid.: "人の至情に訴たへなば、極めて清潔なる愛情は之よりして世に知らるべく、極めて温たかなる慈善心は之よりして世に行はるべく、極めて高尚なる思想も亦た之よりして世に現はるべし、彼は一家を和らむるの心、一家を清くし幸にするの情を以て、即はち日本の天下を和らめ清くし幸はいにすることを得べし."

[149] The parallel was also applied by Iwamoto's contemporaries such as Naruse Jinzō, as we can see in 5.b.1.g.

[150] "Novels as They Ought to Be" (*Joryū shōsetsuka no honshoku* 女流小説家之本色), *Jogaku zasshi* 153 (March 16, 1889).

[151] Ibid.: "女粋は自づから男粋に異なる、女粋に依りて作らるべき小説は固より男子が小説と異なるべきの筈あるにあらずや."

[152] Ibid.: "不義."

[153] Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 171, note 19.

[154] Elaine Showalter, *Jury of Her Peers: American Women Writers from Anne Bradstreet to Annie Proulx* (London: Hachette UK, 2009), especially chapter 6.

[155] Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*, 23.

"The Aim of Novelists"[156] moves away from the text to the person behind it, focusing on erudition as a prerequisite for becoming a "good" author. Iwamoto here connects his earlier argument on *shōsetsu* (as an immersive experience that needs to depict reality) to the argument about the power of the moral message developed in "Ideal Literature," further illustrating how he saw fiction could help instruct morality.

In the editorial, Iwamoto compares novelists with storytellers and photographers, likening them to philosophers and painters who interpret the world around them depending on their personalities.[157] He advises that this personal perspective should be kept in mind when approaching the work of authors.[158] To Iwamoto, when assessing a piece of writing, the intentions and inclinations of the artists are what matters.[159] Iwamoto again draws parallels between the Bible and fiction and notes that, while the Bible depicts adultery and uses "most vulgar parallels,"[160] nobody questions its moral message. Iwamoto repeats his complaints that while novels in Japan are successful in "depicting reality,"[161] they tend to so without building on any set ideals.[162] He muses about the fact that people say one suddenly feels exposed to the spirit of the author when reading the works of Victor Hugo and Benjamin Disraeli, so good their "viewpoints" are,[163] yet this is not the case in Japan, where not novelists but storytellers[164] are found in abundance. As we saw above, Iwamoto considered novels as superior to stories in the hierarchy of literature suitable for influencing the masses and for education. Yet, according to Iwamoto, in stories as well, the author's point of view and the ideals ought to be set high.[165] Having thus admonished, he calls out to authors as modern Japanese individuals.

> Proud novelists of New Japan, what angers you into writing? What do you believe in that makes you turn to it? What is it that you wish to achieve by it? In your hearts there must be something that makes you indignant or sad! Surely enough, you are full of spirit! Your ideals are lofty! At this time when Japan is undergoing a great change and many new things are appearing, what is it that you will concentrate your gazes upon? In what way will you put it to shape? Japanese society must have many strong points. If you look at it from the right angle, you must discover its brilliant luster.[166]

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[156] "The Aim of Novelists" (*Shōsetsuka no chakugan* 小説家の着眼), *Jogaku zasshi* 154 (March 23, 1889).

[157] Words used: storytellers—講釈師, photographers—写真師, philosophers—哲學者, and painters—絵かき.

[158] Ibid.: "其写したるの画面に於て画工の着眼果して何処に存するかと言ふこと、是れ画を観ずるものの第一に見るべき所ろたり、[...]哲学者の論文を読むときも亦然り、彼の小説家の著作を読むときに於ては、特に尤も此の眼識を要す。小説家の社会観察するや、固より其の実相を観察するなり、故に其の之を解釈する敢て無証拠の言なかるべく、其の之を写す敢て無実形の跡なかるべし。然れども吾人は只だ其の実を観たり実を写せりと云ふによりて則はち彼をす能はず、更らに彼は如何なる方向よりして之を観之を写せりやと問はざる可らず."

[159] Ibid.: "読者諸君、吾人は只だ不潔なることを記したる文字を見て直ちに之を嫌ふなりと誤解する勿れ、世はすでに不潔にて満ちたり、実を写すものに於ては何すれぞ此の不潔を写さざるを得んや、ただ之を写すものの着眼如何ん、之を写すものの高尚趣味如何んと云へることぞ吾人がくれぐれも警告する所ろの問題なる."

[160] Ibid.: "最も卑しき比喩."

[161] Ibid.: "実を写せり."

[162] Ibid.: "無定見なる着眼."

[163] Ibid.: "忽焉として作者の神に接す," and "此れ著者着眼の非凡なるに由る也."

[164] Ibid.: "物語（ストーリー）の作者."

[165] Ibid.: "仮令ひ物語に於も尚着眼理想をの高尚えお望まざる可らず."

[166] Ibid.: "嗚呼堂々たる新日本の小説家諸君、諸君は何に憤うりて筆を揮ふか、何を信じて筆を揮か、抑も何を望みて筆を揮か、諸君が胸中に萬斛の慷慨ありや、果して萬丈の氣焔ありや、抑そも亦た萬天の理想ありや、今や日本の社會は沸々として燃騰混溶せり、諸君は其の如何なる點に於て之を察、如何なる方向に向かつて之を形ち造らんと思ふか、日本の社會固より大ひに優れる所ろあらざるべし、左れど其の或る一角より之を觀徹せば亦固より燦然になる

Continuing on the same theme—the importance of the author's point of view—Iwamoto discusses the role poets have in society in "O for One Poet in the Wilderness" (May 11, 1889).[167] Here, Iwamoto argues that even though theorizing about literature is necessary, theorizing should only serve the purpose of explaining logically what we feel instinctively,[168] in the same way that grammar, logic, calculus, and dissection[169] are there to serve as various forms of clarification. Interestingly, to Iwamoto, the specialists in grammar, logic, theory, or mathematics should also see a higher purpose of their skills, thus showing how this notion of responsibility pertains not only to women but to intellectuals and scientists in general.[170]

Iwamoto subsequently explains that he longs for a new type of poets to appear: not what the people generally imagine. If it were just for technique, he claims, then school boys and girls, when taught the basics, should easily turn into poets like Ono no Komachi (小野小町, c. 825 – c. 900) or Murasaki Shikibu. To Iwamoto, while he admits that, as it is said from old, poets are born, he does not see it impossible to raise them. To the Romantic in Iwamoto, a poet is extraordinary to the point of being close to madness[171], yet is also a well-rounded human being who has the qualities of the best and thus is loved by all.[172] He connects this description to his theories on authors as social activists and as models to follow as he writes about Thomas Carlyle's (1795–1881) review of Robert Burns (1759–96), claiming that the life of Burns itself serves as a textbook.[173] Iwamoto believed that to Carlyle the "true poets" are the greatest moralists and the greatest heroes.[174] Iwamoto closes the editorial by interchanging poets with women, showing how all his above argument was to stress that women are capable of changing society via their writing.[175]

Iwamoto's later writing seems to reinstate the connection between literature, moral education made possible through approaching it in an informed manner, and the author's role as an opinion/moral leader capable of promoting social reform by leading by example. For instance, in "Christianity in Japan (Religion, an Education)" (April 18, 1891),[176] Iwamoto argued that what is valuable about writing is the fact that it depicts ideas, in turn valuable for their ability to lead people to the truth and to help them awaken to it by themselves.[177]

光彩なきにしもあらざるべし、嗚呼着眼なる哉々、吾人は今の小説家に於て先づ此の光彩を看破するのを着眼あらんことを尤も切に祈禱するもの也."

[167] "O for One Poet in the Wilderness" (*Kono daisabakukai ni, hitori no shijin are yo* 此の大砂漠界に、一人の詩人あれよ), *Jogaku zasshi* 161 (May 11, 1889).

[168] Ibid.: "理屈によりて直覚的の明々理を認識し得べしと信ずる."

[169] Ibid.: "文法、論理学、算盤玉、解剖機械."

[170] Ibid.: "彼の文法家と云ひ、論理家と云ひ、理屈家と云ひ、八算見一家と云つて、其丈にて得々長者らしく高慢する者に到りては、吾人蛇蝎の如く嫌悪す."

[171] Ibid.: "俊傑を以て気違ひに近し."

[172] Ibid.: "故に英雄は胆の片環、学者は脳の片環、佳人は情の片環、牧者農夫は胆の片環," and "世に何人か彼の真成の詩人なるものを愛さぜらんや、其の質朴にして天真爛漫たるの風采、其の親切にして温雅菊すべきの心情、其の有力にして謙遜純渾たるの勇気を見て誰か之を愛せざらんや."

[173] Ibid.: "其一生は吾々に取りて最豊の教科書たり."

[174] Ibid.: "真成の詩人こそ尤も高き道徳家、尤も大いなる英雄にてありしならん."

[175] Ibid.: "吾人今の日本を見て実に真成の詩人を恨望す、而して之を恨望すると共に実に女子の尤も尊とむべき人性に円満せることを信ず."

[176] "Christianity in Japan (Religion, an Education)" (*Nihon no kirisutokyō* 日本の基督), *Jogaku zasshi* 261 (April 18, 1891).

[177] Ibid.: "書は何故に尊き乎、人の思想を印象することによる。人の思想は何故に尊き乎、吾を導きて真理に接せしむるに由る。左れば、書の用は到底人を真理に導びき、人をして自から真理を自認自覚せしむるにあり."

Iwamoto argues that educators despise the "veneration of letters."[178] He asks: what is the Bible if not the most respected piece of writing?; Nevertheless, it is still but a piece of writing.[179] He elaborates that the Bible is a testament of seniors who were able to most strongly experience the laws of nature and human emotions.[180] Referring to the practices at Meiji Jogakkō, he argues that the Bible is neither for veneration, nor for memorizing the opinions therein. Instead, he proposes, what can be achieved via the study of the Bible is self-development, an understanding of the laws of nature and human emotions, and self-awareness.[181] Just like David, Moses, and Paul were awakened, Iwamoto asserts, so should the readers be able to feel the truths depicted in the Bible, judge, and understand them; likewise, the opinions of seniors should not be forced upon their juniors, who too have the right to individual thoughts and interpretations.[182]

In practice, Iwamoto's emphasis on the right to interpret the Bible is reflected in Sōma Kokkō's memoirs (refer to 3.b.1.), where she shared that Iwamoto and Meiji Jogakkō were surprisingly open to questions.[183] In Hoshino's memoirs (refer to 4.b.2.b.) as well, this kind of free interpretation was allowed to students when they approached their reading, including the writing by the teachers. The above is also clearly a response to *Kyōiku chokugo* that, since 1890, was spreading throughout schools with an increasing amount of reverence being required, the students having to memorize and "venerate" the text. As this had triggered criticism of Christianity and "surveillance" of Christian educators, and as Iwamoto expressed his frustration regarding how *Kyōiku chokugo* was interpreted to suit the needs of the traditionalists in the same 1891, this emphasis on personal interpretation of texts was his way to criticize the approach to *Kyōiku chokugo* and the Bible. Especially vexing to Iwamoto was the fact that, among numerous interpretations supplied by intellectuals, his own included, traditionalist interpretations were deemed better than others.

5.a.5. Literature as *Bun*

Iwamoto's "In Pursuit of Spring" (April 16, 1892)[184] built on his ideas that authorship was not separate from lifestyle. He started speaking of *bun* in this sense as the school's identity became tied to the teaching of martial arts. Iwamoto was responding to the criticism directed at magazines like *Jogaku zasshi*, which promoted literature to students, who then allegedly got immersed in it and idealized the writer's profession.[185] Iwamoto's response to this criticism is candid and twofold: 1) it is not in the power of a magazine or a school to prevent women from reading what they want;[186] 2) women who do not want to neglect their housework, child rearing, etc., should aim to

[178] Ibid.: "左れば教育家は、文字を崇拝することを悪み、書を偏用することを不可とす。書は一種の方便なるのみ."
[179] Ibid.: "聖経とは何ぞや、書籍中の最とも尊きもの也。左れど亦書なるのみ。
[180] Ibid.: "何の書ぞ、天道人情を尤とも切に感じたる先輩の遺書なるのみ."
[181] Ibid.: "吾等が此に対するや、其文字を崇拝するにあらず、其思想を暗通するにあらず。此書を通して、自己直進、天道人情の真理界に出で、自認自覚することを要とす."
[182] Ibid.: "ダビデ、モウセ、ポウロ等が之を悟れる如く吾等も亦た之を直覚し、判断し、認識すべし。彼の書記者は先輩なり、左れど、先輩は其思想を吾等に強ゆること能はず。吾等は先輩を均しく、亦た私考解釈の権利を所有す."
[183] Sōma, *Mokui*, 59−60.
[184] "In Pursuit of Spring" (*Geishungyō* 迎春行) No.4 (21), "*Joshi no bungaku*" 女子の文學, *Jogaku zasshi* 313 (April 16, 1892).
[185] Ibid.: "其言に云く、當今の女學生、格外に文學を好み、大抵、文學者を理想とす、而して其感化の本源は女學雑誌に在り、女學雑誌たるもの大ひに此に警戒する所ろなかる可らずと."
[186] Ibid.: "女性が文學を好むは其本性なり、而してことさらに之を開發し、寧しろ之を偏長せしめたるは、獨り女學雑誌の力にはあらず、今の女學校の科程なるものも亦大ひに與かり力あるものならんと."

be like George Eliot, who, according to Iwamoto, got the best of both worlds.[187] In this context, he reiterated the fact that literature (*bungaku/bun*) is a suitable occupation for women.[188]

One hint as to why Iwamoto chose to single out George Eliot can be found in Showalter's discussion, who classifies her as a "feminine" novelist: vocal about her role as a woman as well as an author.[189] Showalter argues that female authors were discouraged from striving for authenticity and warned against deviation from the "angelic" ideal: "[t]he middle-class ideology of the proper sphere of womanhood, which developed in postindustrial England and America, prescribed a woman who would be a Perfect Lady, an Angel in the House, contentedly submissive to men, but strong in her inner purity and religiosity, queen in her own realm of the Home." Subsequently, many "observers have pointed out that the first professional activities of Victorian women, as social reformers, nurses, governesses, and novelists, either were based in the home or were extensions of the feminine role as teacher, helper, and mother of mankind."[190] While Iwamoto seems to be following the same pattern, via his own writing (editorials and *shōsetsu*), he promoted women entering universities, studying abroad, becoming involved in publishing as reporters and editors, performing in theatre, becoming martial art masters, and numerous other activities that challenged the boundaries of the "angel in the house" concept.

In "In Pursuit of Spring" (April 16, 1892), too, Iwamoto notes that criticism claiming that women authors and readers tend to forget about housework should not affect the fact that writing is one of the most suitable and effective professions for women.[191] What he means by "effectiveness" is clarified in the following passage:

> In the current modern era, when the reform of women is in its infancy, literature is the most fitting and rewarding means for women to make known their pent-up ideas and their noble, pure, and innocent ideals. Thus, I promote literature (*bun*) to female leaders. However, *bun* is not a goal, it is a means. Its role is to lead the person onto the right path and to enter the heart. What other purpose is there for *bun* other than cultivating ideas and sense? That is why, while endorsing *bun*, I also strongly urge the promotion of morals and science.[192]

Thus, literature, or *bun*, is here defined by Iwamoto as a way to lead the author and reader into developing ideas and sense, while additional moral education (Christianity) and intellectual education (Western learning, or science) are defined as necessary supplements to help one think critically and apply such ideas in real life.

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[187] Ibid.: "文學を好むによりて、家政實際の務を輕んずるものあらば、そは怪しからぬことなり。女性の文學を愛するは、當にゼヲヂ、エリヲツトの如くなるべし、彼女、稗史小説を著はして一世を聳動するの傍ら、女子にして家内の仕事を輕んずるものを大ひに卑しみ、躬行實踐して此弊を破らんとしたり。故に、文學を好むの故によりて、育兒、看病家政修理などの事を忽諸(おろそか)にする女學生ならば、余はくれぐれも之が悔心を促すべし."

[188] Ibid.: "今の日本婦人に尤とも行ひ易き事業."

[189] Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*, 13.

[190] Ibid., 14.

[191] "In Pursuit of Spring" (*Geishungyō* 迎春行) No.4 (21), "*Joshi no bungaku*" 女子の文學, *Jogaku zasshi* 313 (April 16, 1892): "然れども、文學は女子の職として極めて適當且つは極めて有效なる所以の理を之が爲に忘却すること能はず."

[192] Ibid.: "日本近代の如き、女性改革の維新草創の時世に於ては、女子が其の見識を発表し、其の鬱勃たる思想、もしくは高潔聖純なる理想を広告するの手段、文に椅るの穏当且つ有益なるに若くものあらず。故に、余は此の主旨を以て、今の婦人間の率先者に文学を奨励するもあり。然れども、文は方便にして目的にあらず、ただ道を載せて人の心中に入るるの事たるに過ぎざるなり、文に巧みなりと云へども、思想道念涵養するにあらずば、果して之を何ものにか利用すべき。故に余は、文を奨励すると共に、道徳及び学術を大ひに奨励することの必要を覚悟す."

With this, in 1892, we see Iwamoto connect the "two sides of one," *bunbu ryōdō,* and the "four pillars" (Western science (*yōgaku*) and Confucian/Sino-Japanese (*kangaku*), native Japanese (*wagaku*), and Christian ideas) to promote his understanding of the complete education. This was also the year when Meiji Jogakkō formed its ideological basis. As we saw that it was also a year that was not the easiest for Christian educators due to fukei jiken . We have thus confirmed that Meiji Jogakkō was not limiting itself during the times of adversity, but was creatively inventing itself to balance between its varied ideological elements.

Iwamoto expands on his understanding of *bun* in the first issue of *Bungakukai*[193] (January 31, 1893) where he refers to writing (*sakubun*) as a "way of life," or *michi* [194] arguing that to be able to write well the author had to go through spiritual ordeals and to be of pure heart to write pure texts (*bunshō*).[195] He provides an illustration to this understanding three years later in "Great literary women" (September 25, 1896),[196] when reflecting on how, while reading Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Sam's Cabin*, he was deeply moved and thought it the example of the best writing by women—writing that reaches the soul.[197] Iwamoto mentioned that Stowe claimed she did not choose but was led to writing and that her job was merely to humbly follow the heavenly command. Iwamoto argued that such a modest position was the level of sincerity that allowed "a spiritual masterpiece" to be born.[198]

Iwamoto's position regarding the authors' choice of lifestyle (and their self-cultivation), in addition to their selection of topic and message, as inseparable from the quality of their writing, is obviously problematic. For example, Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar argue that Stowe was "clearly hampered by the Muse/Mother ideal that haunted [her] sense of what [she] ought to be."[199] However, while Iwamoto's thinking appears to be in step with the "feminine" stage of development of ideas in the West, he also transcends it on several levels. For instance, the Christian understanding of womanhood as seen in the U.S. and the U.K. around the time of Stowe's writing is met with the emphasis on writing as a "way," in the tradition of the samurai ideas on self-cultivation. Such inclusion of martial ideologies is descriptive of Iwamoto's thought in his mature period, in addition to the inclusion of various examples of womanhood into his speeches and writing. According to Showalter, in Victorian England, "work" for women meant "labor for others." That is, it, "in the sense of self-development, was in direct conflict with the subordination and repression inherent in the feminine ideal."[200] Therefore, "the self-centeredness implicit in the act of writing made this career an especially threatening one [as] it required an engagement with feeling and a cultivation of the ego rather than its negation."[201] To Iwamoto, on the other hand, the cultivation of ego was a compulsory outcome of high-quality education, which writing, reading, and physical education acted as tools for.

Throughout the years Iwamoto ideologically framed literature as art, the power of which he emphasized and idealized. He subsequently saw a literary text's author as a participant in the

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[193] "*Bungaku no michi*" 文学の道, *Bungakukai* 1 (January 31, 1893): 1-2.
[194] Ibid.: "作文の道は、亦一種の道にして、其規純然たる道徳なりとす."
[195] Ibid.: "文章は心の像を形わし、其真の態に以て、真実ならずんばある可らず、誠正ならずんばある可らず。此故に、文章の高潔なるは、先づ道念の高潔なるによる."
[196] "*Bunkai no keishū*" 文界の閨秀, *Jogaku zasshi* 426 (September 25, 1896).
[197] Ibid.: "胸を撃つて泣いて曰く、是ある哉女性の文学、閨秀の筆斯の如くして即はち神霊に達すと."
[198] Ibid.: "ストウ夫人曰く、 妾(わらは) を指ざして自ら小説を作せしものとなすことなかれ、作せしものは天なり、妾は只だ謹んで之を筆記せしのみと。嗚呼、閨秀の至誠此に到りて初めて神霊の名作を得ん哉."
[199] Gilbert and Gubar, *Madwoman in the Attic*, 483.
[200] Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*, 22.
[201] Ibid.

exchange of "energy" via inspiring empathy and independent thought in the readers, capable of unobtrusively educating by exposing them to things that needed amendment and by proposing a future they could aspire to. At times, he also spoke on literature in its narrower interpretations, addressing the specific topics literature should address, such as issues or subjects that he believed were underrepresented. After the 1890s, as there was less legal flexibility for the educational models Meiji Jogakkō could promote, the emphasis on moral education via literature and the idea of the author leading by example seem to have gained more currency. Such emphasis showed Iwamoto's preference towards using literature over other means of moral instruction, such as those promoted by the government. Meanwhile, the promotion of literature (prominently modern Japanese fiction) was also used to defend the foreign and stigmatized Christian moral instruction carried out by the school, at least in theory. Finally, Iwamoto appears to not perceive moral education in a limiting or oppressive way. Rather, he argues that ideas must be approached carefully (in an informed fashion), by considering the author's or translator's biases, but also reflecting the reader's needs. That is, the goal of learning via reading was not to be "converted," but to form one's position. This aspect is the basis on which his arguments are built and is best demonstrated by the practical application discussed in the next section.

5.b. Meiji Jogakkō's Practices

5.b.1. Textbooks

We have an official list of materials used by the school around its inception,[202] shown in the table below. As I could not always match the school's description with contemporary data on the publications, I chose the closest equivalents. The level of uncertainty behind the pairing is identified with a question mark (?) when a close equivalent was found and a double question mark (??) when more than two details could not be matched. An asterisk (*) shows that the official phonetic readings of the author's name or title could not be ascertained. The print dates are as per the original chart.

Table 19: Meiji Jogakkō's textbooks in 1885.

Subject	Title	Author; Place of publication: Publisher	Year
English	Penmanship manual (*shūjichō*習字帳): *Spencerian System of Penmanship*. (??)	Spencer, Platt Rogers (スペンセル); Washington: Freeman* (フレーマン版).	1871
	Spelling manual (*teijichō* 綴字帳): *The Elementary Spelling Book*. (??)	Webster, Noah (ウェブストル); Tokyo: Maruzen (丸善出版).	1881
	A reader (*dokuhon* 読本), six volumes: *New National Reader*. (??)	Barnes, Alfred Smith (バアンス); New York: Barn* (バアン社版).	1884
	Grammar manual (*bunten* 文典): *An English Grammar*. (??)	Quackenbos, George Payn (クェッケンボス); Dōmei Shoshi 同盟書肆 ("allied bookstores").	1884
	Conversation (*kaiwa* 会話). Could not be ascertained.	Imbrie, William* (インブリー); Dōmei Shoshi 同盟書肆 ("allied bookstores").	1885
	Rhetoric manual (*shūjisho* 修辞書): *English Composition and Rhetoric*. (??)	Bain, Alexander (ベイン); New York: Appleton (アップレトン社).	1879

[202] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū*, 784-86.

Geography	Geography primer (*chiri shoho* 地理初歩): *Cornell's Primary Geography, for the Use of Schools*. (?)	Cornel, Sarah S. (コルネル); New York: Appleton (アップレトン社).	1873
	Textbook on nature and geography (*shizenchirisho* 自然地理書): *Physical Geography*. (??)	Davis, William Morris (モーレー); New York: University Publications (ユニベルシチーパブリケーション社).	1871
History	*Kokushi ran'yō* 国史攬要 (national history), sixteen volumes.	Tanatani Motoyoshi 棚谷; Tokyo: Kaifumidō* 魁文堂.	1874
	World history (*bankokushi* 萬国史): *Common School History of the World*. (?)	Parley, Peter (パァーレー); New York: Appleton (アップレトン社).	1883
	World history: *Outlines of the World's History*. (?)	Swinton, William (スウィントン); Tokyo: Maruzen (丸善出版).	1884
Zoology	A treatise on zoology (*dōbutsusho* 動物書): *Futsū dōbutsugaku* 普通動物學. (?)	Tamba Keizō 丹波敬三, Shibata Shōkei 柴田承桂; Tokyo: a private publisher.	1883
Botany	A treatise on botany (*shokubutsusho* 植物書): *Shokubutsu tsūkai* 植物通解. (?)	Yatabe Ryōkichi 矢田部良吉; Ministry of Education.	1883
Mineralogy	*Kinsekigaku* 金石學 (a study of minerals and rocks).	Wada Tsunashiro 和田維四郎; Hakubutsukan* 博物館 ("museum").	[1882]
Physiology	A treatise on human physiology (*jinshin seiri sho* 人身生理書): *The Elements of Physiology and Hygiene: A Text-Book for Educational Institutions*; (?) or *Jinshin seirigaku* 人身生理學. (?)	Huxley, Thomas Henry (ハクスレー) and Youmans, William Jay (ユーマン); New York: Appleton (アップレトン社).	1883
	A treatise on human health (*jinshin kenzensho* 人身健全書): *Jinshin seirigaku*. (?)		
Physics	A treatise on physics (*butsurisho* 物理書). Could not be ascertained.	No author provided. London: Longman (ロングマン出版).	1881
Chemistry	A treatise on Chemistry (*kagakusho* 化學書). Could not be ascertained.	Eliot* (エリオット) and ストレル; London: Longman (ロングマン出版).	1881
Mathematics	A treatise on arithmetic (*sanjutsusho* 算術書): *Progressive Practical Arithmetic: containing the theory of numbers, in connection with concise analytic and synthetic methods of solution, and designed as a complete text-book on this science, for common schools and academies.* (??)	Robinson, Horatio N. (ロビンソン); New York: Appleton (アップレトン社).	1881
	Study of algebra (*daisūgaku* 代数學): *Algebra for the Use of Colleges and Schools*. (??)	Todhunter, Isaac (トドハンタル); London: Macmillan (マクミリヤン社).	1882
	Plane geometry (*heimen kika* 平面幾何): *The Elements of Plane Geometry: For the Use of Schools and Colleges*. (??)	Wright, Richard P. (ライト); Tokyo: Dōmei Shoshi 同盟書肆 ("allied bookstores").	1885
	Solid geometry (*rittai kika* 立体幾何): *Solid Geometry and Conic Sections: with Appendices on Transversals, and Harmonic Division, for the Use of Schools.* (?)	Wilson, James Maurice (ウィルソン); London: Macmillan (マクミリヤン社).	1882
Ethics	The principles of ethics (*rinrigaku ronkō* 倫理學論綱): *The Data of Ethics*. (??)	Spencer, Herbert (スペンサー); New York: Appleton (アップレトン社).	1883
Morals	Study of morals (*dōgi gaku* 道義學): *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*. (?)	Calderwood, Henry (カルデルウード); London: Longman (ロングマン出版).	1881
Sino-Japanese Writing	Selection of Chinese classics (*jūhasshi ryaku* 十八史略): (?) *Jūhasshi ryaku tokuhon* 十八史略讀本.	Ōsato Boku 大郷穆; a private publisher.	1883
	N*ihon gaishi* 日本外史 (Japanese history).	Rai Hisatarō 頼久太郎; a private publisher.	1883
	S*hiki hyōrin* 史記評林 (Chinese history).	Shiba Sen 司馬遷; Osaka: a private publisher.	1835

	Classic examples of writing (*bunshō kihan* 文章軌範). Could not be ascertained.	Sō Hironobu* 宋広信; Tokyo: a private publisher.	1872

In the table, we can see that treatises on zoology, botany, and mineralogy were available in translation. The Japanese language texts, especially on science, appear to have gradually increased in availability after the end of the Edo period. However, the large presence of foreign authors on the list suggests that for the remaining subjects, including morals and ethics, the English version might have been in use, at least at the initial stages. Most of the English-language textbooks came from the U.S. or the U.K., yet local publishers like Maruzen (Maruzen Shōsha 丸善商社)[203] also offered texts in foreign languages. The government and independent bodies too are on the list, yet fourteen out of twenty-seven texts, slightly over half, appear to have been published to be used abroad. Such a selection reflects not only the availability issues encountered in Japan at the time, but also, as discussed in 2.c.2.a., Kimura Kumaji's experience and observations gained while studying in the U.S. and his inclinations towards the American-style education. As in the case of the science-centered curriculum introduced by Kimura at the inception of the school, the textbooks above show what materials were originally accessible to the students; nevertheless, Iwamoto did not consider these materials and topics sufficient.

The reality was that, in modernizing Japan, the educators had to rely on foreign materials and their translations or to choose from old Japanese texts (refer to 2.a.1.), the few government-compiled materials,[204] their own compilations,[205] or, as in Iwamoto's case, the media (refer to 2.a.2.b.). Iwamoto sought to teach Christianity-focused morality and shape modern identities without over-relying on foreign materials as he emphasized the need to use Japan-appropriate content written in reader-friendly Japanese. Because of this, he was left with few ready-made materials. Unsatisfied with what was available, he aspired to either create or distribute literature that would serve as textbooks not only for Meiji Jogakkō but also for other girls' schools and society at large. To achieve this, he supported men and women who could provide such texts, while also writing himself.

Iwamoto's approach and struggles are visible in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, "A new plan to promote woman's Education in Japan,"[206] which urged for the publication of textbooks for women in the Japanese language, and also declared the school's efforts to make contributions to meet their and other schools' needs. The text mentions that Kichida Nobuko is compiling textbooks for domestic science, Watanabe Tatsugorō for sewing, and Iwamoto himself for ethics/morals.[207] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* dedicated another chapter to the topic, "Compilation of Textbooks fit for

[203] Godart, 58-59: "founded in 1869 […] Maruzen Company became the most important importer of foreign books into Japan, with stores in Yokohama and Tokyo, and later nationwide."

[204] Refer to Irina Holca, "Insularity and imperialism: the borders of the world in the Japanese and Taiwanese *kokugo* readers during the Taishō era," *Japan Forum* 28, no. 1 (2016): 32-73, for an overview of tendencies in both Meiji and Taishō textbooks approved by the government.

[205] It was necessary to gain a paid license to use such materials, however. Mark Elwood Lincicome, *Principle, Practice, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995): 195, describes how *Kyōkayō tosho kentei jōrei* 教科用図書検定条例, Regulations for the Authorization of Textbooks announced on May 1886, asked for primary, normal, or middle school textbooks to be submitted to the Monbushō for examination and approval to gain a license to publish and use textbooks for a period of time; changes were not allowed without a second inspection. Lincicome notes that the regulations stayed enforced with slight alterations made a year later.

[206] "A new plan to promote woman's Education in Japan" 女學普及の經綸, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, Ch. 14, 207-13. English title found in *Jogaku zasshi* 289 (August 29, 1891).

[207] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 213: "女學普及の經綸: 近頃ろ、家政教科書（吉田伸子編）、裁縫教科書（渡邊辰五朗氏編）、女子修身教科書（巖本善治編）などの編著に着手し、先づ叫びて、大人の出づるを促さんことを欲す."

the Japanese Women,"[208] which raised the common issue of over-relying on the English language in both practice and text, and the scarcity of suitable materials. Iwamoto wrote:

> I wish that the educators of women would cease using English texts. Having said this, using such texts for language education is, without question, entirely appropriate. […] To begin with, even when in the regular secondary schools the situation is such that where ten textbooks are needed we are eight or nine short, it is unavoidable that in girls' schools the necessary texts are lacking. […However,] no corners should be cut in teaching geography and history, not to mention natural sciences, such as physics, chemistry, and physiology, and social sciences, such as economics, politics, and law—subjects that respond to the practical needs of women. Among them, special attention should be paid to the domestic science textbooks that ought to treat a broad variety of topics while taking into consideration the current situation in Japan and what is the most essential and beneficial knowledge for the current wives and mothers.[209]

Above, Iwamoto is insisting on the necessity of textbooks for women that would be on par with those aimed at men ("no corners should be cut"), yet also textbooks on specialized subjects for women, such as domestic science. In comparison to the first textbook table of 1885 (Table 19), we can see that by 1891, when the statement was first published, the school's definition of what is necessary for women to learn has expanded with the addition of not only domestic science, but also economics, politics, and law.

To emphasize the importance the school placed on suitable textbooks, let us first introduce the materials published and distributed by Jogaku Zasshisha. They were advertised in many issues, yet the first issue of *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* of 1890 included the most extensive list,[210] separating the texts by categories, providing the names of the authors, and noting the prices. In 1892, *Jogaku zasshi* carried another, shorter list,[211] which included brief descriptions of the publications. The tables below are based on these two sources, in addition to the information available on the National Diet Library, CiNii (Scholarly and Academic Information Navigator), and WorldCat databases. Many of the materials are stored in the National Diet Library's digital archives.

In the lists, the publication dates are not provided. Instead, I include the earliest known dates of publication prior to the compilation of the lists. If, for instance, several volumes are listed, the publication date of the last-mentioned volume is given. In addition, just as in the table above, an asterisk following readings of Japanese characters in names or titles indicates that the readings could not be confirmed and that the most common readings were provided instead. The more commonly-known versions of titles than found in the original list are included in the brackets for

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[208] "日本女學讀本の編纂," *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, Ch. 6, 92-100. English title found in *Jogaku zasshi* 250 (January 31, 1891).

[209] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 96: "可成く早く教授上に英書を用ゆることを全廢するに至らんことを望む。但し初めより外國語を教授するの目的を以て英書を用ゆるは、無論當然の事なり。[…]先づ一般中學用の教科書すら十に八九は缺乏したる今日の有様なれば、女學上の用書に不足を感ずるの多きは勢ほひ止むを得ざる事と云ふべし。[…]地理、歴史を教ゆるにすら、女性に對しては特更に注意すべき點多し、況して理、化、生理、心理の諸科學、又は經濟、政治、法律等の社會學を教ゆるに至りては、特に女性の必要に相應するやうな科目を取捨増減する所ろあらざる可らず。就中、家政上の用書に至りては、深く現時日本の實況に斟酌して妻母の必ず心得置くべき要點を網羅し、實地に適用して頗ぶるなるほどの諸科目を編輯し置かずんば可らず."

[210] "*Jogaku Zasshisha shuppan urisabaki oyobi toritsugi shomoku*" 女學雜誌社出版賣捌及取次書目 (publications printed, sold, and circulated by Jogaku Zasshisha), *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* 1 (January 20, 1890).

[211] "*Jogaku Zasshisha hatsubai shoseki mokuroku*" 女学雑誌社発売書籍目 (publications sold by Jogaku Zasshisha), *Jogaku zasshi* 317 (May 14, 1892).

reference. Several of the pieces appear in both lists; I have indicated them with a triangle mark (△) following the title.

The lists of endorsed publications cover a broad variety of topics. Going beyond the definition of contemporary school-textbooks, they are close to the recommendations for extra-curricular reading, or life-long education.

5.b.1.a.: *Bungaku*

In the section for *bungaku* (read as both "literature" and "general education" as discussed in 5.a.), a wide range of texts are grouped together. While *Kokin wakashū*, *Tosa nikki*, *Sarashina nikki*, Bashō's poetry, and Chikamatsu Monzaemon's writing, which were undergoing the process of canonization in Meiji that made them into the classics we know today, fit the category of contemporary understanding of *bungaku*, also listed are such women's guides as *Jokō hitsudoku jokun* by Takada Giho that has already appeared in section 2.a.2.b. as a part of the *Onna daigaku* series; and adaptations of *Onna imagawa* (17th C.) and *Hime kagami* (1709). The same list contains modern school materials, such as the Japanese language textbook by Shimoda Utako, who is known for her work with foreign students.[212]

Towards the end of the list are works focusing on the activities of Meiji Jogakkō and Jogaku Zasshisha, covering topics close to the school's practices and ideals. There are statistics by Kure Kumi's brother Kure Ayatoshi; an essay on marriage by statistician Yokoyama Masao (1862–1943); Bible translator and Christian theorist Takahashi Gorō's (1856–1935) writing on women's rights; a treatise on the education of poor children by Andō Matsujirō (years unknown); and *Tōyō no fujo*, or "women of the Orient," by Ueki Emori 植木枝盛 (1857−92).[213] They are followed by less ideological and more practical grammar and reading textbooks *Bunpō kōju*, *Tsurezuregusa kōgi*, and *Hyakunin isshu kōgi* by Suzuki Hiroyasu (already seen in *Tsūshin jogaku*); Taguchi Ukichi's treatises on Japanese and Chinese history[214] and reform (*Nihon no ishō oyobi jōkō*)[215]; writing on childbirth and childrearing by Funakoshi Kentarō (who also contributed to *Jogaku zasshi* and *Tsūshin jogaku*); *Fujin genron no jiyū*: writing on women's rights translated and published by Sasaki Toyoju;[216] and anti-polygamic *Rinri no motoi* by Yuasa Hatsuko (years unknown; a founding member of Kyōfūkai).[217] Finally, *Jogaku zasshi* itself is included in this category.

The above variety shows that at Jogaku Zasshisha *bungaku* around 1892 was interpreted as the basic general knowledge necessary for women. In addition, the list demonstrates that there was clear support for and collaboration with the individuals in the Meiji Jogakkō's circles—the Japanese Christian literati community—to make such knowledge accessible.

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[212] Mamiko Suzuki, "Shimoda's Program for Japanese and Chinese Women's Education," *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 15.2 (2013): 1-9.

[213] *Tōyō no fujo* was published by Sasaki Toyoju 佐々城豊壽 (1853–1901), Sōma Kokkō's aunt and one of Kyōfukai's establishers. Anderson describes how nearly one third of *Tōyō no fujo* was contributed by women authors, sixteen in number, and one women's organization. She also notes how it included "scathing critiques of old Japanese and 'oriental' customs. (Marnie S. Anderson, "Women's Agency and the Historical Record: Reflections on Female Activists in Nineteenth-Century Japan," *Journal of Women's History* 23, no. 1 (2011): 49.)

[214] Influenced by the ideas of Spencer and historians Henry Thomas Buckle (182162) and François Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787–1874).

[215] Refer to Higuchi Takayuki 樋口孝之, Miyazaki Kiyoshi 宮崎, "The Word Meaning of 'ISHO' Appeared in Discourses on Arts in the Middle of the Meiji Era Linguistic Conception as Design in Japan (5)," Bulletin of Japanese Society for the Science of Design 54, no. 5 (2008): 35-44.

[216] For details refer to Yasutake Rumi, "Women's Freedom of Speech."

[217] Refer to Lublin, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union": 121-23.

Table 20: Bungaku, with explanations[218]

Title	Author	Publisher	Year	Contents
Kotoba no sono ことばのその	Kondō Makoto 近藤真琴	Kondō Makoto 近藤真琴, Mizuhoya Usaburō 瑞穂屋卯三郎, Yonekuraya Junzaburō 米倉屋順三郎	1885	Explained the meanings of the words in dictionary style and came in six volumes depending on the students' level.
Hizamoto no oshie ひざもとのおしへ	Kondō Makiko 近藤真樹子	Kōgyakusha こうぎょくしゃ	1886	A Japanese language primer.
Eigo joyōbun kagami 英語女用文鑑 (*Eigo joyōbun kagami daizen: wayaku yōkai* 英語女用文かゞみ大全: 和訳詳解)	Miyazaki Yoshikuni 宮崎嘉国	Miyazaki Yoshikuni 宮崎嘉国	1887	With English title *A Complete English Letter-Writer for Ladies: Fully Explained in Japanese.*
Joji tokuhon 女兒讀本	Yoshida Shizuka 吉田静		1885	A reader for girls, in five volumes according to level.
Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集	Asō Sezaiemon 朝生瀬左衛門		10th C.	Two volumes. Asō Sezaiemon contributed to *Goshūi wakashū* 後拾遺和歌抄 (11th C.), r, and thus, it is unclear which one of the imperial anthologies of poems is being referred to.
Tosa nikki kōshō 土佐日記考證	Kishimoto Yuzuru 岸本由豆流	Chikabō 千鍾房 and others	1812	Two volumes. A commentary on *Tosa nikki*.
Hyakunin isshu shō 百人一首抄	Ishihara Masaakira 石原正明	Yamamoto Bunko 山本文庫	1804	A commentary on *Hyakunin isshu.*
Hyakunin isshu shinshō 百人一首新抄	Ishihara Masaakira 石原正明		1804	Ibid.
Nangokō 難語考 (*Yamabiko zōshi* 山響冊子)	Tachibana Moribe 橘守部	Chikabō Suharaya Mohei千鐘房須原屋茂兵衛 et al.	1831	Three volumes. On Japanese language (*kokugaku*).
Bashō haiku kaidaisei 芭蕉翁句解大成	Getsuinsha Nanimaru 月院社何丸	Hanaya Kyujirō花屋久次郎 et al.	1827	Bashō's poetry in five volumes.
Sarashina nikki 更科日記	Nishikado Rankei 西門蘭渓	Suharaya Ihachi 須原屋伊八, Suharaya Sasuke,須原屋佐助 et al.	1838	With commentary.
Teikin ōrai shō 庭訓往來抄		Suharaya Mohei 須原屋茂兵衛, Akitaya Taemon*, 秋田屋太右衛門 et al.	1838	A manual for home.
Teikin ōrai Terako takara 庭訓往来寺子實 (寺子實)		Suharaya Mohei, Yamashiroya Sahe須原屋茂兵衛	1855	A manual for home.

[218] "*Jogaku Zasshisha shuppan urisabaki oyobi toritsugi shomoku*": "*Bungaku no bu: fukaishaku mono*" 文學之部 附解釋物.

		: 山城屋佐兵衛 et al.		
*Teikin ōrai Ryō kanamura** 庭訓往来兩假名村				A manual for home.
Tōsho onna imagawa misao kagami 頭書女今川操鏡	Suharaya Mohē 須原屋茂兵衛	Tōto 東都書林 Shorin, Chikabō 千種房		A textbook for women.
Onna teikin ōrai 女庭訓往來	Kinsui Shōtei 松亭金水	Yamashiroya Heisuke 山城屋平助	1855	A textbook for women.
Onna yōbun Ogura nishiki 女用文小倉錦	山口屋藤長郎, Yamaguchiya Tōchōrō,		Prior to 1871	A textbook for women, including such topics as incense, poetry, marriage, food, crafts, writing, etc.[219]
*Onna yōbun jitsukagami** 女用文實かがみ				A textbook for women.
Jokō hitsudoku jokun 女鑿必読女訓	Takada Giho 高田義甫	Kyōryokusha 協力舎, Kitahata Chikabō 北畠千鐘房	1874	A textbook for women.
Ogura hyakunin isshu 小倉百人一首色紙箱		Kobayashi Shimbe 小林新兵衛, Suharaya Mohei 須原屋茂兵衛	1839	*Waka* poetry playing cards. In colored paper, boxed.
(*Chūkō*) *Ouchi Onna imagawa* (忠孝)御家女今川				A textbook for women.
Fujo no kyōiku 婦女の教育	Hamamoto Yoshitarō 浜本義太郎	Ninomiya Hikoichi* 二宮彦市	1888	On women's education.
Kijo shihō taizen onna yōbun Hime kagami 貴女至宝大全女用文姫鏡	Tajima Shōji 田島象二	Heibonsha 平凡社	1885	A textbook for women.
Asase no nami 浅瀬の波 ∆	Ikebukuro Kiyokaze 池袋清風	Kawai Bunkōdō 河合文港堂	1888	Comment in 1892: "great guide to *waka* poetry."
Wabun tokuhon 和文讀本	Inagaki Chikai 稲垣千頴輯	Kibundō 奎文堂	1882	Four volumes. Japanese language reader.
Teniowa kyōkasho てにをは教科書	Mozume Takami 物集高見	Jūichidō 十一堂	1886	Japanese language textbook.
Kanatsukai kyōkasho かなつかい教科書 (*Kanazukai kyōkasho* かなづかひ教科書)	Mozume Takami 物集高見	Jūichidō 十一堂	1886	Japanese language textbook.
Wabun kihan 和文軌範	Satomi Yoshi* 里見義	Tsuji Kennosuke* 辻謙之助 et al.	1883	Japanese language textbook.
Wabun kyōkasho 和文教科書	Shimoda Utako 下田歌子	Ministry of the Imperial Household (Kunaishō 宮内省)	1885	Japanese language textbook.
Kintai kokubun kyōkasho 近体國文教科書	Sekine Masanao 関根正直	Jūichidō 十一堂 and others	1888	Four volumes. Japanese language textbook.

[219] The contents of *Onna yōbun Ogura nishiki* were listed as following: "女教平生益鏡," "婦人七去の事," "婚礼之図式," "飲食給様心得," "女手習状," "人間一生涯祝事," "名香六十一種," "名寄文字くさり," "香道たしなみの事," "名婦和歌略説," "仮名づかひ大概," "万妙薬の方."

Nihon hakushi zenden 日本博士全傳	Ogiwara Zentarō 荻原善太郎	Oka Yasusaburō 岡保三郎	1888	Biographies of Japanese experts in numerous fields, such as Nakamura Masanao.
Kyōiku isoyo monogatari 教育五十夜物語	Yamamoto Yoshiaki 山本義明	Makino Shobō 牧野書房	1889	Two volumes. Contents could not be confirmed.
Teisō setsugi kokon meifu hyakushu 貞操節義古今名婦百首	Kodama Eisei 児玉永成	Ōkura Magobei 大倉孫兵衛	1881	A list of historical "model" women.
Teisō setsugi Meiji meifu hyakushu 貞操節義明治名婦百首	Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦	Kin'eidō 錦栄堂	1884	A list of "model" women of the Meiji period.
(*Hyōchū sentei*) *Tsurezuregusa dokuhon* (標註刪定) 徒然草讀本	Takatsu Hakuju 高津栢樹	Sōsho kaku* 業書閣 (叢書閣)	1884	Commentary on *Tsurezuregusa.*
Tenji tennō 天智天皇	Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門	Onkodō 温故堂		*Jōruri* piece on Emperor Tenji.
Nihon kaika shoshi 日本開化小史	Taguchi Ukichi 田口卯吉	Taguchi Ukichi 田口卯吉	1877–82	Six volumes of review on Japanese social development from ancient history to the end of the Edo period.
Ōyō tōkei gaku 應用統計學	Kure Ayatoshi 呉文聰	Tōyamabō 富山房	1888	English title: *Lectures on the Application and Use of Statistics*.
Kon'in ron 婚姻論 ∆	Yokoyama Masao 横山雅男	Jogaku Zasshisha	1887	Comment in 1892: "compares the statistics in the West in East, old and new; a necessary read for the unmarried."
Joken shinsetsu 女權眞説 ∆	Takahashi Gorō 高橋五郎	Tokyo Seikyō Shorui Gaisha 東京聖教書類會社	1888	English title: *Women's rights*. Comment in 1892: "the truth (*shinsetsu* 真説) about women's rights."
Hinji no kyōiku 貧兒の教育 ∆	Andō Matsujirō 安東松次郎	Jizensha 慈善社	1889	On the education of poor children. Comment in 1892: "fills the heart with mercy and pity (*jiren* 慈憐)."
Tōyō no fujo 東洋之婦女 ∆	Ueki Emori 植木枝盛	Sasaki Toyoju 佐々城豊壽	1889	Eight volumes. Comment in 1892: "describes the commonalities among the Eastern women."[220]
Tsurezuregusa kōgi 徒然草講義 ∆	Suzuki Hiroyasu 鈴木弘恭	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社		Comment in 1892: "lectures of Suzuki *daijin*大人." In 1892, it was followed by *Sankō hyōchō Tsurezuregusa bassui* 参考標注徒然草抜萃, a revised version to be used as a reference book (*kyōkasho sankōyō* 教科書参考用).
Nihon no ishō oyobi jōkō: Ichimei shakai kairyōron 日本之意匠及情交:一名社會改良論	Taguchi Ukichi 田口卯吉	Keizai Zasshisha 経済雜誌社	1886	On reforming society. In five parts: plays (*shibai* 芝居), music (*ongyoku* 音曲), literature (*bunshō* 文章), manufacture (*kōgyō* 工業), and customs (*fūzoku* 風俗).
Shina kaika shōshi 支那開化小史	Taguchi Ukichi 田口卯吉	Keizai Zasshisha 経済雜誌社	1883–88	Chinese history.
Bunpō kōju 文法口授 ∆	Suzuki Hiroyasu 鈴木弘恭	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1887	Comment in 1892: "written in vernacular, the easiest textbook for the Japanese grammar."
Sanpu koji yōsei hō 產婦小兒攝生法 (産婦子兒養成法) ∆	Funakoshi Kentarō 船越鼎太郎		1886–12	Comment in 1892: "for women before and after childbirth."

[220] "*Jogaku Zasshisha hatsubai shoseki mokuroku*": "東洋の婦女に概する所."

Fujin genron no jiyū 婦人言論の自由 ∆	Trans. Sasaki Toyoju 佐々城豊寿	Beikoku Fujin Kyōfūkai Insatsu Gaisha 米国婦人矯風会印刷会社	1888	Translation of an unidentified publication by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. On women's freedom of speech. Comment in 1892: "a piece of writing to respect."
Rinri no motoi 論理之基 (*Rinri no motoi no yōshi* 倫理の基の要旨) ∆	Yuasa Hatsuko 湯浅はつ子	Jogaku Zassisha 女學雑誌社	1889	Treatise against polygamy.
Jogaku zasshi 女學雑誌 ∆		Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雑誌社	1885–1904	Comment in 1892: "we strive for the spiritual improvement of the world by spreading the knowledge on women's inborn qualities."[221]
Hyakunin isshu kōgi 百人一首講義 ∆	Suzuki Hiroyasu 鈴木弘恭	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雑誌社	1890	Comment in 1892: "fourth reprint, a great guidebook for *waka* authors."

5.b.1.b. Writing for the Home

The "Home" (*Kasei*) section includes texts on such topics as keeping the accounts, silkworms or chicken, and women's crafts (*jokō*) manuals for elementary school teachers. Among the more general texts, there was *Shishi jotoku shinsetsu*, a translation of the unidentified work of Joseph Sillitoe (years unknown). As it was retranslated the next year as "The Western model of womanhood" (*Seiyō johan* 西洋女範) by Watanabe Shūjirō 渡辺修二郎 (1855–), it was likely a popular treatise. It carried chapters on women's life, education, beauty, strength, love, interests, and work. Alongside it, *Tsūshin kyōju joshi katei gaku*, a correspondence course on domestic science by Uryū En (1842–1913), covered the topics of home economics, child rearing, diet, cleaning, home science, sewing and mending, keeping servants, home tools, and volunteering (*anpeido wāku*). Meanwhile, *Fujo jitsugyō annai*, a manual for working women by Sakuma Takashi (years unknown), included chapters on such varied topics as literature and business, ethics, reading, writing, arithmetic, calligraphy, drawing, Japanese-style cooking, laundry, knitting with wool, music, *waka*, economics, child rearing, pregnancy, politics, taxes, national law, various virtues,[222] and an extra at the end covering the words and deeds of virtuous heroines from the U.S., China, and Japan.[223] Last in this list came *Tsūshin jogaku*.

As some texts treat various topics deemed necessary in the general education of women, there is an overlap with the *Bungaku* section. However, the difference lies in the age or lifestyle of women that are being targeted. While the *Bungaku* section was mostly for teachers and students, in *Kasei* the emphasis is less on the theoretical and more on the practical knowledge for women who were already married.

Table 21: Writing for the home[224]

Title	Author	Publisher	Year	Contents
Shishi jotoku shinsetsu 斯氏女徳新説	Yajima Kinzō 矢島錦蔵訳	Kyōeki Shōsha Shoten 共益商社書店	1887	Translation of Joseph Sillitoe's writing.
(*Jindai goshu*) *Kaiko hanashigai no den*	Takeda Taichi 武田多一	Chikabō 千鍾房	1875	On keeping silkworms.

[221] Ibid.: "女性天稟の質を天地の中に擴張し靈性の發達を希ふ."

[222] *Fujo jitsugyō annai*, the list of "virtues": 忠節, 孝行, 和順, 友愛, 信義, 誠, 勤, 立志, 度量, 忍耐, 智, 仁, 勇, 貞操, 廉潔, 公平, 識, 勉職, .

[223] Ibid.: "附 欧米支那日本貞操烈女の言行."

[224] "*Jogaku Zasshisha shuppan urisabaki oyobi toritsugi shomoku*": "*Kasei no bu*" 家政之部.

(神代五種)蠶放飼之傳(放飼養精術之方法説)				
Momo chidori (諸鳥餌養)百千鳥	Senkadō Sanchō 泉花堂三蝶	Kashiwabaraya Yozaemon 柏原屋与左衛門 et al.	1799	On keeping birds.
(*Jicchi ōyō* 實地應用) *Kakei bokihō* 家計簿記法 Δ	Fujio Rokurō 藤尾録郎	Keizai Zasshisha 經濟雜誌社	1887	Comment in 1892: "A detailed treatise on home accounting." *Kakei bokihō reidai* 家計簿記法例題 was a new version with examples and exercises added in 1892.
Shōgakkōyō jokōhen 小學校用女工篇	Uryū Senko 瓜生仙子	Fukyūsha 普及舎	1888–89	On women's crafts (*jokō*) for elementary school teachers, four volumes.
Motochō shimekiri no zu 元帳〆切の圖Δ	Unno Rikitarō 海野力太郎			On keeping a ledger.
Hime kagami ひめ鏡	Sekiwa Masamichi 関輪正路	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1888	A textbook for women.
Tsūzoku yōsan nyūmon 通俗養蠶入門	Oyaizu Tadatami 小柳律忠民 and Oyaizu Tomoharu* 小柳津友治	Oyaizu Tadatami 小柳津忠民 et al.	1888	On keeping silkworms.
Yōkei no shiori 養鷄の栞	Murakami Yōshin 村上要信	Chōryūsha 長隆舎	1888	On keeping chicken.
Tsūshin kyōju joshi katei gaku 通信教授女子家政學	Uryū En 瓜生寅	Tsūshin Kōgakusha通信講學會	1890	A textbook for women, two volumes.
Fujo jitsugyō annai 婦女實業案内	Sakuma Takashi 佐久間孝	Ōkura Shoten 大倉書店	1888	A textbook for women.
Nikkichō 日記帳			1837	A diary.
Motochō 元帳		Daini Kokuritsu Ginkō 第二国[立]銀行	1890	A ledger.
*Zaihi shiharaichō** 財費仕拂帳				An accounting book.
Tsūshin jogaku kōgi 通信女學講義 Δ (in 1892: *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* 通信女學講義録)		Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社		Comment from 1892: "A one-year course for older women."[225]

5.b.1.c. Art

The "Art" (*Bijutsu*) section consists mostly of textbooks for teaching music and singing at schools, following both Japanese and Western traditions, and including a text on Buddhist songs and manuals for the organ and the piano. There are also treatises on the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, and the "Oriental" style of painting (*tōyōga*) by Yagi Kenshin, a teacher at Meiji Jogakkō. Interestingly, the first on the list, however, is a publication on etiquette for men and women: "*Danjo futsū reihō*." Such a positioning implies that *reihō*, or *joreishiki* (analyzed in 4.a.), was seen as a base for learning arts, following the traditional model of relying on ceremony and discipline of mind while undergoing training to acquire an art. If the list had included sources on martial arts for women, they would have likely been in this section.

[225] Ibid.: "晩学の女子が一ヶ年間に卒業し得る良師なり."

***Table 22: Writing on art*[226]**

Title	Author	Publisher	Year	Contents
Danjo futsū reihō 男女普通禮法	Homori Kingo 甫守謹吾 (1863–1944)	Kyōekisha 共益商社	1888	On etiquette.
Shōgaku shōka kyōjuhō 小學唱歌教授法	George B. Loomis (trans. Tōgi Sueharu 東儀季治)	Kyōekisha 共益商社	1889	A manual for teaching singing at elementary schools.
Ongaku kyōkasho 音樂教科書	Shirai Kikurō 白井規矩郎	Kyōeki Shōsha Shoten 共益商社書店	1889	A music textbook.
Azuma kotouta 吾嬬箏譜	Yamada Kengyō 山田検校	Mokuyōkyo* 黙容居	1824	A music/singing score.
Sōka koromo no ka zushiki 插花衣之香圖式	Teishōsai Ichiba 貞松齋一馬	Kobayashi Shinbei 小林新兵衛	1801	On flower arrangement, illustrated, sixteen volumes.
Sōka hyakuzu zushiki 插花百瓶圖式	Bajō 馬丈 (如月庵馬丈)		1805	On flower arrangement, illustrated, two volumes.
Ikebana chiyo no matsu 插花千代之松 (生花千代之松)	Shōshūsei Ritei 松秀齋理貞	Ei Daisuke* 英大助	1818	On flower arrangement, three volumes.
Sōka niwa no matsu 插花庭之松	Teishōsai Issei 庭松齋一晴	Suharaya Suzuki Shotarō* 須原屋鈴木莊太郎		On flower arrangement, four volumes.
Sōka shiki no sono 插花四季園	Shōhakusai Ippyō 松柏斎 一瓢	Ōsakaya Mokichi 大坂屋茂吉	1813	On flower arrangement, four volumes.
Ikebana no sakae 插花のさかえ				On flower arrangement, two volumes.
(*Shōfū*) *Sōka koromo no ka kudenmyō* (正風)插花衣香口傳抄 （正風遠州流挿花衣香附録口傳抄）	Teishōsai Ichiba 貞松齋米篤（貞松齋米一馬）	Kobayashi Shinbei 小林新兵衛, Noda Shichibei 野田七兵衛	1812	On flower arrangement.
Chanoyu hanashinan 茶湯早指南	Gessai Gabimaru 月斎峨眉丸 月斎我眉山人	Eirakuya Nishishirō* 永楽屋西四郎, Nishimuraya Yohachi 西村屋與八	1809	On tea ceremony.
Santo seikyoku ruisan 三都聲曲類纂	Saitō Gesshin 齋藤月岑	Suharaya Ihachi 須原屋伊八 et al.	1889	On traditional Japanese music. Six volumes.
Gakuten 樂典	Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省)	Ibid.	1883	On music. Translation of John Wall Callcott.
Gakuten shoho 樂典初歩	Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省)	Ibid.	1888	A music primer.
Chūai shōka Gonoban 忠愛唱歌 碁之盤	Lyrics by Takasaki Shōfū 高崎正風, songs by Ue Naoyuki* 上直行			On singing.
Ongaku no shiori 音樂之枝折	Ōmura Yōki 大村芳樹著	Fukyūsha 普及舎	1887–89	On music, two volumes.
Ongaku no shiori zokuhen 音樂之枝折続編	Ōmura Yōki 大村芳樹著	Fukyūsha 普及舎	1887–89	Sequel to *Ongaku no shiori.*
Ongaku annai 音樂案内	Tanaka Tōsaku 田中登作	Fukyūsha 普及舎	1888	*The young musician's pocket guide.*

[226] "*Jogaku Zasshisha shuppan urisabaki oyobi toritsugi shomoku*": "*Bijutsu no bu*" 美術之部.

Katei shōka 家庭唱歌	Okamura Masutarō 岡村増太郎. Songs selected by Shikama Totsuji 四竈訥治.	Fukyūsha 普及舎	1887–	Singing. Given as three volumes, yet there eventually were four.
Yōchien shōka 幼稚園唱歌集	Monbushō Ongaku Torishirabegakari 文部省音樂取調掛編纂	Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō 東京音樂學校	1887	Singing for kindergartens. Compiled under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.
Shōkashū 唱歌集	Monbushō Ongaku Torishirabegakari文部省音樂取調掛編纂	Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省)	1881–84	Singing for elementary, middle, and normal schools. Compiled under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Three volumes.
Shōkashu kakezu 唱歌集掛圖	Monbushō Ongaku Torishirabegakari 文部省音楽取調掛編纂	Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省)	1882	Illustrated version of *Shōkashū*. Compiled under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Three volumes.
Ongaku kunmō 音樂訓蒙	Wiebe, Edward. Trans. Kikuchi Takenobu 菊池武信	Monbushō Henshūkyoku 文部省編輯局	1889	On music. Compiled under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.
Meiji shōka 明治唱歌	Ōwada Takeki 大和田建樹 and Oku Yoshiisa 奥好義	Chūōdō 中央堂	1888	On singing, three volumes.
Meiji shōka yōji no kyoku 明治唱歌幼兒の曲	Ōwada Takeki 大和田建樹 Oku Yoshiisa 奥好義	Chūōdō 中央堂	1889	*Meiji shōka* version for youngsters.
Isaribi いさり火	Ōwada Takeki 大和田建樹	Chūōdō 中央堂	1888	A collection of songs.
Shinsen shōgaku Shōkashū 新撰小學唱歌集	Harada Sahei 原田砂平	Bunrindō 文林堂	1888	A collection of songs for elementary schools.
Kigensetsu no uta 紀元節の歌	Lyrics by Takazaki Shōfū 高崎正風 and music by Izawa Shūji 伊澤修二	Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省)	1888	A song to celebrate the Empire Day (February 11th) which was a national holiday from 1872 to 1948. One sheet.
Tenchōsetsu no uta 天長節歌	Lyrics by Takazaki Shōfū, music by Ue Sanemichi 上眞行	Yoshikawa Hankichi 吉川半七	1891	A song to celebrate the Emperor's Birthday, a national holiday held from 1868 to 1948.
Ongaku mondō 音樂問答	John Jousse, trans. Takimura Kōtarō 滝村小太郎	Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省)	1883	Music for middle and normal schools.
Ongaku shinan 音樂指南	Luther Whiting Mason, trans. Uchida Yaichi 内田弥一	Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省)	1884	Music for middle and normal schools.
Shōka jugyōhō 唱歌授業法	Curwen, translated by Shirai Kikurō 白井規矩郎	Chōkodō 徵古堂	1888	A manual to teach singing.
Ongakudō no shirube 音樂道のしるべ	Torii Makoto 鳥居忱	Chikabō 千鍾房	1888	Music, two volumes.
*Ongaku dokumanabi*音樂獨まなび	Uchida Yaichi 内田弥一	Ongaku Shoya 音楽書屋	1888	Music.
Ongaku shōkei 音樂捷徑	Mason, Luther Whiting, translated by Uchida Yaichi 内田弥一	Uchida Yaichi 内田弥一	1883	Music.
Kayō kyōikuron 歌謠教育論	Uchida Shozaburō 内田正三郎	Fukyūsha 普及舎	1888	A manual to teach singing.
Gakki shiyōhō 樂器使用法	Narrated by Shikama Totsuji 四竈訥治,written by Okamura Masutarō	Fukyūsha 普及舎	1888	A manual to teach how to use musical instruments.

	岡村増太郎			
Ongaku nyūmon 音樂入門	Tsunekawa Ryōnosuke 恒川鐐之助	Katano Tōshirō 片野東四郎	1887	Music basics, two volumes.
Sokyokushū 箏曲集	Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省)	Monbushō Henshūkyoku 文部省編集局	1888	A collection of *koto* pieces, two volumes.
Tōyōga tehon 東洋畫手本	Yagi Kenshin 八木兼辰	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1890	"Oriental" painting patterns.
Shinkōkyoku 進行曲	Oku Yoshiisa 奥好義			Marches.
Mikuni no hikari 御國の光	Okamura Masutarō 岡村増太郎, Shikama Totsuji 四竈訥治, Saitō Keisuke 佐藤定介	Okamura Masutarō 岡村増太郎	1888	Printed music (full score) for piano.
Seiyōkifu kokon hautashū 西洋記譜古今端唄集	Miyata Rokuzaemon 宮田六左衛門	Chōbunsha 長文館	1889	Western music pieces.
Gakuri wa seiyō kakyoku wa nihon Ongaku hayamanabi 學理は西洋歌曲は日本音樂早まなび (音楽早まなび: 学理ハ西洋歌曲ハ日本)	Umeda Isokichi 梅田磯吉	Hayashi Minji 早矢仕民治	1888	Western music with Japanese lyrics.
*Fūkin dokukeiko** 風琴獨稽古	Hashimoto Minji 橋本治民	Yonekuraya 米倉屋	1888	Self-study manual for the organ, two volumes.
Fūkin yōkin metōdo 風琴洋琴メトード	Katō Shōtarō* 加膝鉦太郎, Nishioka Chōhei* 西岡長平	Saita Banzaburō* 才田伴三郎	1888	Manual for learning the organ and the piano.
Bukkyō shōkashū 佛教唱歌集	Bukkyō Shōkakai 仏教唱歌会編	Tōkyō Kyōikusha東京教育社	1889	Buddhist songs.
Shōka genri ongaku shinron 唱歌原理音樂新論	Hatae Hidetsugu波多江秀次	Uchida Rōkakuho 内田老鶴圃	1889	The music and singing theory.
Senkyoku shōkashū 選曲唱歌集	Shikama Totsuji 四竈訥治	Kyōai Shoya 共愛書屋	1889	A collection of songs.

5.b.1.d. Science

The "Science" (*Rigaku*) topic is largely underrepresented. However, as noted in 5.b.1., science textbooks were most readily available in English and translation. In addition, the school subsumed scientific writing for women under the "Writing for the home" section; Jogaku Zasshisha also dealt in various scientific treatises without listing them by grouping them among the "other" available English language textbooks.

The three texts below vary largely in their contents. For instance, Yamagata Teizaburō's (1859–1940) *Danjo tōtaron*, by drawing parallels between humans and other animals, introduces natural selection, genetics, survival of the fittest, Darwinism, and factors affecting choosing one's partner,[227] in addition to eugenics.[228] *Keizai hiketsu haibutsu riyō* covered a wide variety of topics on recycling for economical purposes, such as using ash or tree leaves for fertilizing and mulch. It was copublished with Iwamoto's partner Kondō Kenzō.

[227] From *Danjo tōtaron*: "人類ノ婚媾ニ関セル美貌ノ影響."
[228] Ibid., "人類ニ於ケル男女淘汰作用ノ方法."

Meanwhile, *Kōshōgijutsu kanbankō*, by the famous anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863–1913), was an illustrated introduction to various signs and namings for businesses, such as those used by dealers in sugar, tobacco, medicine, beef or wild game (deer and boar), but also abortion (*datai* 堕胎), explaining symbolism and customs.

Table 23: Writing on science, with maps[229]

Title	Author	Publisher	Year	Contents
Kōshōgijutsu kanbankō 工商技藝看版(板)考	Tsuboi Shōgorō 坪井正五郎	Tetsugaku Shoin 哲學書院	1881	On anthropology.
Keizai hiketsu haibutsu riyō 經濟祕決廢物利用	Takahashi Yōsuke 高橋要亮, Kondō Kenzō近藤賢三	Keizai Zasshisha 経済雑誌社	1885	On economy and recycling.
Danjo tōtaron 男女淘汰論	Yamagata Teizaburō 山県悌三郎	Fukyūsha 普及舎	1887	On eugenics.

5.b.1.e. *Shōsetsu*

The *Shōsetsu* section, clearly separated from *Bungaku*, contained fiction only, yet most works listed would not exactly fit the definition of "modern novel" we have today. The list included the writing from authors in Iwamoto's network: Yamada Bimyō 山田美妙 (1868–1910), Miyake Kaho, Kishida Toshiko Kishida Toshiko[230] 岸田俊子 (1863–1901) et al., and authors that Iwamoto was influenced by, such as Tsubouchi Shōyō. The fact that they were on the list indicated that their writing was deemed of high quality and considered suitable for female students as well as the general female readership.

Table 24: Shōsetsu[231]

Title	Author	Publisher	Year	Contents
Kochō oyobi saikun 胡蝶及細君	Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙, Yamada Bimyō 山田美妙	Minyūsha 民友社		An appendix of *Kokumin no tomo* 国民之友 (1887–98).
Moshio kusa 藻鹽草	Compiled by Minyūsha 民友社	Minyūsha 民友社	1889	An appendix of *Kokumin no tomo*.
Keikoku bidan 經國美談	Yano Fumio矢野文雄 (Yano Ryūkei 矢野龍渓)	Hōchisha 報知社	1886	
Yamato shokun 大和昭君 (やまと昭君)	Kōyō Sanjin 紅葉山人 (Ozaki Kōyō尾崎紅葉)	Yoshioka Shoseki 吉岡書籍	1889	
Nininbikuni irozange 二人比丘尼色懺悔	Kōyō Sanjin 紅葉山人 (Ozaki Kōyō尾崎紅葉)	Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店	1889	
Horidashi mono 掘り出し物	Takenoya Shujin 竹の舎主人 (Aeba Koson 饗庭篁村)	Yoshioka Shoseki 吉岡書籍	1889	
Shinpen Imo to sekagami 新編妹と背かがみ	Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙	Kaishin Shoya 会心書屋	1885–86	New edition of *Imo to sekagami*.
Nuregoromo ぬれごろも	Bimyōsai Shujin 美妙齋主人 (Yamada Bimyō 山田美妙)	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1888	
Natsu kodachi 夏木立	Bimyōsai Shujin 美妙齋主人 (Yamada Bimyō 山田美妙)	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1890	

[229] "*Jogaku Zasshisha shuppan urisabaki oyobi toritsugi shomoku*": "*Rigaku no bu: fuchizu*" 理學之部　附地圖. No maps were located, rather illustrations.
[230] Also known as Nakajima Shōen 中島湘烟.
[231] Ibid., "*Shōsetsu no bu*" 小説之部.

Yabu no uguisu 藪の鶯	Hanadan joshi* 花團女史 (Miyake Kaho 三宅花圃)	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1888	
Oyae お八重	Ishibashi Ningetsu 石橋忍月	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1889	
Tanima no himeyuri 谷間の姫百合	Suematsu Kenchō 末松謙澄二, 1Ninomiya Kumajirō 二宮熊二郎	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1888–90	Translation of Charlotte M. Brame's (1836–84) *Dora Thorne* (1877), three volumes.
Seiji shōsetsu Kakan'ō 政治小説花間鶯	Suehiro Shigeyasu 末廣重恭 (Suehito Tecchō 末廣鐵腸)	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1888	Three volumes.
Ukigumo 浮雲	Harunoya Shujin春の舎主人 (Tsubouchi Shōyō坪内逍遙) Futabatei Shujin二葉亭主人 (Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭四迷)	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1887–91	Three volumes.
Kyō bijin 俠美人	Yoda Hyakusen 依田百川 (依田學海 Yoda Gakkai)	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1887	Three volumes.
Jiyū kagami 自由鏡	Kobayashi Yūshichirō 小林雄七郎 (Kobayashi Yūsaburō 小林雄三郎)	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1888	Three volumes.
Kijo shinshi kōsai no shiori 貴女紳士交際の栞	Yamazaki Tadaoki 山崎忠興. An unidentified translation of Emil Rocco.	Kinkōdō 金港堂	1887	On pastimes for socializing for men and women.
Zen'aku no futamichi 善惡の岐	Nakajima Toshiko 中島俊子 (Kishida Toshiko)	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1887	

5.b.1.f. Games

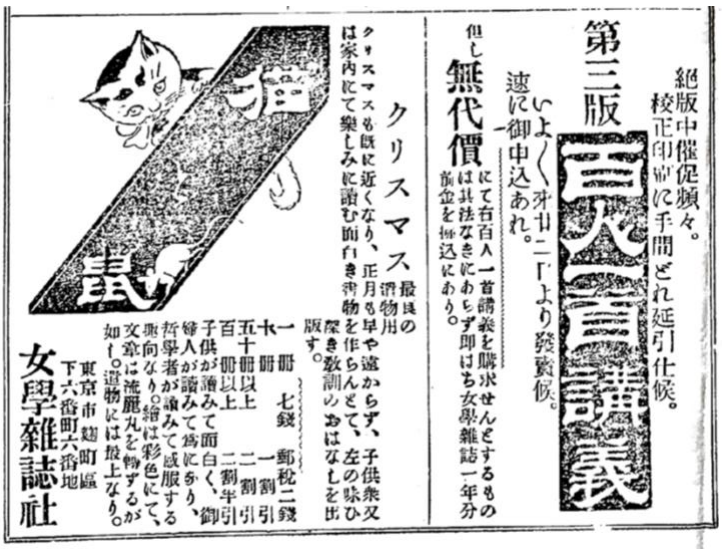
The three texts in the "Games" (*Yūgi*) section had varied contents: the category was dedicated to both theory and materials that could be used for educating children through play. Iwamoto's support of play is visible in

Seiyō danjo yūgihō carried a generous amount of illustrations of Western kids playing in groups or pairs, outside on the ground or running around, but also by themselves. A variety of tools were introduced, such as skipping rope, kites, badminton, or cricket gear. The explanations were detailed and the book was possibly considered to be a manual to instruct children in physical education.

Meanwhile, the illustrated storybook *Neko to nezumi* appears to have been Jogaku Zasshisha's attempt to contribute to children's literature. The following advertisement (Image 6) presents it as great for a Christmas or New Year's present: a good read for children, women, and philosophers, thus indicating that the work must have carried a moral or philosophical message.

***Image 6: Advertisement for* Neko to nezumi *and* Hyakunin isshu kōgi[232]**

[232] *Jogaku zasshi* 245 (December 27, 1890).



Finally, *Yōchienki* appears to be a translation of *The Kindergarten: A Manual for the Introduction of Froebel's System of Primary Education into Public Schools, and for the Use of Mothers and Private Teachers* (1871) by Adolph Douai (1819–88), a pioneer of the kindergarten movement in the U.S. Iwamoto referred to Friedrich Wilhelm August Fröbel (1782–1852) when discussing pedagogy, and it is agreed that his influence is clear in Iwamoto's theories emphasized the unique needs of children in their education.

Table 25: Games[233]

Title	Author	Publisher	Year	Contents
Seiyō danjo yūgihō 西洋男女遊戲法	Uryū Hajime 瓜生寅. An unidentified translation of Lockwood (ロックウード).	Fukyūsha 普及舎	1887	On Western pastimes for men and women.
Kunmō esōshi Neko to nezumi 訓蒙絵双紙猫と鼠 ∆	Inoue Fujihira 井上藤平	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1889	An "enlightening" picture book. In 1892 advertised as "an interesting reader for children."
Yōchienki 幼稚園記	Douai, Adolf. Translated by Seki Shinzō 関信三	Tokyo Joshi Shihangakkō 東京女子師範學校	1876–77	A manual for kindergartens.

5.b.1.g. Religion

While Iwamoto was not arguing for the benefits of teaching with the aid of openly Christian writings such as the Bible, various editions of religious texts are present in the "Religion" (*Shūkyō*) section. The list also includes works by religious theorists such as Kozaki Hiromichi (1856–1938) and Uemura Masahisa (teacher at Meiji Jogakkō), whose *Seikyō shinron* and *Shinri ippan* are known as the first pieces of Japanese Christian apologetics. Alongside them is *Risshi no ishizue* by Matsumura Kaiseki (1859–1939), who introduced his ideas on Japanese society and its dangers for young people. While included under the category of "Religion," *Risshi no ishizue* discusses topics such as business, character and mental attitude, independence and freedom, morals, gain and loss, in addition to the power of influence by teachers, friends, books, novels, and magazines.

[233] "*Jogaku Zasshisha shuppan urisabaki oyobi toritsugi shomoku*": "*Yūgi no bu*" 遊戲之部.

There are also texts aimed specifically at the female readership. Interestingly, while Naruse Jinzō's writing showed the common trend among Christian educators at the time, especially in the chapters dedicated to the roles of the husband and wife,[234] as well as the home as an allegory of the nation,[235] it also discussed medicine and the economy. In a similar yet slightly more "traditional" style, Matsuyama Takayoshi's (1847–1935) writing on respecting elders and parents, mutual love between husbands and wives, and their support for each other was included alongside Deforest's (years unknown) *Fūfu daigaku* (the contents could not be ascertained). The fact that all of these sources are seen fit to fall into the category of "religion" is once again indicative of how flexibly Jogaku Zasshisha perceived religious and moral matters.

Table 26: Writing on religion[236]

Title	Author	Publisher	Year	Contents
Rūteruden ルーテル傳	Katō Satori 加藤覚	Keiseisha 警醒社	1888–90	English title: *The Life of Martin Luther*.
Shinri ippan 眞理一斑	Uemura Masahisa 植村正久	Keiseisha 警醒社	1884	Christian apologetics defending the need for religion without rejecting the theory of evolution.
Seikyō shinron 政教新論	Kozaki Hiromichi 小崎弘道	Keiseisha 警醒社	1886	Christian apologetics comparing Christianity with Confucianism in favor of the former.
Shinsen sanbika saijōtō 新撰贊美歌 Δ	Uemura Masahisa 植村正久, Okuno Masatsuna 奥野昌綱, Matsuyama Takayoshi 松山高吉	Keiseisha 警醒社	1888	Religious songs. Described in 1892 as "available in leather, cloth, and paper bound versions."
Yaso Kirisuto ichidaiki 耶蘇基督一代記	Jerome Dean Davis	Beikoku Seikyō Shoruishuppan Gaisha 米国聖教書類出版会社	1882	English title: *Life of Jesus Christ*. With elaborate illustrations.
Yamiji no hikari 闇路の光	Onna Kyōshi Talcott* 女教師タルカツ(タルカット)			
Kinshu enzetsushū 禁酒演説集	Mary Clement Leavittメリー・クレメント・レビット	Fukuinsha 福音社	1887	Speeches on temperance.
Fujoshi no shokumu 婦女子の職務	Naruse Jinzō 成瀬仁蔵	Naruse Jinzō 成瀬仁蔵	1881	A women's guide for the home.
Fūfu daigaku 夫婦大學	John Kinne Hoyde Deforest	Mikuni Hakensenkyōshi Jimukyoku 美國派遣宣教師事務局	1881	Missionary Deforest's teachings on marriage.
Rebiddo-shi enzetsu hikki レビット氏演説筆記	Mary Clement Leavitt メリー・クレメント・レビット			Leavitt's speeches on temperance.
*Kijo kidan** 寄女寄談	Ms. Doday* ドゥデー女史			
Chotto ichigen 鳥渡一言	Matsumura Kaiseki 松村介石	Kirisutokyō Shorui Gaisha 基督教書類會社	188-	English title: *Just a Word*.
Chotto ichigen dai ni hen 鳥渡一言　第二編	Matsumura Kaiseki 松村介石	Kirisutokyō Shorui Gaisha 基督教書類會社	188-	Revised version of *Chotto ichigen.*

[234] Ibid.: "家は夫婦の二本柱より成ること."
[235] Ibid.: "家は国の基."
[236] "*Jogaku Zasshisha shuppan urisabaki oyobi toritsugi shomoku*": "*Shūkyō no bu*" 宗教之部.

Chiyo no ishizue 千代の礎	Okumura Hisao 奥村久郎	Okumura Hisao 奥村久郎	1892	English title: *A Light-house Story. Saved at Sea.*
(*Hyōchū* 評註) *Seisho no meifuden* 聖書の名婦傳		Beikoku Seikyō Shorui Gaisha 米国聖教書類会社	1888	Description of well-known biblical women.
Erisabetto shōden エリサベット小傳				Biography of Queen Elizabeth.
Otome no zenkō 乙女の善行	Miura Tōru 三浦徹	Miura Tōru 三浦徹	1888	Moral teachings for girls.
Nihonyaku seisho 日本譯聖書				The Bible in Japanese.
Risshi no ishizue 立志の礎 (立志之礎)	Matsumura Kaiseki 松村介石	Keiseisha 警醒社	1889	On religion's role in society.
Kami no kengen 神之顯現	Ise Tokio 伊勢時雄	Keiseisha 警醒社	1889	On theophany.
Shinkō no riyū 信僞之理由 (信仰之理由)	Kozaki Hiromichi 小崎弘道	Keiseisha 警醒社	1889	Apologetics: theories on Christianity and its necessity in Japan.
Mataiden chūshaku 馬太傳註釋	Learned, Dwight Whitney. Translated by Hayami Takugon 速水琢厳.	Fukuin sha 福音社	1888	Commentary on Matthew (the New Testament).
Rukaden chūshaku 路加傳註釋	Learned, Dwight Whitney. Translated by Ise Tokio 伊勢時雄.	Fukuin sha 福音社	1887	Commentary on Luke (the New Testament).
Yohaneden chūshaku 約翰傳註釋	Learned, Dwight Whitney. Translated by Hayami Takugon 速水琢厳.	Fukuin sha 福音社	1888	Commentary on John (the New Testament).
Shito gyōden chūshaku 使徒行傳註釋	Learned, Dwight Whitney. Translated by Hayami Takugon 速水琢厳.	Fukuin sha 福音社	1886	Commentary on Acts of the Apostles (the New Testament).
Temote zengosho / Tetosu / Firemon sho Chūshaku 提摩太前後書・提多書・腓利門書註釋	Learned, Dwight Whitney. Translated by Hayami Takugon 速水琢厳.	Fukuin sha 福音社	1889	Commentary on Timothy, Titus, and Philemon (the New Testament).
Tesaronike zengosho chūshaku 帖撒羅尼迦前後書註釋	Learned, Dwight Whitney. Translated by Hayami Takugon 速水琢厳.	Fukuin sha 福音社	1888	Commentary on Thessalonians (the New Testament).
Heburaisho chūshaku 希伯來書註釋	Learned, Dwight Whitney. Translated by Adachi Taku 足立琢.	Beikoku Haken Senkyōshi jimukyoku 米國派遣宣教師事務局	1886	Commentary on Hebrews (the New Testament).
Mokushiroku chūshaku 默示録註釋	Learned, Dwight Whitney. Translated by Adachi Takugon 足立琢厳.	Fukuin sha 福音社	1887	Commentary on the Book of Revelation (the New Testament).
Epesusho chūshaku 以弗所書註釋	Learned, Dwight Whitney. Translated by Katō Yujiro 加藤勇次郎.	Fukuin sha 福音社	1887	Commentary on Ephesians (the New Testament).

Garateyasho chūshaku 加拉太書註釋	Tō Shaki 陶錫祈			Commentary on The Epistle to the Galatians (the New Testament).
Korinto zensho chūshaku 哥林多前書註釋	Cary, Otis. Translated by Kanamori Michitomo 金森通倫	Beikoku Haken Senkyōshi Jimukyoku 米國派遣傳宣教師事務局	1885	Commentary on Corinthians (the New Testament).
Rōmasho chūshaku 羅馬書註釋		Beikoku Haken Senkyōshi Jimukyoku 米國派遣宣教師事務局	1884	Commentary on Romans (the New Testament).
Tesaronikasho kōgi 帖書講義	John Kinne Hoyde Deforest	Beikoku Haken Senkyōshi Jimukyoku 米國派遣宣教使事務局	1882	Lectures on Thessalonians.
Seikyō jikkai shinron 西教十戒眞論		Beikoku Haken Senkyōshi Jimukyoku 米國派遣宣教使事務局		On Ten Commandments.
Ie no oshie 家の教へ	Matsuyama Takayoshi 松山高吉	Etō Takayoshi 江藤高吉	1886	A manual for the home.
Eiyaku seisho 英譯聖書				The Bible in English.

5.b.1.h. Texts in English

Regarding English texts in education, Iwamoto explains in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* that the school's position is neutral: while the English literature is "great," it should not be overemphasized.

> Among the various literary traditions, the English one is the most prudent and pious, teeming with chaste considerations and lofty ideals. I mean the writing of [John] Milton [(1608–74)], [Samuel] Johnson [(1709–84)], [Edmund] Burke [(1729–97)], [Thomas] Carlyle [(1795–1881)], [Robert] Burns [(1759–96)], [William] Wordsworth [(1770–1850)], [Ralph Waldo] Emerson (1803–82), [Robert] Browning [(1812–89)][237] […] Especially if you compare their writing to the Japanese literary tradition, the virtuousness and idealism become clearly visible. Their reverence towards the higher being in space—God—catches the eye. And that is why the English literature takes a larger part than it should among our subjects. Even while we disagree with overemphasizing Western studies in the manner of the missionaries, avoiding it altogether in the manner of the traditionalists is also not recommended. That is why our school takes a neutral position on this.[238]

It is interesting that the "Western studies" are represented by only the English writing. We can see how the English texts are lauded for their focus on moral virtues, yet Iwamoto would gladly replace them with Japanese equivalents had there been any. The relationship of Western literature with Christianity in Iwamoto's thought is clear, and the names listed above seem to be authors highly esteemed by Iwamoto. The list "Texts in English" (*Eibun*) below, however, does not include these pieces, possibly as they were made readily available by other publishers, just as the textbooks on science that were used by the school. Instead, we see beautifully printed Japanese children's stories rendered into English. They were intended to be used as English language learning materials, or a way to learn and teach (modernized versions of) Japanese stories at a time when there were no

[237] Possibly, Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–61).

[238] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 15-16: "英文學は大なる文學なり: 外國文學中、最も謹厚敬虔なる文學なり、純潔の思念、擴大なる理想其中に充滿す、是れミルトンの文學なり、ジョンソン の文學なり、ボルク、カーライルの文學なり、バルンス、ウオズヲルス、エマソン、ブロウニングの文學なり、之れを日本文學に比較するに、其の純潔雄高なる處ろ特に秀でたるものあり、宇宙間の大なる存在者[…]上帝を奉ずるの處ろ特に秀でたるものあり。故に残念ながら当に有るべきよりも稍や多く其科目を学ぶことを得ず。故に宣教師方の如くに之を多くすることにも不同意なれども、また積極なる保守論の方々の如くに迄で之を少くすること能はず、故に此点に於ても中立なり."

better equivalents available in Japanese. While George William Knox's (1853–1912) writing was received positively (refer to 3.b.2.b.), I could not ascertain how the work by other early Japanologists, such as Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935) or James Curtis Hepburn (1815–1911), was seen by Meiji Jogakkō and *Jogaku zasshi*; nevertheless, their translations of children's literature seem to have been highly appreciated. The identity of the female translator Mrs. T. H. James could not be ascertained.

The "Japanese Fairy Tale Series" was published by Kōbunsha 弘文社, and supervised by T. Hasegawa. In the following years the publications reached twenty-one volumes.[239]

Table 27: English texts[240]

Title	Author	Year	Contents
Momotarō 桃太郎 (*Momotaro, or, Little Peachling*)	David Thompson	1885	*Japanese fairy tale series* 1.
Shitakiri suzume 舌切雀 (*Tongue Cut Sparrow*)	David Thompson	1885	*Japanese fairy tale series* 2.
Sarugani gassen 猿蟹合戦 (*The Battle of the Monkey & the Crab*)	David Thompson	1885	*Japanese fairy tale series* 3.
Hanasaka jii 花咲爺 (*The Old Man who Made the Dead Trees Blossom*)	David Thompson	1885	*Japanese fairy tale series* 4.
*Kachi kachi yama*カチカチ山 *(Kachi Kachi Mountain*)	David Thompson	1886	*Japanese fairy tale series* 5.
Nezumi no yomeiri 鼠嫁入 (*The Mouse's Wedding*)	David Thompson	1885	*Japanese fairy tale series* 6.
Kobutori 瘤取 (*Old man & the Devils*)	Dr. Hepburn	1886	*Japanese fairy tale series* 7.
*Tawara Tōta monogatari*俵藤太物語 (*My Lord Bag-O'Rice*)	Dr. Chamberlain	1887	*Japanese fairy tale series* 15.
Urashima 浦島 (*Urashima, The Fisher-Boy*)	Dr. Chamberlain	1886	*Japanese fairy tale series* 8.
Yamata no orochi 八頭の大蛇 (The Serpent with Eight Heads)	Dr. Chamberlain	1886	*Japanese fairy tale series* 9.
Matsuyama kagami 松山鏡 (*Matsuyama Mirror*)	Mrs. T. H. James	1886	*Japanese fairy tale series* 10.
Inaba no shirousagi 因幡の白兎 (*Hare of Inaba*)	Mrs. T. H. James	1887	*Japanese fairy tale series* 11.
Noboshi no tegara 野干の手柄 (Cub's triumph)	Mrs. T. H. James	1887	*Japanese fairy tale series* 12.
Hohodemino mikoto (*Hiko hohodemino mikoto*) 參火々出見命 (彦火々出見命) (*Princes Fire-Flash & Fire-Fade*)	Mrs. T. H. James	1887	*Japanese fairy tale series* 14.
Hachikatsuki monogatari 鉢かつき物語 (*The Wooden Bowl*)	Mrs. T. H. James	1887	*Japanese fairy tale series* 16.
Kurage monogatari 海月物語 (*The Silly Jellyfish*)	Dr. Chamberlain	1887	*Japanese fairy tale series* 13.

At the end of the 1890 list[241] there is a note stating that there are more publications distributed by Jogaku Zasshisha in English: a variety of treatises on physical geography, religion, science, and crafts. Sadly, I could not ascertain what they were.

5.b.1.i. Additions Made in 1892

In 1892,[242] we can see the development that took place in the two years after the first list was compiled. Below I have picked out only the new additions that show a strong shift towards the publication and distribution of school textbooks, literature for children, and politically-charged writing against prostitution.

[239] For more details on the series and how they incorporated stories from *Kojiki*, refer to Tanimoto Yumi 谷本由美, "'Inabano-no-shiro-usagi' as the Beginning of Children's Books of Kojiki in the Meiji Era: From Crepe Books by Chamberlain to the 'Japanese Old Tale' Series by Iwaya Sazanami," DWCLA human life and science 45 (2011): 44-53. https://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/120005643140/en/.

[240] "*Jogaku Zasshisha shuppan urisabaki oyobi toritsugi shomoku"*: "*Eibun no bu*" 英文の部.

[241] Ibid.

[242] "*Jogaku Zasshisha hatsubai shoseki mokuroku.*"

Table 28: Additions made in 1892

Title	Author	Publisher	Year	Contents/Comments
Jogakusei				Description: "It is a magazine for girl students; major improvements have been made since no. 23."[243]
Shōkōshi 小公子	Wakamatsu Shizuko 若松賤子	Jogaku Zasshisha	1892	The first half of the translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1890) by Frances Hodgson Burnett (1849–1924). Description: "A highly evaluated piece of writing and a must-read for children."
Hōbungaku 邦文學	Matsuyama Takayoshi 松山高吉			On Japanese language. Description: "For learning *wabuntai* 和文躰 (*kana*-based writing) and *gokaku* 語格 (grammar)."
Sakubun kuju: gazoku shotai (*ichimei kokubun kyōkasho*) 作文口授: 雅俗諸體 (一名國文教科書)	Suzuki Hiroyasu 鈴木弘恭	Keibundō 敬文堂	1890	On writing essays. Description: "A school textbook also usable for self-study."
Sankō hyōchū taketori monogatari tokuhon 參考標註竹取物語讀本	Suzuki Hiroyasu 鈴木弘恭	Chūgaidō 中外堂	1889	*Taketori monogatari* reader. Description: "A text made into a schoolbook."
Sankō hyōchū tosa nikki tokuhon 參考標註土佐日記讀本	Suzuki Hiroyasu 鈴木弘恭	中西屋邦太 Nakanishiya Kunita	1885	*Tosa nikki* reader. Description: "A text made into a schoolbook."
Jokakkōyō tokuhon kokubun shōdoku 女學校用讀本國文抄讀	Suzuki Hiroyasu 鈴木弘恭			A reader for girls' schools, five volumes. Description: "Summaries of texts, great for schools."
Nihon joshi tokuhon 日本女子読本	Yoshida Toshiyuki 吉田利行	Hayashi Onosuke 林斧介	1890	A reader for Japanese women. Description: "For self-study about the home (*katei no yōsho* 家庭の用書)." Came in two versions, the other being the primer: *Nihon joshi yomihon shoho* 日本女子読み本初歩.
Meiji onna shōgaku shitsukegusa 明治女小學躾草	Matsuda Toshitaru 松田敏足	Rairakudō 磊落堂	1889	Description: "About the home."
Kiji shukubun joshibunrei 記事祝文女子文例	Katsuki Yukitsune 香月怒經	Rairakudō 磊落堂	1890	Description: "A primer in essay writing."
Kanbun shōdoku 漢文抄読	Kimura Kumaji 木村熊二			Description: "*Kanbun* textbook."[244] Four volumes.
Haha no tsutome 母のつとめ (ははのつとめ)	Mishima Michiyoshi 三島通良	Maruzen 丸善	1890	Description: "Necessary knowledge for mothers and children, highly acclaimed." (Came in two volumes: one for mothers and one for children).
Kosodategusa 兒育草		Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1891	Description: "Necessary knowledge (*kokoroe* 心得) on motherhood."
Joshi seiri 女子生理	Funakoshi Kentarō* 船越鼎太郎	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1891	On female physiology. Description: "A necessary read for all women."
S*eiyō jorei* 西洋女礼		Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1891	On Western Etiquette for Women. Description: "Knowledge (*kokoroe*) for women."

[243] Ibid.: "女学生の機關雜誌にして廿三合より大改良せり."
[244] Ibid.: "漢書の用を摘み精を集めたる."

Kodomo no hanashi 子供の話		Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社		Stories for children. Description: "For learning/teaching naturally (*shizen kyōkun* 自然教訓) with interesting stories."
Kasei yōshi 家政要旨	Muraki Keisaku 村木経策	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1890	Description: "On general knowledge necessary for the home (*kasei ippan* 家政一般)."
Sokuhatsu annai 束髪案内	Watanabe Kanae渡邊鼎	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社		Description: "Explanations on hairstyles with images."
Jogaku sōsho Kimura Tōko den 女學叢書木村鐙子傳 (*Kimura Tōko shoden* 木村鐙子小伝)	Iwamoto Yoshiharu 巖本善治		1887	Biography of Kimura Tōko. Description: "Much good (*ekizen* 益鮮) to be gained from this reading."
*Konchū shokubutsu kinseki saishuhō*混蟲植物金石採取法	Hoshino Shinnosuke (Tenchi) 星野慎之介 (天知)	Possibly by Jogaku Zasshisha		Description: "Great as a textbook on gathering bugs, plants, and minerals."
Shokubutsugaku 植物學	Terao Kumazō 寺尾熊三	Possibly by Jogaku Zasshisha		Description: "Summary of botany."
Enzetsu shosaku zairyō shinshi 演説書作材料新誌		Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社		Description: "Materials for those preparing speeches (*enzetsu*)."
Kangofu bidan 看護婦美談 (*Kanbyōfu bidan*看病婦美談)	Kuno Masaka 久野正香	Beikoku Seikyōshorui Gaisha 米國聖教書類會社	1889	Translation of Margaret Lonsdale's *Sister Dora: A Biography* (1881). Description: "A book for those thinking of doing charity work in the future."[245] Sister Dora (1832–78) was an English nun.
Girō zenpai 妓樓全廢	Iwamoto Yoshiharu 巖本善治	Jogaku Zasshisha 女學雜誌社	1889	Description: "Iwamoto's opinion on how prostitution should be abolished."
Kōshō kametsu 公娼可滅	Shimada Saburō 島田三郎, Iwamoto Yoshiharu			Description: "General opinions on how prostitution should be abolished."
Haishō enzetsu 廃娼演説	Shimada Saburō島田三郎, Ueki Emori 植木枝盛			Description: "Speeches of famous people on the topic of the abolishment of prostitution."
Seigi no hankyō (*Haishō dōmeikai enzetsu shū*) 正義の反響 (廃娼同盟会演説集)	Yasueda Take 安枝武雄	Haishō Zasshisha 廃娼雑誌社	1890	Description: "Speeches on the topic of the abolishment of prostitution by the abolitionists (*haishōkai* 廃娼会)."
Kaeru かへる	Sasaki Shōjurō 佐々木笑受郎	Sasaki Shōjurō 佐々木笑受郎	1890	Description: "A reader (*yomihon*) for children."
Wagatō no joshi kyōiku 吾黨之女子教育	Iwamoto Yoshiharu	Jogaku Zasshisha	1892	Description: "Meiji Jogakkō's principles on education (*kyōiku shugi* 教育主義)."
Resshingu 烈眞具 (*Doitsu bungaku no taika* 獨逸文學の大家)	Akashi Shigetarō 赤司繁太郎	Hifumikan 一二三舘	1892	Translation of writing by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81), a German Enlightenment dramatist. Description: "A recent piece of writing with positive reception."
Yūgi shōka 遊戯唱歌	Shikama Kotatsu 四竈小辰			Description: "A reader for children."

[245] Ibid.: "慈善の婦女子一本を備へて可なり."

Nihon joreishiki 日本女礼式 (*Keishūkinnō Nihon joreishiki: Ichimei fujin ichidai chōhōkagami* 閨秀錦嚢日本女礼式: 一名・婦人一代重宝鑑)	Tsuboya Senshirō 坪谷善四郎	Hakubunkan 博文館	1891	Description: "On the Japanese manners since the olden times."
Kana shūji chō かな習字帖	Ono Kansuke 小野鋼之助 (Ono Gadō 小野鵞堂)			Three volumes. Description: "Samples of writing based on *Kokin wakashū*."
(*Joshi shōsoku*) *Fumi kakifuri* (女子消息) 文かきふり	Ono Kansuke 小野鋼之助 (Ono Gadō 小野鵞堂)	Yoshikawa Hanshichi 吉川半七	1891	Two volumes. Description: "A manual on writing letters." For *shōsoku* 消息: *kana*-based writing.
Shinkyūyaku zensho 新舊約全書		Seisho Gaisha 聖書會社		New and Old Testament (Holy Bible). Description: "Various bindings available."
Shin'yaku zensho 新約全書		(Beikoku) Seisho Gaisha (米國)聖書會社		New Testament. Description: "Various bindings available."

Among the above, *Kaeru*, an illustrated "*kyōkun*" for children, is seen advertised in *Jogakusei* as a great Christmas and New Year present, much like *Neko to nezumi* seen in 5.b.1.f. It is interesting to see how these publications for children blended Japanese and Christian traditions. They, together with *Shōkoshi*, show that Jogaku Zasshisha was attempting to educate women of various ages via popular literature.

***Image 7: Advertisement for* Kaeru**[246]

We can deduce from the table above that, after *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* (a distance learning course that ran from 1887 to 1892) came out of print, Jogaku Zasshisha created independent textbooks out of the materials developed during the correspondence course. With this, their scope of distribution must have been expanded.

As evident in the tables above, Jogaku Zasshisha published and endorsed a variety of texts ranging from the textbooks compiled by the Ministry of Education to translations of the Bible, from Edo period *kabuki* and *bunraku* playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon's pieces to Tsubouchi Shōyō's modern fiction, and from English translations of Japanese folktales to English publications on science. Varied texts were grouped together. For instance, the topic of physical education had been included in the categories of "Games" in the form of organized play, and in

[246] *Jogakusei* 8 (1890, December 21).

the category of "Art" in the form of etiquette (*jorei*/*reihō*) and music that could be accompanied by *taisō*. No modern martial arts manuals for girls are seen, possibly due to none being yet available in the early 1890s when the lists were published. No older books about martial arts were deemed relevant and appropriate to educating young women of the Meiji; instead, as we saw in section 4.b.2.d., students were being exposed to martial topics in the magazine *Jogakusei*, which also served as a textbook gradually compiled by Hoshino Tenchi. Among the sections, literature (fifty-two *bungaku*, eighteen *shōsetsu*, and sixteen texts in English) and art (fifty items) boasted the most publications, yet religion was also a popular theme (forty items). *Kasei*, science, and games were seen the least (fifteen, three, and three items respectively).

While the above lists provide an insight into what topics became, or could become, stand-alone textbooks rather than installments in *Jogaku zasshi*, the school's publishing activities did not end there. To circumvent the issue of shortage in suitable textbooks, Iwamoto took a threefold approach. Meiji Jogakkō used appropriate texts where available, but, when they were not, Iwamoto 1) wrote and translated fiction and non-fiction, in addition to urging others to do the same; 2) referred to people as "living texts," extolling them as role models, and used their lives, careers, and works as comprehensive educational sources; and 3) relied on the printed media published by the school as interactive textbooks (*Jogaku zasshi*, *Tsūshin jogaku*, and *Jogakusei*) in which the readers could contribute, discuss contributions of others, and ask questions. The following sections analyze such practices in detail, starting with Iwamoto's writing.

5.b.2. Literature Authored by Iwamoto: Fiction and Biographies as Textbooks

The list below briefly introduces Iwamoto's fiction or fictionalized biographies. From *Jogaku shinshi*, they were written for female students with heroines intended as role models.

Table 29: Literature authored by Iwamoto

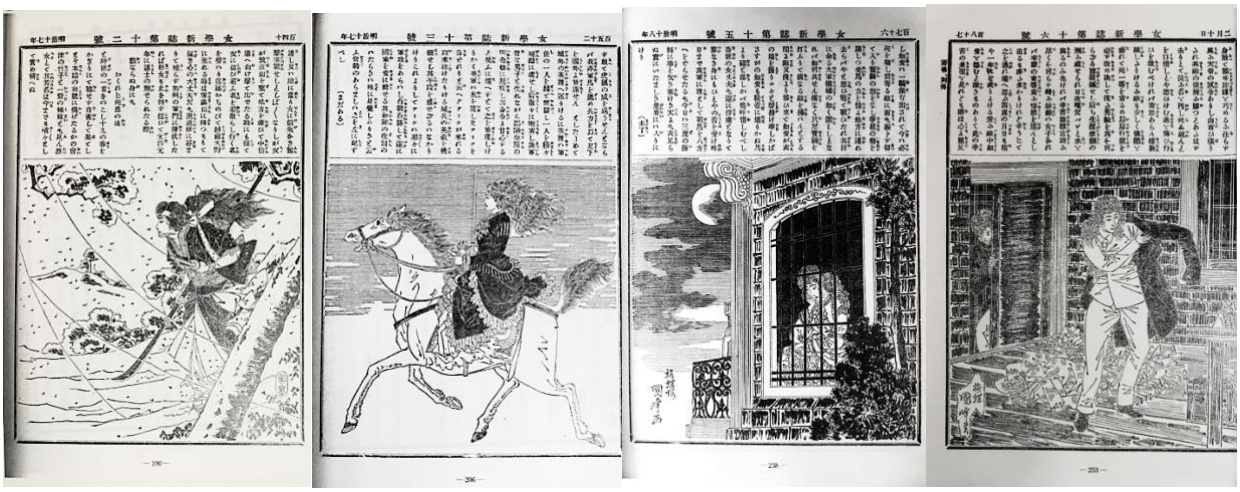
Magazine no. (date)	**Pen name (Category)**	**Title of the contribution (official English title)**	**Contents**
Nōgyō zasshi 226-28 (Aug 3 – Sep 25, 1885).	Tsukinoya Shujin/Shinobu 月の舎主人/しのぶ (*sōdan* 叢談, collection of stories)	*Yo wo shinobu tatsukuri no den* 世を忍ぶ豊夫の傳	Describes the life of a wandering man searching for a purpose in life. Poetic.
Jogaku shinshi 12-16 (Dec 10, 1884 – Feb 10, 1885).	Yamashita Ishirō 山下石翁 (*retsuden* 列傳, biographies of heroes)	*Joketsu Āku no den* 女傑アークの傳	Describes Joan of Arc's life. With elaborate illustrations in four out of five installments. (Three of them are included below.)
Jogaku zasshi 2-6, 9, 20, 23, 25, 27-28, 30-32, 33, 36-37 (Aug 10, 1885 – Oct 5, 1886)	Tsukinoya Shujin/ Shinobu 月の舎主人/志のぶ/しのぶ (*kaden*)	*Baika joshi no den* 梅香女史の傳	On the life of a fictional girl student Aoyama Ume 青山梅, who attends a government-run school in Tokyo (based on Kazoku Jogakkō), falls in love unrequitedly, discovers religion, and goes to the U.S. to study for the sake of the country.
Jogaku zasshi 13 (Jan 25, 1886)	Iwamoto Yoshiharu (*kaden*)	*Tomi Torako no ryakuden* 富井於菟子の略傳	Covered the life of Tomi Tora (1866–85), an educator and promoter of women's rights, who briefly taught at Meiji Jogakkō before passing away.
Jogaku zasshi 38-45 (Oct 15 – Dec 25, 1886)	Gyokudō no Shujin 玉堂の主人 (*kaden*)	*Matsushima kajin no den* 松島/嶋佳人の傳 (*A Woman*)	A fictionalized account of Ms. Matsuhima from a samurai family. Japanese-style illustrations.

Jogaku zasshi 46-51, 53, 55, 57 (Jan 5 – March 26, 1887)	Tsukinoya Shinobu 月の舎しのぶ (*kaden*)	*Yukari monogatari* ゆかり物語 (*Mrs. Eureka*)	Centers on love and life of the protagonist Eureka. With illustrations. For details, refer to Kobayashi.[247]
Jogaku zasshi 59-60 (April 9 – 16, 1887)	Tsukinoyashujin Shinobu 月の舎主人しのぶ (*kaden*)	*Fujinnan* 婦人歎 (*Only a Girl*)	"The hardships of a woman." Possibly incomplete. Adaptation of a story on a life of a German female intellectual. Carried an illustration in each issue, one Western and one Japanese.
Jogaku zasshi 66-69, 71-75 and 77-84 (July 9 – Nov 12, 1887)	Tsukinoya Shinobu 月の舎しのぶ (*shōsetsu*)	*Bara/Shōbi no kaori* 薔薇の香 (*Fragrant Rose*)	On relationships of young men and women, pointing out the importance of love and happiness, treating different types of love, and discussing marriage as a choice: one of the two protagonists marries, the other chooses to acquire higher education.
Jogaku zasshi 91-92 and 94 (Jan 7-28, 1888)	Tsukinoya Shinobu 月の舎忍/しのぶ (*shōsetsu*)	*Byakurendan* 白蓮談 (*White Lotus*)	Depicts prejudice against women from former samurai families studying in schools for women and mentions the criticism Meiji Jogakkō faced.
Jogaku zasshi 123-24, 125-42 (Aug 18, 1888 – Dec 29, 1889)	Tsukinoya Shinobu 月の舎しのぶ/忍 (*shōsetsu*)	*Testujo no maki* 哲女の巻	"The writings of a lady philosopher." Introduces a heroine who strives to enter Tokyo Imperial University to earn a Biology major, possibly inspired by the examples of Tsuda Umeko who majored in Biology in the U.S. and Ogino Ginko or other female physicians, who were reluctantly being permitted into higher institutions of learning or granted licences to practice.
Jogaku zasshi 131-32 (Oct 13-20, 1888)	Midori みどり (*kaden*)	*Sonkōrō, Dora no isshō* 村好娘、ドラの一生	On the life of a "good" villager named Dora. A didactic story based on a relationship of Western characters Dora and William. No illustrations.
Jogaku zasshi 147-58 (Feb 2 – April 20, 1889)	Tsukinoya Shinobu 月の舎しのぶ (*shōsetsu*)	*Risō (no) shinshi* 理想(の)紳士 (*Ideal Beau*)	Spoke on the ideals for men as partners in marriage. Adaptation of Dinah Craik's (1826–87) novel *John Halifax, Gentleman* (1856). Questions the ideal. With Western-style illustrations.
Jogaku zasshi 147-49, 151, 153, 156-57 (Feb 2 – April 13, 1889)	Midori (*kaden*)	*Harendan* 破鏈談 (*Breaking the Fetters*)	The story takes place in France with Western characters Mary and Jean around 1756. The plot revolves around the French Protestants: Huguenots. Presented as a real story. With Western-style illustrations.
Jogaku zasshi 272-74, 278-79, 281, 283-84, 286, 288, 291, 300 (Jul 4, 1891 – Jan 16, 1893)	Zenkūko 是空子 (*shōsetsu*)	*Nagare no ashi* 流れの葦	"Floating reeds." Used colloquial language passages, representing a version of Meiji period's educated women's speech. No illustrations.

Even before starting to teach at Meiji Jogakkō, Iwamoto expressed an interest in creative writing. For instance, while his preliminary contributions to *Nōgyō zasshi*[248] concentrated on issues related to agriculture, around the time of his graduation, when he started using the pen name Tsukinoya Shinobu, Iwamoto serialized a short story in the shape of the musings of a man who is wandering in life without a clear purpose. Later, as he started writing on women, he published a series on Joan of Arc (1412–31) as *Joketsu Āku no den* (*Jogaku shinshi* 12-16, Dec 10, 1884 – Feb 10, 1885). Below are the four illustrations from the series. The symbolism of the images is striking, as Joan of Arc is likened to a Japanese female warrior, later crossdressing as a man to escape the confinement. Iwamoto seems to have been providing "martial" role models from as early as 1884.

Image 8: Illustrations from Joketsu Āku no den

[247] Kobayashi Minoru* 小林実, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu* Yukari monogatari *no jikken*" 巌本善治「ゆりか物語」の実験, *Jūji bungaku* 十文字国文 15 (2009): 35-49.
[248] Starting with *Nōgyo zasshi* 123 (January 15, 1881). Noheji et al., *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*, 142.



His later publications in *Jogaku zasshi* that delved into the topic of literature tended to coincide with the periods his fiction was being serialized, once more confirming that to Iwamoto theory and practice were the two sides of the same coin.

With the inception of *Jogaku zasshi*, Iwamoto started to actively contribute his writing on the lives of women he considered as paragons. He established the *kaden* 佳伝 column for this purpose. Titled as "Biographies" in the English list of contents, the column stood at the intersection of biography and fiction. The first piece, serialized from the second issue of *Jogaku zasshi*, titled *Baika joshi no den*, focuses on the life of fictional girl-student Aoyama Ume, claiming it was inspired by actual observations of students' behavior. It included conversations between male students and Aoyama, illustrating the modern language usage among students, and a speech by a male teacher regarding the rights of women. Iwamoto is likely introducing his hopes for Meiji Jogakkō (opened on September 30, 1885), the establishment of which was announced in the issue that carried the first installment of *Baika joshi no den* (*Jogaku zasshi* 6, October 10, 1885).

Image 9: Illustrations to* Baika joshi no den*, Jogaku zasshi 6 (left) and* Tetsujo no maki*, Jogaku zasshi 123 (right)

Honda Masuko argues that Iwamoto presented his writing as biographical, while actually offering an ideal of behavior and language. For instance, the heroine Aoyama was represented as studious and poised, respected by her peers, and thus served as a contrast to the "rougher" characters attending the same school.[249] Iwamoto's selection of characters to represent and the qualities he emphasized were intended as possible role models for women, underscoring how *kaden* and *shōsetsu* overlapped in Iwamoto's thought as tools to motivate the students.

Bara/Shōbi no kaori, translated in the English table of contents as *Fragrant Rose*, was the first piece Iwamoto contributed in the *shōsetsu* ("Novel") column. Later attempts at *shōsetsu* were the brief *Byakurendan* (*White Lotus*) and *Risō (no) shinshi* (*Ideal Beau*), and the lengthy *Testujo no maki* ("the writings of a lady philosopher") and *Nagare no ashi* ("floating reeds"). While other parts of the magazine may have been printed in a small font and appear somewhat cramped, the *shōsetsu* column was given plenty of space, frequently boasting an illustration of half or a full page.

Other than the above, Iwamoto compiled into book format posthumous biographies of people from his inner circle that he identified as his comrades (*dōshi* 同志). The first headmistress of Meiji Jogakkō, Kimura Tōko was depicted by Iwamoto in *Kimura Tōko shoden* 木村鐙子小伝 of 1887. *Takahashi Gorō den* 高橋五郎伝 (1895) is the life story of Takahashi Gorō, whose writings on women's rights were published by Jogaku Zasshisha in 5.b.1.a. In 1896, he honored his wife, writing, in English, *In Memory of Mrs. Kashi Iwamoto, the first graduate of Ferris Seminary, with a Collection of Her English Writings*.[250] In 1899, he wrote on his conversations with friend and role model Katsu Kaishū 勝海舟 (1823−99) in *Kaishū yoha* 海舟余波.[251] His selection of which achievements and writings of these people to emphasize reflect his own ideas, yet he emphasized their worldview and lessons, aiming to preserve their life lessons for the later generations.

In addition, Iwamoto translated William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (16th C.) as *Hitoniku shitsunyū saiban* 人肉質入裁判 (1885),[252] Hans Christian Andersen's *The Emperor's New Clothes* (1837) as *Fushigi no shin'isō* 不思議の新衣装 (1888),[253] and *The Rights of Married Women* (1880) by Francis King Carey (1858–1944) as *Onna no mirai* 女の未來 (1887).[254] The former two reflect his interest in making accessible literature that could be used to convey certain moral messages. The latter covers topics found in Iwamoto's own non-fiction, such as the social critique along the lines of *Girō zenpai* and *Kōgi kametsu* (refer to Table 29), indicating that Carey's ideas influenced Iwamoto or that there was an overlap in their positions.

Iwamoto was not the only educator who believed in novels as suitable educational materials within a Christian context. Tsuda Umeko, Iwamoto's colleague, for example, used the belles-lettres as a means to teach the English language and the customs of the Western countries to her students. She

[249] Honda Masuko 本田和子, *Jogakusei no keifu: Saishikisareru Meiji* 女学生の系譜・増補版: 彩色される明治, (Tōkyō: Seikyūsha 青弓社, 2012): 84-86.
[250] First by Yokohama Seishi Bunsha, 1896. Reprint: Iwamoto Kashi, *In Memory of Mrs. Kashi Iwamoto*, ed. Iwamoto Yoshiharu (Tōkyō: Ōzorasha 大空社, 1995).
[251] It was renamed *Kaishū zadan* 海舟座談 when reprinted by Iwanami Bunko in 1930.
[252] Iwamoto was the first to translate this particular piece. It is included in Kawato Michiaki 川戸道昭, Sakakibara Takanori 榊原貴教, *Meiji hon'yaku bungaku zenshū: Shinbunnzasshihen 1 (Sheikusupiashū 1)* 明治翻訳文学全集: 新聞雑誌編 1 (シェイクスピア集 1) (Tokyo: Ōzorasha 大空社, 1996).
[253] Iwamoto was the first here, too: refer to ibid. *Shinbunnzasshihen 46* (*Anderusenshū* アンデルセン集).
[254] Available at http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/798898.

herself started writing an English story titled "Ine, A Story of Modern Japan."[255] The following letter written in 1883 after her return from studying in the U.S. shows how her views on Japanese literature coincided with Iwamoto's in that she both indicated the lack of "morality" in the Japanese stories and was in favor of the "fairy tales or romances of a good kind."

> I long that my sisters may study and have such advantages as I had. I am sorry they can not. Do you know, children hear so much that they ought not, and there is nothing good to teach them. The Japanese stories are immoral, and for a child like Fuki [Ume's younger sister], of ten years, not fit to be touched. If you don't let her read them, there is nothing to supply the place—no Sunday school stories, no fairy tales or romances of a good kind. English is the only medium to get to this literature, and English takes years to learn.[256]

Tsuda's dilemma is less complex than Iwamoto's, as she saw no problem in instilling Christian and Western morals in her students or teaching them from English texts. Iwamoto, on the other hand, was searching for an appropriate balance between the Western and the Japanese dogmas and the naturalization of Christian ideals. While Tsuda had an extensive library,[257] it included few works that could be perceived as suitable for teaching her students about the virtues of womanhood, love, or a Christian home—topics of great importance for Iwamoto.[258] However, she also emphasized literature in her educational endeavors. Tsuda's choices in texts and topics were shaped by the fact that she taught English language, as well as American culture and Christian morals with the help of English literature. Thus, while both Tsuda and Iwamoto chose to teach general Christian morality and Western patterns of thought via such authors as Victor Hugo, in contrast to Tsuda's literary activities, Meiji Jogakkō's focus was on publishing in Japanese and trying to develop examples in literature that would be easily localized and pertinent to the Japanese girls and women.

5.b.3. Women as Role Models

Elaine Showalter discusses how the visibility of female novelists came to represent the advancement and modernization in the West as follows: "by 1855, even before the appearance of George Eliot, the emergence of the woman's novel was so striking that most readers and reviewers would have agreed with Margaret Oliphant in linking it to other symptoms of social progress: 'This, which is the age of so many things—of enlightenment, of science, of progress—is quite as distinctly the age of female novelists.'"[259] Iwamoto too interpreted women's writing in a similar light, and in his arguments used it as a representative of the (aptitude for) progress of Japanese society. He wrote *shōsetsu* and *kaden* about women who hailed from a variety of backgrounds, yet

[255] Yoshiko Furuki, *The White Plum: A Biography of Ume Tsuda, Pioneer of Women's Higher Education in Japan* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2015), 163.
[256] Letter to Mrs. Lanman, dated May 23, 1883. Tsuda, *Attic Letters* (1991): 69.
[257] Tsuda, *Writings of Umeko Tsuda*, 518-19 offer a list of textbooks compiled by Tsuda herself. They are: *Selected Stories in English for Japanese Students Arranged with Notes* (1900), *English Stories selected for Japanese Students* (1901), her translations of *Old Greek Stories* written by James Baldwin (1902), *The Story of Don Quixote* retold by Calvin Dill Wilson (1902), *The Adventures of Baron Munchusen* (1902), *The Story of Jon of Iceland* by Bayard Taylor (1903), *A Tale of Two Cities* by Charles Dickens (1903), *Easy English Stories* (1905), *John Halifax, Gentleman* by Miss Mulock (Dinah Craik) (1909), *Five Stories from Miss Edgeworth* (1910), *Les Miserables* by Victor Hugo (1912), *Girls' Taisho Readers* five volumes, (1916), *English Stories 8* (1918), *Girls' New Taisho Readers* five volumes, (1921), *Pearl Readers* five volumes, (1925), and *Manual for Pearl Readers* (1926).
[258] Ibid.
[259] Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*, 63.

usually were financially independent (or striving to become so) and outspoken about social issues; he also used their achievements and choices in life to support the idea that women were indeed capable of "great things." He argued that women's writing had a dual practical purpose. The first one was the spreading of knowledge by women sharing their perspectives and experiences. The second was for the very existence of such authors and texts to serve as an inspiration to the modern Japanese women.

Several Western female authors were introduced to the Japanese audience via *Jogaku zasshi*. We find the names of Charlotte Brönte (1816–55) and her sisters, Jane Austen (1775–1817), Mrs. Browning (Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 1806–61), and George Eliot, mentioned in *Jogaku zasshi*'s *sōwa* 業話 section in a passage titled "women's suffrage" (August 15, 1886).[260] Borrowing an argument of an Englishwoman, Iwamoto listed them as examples of empowered women and as successful outcomes of education who need the right to vote. In addition, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Margaret Oliphant (1828–97), Hannah Moore (1745–1833), and George Sand (Amantine-Lucile-Aurore Dupin, 1804–76) were often mentioned in *Jogaku zasshi*. For example, Iwamoto presented them as Western women writers who have surpassed their male peers in his editorial about "women and novels" in the same issue (August 15, 1886).[261]

In the editorial "Women and Literary Work" (October 8, 1887),[262] there is a list containing Iwamoto's selection of Western female "role-model" authors active in the fields of novels, poetry, and science (*rigaku gakujutsu* 理學學術). While several of them could not be identified due to the way their names were transcribed into Japanese,[263] Iwamoto considered the following women as paragons. When it came to novelists, Jeanne d'Albret (1528–72), identified as a groundbreaker, was followed by George Eliot, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Margaret Oliphant, Hannah Moore, George Sand, Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823), Marry Wollstonecraft (1759–97), Jane Austen, Charlotte Brönte, and Mme de Staël.[264] Among the poets, he mentioned Elizabeth Barrett Browning and, as scientists, Harriet Martineau (1802–76) and, possibly, Edith Anna Œnone Somerville (1858–1949). Iwamoto argues that all, including the scientists, had largely influenced the history of Western literature.[265] Not all these women were writing of idyllic Christian homes and women's tasks at the home. Some were ardent fighters for women's suffrage and rights (Radcliff); some wrote on the supernatural and gothic (Stowe); and some, on social theory (Martineau).

When Iwamoto reminded the novelists that they are women as well as authors in "Novels as They Ought to Be" (March 16, 1889),[266] he advised them to write of things that are overlooked by men, just as Florence Nightingale (1820–1910) noticed the hurt soldiers at the Crimean War (1853–54); or as Harriet Beecher Stowe saw the slaves being worked like horses in the U.S.; or as Frances Elizabeth Caroline Willard (1839–98) saw the dangers of alcohol. He told the female authors to look ahead of men,[267] stating that if women wrote on topics that men have failed to assess, their writing would be welcomed as innovative. To Iwamoto, Mme de Staël, who wrote on

[260] "*Joshi no tōhyōken*" 女子の投票權, *Jogaku zasshi* 32 (August 15, 1886).
[261] "*Joshi to shōsetsu*" 女子と小説　下, *Jogaku zasshi* 32 (August 15, 1886).
[262] "*Joshi to bunpitsu no waza*" 女子と文筆の業　第一, *Jogaku zasshi* 79 (October 8, 1887).
[263] Such as novelists ヲピー婦人, モルガン, poets マツクリアン婦人, ヘンマン婦人, and scientists ミッセスソマービル and ミセスグロート.
[264] Mme de Staël was particularly often mentioned in *Jogaku zasshi* as a role model: no. 46, 48, 91, 96. (Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 170, note 1.)
[265] Ibid.: "西洋文学史上に非常の変動を与えたるものなり."
[266] "Novels as They Ought to Be" ("*Joryū shōsetsuka no honshoku*" 女流小説家之本色), *Jogaku zasshi* 153 (March 16, 1889): "宜しく女性としての小説家たるべし."
[267] Ibid.: "女性は男性の気の付かざる目の及ばざる心の至らざる百尺竿頭更に一進歩したる先をば明認し得るなれ."

human rights, or George Eliot, who explored human emotion, did not try to be the next Victor Hugo or the next Shakespeare—they did even better than them by providing a broader perspective.[268]

Showalter provides some background to Iwamoto's choices when she identifies

> three generations of nineteenth-century feminine novelists. The first, born between 1800 and 1820, included all the women who are identified with the Golden Age of the Victorian authoress: the Brontës, Mrs. Gaskell, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Harriet Martineau, and George Eliot. The members of this group, whose coevals were Florence Nightingale, [...] and other pioneer professionals, were what sociologists call 'female role innovators'; they were breaking new ground and creating new possibilities. The second generation, born between 1820 and 1840, included [...] Margaret Oliphant [...]; these women followed in the footsteps of the great, consolidating their gains, but were less dedicated and original. The third generation, born between 1840 and 1860, included sensation novelists and children's book writers [presumably, Frances Hodgson Burnett would fit into this category]. They seemed to cope effortlessly with the double roles of woman and professional, and to enjoy sexual fulfillment as well as literary success. Businesslike, unconventional, efficient, and productive, they moved into editorial and publishing positions as well as writing.[269]

The fact that Iwamoto seems to concentrate on the first two ("feminine" and "female") categories for his list of "paragons," is likely influenced by the timing of their publication, which must have affected what authors Iwamoto was exposed to. In addition, he was influenced by the popular understanding of women's writing abroad. We can see similarities between his position and the situation in the West in Showalter's description of how "[u]p until about 1880 feminine novelists felt a sincere wish to integrate and harmonize the responsibilities of their personal and professional lives. Moreover, they believed that such a reconciliation of opposites would enrich their art and deepen their understanding."[270] In addition:

> "Generally, [...] feminine women writers flaunted their domesticity, and genuinely enjoyed it; like Harriet Martineau in her Autobiography, they bragged that they could sew shirts or make puddings; like George Eliot, they kept careful records of the asparagus nippers and the second-best blankets; like Dinah Mulock, they insisted that 'the best housekeepers, the neatest needlewomen, the most discreet managers of their own and others' affairs, are ladies whose names the world cons over in library lists and Exhibition catalogues.'"[271]

Regarding how Iwamoto knew all these authors, Yabu Teiko provides a lead. According to her, Iwamoto's frequent mention of John Lord indicates that texts such as his *Beacon Lights of History* (1883–96), might have been used at Meiji Jogakkō as textbook material.[272] Indeed, volume 7, titled *Great Women* (1886), lists some of the figures that were often invoked by Iwamoto as role models, and there are chapters titled "Héloïse: Love," "Joan Of Arc: Heroic Women," "Madame De Staël:

[268] Ibid.
[269] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, 16.
[270] Ibid., 50.
[271] Ibid., 55.
[272] Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 146, note 1.

Woman in Literature," "Hannah More: Education of Woman," and "George Eliot: Woman as Novelist." However, Iwamoto does not seem to inherit the biases from Lord, who, for instance, evaluates George Eliot as lacking in morals and Christian faith.[273]

While the works of the women mentioned above had not been translated into Japanese at the time, the fact that Iwamoto knew of their existence, and also felt confident to recommend them, is impressive;[274] it also indicates that the readers were expected to be able to find and read works by such authors in English. It is highly probable that writing by foreign authors was circulating in the capital. We have an example from the magazine *Iratsume*[275] 以良都女 (1887–91) to back that. Issue 23 (May 15, 1889), in an answer to a reader's question, carried a list of "well-written, well-planned, not difficult or harmful romantic novels"[276] that can be bought in bookstores[277] in Tokyo. The list consisted of *Ernest Maltravers* (1837) by Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1803), *Rip van Winkle* (1819) by Washington Irving, and Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820). All of these male authors appear in Meiji Jogakkō's curricula as well as in writing by Iwamoto and Hoshino. For instance, the writing of Goldsmith and Irving appear on Meiji Jogakkō's curriculum, while we see Bulwer-Lytton and Scott praised by Iwamoto in "On the Novel" (October 29, 1887). A subsequent similar list of recommended reading in *Iratsume* 26 (August 15, 1889) consists of *The Witness of the Sun* (1889) by Amelie Rives Troubetzkoy (1863–1945), *Jerry* (1891) by the Duchess (Sarah Barnwell Elliott) (1848–1928), and *Guilderoy* (1889) by Ouida (Maria Louise Ramé) (1839–1908), joined by *Marriage and Divorce in the United States: As They Are and as They Ought to Be* (1889) by Duncan Convers (1851–1929). These titles, the first three authored by women, are provided in the English original and referred to as "rather popular."[278] In comparison to the first group, they are not written by particularly well-known authors in Japan at the time.[279] Nevertheless, the publisher (Philadelphia-based J.B. Lippincott Company) is indicated, which means that the publisher was accessible from Japan. The reason why we do not see the second group of authors in Meiji Jogakkō's curricula or publications is probably their relative novelty. However, while I could not locate mentions to these particular authors, it does not mean that they were received by Iwamoto and other staff members negatively, especially if we take into consideration that Yamada Bimyō, editor of *Iratsume*, was associated with Meiji Jogakkō and *Jogaku zasshi* and that Jogaku Zasshisha endorsed *Iratsume*.

If we look at what texts were available in translation, and thus more accessible than their foreign equivalents, throughout the Meiji period we find numerous male authors being translated: John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834), Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81), Shakespeare, Sir Walter Scott, Daniel

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[273] John Lord, *Beacon Lights of History*, *Volume VII Great Women* (New York: James Clarke and Co.,1886). The table of contents for the chapter on Eliot includes such leads as "Her failure as a teacher of morals" and "Regret at her abandonment of Christianity."

[274] Iwamoto is known for subscribing to numerous Western periodicals for women ("The Queen" (est. 1861), "Women's Journal" (1870–1931), "Family Herald" (1843–1940), etc.) (Mizuno, "Jogaku zasshi *ni okeru joshi kōtō kyōiku ron*," 286) and may have taken a few hints from them without having read the books himself. The information could also have reached him through foreign and native intellectuals in his networks.

[275] *Iratsume* was mostly an enterprise by Yamada Bimyō, a staff member at *Jogaku zasshi*. Like *Jogaku zasshi*, *Iratsume* was a magazine for and about women, with female contributors. It received support from *Jogaku zasshi* via endorsement on its pages. A detailed study of the magazine can be found in Mara Patessio "*Iratsume* and Journals for Women in the Early Meiji Period," electronic journal of contemporary Japanese studies (ejcjs), (2002), http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/kenkyu2002/Patessio.pdf.

[276] *Iratsume* 以良都女 (Tokyo: Fujishuppan 不二出版, 1983): 33. "人情小説で文もかなり、また趣向も劣等でなく、そして六づかしくないもの。これらを読んで毒になりません."

[277] Ibid.: "書村(ほんや)にあります."

[278] Ibid., "一寸ははやります."

[279] Patessio, "*Iratsume* and Journals for Women," 25.

Defoe (1660–1731), John Bunyan, Charles Dickens, Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas (1802–70), Jules Verne (1828–1905), and Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616).[280] In contrast, women authors were translated considerably less. Among Meiji translations of women writers' works, the following are fairly well-known in English language scholarship: Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1890) published by Jogaku Zasshisha, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Little Cabin* (1896), George Eliot's *Adam Bede* (1911),[281] and an attempt at adaptation (*hon'an* 翻案) of Charlotte Brontë's (1816–55) *Jane Eyre* (1847) in Hakubunkan's *Bungei kurabu* (1895–1933) in 1896, terminated after the fourth installment.[282] And, Louisa May Alcott's (1832–88) *Little Women* (1868–69), which was first rendered into Japanese in 1906 by Kitada Shūho (life years unknown) as *Shōfujin* 小婦人.[283] However, there are two other translations, apparently largely unknown in English-language scholarship, that were distributed by Jogaku Zasshisha: Margaret Lonsdale's *Sister Dora: A Biography* rendered as *Kangofu bidan* by Kuno Masaka in 1889 and Charlotte M. Brame's *Dora Thorne* translated as *Tanima no himeyuri* (1888–90) by Suematsu Kenchō and Ninomiya Kumajirō (refer to Table 24). It is thus clear that Jogaku Zasshisha was active in promoting the writing of foreign women authors by introducing, translating, or distributing it.

When it comes to Japanese women authors, in Iwamoto's writing their names seem to be invoked as often as their foreign counterparts'. As role model material among the Japanese authors,[284] Iwamoto lists both historical and contemporary figures. We now know that some of the information he provides is mistaken, but overall Iwamoto was well-informed for a Meiji intellectual. As historical figures whose model is worth following, Iwamoto lists Murasaki Shikibu and her *Genji monogatari*; Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (966–1017/1025) and her *Makura no sōshi*; Ise 伊勢 (life years unknown) as Iwamoto believed she wrote *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語[285] (around 11th C.); Akazome Emon 赤染衛門 (app. 960–1040) and her *Eiga monogatari* 栄華物語 (compiled 1028–1107)[286]; Ben no Kyoku 弁の局, who Iwamoto believed to have written *Sagoromo monogatari* 狭衣物語 (around 11th C.)[287]; Fujiwara Michitsuna no Haha 藤原道綱母 (app. 936–995) and her *Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記 (972–76)[288]; Abutsuni 阿仏尼 (?–1283) and her *Izayoi nikki* 六十夜日記 (1279–80); and Ono no Otsū 小野の通 (1568–1631), who Iwamoto believed wrote *Jōruri monogatari* 浄瑠璃物語 (1475)[289]. He defines them as central to Japanese fiction (*wabun no shōsetsu* 和文の小説). Ono no Komachi is also mentioned as an exemplary poet.[290]

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[280] The National Diet Library 国立国会図書館, *List of Foreign Literary Works done into Japanese* (Tokyo: Kazamashobō , 1972).
[281] Haruko Iwakami, "The Brontës in Japan: How Jane Eyre was Received in the Meiji Period (1868–1912)," *Brontë Studies* 27, no. 2 (2002): 94: "As for the translation of female novelists, there is evidence of only three titles: Frances Burnett's Little Lord Fauntleroy in 1890, Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1896 and George Eliot's Adam Bede in 1911. There was one short story by Maria Edgeworth whose title, however, is unidentified at present."
[282] Ibid., 96-97. Iwakami suggests that it was discontinued due to being a love story promoting an independent heroine.
[283] Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase, "Shōfujin (Little Women): Recreating Jo for the Girls of Meiji Japan" (2010): 249.
[284] The list is found in "*Joshi to shōsetsu*" 女子と小説　下, *Jogaku zasshi* 32 (August 15, 1886):
[285] According to Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 84, note 3, it is now known that she is not the author of the text.
[286] Possibly Japan's oldest epic (*rekishi monogatari* 歴史物語). While Iwamoto does not specify, Akazome was a contributor/editor rather than the main author.
[287] Ben no kyoku is most likely used to identify Daini no Sanmi 大弐三位 (9991082), Murasaki Shikibu's daughter. Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 84-85, notes 9-10, points out that it is not her work.
[288] Most likely the first Japanese autobiography in prose (*sanbun jijoden* 散文自). Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 85, note 12.
[289] Again, according to Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 85, note 14, most likely not her work.
[290] "*Kono daisabakukai ni, hitori no shijin are yo*" 此の大砂漠界に、一人の詩人あれよ, *Jogaku zasshi* 161 (May 11, 1889).

While the list above consists of authors from around eleventh-century Japan, that is, Heian period, Iwamoto stressed that more than the "ladies of the past," he was interested in making sure there would be models in "present Japan," that is, contemporary authors for others to emulate. In "Novels as They Ought to Be" (March 16, 1889)[291] Iwamoto argues that while the first great pieces by modern men, such as *Keikoku bidan* (which he likened to Scott's *Waverley*), or *Tōsei shosei katagi* (likened by him to *Vanity Fair* (1848)), raised the numbers of aspiring authors, and thus several exceptional works by Futabatei Shimei, Yamada Bimyō or Sutō Nansui 須藤南翠 (1857–1920) were created, women's writing had shown far greater development. He begins by listing the emerging female authors, noting that there are also many aspirers, especially among the girl students, who, admiring their seniors, wish to follow in their footsteps. Subsequently, Iwamoto provides us with a list of achievements in modern women's writing that, we can assume, had met his criteria.

The first modern novel by a female author in Japan Kishida Toshiko's *Zen'aku no chimata*,[292] that depicts the life of two sisters who befriend a man without knowing he has committed a crime; the story ends in the main characters' deaths. It is a free translation of Edward Bulwer-Lytton's novel *Eugene Aram* (1832).[293] Miyake Kaho's *Yabu no uguisu*.[294] *Iinazuke no enishi* 許嫁の縁 (1888), in which the heroine questions the marriage proposal supported by her family[295] by Ōshima Chiyoko's 大島千代子 (years unknown), aka Shūgetsu 秋月, who was Iwamoto's younger sister. [296] Okamoto Eiko's 岡本栄子 (1872–90)[297] *Fujo no kagami* 婦女の鏡 (1889), in which Okamoto depicted her unfulfilled wish to study abroad—the first novel by a female author to be serialized in a Japanese newspaper. [298] Sasaki Masako's 佐々木 昌子 (years unknown)[299] *Mune no omoi* 胸の思 (1889), which, written in vernacular, depits the hero moving his love interest from a Westernized woman to a "traditional" one.[300] Kishida Toshiko's *Sankan no meika* 山間の名花 (1889) in which Kishida presented her opinion about the new role of marriage and love, women's rights, and reforming society in a plot following the lives of three married couples. [301] And a "future hope" Sasaki Mitsuko 佐々木光子 (years unknown). Interestingly, the majority of the heroines above are seen taking subversive and transgressive choices.

Yabu no uguisu also appears in *Jogaku zasshi* 115 (June 23, 1888).[302] The magazine also includes a review of the work, most likely written by Iwamoto himself, and one of the few positive receptions of the piece at the time.[303] There are parallels between Iwamoto's and Miyake's positions. For instance, *Yabu no uguisu* depicts love as companionship between a man and a woman; an agreement to marry is reached by the pair without their parents in the picture. In addition, two girl characters decide to become teachers and are more inclined to study and work

[291] "Novels as They Ought to Be" (*Joryū shōsetsuka no honshoku* 女流小説家之本色), *Jogaku zasshi* 153 (March 16, 1889.
[292] That, as we already saw in Table 24, was published by Jogaku Zasshisha in 1887. According to Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 164, note 2.
[293] Ibid., 543, note 2.
[294] Refer to Table 24. Published in 1888 by Kinkōdō.
[295] Ibid., 543, note 5. Published in *Miyako no hana*.
[296] Yabu, *Kirisutokyōsha hyōronshū*, 164, note 5.
[297] Okamoto is known as Kimura Akebono 木村曙. Published in *Yomiuri shinbun* 読売新聞.
[298] Ibid., 164-65, note 9.
[299] Sasaki's pen name was Chikuhakuen 竹栢園.
[300] Ibid., 165, note 11. Published in *Miyako no hana.*
[301] Ibid., 165, note 12. Published in *Miyako no hana.*
[302] "*Yabu no uguisu*" 藪の鶯, *Jogaku zasshi* 115 (June 23, 1888).
[303] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 86.

than marry—which is not perceived as an issue. As we saw in section 2.b.1. that presented Iwamoto's interpretation of the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal, or in 5.b.2. where I introduced his fictional writing displaying his ideals regarding the education and life of women, it was implied in Iwamoto's ideal image of the modern family ("home") that women ought to marry after they had been well educated, and after they had become able to assure their wellbeing and maintain a level of independence in life. Throughout her novel Miyake seeks a balance between "Western modernity" and "Japanese traditionality," a dilemma Iwamoto too struggled with as an educator (see discussion in Chapter 3.).

As Miyake had been contributing to *Jogaku zasshi* from no. 21 to no. 392[304] and had studied English at Meiji Jogakkō in 1889, the interaction between her and Iwamoto must have taken place on a fairly regular basis. It is thus likely that Miyake was influenced by Iwamoto (or *Jogaku zasshi*). However, it does not diminish her literary achievement in any way, nor does it deny her originality. It simply shows how two educated individuals of their time—one man and one a woman—entertained similar ideals. After all, both Miyake and Iwamoto were in their early twenties when Miyake wrote *Yabu no uguisu*. They were also both versed in Chinese classics and Western studies, a fact that placed them in a position to appreciate both, and to look for an acceptable amalgamation that would be applicable in Japanese literature in terms of expectations in both style and message.

The work of Shimizu Shikin 清水紫琴 (1868−1933)[305] was an important contribution to *Jogaku zasshi*, especially her journalistic and editorial efforts from 1890. She also published fiction: "The Broken Ring" (*Koware yubiwa* こわれ指輪) in 1891, a novel written boldly and in colloquial language about the hardships of a divorced woman, and "The School of Émigrés" (*Imin gakuen* 移民学園) in 1899, which deals with the issues the outcastes (*burakumin* 部落民) and their descendants had to face in modern Japan. In her outspoken manner, as well as in the overt aspiration for social improvement, she expressed the qualities that, as we saw in 5.a.4. and 5.a.5., Iwamoto was hoping to see in modern women's writing.[306]

In a text published in *Jogaku Zasshi* in September 1899, Iwamoto also praised the late Higuchi Ichiyō 樋口一葉 (1872–96)[307] as the woman writer who had reached the highest level of literature, stating that she was even greater than Kōda Rohan 幸田露伴 (1867–1947) and Ozaki Kōyō 尾崎紅葉 (1868–1903), whom he considered the two most prominent contemporary male novelists, a widely held view at the time. Iwamoto celebrates the truthfulness and sincerity of Ichiyō's writings, and in particular her depiction of the real emotions of various types of women, all of which he attributes to Ichiyō's unique talent as well as to her being a woman writer.[308]

We should also mention here Wakamatsu Shizuko, a writer, educator, and translator who worked alongside Iwamoto.[309] Raised at Miss Kidder's school since the age of eight, she was its first graduate, remaining as a teacher at the Ferris Seminary until her marriage to Iwamoto in 1889. Known to have used English more comfortably than Japanese, she may have been one of the reasons behind the strong inclination towards Western literature in the *Jogaku zasshi*.

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[304] That is, from April 25, 1886 to August 2, 1894. Refer to Noheji et al., *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*, 172-74.

[305] Legal first name was Toyoko 豊子, she took on the surname Kozai 古在 after marriage.

[306] Miyake Kaho's and Shimizu Shikin's works discussed above are available in English translation in Copeland, R. L. and Ortabasi, M., eds., *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2006).

[307] English title of the editorial from *Jogaku zasshi* 157 (April 13, 1889).

[308] "*Ichiyō joshi wo tsuikaisu*" 一葉女史を追懐す, *Jogaku zasshi* 496 (September 25, 1899)." (Also discussed in Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," 164.)

[309] Her writing can be found from *Jogaku zasshi* 23 (May 15, 1886) to 394 (August 25, 1894), and then once more posthumously in 514 (March 3, 1901). Noheji et al., *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*, 182-86.

Wakamatsu's translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy,* serialized in *Jogaku zasshi* as *Shōkōshi* 小公子 (1890–92),[310] stands out in the history of Japanese translation as one the first renderings of a foreign text into the *genbun icchi* style. It was also a groundbreaking effort in the field of literature for children. Wakamatsu most likely chose the text as it supported her ideas regarding the importance of the role of a mother as a teacher, exemplifying the special relationship between mother and child, and providing the child and mother a chance to speak for themselves. (Both Wakamatsu and Iwamoto were pioneer advocates for children's rights.) There is also evidence that Wakamatsu's translation was used as a textbook for learning the English language at some girl schools in tandem with the English original.[311] The translation of *Fauntleroy,* however, is but a small part of what Wakamatsu contributed to the *Jogaku zasshi* over the years. For instance, she translated Adelaide Anne Procter's (1825–64) poetry (direct address, first-person narrative) and Lord Alfred Tennyson's (1809–92) *Enoch Arden* (1864) as *Inakku Āden monogatari* イナツクアーデン物語 (1890),[312] an example of romantic love. She also contributed numerous articles and original pieces. Her first piece is *Omukau no wakare* お向ふの離れ (1889),[313] followed by *Sumire* すみれ (1889),[314] *Wasuregatami* 忘れ形見 (1890),[315] *Wagaya no hana* 我宿の花 (1892–93),[316] *Hito sama-zama* 人さまざま (1892),[317] *Lawrence* ローレンス (1893).[318] and *Iwai uta* 祝ひ歌 (1893).[319] All the above pieces were published in *Jogaku zasshi,* but Wakamatsu contributed to *Shōnen sekai* 少年世界 (1895–1933) and *Taiyō* as well. Her last piece is "Omoide" おもひで, published in *Shōnen sekai* 2, no. 1-2 (1896).

Eugene S. Booth, a friend and missionary, wrote the following eulogy to Wakamatsu.

> She desired that the opportunity for the exercise of moral liberty, which the teachings of Confucianism, the indifference of Buddhism and the consequent conventionalities of society had deprived them of, should be restored to her country-women. She realized, moreover, that through effort, a determined struggle, and the development of reflection and reason, they could alone obtain an enlarged exercise of this liberty of choice, and she looked to Christianity, especially to Christian schools and the development of a Christian literature as the agency par excellence which in time would accomplish the same results for her that it had accomplished for the women of Christian lands.[320]

While the above is written from the perspective often found in Meiji missionaries that tends to slight premodern traditions in Japanese women's education, Booth's eulogy is correct in that Wakamatsu's writing was indeed often strongly imbued with religious connotations and that she saw literature as a tool for education. She also contributed a variety of texts about Japan and its women for the English-reading audience like many other female educators with Christian

[310] *Jogaku zasshi* 227-99 (August 16, 1890 – January 9, 1892).
[311] Melek Ortabasi, "Brave dogs and little lords: thoughts on translation, gender, and the debate on childhood in mid-Meiji," in *Translation in Modern Japan*, ed. Indra Levy (New York: Routledge, 2010), 203.
[312] *Jogaku zasshi* 195-202 (January 11 – March 1, 1890).
[313] Ibid., 182 (October 5, 1889).
[314] Ibid., 183-87 (October 19 – November 16, 1889).
[315] Ibid., 194 (January 1, 1890).
[316] Ibid., 310-37 (March 26, 1892 – January 28, 1893).
[317] Ibid., 321-26 (June 18 August 20, 1892).
[318] Ibid., 336-41 (January 14 April 8, 1893).
[319] Ibid., 353-60 (September 16 December 23, 1893).
[320] Iwamoto Kashi, *In Memory of Mrs. Kashi Iwamoto*, ix-x. It carries a dedication: "Dedicated by her husband to the advancement of women's Christian education in Japan.

affiliations, e.g., Tsuda Umeko's work with Alice Mabel Bacon (1858–1918) which culminated in publishing *Japanese Girls and Women* in 1891. Yet, while treating similar issues, Wakamatsu also supported the imperial rule and introduced Japan from a slightly different angle than Tsuda or Bacon did, expressing pride rather than emphasizing the need for aid from abroad, as we can see in "The Condition of Woman in Japan."[321] In that, her position coincided with Iwamoto's.

When Kitada Shūho translated *Little Women* into *Shōfujin*, she was seen as following Wakamatsu's example. Kitada opens *Shōfujin* by stating that the text depicts the (Western) customs well and that it should be used as a home primer and guidebook (*shiori* 栞) for learning self-discipline (*shūshin*) and supervising the home (*seika* 齊家).[322] Tsubouchi Shōyō, who provided one of the two prefaces for *Shōfujin* alongside Aeba Kōson 饗庭篁村 (1855–1922), notes that the female author and translator noticed things that a male author could not, and that the book follows in the footsteps of *Shōkōshi* by being a good reading for the household.[323] Thus, both *Shōfujin* and *Shōkōshi* were deemed capable of introducing the Western lifestyle, especially the image of the "home," and female virtues and expected roles to Japanese readers. While in speaking about the home and the virtues *Shōfujin* appears to follow the position of Jogaku Zasshisha, *Shōkōshi* was introduced as "a must-read for children" rather than a home primer (refer to Table 28). In addition, as we saw in the subsections of 5.a., to Iwamoto literature was a means to discuss (rather than prescribe) culture, values, and language, to improve social order, and to lead by the professional example of the author, as he believed that improving the visibility of capable women as authors and heroines will help to promote their education and change within society. Iwamoto encouraged women to write and, as an editor, must have influenced the topics they chose; however, the women who wished to write also approached Iwamoto themselves and influenced his ideas.

5.c. Experiences of *Bun*

5.c.1. Experiences of Sōma Kokkō and Hani Motoko

Both Sōma Kokkō and Hani Motoko wrote after graduation and published their experiences at Meiji Jogakkō later in life.

Sōma studied at Meiji Jogakkō from 1895 to 1897, graduating from *honka*. She became a businesswoman and writer. Later in life, in the style of Hoshino Tenchi's literary coterie that would gather in his villa in Kamakura and that she was a member of, she gathered numerous artists from within and without Japan around her, creating what is now known as the Nakamuraya Bakery/Salon. Hani Motoko studied at Meiji Jogakkō and paid for her studies by working on *Jogaku zasshi*'s manuscripts from 1891 to 1892, but was suddenly offered a teaching position and, being in love and expecting to get married, withdrew before the end of her two-year study in the *kōtōka*.[324] Irie-Mulhern argues that her time at the school provided valuable experience that ultimately shaped her career: "Her life in the Christian residential school taught her that a set of ideals and values could serve as working principles in the operation of the small-scale yet organic social unit that was a school. The training and ideals absorbed at Meiji [Jogakkō] eventually bore fruit in Jiyū Gakuen [自由学園 (1921-present)], which she founded with her husband."[325] Both

[321] *Jogaku zasshi* 98 (February 25, 1888). For more examples refer to *In Memory of Mrs. Kashi Iwamoto*.
[322] Kitada Shūho 北田秋圃, *Shōfujin* 小婦人 (Tokyo: Saiunkaku 彩雲閣, 1906), Preface, n.p.: "原著は[...]習慣風俗寫し得て眞に迫り、一個の美文家庭讀本として終身齊家の栞となすべきものなり."
[323] Ibid., "男の筆の及ばぬ所と感心いたし候『小公子』以來の好い家庭の讀物."
[324] Hani, *Hansei wo kataru*, 63.
[325] Irie-Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace*, 217.

women clearly benefited from the female-author-friendly environment they were placed in at Meiji Jogakkō and Jogaku Zasshisha.

According to Hani, at the school literature was a common topic actively discussed and taught by a variety of individuals. In *Hansei wo kataru* ("talking about half of my life," 1923), she reminisces about Hoshino's lectures on *Shijing* or Tang-period poems, Ōwada Takeki's classes on Japanese poetry, and the scholar Suzuki Hiroyasu's talks on *Makura no sōshi*. Regarding Iwamoto's take on literature, she notes that she enjoyed the daily after-lunch assemblies in the auditorium, where he spoke on a variety of topics, such as current events, religion, and literature. She describes the talks as informative and inspiring and praises Iwamoto for his eloquence, insight, dignity, sincerity, vision, and enthusiasm for learning.[326]

In *Mokui* (first serialized in 1934), Sōma provides more details on the topics discussed by Iwamoto:

> Here, in the talks by our principal, we heard the names of such women as *onna gidayū* Sokō[327] and *rakugo* performers Enchō[328] and Kosan[329] […] With the spirit of "art for art's sake," *sensei*'s perception and explanation of things was free and immersive. While listening, I could feel my horizons widen, and, as the possibility for all beings to grow and improve in various directions was being pointed out to us, I could feel that I, too, was permitted to lead a life that would shine bright.[330]

Hani also wrote about being exposed to several authors and educators that inspired her while she was working at Jogaku Zasshisha. For instance, she reminisces about feeling honored to edit *Shōkōshi* for "Mrs. Iwamoto" and to provide readings for characters for the "novelist Shimazaki Tōson."[331] Not all the teachers were thus lauded, however. Illustrating how the students had a chance to interact with their teacher's writing in a critical manner, Sōma described the following incident.

> I felt numerous times that Aoyanagi Yūbi-*sensei*'s writing was hurting the pure heart and clean conscience of women and I would often challenge his style. […] Once, I wrote my complaints down and sent them to him in a letter. This reached Iwamoto-

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[326] Hani, *Hansei wo kataru*, 61: "星野先生の唐詩選や詩経の講義、鈴木弘恭先生大和田健樹先生などの枕の草紙や歌の話[…] お昼のあとでは全校を講堂にあつめて、毎日巌本先生の講話があった。時事問題あり文学あり宗教あり、その風その濃彩その能弁、才気と敬虔と、覇気と熱涙とを織り混ぜて、本当に華麗なものであった." Translated while referring to English translation provided in Irie-Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace*, 251.

[327] Takemoto Sokō 竹本素行 (1860–?), a female performer in the traditional art of dramatic recitation accompanied on the *shamisen*.

[328] Sanyūtei Enchō 三遊亭円朝 (1839–1900), a *rakugo* (comic storytelling) performer.

[329] Yanagiya Kosan 柳家小さん, a *rakugo* performer. Unclear of which generation.

[330] Sōma Kokkō, *Mokui*, 59-60: "ここでは校長先生の講話というのに、女義太夫の「素行」の名が出る。「円朝」「小さん」というような人人のことが語られる、芸術至上の精神から、先生が捉えて来て示されるものは実にかくの如く自由で、味わい深く、聴いているうちに自分の視野がぐんぐんひろがり、あらゆるものに許されている向上の精神が、ここに、そこに、とさし示されるように感じられて、輝き深い人生の自分も許されたる一人であるという気がしたのでありました."

[331] Irie-Mulhern, *Heroic with Grace*, 248. While Shimazaki won acclaim as a novelist later, he had been writing for *Jogaku zasshi* since issue 298 (January 2, 1892), contributing the first piece under the label of *shōsetsu* in issue 321 (June 18, 1892), and then serialized a longer piece (*Natsugusa* 夏草) from 324 to 328 (July 2-30, 1892). For Shimazaki's publications in *Jogaku zasshi*, refer to *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*, 171-72.

> *sensei*'s hands somehow and he, thinking it interesting, published it in *Jogaku zasshi* as an open letter. I only got to know this later […]"[332]

While I could not locate her open letter and ascertain what she is implying, her views above about the "purity of text" seem to coincide with Iwamoto's. Interestingly, her chagrin is directed at one of the teachers at the school and thus *Jogaku zasshi* is shown as being publicly critical of its own staff. Hani also took an attitude similar to Iwamoto's when describing her encounter with the Western and *gesaku*-style literature:

> We read the writings [of English poets] that they [the Meiji Jogakkō teachers belonging to the *Bungakukai* group] felt so strongly about, learned of Dante [(1265–1321)], Rafael [(1483–1520)], and Michelangelo [(1475–1564)], and our womanly sentiments, which until then had been imbued with the gloom of the *gesaku* literature of the end of the [Edo] period, got drawn out, rough as they were, to a new life. When women looked at *Bungakukai*, they were able to return to their rightful place, and it was the very opposite of where that [Johan August] Strindberg [(1849–1912)] wanted them to be.[333] I found lofty ideals and a right way of perceiving women in *Bungakukai* and at Meiji Jogakkō.[334]

Regarding the English language education at the school, Sōma provides valuable insights. She points out that the level of the English language classes at Meiji Jogakkō was inferior to what one would experience at a missionary school, such as Miyagi Jogakkō and Ferris Jogakkō, both of which she had attended before transferring, yet notes that there were numerous occasions where the students could learn by putting their English knowledge to practice. She recollects that while at Miyagi Jogakkō she had acquired proficiency in English, the textbooks were limited and would not depart from old, historical writings; in comparison, the style of education at Meiji Jogakkō refused such practices and introduced the students to a rich variety of literature.[335]

Due to her background, Sōma provides more detail regarding the differences in management between the schools:

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[332] Sōma Kokkō, *Mokui*, 66: "[青柳有美氏の文章は]どうも女性の清浄潔白をけがすような気がして、私はいつも先生[青柳有美]に向かい、抗議したものであります。[…]ある時私がその不満を書いて送りますと、それが意外にも巌本先生の手に入り、「これは面白い」というわけで、その手紙がまるで公開状のように扱われて女学雑誌に掲載され、後になって私は発見して."

[333] Sōma is most likely making a pun by referring to *Getting Married* (1884–86)—a two-volume collection of short stories by Strindberg. It is impressive that Sōma knew this piece of writing and questions arise in which context the text, contentious in its topics, was brought to her attention.

[334] Ibid, 48-49: "私共はそれ等の人々の魂こもった文章を読み、ダンテを知りラファエルを教えられ、ミケランジェロを教えられ、そして自ずと心の底に持っていて、それが徳川末期の戯作的な文学によって悲観的な色を帯びさせられていた女性の思い、それをその生ぶのままに呼び起こされ、人生の光輝を鮮やかに思い知らせるのでありました。文学界を見る時女性はその最も正しき位置に直ることが出来ました。それはちょうどあのストリンドベルヒの女性観と正反対のものでありました。ともあれ大いなる理想をもって女性を正しく見てくれるところ、それを私は文学界に発見し、明治女学校に見たのであります."

[335] Ibid., 79-80: "語学の力のつくことでは、ミッションと明治女学校くらべものではなく、ミッションから入ったものから見ると、明治女学校の英語というものは何ほどでもない、実にらくなもので、しかし力があればその力を縦横に振うて、新しい収穫をする機会がここには充分に備えられ、あらゆる機関が解放されてありました。宮城女学校では語学としての英語の力はつきましたが、教科書は制限があって、どんなに読みたくても、せいぜい歴史的なものの範囲を出ないのでしたが、明治女学校の学問しようは、最初からそういう埒を超えていて、実に豊潤な文芸の野に展けていました."

> Around 1891–92, there was a great boom in the education of women. On one hand, there were schools like Meiji Jogakkō that instructed in arts; on the other, there were the missionary schools. Miyagi Jogakkō was one of them. Supported by American funds, the headmaster […] and one or two other teachers being American ladies, the school was run in the American fashion from beginning to end. Of course, there were courses on the Japanese language and *kanbun*, but they were there only to save appearances, as the upper levels studied from the same books as the lower ones. It was probably more convenient for the school to teach everyone the same, yet the students found it strange. The authorities ignored the fact that it was futile to educate the Japanese while ignoring Japanese traditions.[336]

Sōma, echoing Iwamoto's concerns about the education having to be applicable and practical, reinforced her point by sharing the experience of her seniors, among which several were unhappy with such a state of affairs at the school. As they progressed and matured, her seniors started seeing the Western-style education at the school as insufficient. Sōma wrote that the issue lay behind the fact that, as graduation was approaching, it had become clear to her friends that all they had acquired were English language skills, and none of the preparation necessary to lead life as adult women in Japan. Even though their school was in Tōhoku and away from Tokyo, *Jogaku zasshi* was widely read and they knew of Meiji Jogakkō. To Sōma, it was natural that her seniors started seeing Meiji Jogakkō as offering an ideal education.[337] The girls, wishing to change their curriculum, went on strike. Sōma believes it to have been one of the first student strikes in Japan. The girls were peaceful yet persistent, which eventually got them expelled. Later, Saitō Ofuyu 斎藤お冬, Kodaira Koyuki 小平小雪, and Machida Otatsu 町田お辰 carried on with their studies at Meiji Jogakkō, while Obana Umeyo 尾花梅代 enrolled at Aoyama Jogakuin 青山女学院 (1874–present, as Aoyama Gakuin) and Ishikawa Umeyo 石川梅代 married Matsumura Kaiseki 松村介石 (1859 – 1939), who is also known to have had qualms with the missionary education in Japan. Sōma herself moved to Ferris Jogakkō before transferring to Meiji Jogakkō. The episode, in addition to Sōma's candid reproach of Aoyanagi's style, shows that the students at Meiji Jogakkō had a clear image of what they expected from education and educators and were not afraid to ask for their needs to be met.

Sōma describes her experience as Hoshino's student and gives some insight regarding how he taught literature (refer to 4.b.2.d.). Hoshino seems to have been supportive of Sōma's writing since before she enrolled at Meiji Jogakkō, coming up with her pen name after Kodaira Koyuki, Sōma's senior and then Meiji Jogakkō's student, introduced them to one another. Kodaira took Sōma to Hoshino's villa Ankōan 暗光庵 in Kamakura, where she met his literati friends, was allowed to use his library, and stay there instead of going to classes during the time she was having

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[336] Ibid., 21: "年頃は女史教育勃興の機運が最高潮に達した時でありまして、明治女学校のような芸術教育があらわれ一方には、所々にミッションスクールが設立され、宮城女学校もその一つで、アメリカからお金が来て経営されておりました。校長のミス・ブルボーの他にも一、二のアメリカ婦人が教鞭をとり、何から何までアメリカ式に教育されておりました。勿論国語漢文の科目はありましたが、それは単に科目としてあるだけで、上級も下級も同じ本を読まされているという状態、学校としては一緒に教えられれば手数が省けて都合が宜しかったでありましょうが、学ぶ生徒の方から申せば随分妙なものでありました。日本人を日本の伝統を無視して教育する、この無理に学校当局は全く気がつかなかったのであります."

[337] Ibid., 21-22: "お冬さん達は級が進み、思想もだんだん成熟して来るに従い、従来の西洋式教育には満足が出来なくなりました。卒業も迫っているのに英語だけは進んでも日本の女性として必要な準備は何一つ出来ていない、最年長のお冬さんはこれを最も痛切に感じていました。[…]この東北の一角にも伝わって来る明治女学校の噂、女学雑誌も盛んに読まれていることですから、小雪さんの目標は自ずともに定ま[りました。]"

doubts about Christianity and her studies at Ferris Jogakkō. Sōma notes Hoshino's martial skills[338] and writes that even though he could write well, he did the editing and managing of *Jogakusei* instead.[339] Regarding his writing, she sees it as influenced by both Christian faith and an interest in the Romantic movement, and says he succeeded in bringing to life poetry and tasteful prose. She also notes his attention to aesthetics, in addition to public discourses on literature.[340]

Sōma Kokkō and Hani Motoko do not point out their understanding of literature as different from Iwamoto's.

5.c.2. Students' Writing in *Jogakusei*

The fact that Meiji Jogakkō promoted *genbun icchi* has not been addressed in research. For instance, while Tomi Suzuki notes that Nakajima Toshiko wrote in favor of *genbun icchi* in the inaugural issue of *Jogakusei* (21 May, 1890),[341]she seems to gloss over the fact that Iwamoto was promoting *genbun icchi* style to female students who would be contributing to the magazine. While the emphasis on *genbun icchi* is especially visible in *Jogakusei*, where the set requirements for contributions were clear and girls were urged to use it as best as they could,[342] *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* also promoted *genbun icchi*, as can be seen from "Basics of Literature" section in the cycle of 1887. Meanwhile, *Jogaku zasshi* published Wakamatsu Shizuko's translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*,[343] one the first renderings of a foreign text into the *genbun icchi* style, and many subsequent publications of female authors trying their hand in the style.

Rika Saito points out how "[d]uring 1888–97 (Meiji 20s), only Shimizu Shikin and Wakamatsu Shizuko used the colloquial style for both dialogue and narrative sentences."[344] However, this does not consider the attempts of students and less-known authors. Thus, it is important to address *genbun icchi*, and why its promotion to students and aspiring authors is important.

In her article, Saito argues that *genbun icchi* was "primarily aimed at transforming the classical literary style of narratives or *ji no bun* [地の文] into the colloquial style."[345] Colloquial language was already found in popular prose as *gazoku setchū* 雅俗折衷 style, which was used in *gesaku;* there, it was combined with narrative passages in a more traditional way of writing. Thus, the *genbun icchi* movement was not necessarily significant because it promoted colloquial language usage, but because it aimed to redefine the position of the narrator, rendering the texts more accessible throughout, and the descriptions more immediate and transparent.[346] On the other hand, female authors were under stricter scrutiny and had to avoid the "crude" colloquial expressions; while they had access to the *genbun icchi* style, Saito refers to it as *dansō buntai* 男装文体, or writing in "male drag," as the male gender was represented as "un-marked," whereas the female gender was "marked."[347] Meanwhile, *gabun* 雅文 was, on the other hand, generally

[338] Ibid., 42: "武術に達者でした."
[339] Ibid.
[340] Ibid., "キリスト教徒の信仰と浪漫趣味との相致した詩趣ゆたかな散文を書き、「文覚論」「業平論」など実に浪漫主耽美のいい文章."
[341] Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," 159.
[342] Iwamoto's address in *Jogakusei* 1 (21 May, 1890), 5: "余は言文一致を以て行れ難きことを爲せども、原文の近似は至つて望ましく且つ行われ易きの事と爲す也. "
[343] *Jogaku zasshi* 227-99 (August 16, 1890 – January 9, 1892).
[344] Saito, "Writing in Female Drag," 172, note 32.
[345] Ibid., 170, note 20.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Ibid., 155. Saito is following Hirata Yumi, *Josei hyogen no Meiji shi: Higuchi Ichiyō izen* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999).

considered to be the writing style in female drag.[348] In contrast, *gazoku setchū* was a style used by both women and men, yet "it was soon to be marked feminine because it served as the narrative style of choice for most female writers, who were discouraged from using *genbun icchi* or colloquialized narratives."[349]

The issues Saito raises with *genbun icchi* are as follows. First of all, the colloquial expressions, *zokubun* 俗文, used in *genbun icchi*, were deemed vulgar as "the *zoku-bun* was considered to be the language used by *kary*[*ū*] *shakai*" 下流社会, or the "low-brow society." In addition, *genbun icchi* was regarded as "*seiyō kabure*" 西洋かぶれ, or "excesively Westernized," and that was "not acceptable for women during this period of backlash against Westernization"[350] either.

As a result, the women writers in the early Meiji period found it a challenge to write in the *genbun icchi* style, and the situation was similar with *kanbun*, which, even though a part of the national curriculum,[351] was discouraged in women's writing.[352] However, the students of Meiji Jogakkō were encouraged to use not only *genbun icchi*, they were also instructed in the creative usage of *kanbun*, as we have seen in 2.c.2. in their curricula for writing essays, reports, etc.

To see what kind of expression was encouraged via publication, but also to gain insight into what topics were deemed worthy of tackling by the students themselves, let us have a look at the examples of writing that Meiji Jogakkō students provided in *Jogakusei*. The following table shows Meiji Jogakkō's student writing (that was identified as such) published in *Jogakusei*. Issue 13 could not be located and the information about it is taken from the ad in issue 14.

***Table 30: Students' writing in* Jogakusei**

***Jogakusei* no. (date)**	**Author (no. of publications)**	**Title of the contribution (My translation)**	**Contents and style**
1 (May 21, 1890)	Kaoru かほる, Shizuka しづか, Harue? 春榮, Wakaba わかば	*Waka shishu* 和歌四首 (*Waka* by four authors)	Four *waka* poems.
2-3 (June 23, 1890 July 21, 1890)	Ms. Kinpa (Kinpa *joshi* 金波女史), Preparatory Department, second year, first term	*Jukkai* 述懐 (Reminiscences)	Recollection on how her studies helped her realize the importance of experiencing things firsthand, appreciating her family and the opportunity to bring change into one's hometown. An essay. In *gazoku setchū* style.
2 (June 23, 1890)	Takao Yaeko 高尾八重子, Main Department, first year, first semester	*Zen wo nasu mottomo tanoshiki setsu* 善を為す最も楽しき説 (Doing good deeds is most fun)	Describes that while people enjoy different things, doing good is universal and leads to long-term happiness. Didactic. In *gazoku setchū* style.
4 (August 21, 1890)	Andō Taneko 安藤たね子	*Fujin no seiryoku* 婦人の勢力 (Women's influence)	A powerful essay on women's influence. Analyzed below. In *gazoku setchū* style.
5	Miyama? Suzushi 深山すずし	*Saritashi jinsei wo* 去りたし塵世を	A religious piece. Analyzed below. In *gazoku setchū* style.

[348] Ibid., 162. Saito explains why women were forced to make the "choices" they seem to make freely (ref. womanhood and representation thereof).
[349] Ibid., 153.
[350] Ibid., 172.
[351] According to Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," 160, "[*k*]*anbun* was the basis of literacy and a central part of language education (for both reading and writing) until the mid-1890s, when the 1894 revised curriculum for the secondary school eliminated mandatory composition in *kanbun* for the first time and emphasized the 'harmony' of *kokugo* […] and *kanbun*, with *kokugo* as primary and *kanbun* as subsidiary."
[352] Saito, "Writing in Female Drag," 155.

(September 22, 1890)		(The world to leave behind)	
	Ms. Kiyokawa 清川女史	*Tabidatsu asa* 旅立つ朝 (The morning I left)	About her mother's sadness as she is leaving home for school. Poetic. In *gabun* style.
6 (October 21, 1890)	Ms. Kinpa (2nd)	*Omoi midarete Ito no gotoshi (Kikō no yoru)* 思ひ乱れて 糸の如し（帰校の夜） (My tangled thoughts from the night I returned to school)	A recollection about her holiday spent with the family and her feelings seeing her parents sending her off to school. Travel-diary style. In *gabun* style.
	Yamino Tamako 矢見野たま子	*Hibari: Aware satogo* 雲雀：憐れ里子 (The lark: pitiful foster children)	A free translation of Hugo, *Les Misérables*, end of chapter 3, "The Lark." From Hoshino's biography, we know that *Les Misérables* was discussed in Hoshino's classes. In *gazoku setchū* style, yet close *genbun icchi*.
7 (November 21, 1890)	Ms. Shunpū? (Shunpū *joshi* 春風女史)	*Shijin tare, bushi tare* 詩人たれ、武士たれ (Be a poet, be a warrior)	An essay that spoke of modernizing the Japanese youths with the help of English literature and Japanese martial philosophy. *Gazoku setchū* style. Analyzed below.
	Ms. Kinpa (3rd)	*Hōzan kore dokusho* 寶山是れ読書 (Reading is a great treasure)	An opinion essay about how literacy is a treasure that brings with it a heavy responsibility, as when one becomes aware of the present issues, one should act to remedy them. In *gazoku setchū* style that is close to *gabun*.
8 (December 21, 1890)	Ms. Shunpū (2nd)	*Nokon no kiku* 殘んの菊 (Lonely chrysanthemum)	On the feeling of loneliness, written from the perspective of a chrysanthemum. Poetic. In *gabun* style close to *wabun*.
	Fushimi Kimiko 伏見きみ子	*Sode no ame* 袖の雨 (Hidden tears)	On coping with loss after a close friend passed away while studying abroad. Poetic. In *gabun*.
9 (January 21, 1891)	Ms. U. I. (U.I *joshi* U. I.女史)	*Onjō yūai* 温情優愛 (Kind love)	On her visit home for a break. She mentions riding in a *kuruma*, the joy of spending time in the household, and gratitude to her parents for letting her study. Travel diary/letter. In *gabun*.
	Hoshino Yūko 星野ゆう子	*Omoiide* 想ひ出で (Memories)	Remembering a now far-away friend while looking at nature. Poetic. In *gabun* style.
10 (February 26, 1891)	Suzuki Gen 鈴木げん	*Mado yori nozomureba* 窓より眺むれば (Looking through the window)	While describing the changes in nature, writes how it is her third year at school; how half the students (four) could not complete the study; how she is grateful that she had the chance to and is sorry for those who did not. Poetic. In *gazoku setchū* style.
	Fushimi Kimiko (2nd)	*Secchūnaka no ume wo mite* 雪中の梅を見て (Plum blossoms in snow)	Describes the overlap of winter and spring. Could be an allegory about the students in harsh conditions. Poetic. In *gabun* style.
	Matsui Setsuko 松井せつ子	*Hana wo matsu to iu wo* 花を待つといふを (Waiting for flowers to bloom)	Likens *jogakusei* to sakura blossoms that everybody eagerly awaits: a metaphor about graduation and being able to put the new skills to practice. In *gabun* style.
11 (March 24, 1891)	Ms. Kiyomizu (Kiyomizu *joshi* 清水女子)	*Koizuka wo sugu* 戀塚を過ぐ (Passing by Koizuka)	Speaks of her visit to Shimotobamura 下鳥羽村 where there is a place named Koizuka after the legend of a girl who sacrificed her life to save her husband. She is saddened by the story, yet admires her courage. On travel and womanhood. In *gazoku setchū* style.
	Suzuki Genko 鈴木げん子 (2nd)	*Tsuyu no inochi* 露の命 (Transient (dew-like) life)	About her grandmother passing away and her lessons to cherish her own life and the opportunity to study. Poetic. In *gabun* style.
	Matsui Setsuko 松井せつ子	*Awaremubeki mi wo hate* 憐むべき身を果て (Pitiable end of life)	She describes meeting an elderly beggar, offering him food and talking to him, and ponders what kind of life he lived and how he will fare from

			now on. Bordering on social criticism. In *gazoku setchū* style.
12 (April 22, 1891)	Hoshino Yūko (2nd)	*Harusame no namida* 春さめの涙 (Spring-rain-like tears)	She writes how the rain creates a mood to repent mistakes and weaknesses and how she wishes to become stronger. God and samurai ethics are mentioned. In *gabun* style.
13 (between April 23 and June 22, 1891)	Suzuki Genko (3rd)	*Miyako ni noboru michisugara no kan* 都に上る路すがらの感 (On the way to the capital)	About her feelings leaving home to go to school in the capital.
	Chika Chiyoko 千佳千代子	Our Service to Our Country	An English-language contribution.
15 (July 21, 1891)	Suzuki Genko (4th)	*Haruyo shokan* 春夜所感 (Spring-evening thoughts)	A religious contribution speaking of sin and guilt. The goal is to encourage by claiming that hardships are to be grateful for as they are a way to improve oneself. In *gazoku setchū* style.
16 (September 21, 1891)	Hoshino Yūko (3rd)	*Hakone no renka* 箱根の蓮歌 (*Renka* from Hakone)	Poetry written during her trip to Hakone.
17 (October 21, 1891)	Suzuki Genko (5th)	*Oya ni okurekeru tōji no shokan* 親に後れける当時の所感 (My feelings after losing my parents)	About her sadness after her father and sister passed away. Poetic. In *gabun* style.
18 (November 30, 1891)	Aiko あい子	*Seiya jukkan* 晴夜述懐 (Impressions of a clear night)	About her mental anguish as a student: thoughts on the meaning of studying, life and death, mental breakdown and hospitalization, her school-friends' visits, growing faith in God, going to Tsukiji Methodist Church (築地美以美協会) and finding answers. She mentions that it was hard for her to be in a school where Christianity was despised and how grateful she is to have found Meiji Jogakkō where the Christianity is "alive" (*ikeru shinkō* 生ける信仰). Diary/letter style. In *gazoku setchū* style.
	Fukiko ふき子	*Yamazato ni kiku wo mezuru* 山里に菊をめづる (Chryzanthemums in the mountain village)	On her trip to her hometown where everything is quiet but filled with deep meaning. Poetic, focuses on nature. In *gazoku setchū* style.
19 (December 26, 1891)	Suzuki Genko (3rd)	*Maki no iezuto* 牧の家づと (Houses by the meadow)	Adaptation of Western poems (*seishi iyaku* 西詩意譯). Author of the original could not be identified. In *gabun* style.
20 (January 23, 1892)	Hatano Yūko 波多野祐子	*Saikun* 細君 (The wife)	Translation of the latter half of "The Wife" (1819–20) from "The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent." by Washington Irving, whose literature was taught at the school. The moral of the story: be honest with your wife for she is stronger than you think. In *gabun* style.
22 (March 22, 1892)	Ms. Kotoba (Kotoba *joshi* ことば女史)	*Sotsugyō chikaku no kan* 卒業近くの感 (My feelings before the graduation)	About the approaching graduation. Poetic. In *gazoku setchū* style.
23 (April 21, 1892)	Suzuko すず子	*Kishi no myō* 箕子の妙 (The greatness of Jizi)	About Jizi, the semi-legendary Chinese sage and his approach to life. Philosophical. In *gazoku setchū* style.
25 (June 21, 1892)	Sakura Momoko 櫻もも子	*Bōbo wo omou* 亡母を想ふ (Thoughts on my late mother)	After three years have passed after the death of her mother, she walks into her room and reminisces. Poetic. In *gazoku setchū* style.
26 (July 21, 1892)	Suzuko (2nd)	*Yumeji no kagoto* 夢路のかごと (From a dream)	On her daydreaming about her hometown while at school. Poetic. In *gabun* style.
27 (September 22, 1892)	MaHiTa ま、ひ、た、	*Kanpishi no jinbutsu* 韓非子の人物 (Han Feizi)	On Han Feizi's philosophy (pragmatism, focus on writing and acting upon one's words, reforming society). Elements of *kanbun* with allusions to

			Christianity ("if Han Feizi were Christian, he would be St. Paul..."). Advice for politicians. In *gazoku setchū* style.
28 (October 21, 1892)	Sakurai Momoko 櫻井もも子 (2nd)	*Jukkan* 述懐 (Reminiscences)	Reminiscences of the loss in the family (about her deceased mother living on in her and her siblings.) Christian nuances. In *gazoku setchū*.

The commentary on the texts provided by the editing staff was of varying lengths and sometimes missing altogether. While it was provided under up to four different commenters using pen names at first (one of them presumably Hoshino), in the end, there were two to none feedback-providing teachers. They praised rather than criticized, summarizing what has been said, or pointed to good examples of style (as a guidebook would). For instance, one of the comments on *Zen wo nasu mottomo tanoshiki setsu* in no. 2 was that the message was simple, but presented in a way that was not too forceful.[353] Meanwhile, *Jukkai* in the same number was praised for its *wakan secchū* 和漢折衷 style, that is, mixing between *kanbun* and *wabun*, or Chinese characters and Japanese syllabary.

The students were clearly experimenting with including colloquial elements into their writing, yet their writing was still colored by classical elements. While the students contributed writing in a spectrum from classical to colloquial, in the table above I have identified them as either using the *gazoku setchū* style that was used for writing closer to spoken language,[354] and *gabun* for the more classical approach.[355] The commenters praised both, showing that a variety of styles were appreciated, and the students seem to have chosen their style depending on the message they wished to convey. None are seen using *genbun icchi* in a similar way to Wakamatsu Shizuko, yet the students who used *gazoku setchū* wrote much like Iwamoto Yoshiharu in his editorials.

While the first issue of *Jogakusei* carried a selection of *waka* poems by Meiji Jogakkō's students and poetry reappeared occasionally, it was prose that was clearly prominent in the students' writing from all participant schools, among which were both famous missionary schools like Ferris Jogakkō and smaller private ones in the areas outside of Tokyo.[356] When the majority of writing "permitted" to women was poetry, this was an important aspect of the magazine's publishing activities. Reflecting the fact that some of the students were fluent in English, there were also translations or English compositions.

In general, students contributed opinion essays and depicted personal experiences, with few pieces of fiction submitted. While the majority of writing seems to have followed the traditional poetic themes with many references to nature to express one's emotions, several pieces stood out for their themes. "*Fujin no seiryoku*" in issue 4, for instance, called out to women to influence the world via love (*jō* 情). It attributed women the power to bring up gentlemen, reform husbands and sons, and stated that, from the birth of humanity, it had been the role of women to shape it. Love is defined as equal or superior to logic.[357] While it is slightly disconcerting that women are called animals of love (*jō no dōbutsu* 情の動物) and not of logic (*rikutsu* 理屈), the author recognizes in women the power to influence. It reads somewhere between a feminist and a temperance movement manifesto, building upon the same themes found in *Jogaku zasshi*.

[353] *Jogakusei* 2 (June 23, 1890), 9: "文意平凡なれども文體最も可なり、柔に失せず剛に流れず."
[354] Usually marked by the usage of *-nari, -beshi, -bekarazu* and concise sentences aimed at sending an impactful message.
[355] Usually marked by the usage of *-keri, -nu, -tsu, -ba* and long-winded sentences aimed at conveying emotions.
[356] Refer to Table 32 in the Annex for the list of all participating schools.
[357] "*Fujin no seiryoku*" , *Jogakusei* 4 (August 21, 1890): "世には利害の理あり、理を持って論すべからざるものあり、情の作用之なり。[...]情の勢力は能く理屈を支配するに足る."

Meanwhile, "*Saritashi jinsei o*" in issue 5 called out to see the larger picture when assessing the influence of one's deeds.[358] The patchwork-type of education the author must have received reveals itself as she mentions war efforts of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–98), research of steam by James Watt (1736–1819) and electricity by Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), efforts to unify the U.S. by George Washington (1732–99), and, finally, Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294–1336), an idealized samurai revived in Meiji as a symbol of loyalty to the emperor. Apart from the repetition of the word *kami* 神 (that can be read as "god" in both the Christian and Shinto sense), what makes this a religious piece of writing is the author's argument that all these figures toiled following the will of god[359] and that is what the rest of humanity should do as well.

"*Shijin tare, bushi tare*," or "Be a poet, be a warrior" published in issue 7, used words in English or in its Japanese readings, and the names of Carlyle, Longfellow, Burke, and, possibly, Thomas Gray (1716–71) were used to support the position that while the unique traditional values of Japan are disappearing due to materialism (*busshitsuteki bunmei* 物質的文明), it may be for the better as this would allow for the cultivation of a new sense of humanity. The author reasoned that humanity should not be built on protecting the martial culture in shape only, or on becoming nationalistic, but through the efforts of the young, who, by becoming both poets and the warriors[360] can revitalize Japan.

Kishi no myō in issue 25 and *Kanpishi no jinbutsu* in issue 27 draw on Hishino's *kanbun* classes analyzed in 4.b.2.b., while also reflecting on how Chinese classics and Confucian ideas merged with the Christian ideas in the students' writing. Translations projects, such as *Hibari: Aware satogo* in issue 6 and *Saikun* in issue 20, could have also been started at the school or as extracurricular activities.

Other than the topics explored in the classes (mostly literature and philosophy as seen above), the common themes seem to be loneliness (missing family, friends, or one's home), the experience of the passage of time and daily activities, atmosphere at the school, and travel. While some pieces seem to have been written as messages to other students, most of them, rather than urging to reform society, encourage others to persevere in their studies and share their feelings of gratitude for being able to study at all.

Meiji Jogakkō's student contributions did not constitute the larger part of the published texts and they seem to have been treated on par with those coming from the alliance members. For instance, issues 14, 21, 24, 29, and 30 did not contain any contributions credited to Meiji Jogakkō's students. However, the contributions from Meiji Jogakkō were more consistent. A part of the students were repetitive contributors, which means that they either considered writing as a future career, or were close to Hoshino and offered to help when there was not enough material. A sign that the input from the "*Jogakusei* alliance members" may have not been sufficient is the fact that Hoshino was a common contributor. While Hoshino may have been using pen names to mask the fact that numerous texts came from the same author, this was not the case with the students.

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[358] "*Saritashi jinsei o*" 去りたし塵世を, *Jogakusei* 5 (September 22, 1890): "此社會から一歩進んで此塵世に埋められず、はかなき事業の奴隷とならざる事こそ願りしけれ."

[359] Ibid.: "人類の事業の最大なるのものは神の眞理を發見するにあり."

[360] "*Shijin tare, bushi tare*" 詩人たれ、武士たれ, *Jogakusei* 7 (November 21, 1890): "儀式的習慣を保存せよと言はず、余は武士の精神を愛すシヴァワリーを愛す去れど鎖國的のナショナルチー主義に反對す、余は一日も早く眞正人情の自然的發達を祈る者なり眞正士氣の振はん事を願ふ者なり、言を寄す明治の紅顔子、願くは詩人たれ、武士たれ、人情に誦へ泣け、死せよ."

Unfortunately, most of the students cannot be identified, as they used pen names. The reasons behind the popularity of pseudonyms in *Jogakusei* might have been several. In Japan, there is a long tradition of pseudonyms used when writing poetry, signing calligraphy, or participating in other artistic activities that extend to various types of modern writing. As we saw, Iwamoto, Hoshino, as well as women authors tended to have pen names, sometimes several for different topics. As has been pointed out by Elaine Showalter, the nineteenth-century female authors in the U.K. and the U.S. tended to rely on male, female, and neutral pseudonyms to avoid "gendered reading" of their writing or personal criticism due to taking up the unfeminine work of writing, or they preferred them due to their "air of semi-aristocracy."[361] Likewise, men could take feminine pseudonyms when wishing to write in a "feminine" fashion or on "feminine" topics. Thus, when we see student authors' names and personal details in the first issues of *Jogakusei*, it is either a sign of a very modern approach to authorship, or that the authors were being treated as representatives of their schools. Likewise, when the magazine became more known, the practice to take up pen names following the example of established modern women writers might have looked more "literary" to the girls, and it was also a means to avoid unwarranted attention.

5.d. Conclusions (Femininity vs. Masculinity in Literary Education)

It has been pointed out that the ultimate reason why literary works by women in the Edo period remained unpublished was that to have their work publicized would have branded them as unfeminine.[362] Tomi Suzuki ties the changes in the Meiji-period women's image and status to developments concerning the concept of fiction. To her, Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui* "argued that the position of the novel was an important indicator of the nation's level of civilization," a position echoed by Iwamoto in his writing, and that *Jogaku zasshi* "similarly argued that the position of women was a key indicator of the nation's level of civilization. Thus, the reform of women and the reform of fiction were promoted as an integral part of a larger reform movement in the mid- to late 1880s in an attempt to redress the unequal treaties with the Western industrial nations."[363] Seeing literature as a powerful tool in education and also a suitable means to promote their idea(l)s and practices, Iwamoto and Hoshino set for themselves the task to overcome the hurdles, both enforced by society and self-imposed, that female writers faced.

It has also been pointed out in previous scholarship that, while Iwamoto was supportive of women's writing, he also had a limited understanding of what women could, or should, depict.[364] However, this position, as we saw in the commentary by Sōma Kokkō in the section above, was simultaneously shaped and promoted by the women authors themselves, who were open and outspoken about their expectations about the moral reform as a way of women's empowerment in literature and society. For instance, Shimizu Shikin and Wakamatsu Shizuko, both working with *Jogaku zasshi* and at Meiji Jogakkō, seemingly shared Iwamoto's ideas and approach. Shimizu urged women to come forward and write in the "dry and insipid" literary world of Meiji Japan, which, she assumed, lacked pure and elegant tastes because of the inactivity of women writers,[365] while to Wakamatsu, in the novel, which represents all aspects of human life like a painting or photograph of society, the novelist should present a proper moral vision so that the readers can

[361] Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*; and *Jury of Her Peers*, 48.
[362] Anne Walthall, "Women and Literacy from Edo to Meiji," in *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Kornicki, P.F., Patessio, M., and Rowley, G.G. (Michigan: University of Michigan, 2010): 226.
[363] Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," 146.
[364] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 42-43; Copeland, *Woman Critiqued*, 3-5; Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," 155, note 25; Saito, "Writing in Female Drag" 168, note 4.
[365] Shimizu Shikin, *Onna bungakusha nan zo izuru koto no osoki ya, Jogaku zasshi* 241 (November 29, 1890): 8.

distinguish between good deeds and evil deeds.[366] Showalter[367] and Saito[368], among others, have argued that the aesthetic of "femininity" in writing was simultaneously enforced and enacted in women's writing; similarly, Suzuki points out that the topics addressed by women at *Jogaku zasshi* often overlapped with Iwamoto's suggestions.

> [E]mergent women writers associated with *Jogaku zasshi* shared the views of the novel held by Iwamoto, valuing moral ideals and the social and moral efficacy of the novel as well as women's social role in writing. Many of their novels and essays address women's education, friendship, aspirations for independence, love, marriage and the family system, and it is clear that they valued, more than Iwamoto and perhaps more than [Tsubouchi] Shōyō himself, the potential of the realistic novel and its ability to explore current and new gender and social relations.[369]

While Iwamoto spoke of ideals such as purity, modesty, etc., he did not specifically reject lust or sexuality as a theme, as we saw in his commentary on *Tōsei shosei katagi* (5.a.4.). Instead, he argued about the implications on society of texts that objectified women as shallow "playthings for men," in addition to pointing out the fact that the literary scene had its own dangers and that women may be judged depending on the contents of their writing, a fact he must have been painfully aware of.[370] As explained in 5.a., Meiji Jogakkō had been considered a potentially "licentious" place due to the freedoms it allowed its teachers and students and the students themselves had much to lose when the image of the school suffered. Thus, Iwamoto had to maneuver around sensitive topics, and the pressure and "censorship" came from a variety of sources, not necessarily Iwamoto himself. Claiming that Iwamoto influenced the contents of women's writing would be placing too much emphasis on his role as an editor—a role he did not serve in the contemporary sense, instead allowing for texts of varied opinions to be published side-by-side in the pages of *Jogaku zasshi*, sometimes, just because he found them "interesting" (refer to 5.c.1.).

Inoue Teruko points out that Iwamoto considered popular Japanese fiction (*tsūzokutekina shōsetsu* 通俗的な小説), as well as manuals on running a household (*teikun* 庭訓), as an easy way to approach the masses, especially the women who had not necessarily received modern education and tended to turn to readily available sources.[371] He sought to ensure that such materials were widely accessible and fitting into his educational agenda, serving as unobtrusive means to communicate ideals and experiences to women. Possibly due to this connection between fiction and textbooks, Iwamoto emphasized the need for "reality" in writing created by describing facts and the author's own experiences. Thus, when Iwamoto argued that literature allows the reader to indirectly experience the world, it is highly probable that he was using it to reach out to "sheltered

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[366] Wakamatsu Shizuko, *Jogaku zasshi* 207 (April 5, 1890): 14-15.
[367] Showalter, *Literature of Their Own*, 6: "The Victorians expected women's novels to reflect the feminine values they exalted, although obviously the woman novelist herself had outgrown the constraining feminine role." Ibid., xv: "[W]omen's writing is always at least bi-textual; [...] it is a double-voiced discourse influenced by both the dominant masculine literary tradition and the muted feminine one."
[368] Saito, "Writing in Female Drag," 167: "The female drag writing style was likely invented by male writers originally to impose their view of femininity on women. Then, a bit ironically, the style was adopted by women writers because they recognized its value for themselves."
[369] Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel," 158.
[370] Several Meiji female authors are known to have discontinued their careers due to severe criticism for writing in a style "copying that of men," i.e., *gesaku*.
[371] Inoue, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no bungakuron*," 100.

daughters" and "shut-in wives." As ideal *shōsetsu* to Iwamoto skillfully depicted human emotions, arguably, they became a tool to teach about family and home life, love between spouses and towards the children, modern gender roles and respect of women and their needs in society, etc.—topics addressed by Iwamoto in his non-fiction as well. However, while Iwamoto promoted *shōsetsu* for women who had no other means of education, his understanding of literature was broad. When speaking of women as authors, he provides the following argument that represents his position.

"The sewing course at a girls' school" (February 1887),[372] already mentioned in 4.a.2., described the life of a famous poet Kōran 紅蘭 (1804–79). According to Iwamoto, her talent and education were augmented when she accompanied her husband Yanagawa Seigan 梁川星巖 (1789–1858) during his tours of Japan. Iwamoto explains that, while visiting famous scenic spots, she is known to have composed numerous excellent poems (*meigin* 名吟); he also argues that she is known to the extent that, when counting female *karauta* 唐うた (Chinese-style poetry) poets, one starts with her. He asks: "is it not the most delightful thing for a woman to boast such fame?"[373] Taking the topic into a more serious direction, he turns the readers' attention to a collection of *Kōran*'s poems, *Kōran shōshū* 紅蘭小集 (1841), the foreword of which describes the collection as something to be read while resting from sewing, and questions: "Why is it that even somebody professionally devoted to poetry like Kōran should treat her collection as a mere pastime between sewing tasks, and hold herself back in the world?" To Iwamoto, if sewing is a woman's main duty, then women already fall outside of what is considered to be "the way of a woman" (*jodō / onna no michi* 女道) by reading the writer's foreword or poetry. Through terms like "the way of a woman," in likeness to "the way of the warrior" (3.b.2.d.), or "the way of the author" (5.a.5.), Iwamoto is stressing the need to pursue one's career as a lifestyle, by becoming its very embodiment and thus the role model to others.

Other than encouraging women to write, Iwamoto, Hoshino, and other staff at Meiji Jogakkō also wrote themselves. Iwamoto's position on fiction is controversial.[374] However, the fact that Iwamoto dedicated time to write and translate fiction alongside working for Meiji Jogakkō, editing and publishing *Jogaku zasshi* and other magazines, or writing social critique and other non-fiction, underlines the fact that he saw the value in the process of writing as a means to express oneself, or considered various types of literature as effective tools to further his educational agenda. "Textbook" creation in Iwamoto's literary ideology is especially often overlooked in scholarship, alongside Hoshino's and other teachers' efforts to provide texts in various formats, some of them interactive like *Jogakusei* and *Tsūshin Jogaku*.

While offering students a chance to read about strong heroines in Meiji Jogakkō's magazines, the school also provided them with a chance to listen to speeches of real-time role models such as M. C. Leavitt and other women activists, whose arguments were later published in the magazines' pages. The school was thus an international hub of activity where women and men could interact and discuss issues and that served as a link between the text and the practice. The result was such that girls from all the "corners of Japan," such as Sōma Kokkō and her seniors,

[372] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, Chapter 8 (dated February 1887): 113-23. Due to being dated 1887 and reprinted in 1892, we can see that Iwamoto continued to see the need in stressing how women authors should not be treated lightly.
[373] Ibid., 113: "巾幗にして此の名譽を博したるは眞に喜ぶべきの至りにあらずや."
[374] For instance, Copeland writes that "[F]iction, in general, was not fit for female readers, or so Iwamoto believed" (*Lost Leaves*, 28). On the other hand, Inoue ("*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no bungakuron*," 98) stresses that Iwamoto felt strongly about literature—otherwise he would not have been able to surround himself with a group of passionate literati as he did.

were inspired to come to study at Meiji Jogakkō with the help of *Jogaku zasshi* and the ideals it projected, or to contribute their writing to *Jogakusei* and actively take part in the forum it provided.

As we have seen from Iwamoto responding to criticism of women authors, in time he imbued caution in his promotion of fiction. He argued that while women authors had become known for their *shōsetsu*, they had more genres to choose from. To him, not every woman good at writing or translation should turn to *shōsetsu*. He reasoned that while women's works were widely read, their reception was mixed and, in some cases, exceedingly harsh. The response to *Yabu no uguisu* and other pieces authored by female authors known to Iwamoto might have made him feel responsible for urging women to write without being able to protect them.[375] He also suggested approaching other unexplored areas, such as the modern *kyōkunsho* (i.e. textbooks on morals) that, to him, needed updating and there was still nothing modern that could compare with *Hime kagami*; women's biographies;[376] children's literature;[377] up-to-date guides on domestic science and nursing,[378] but also introductions to history, economics, physics, and physiology.[379] According to Iwamoto, very few such texts had been written by female authors, and thus the materials were thwarted by what men wished to project.

While Iwamoto never denied the influence *shōsetsu* can exercise on the masses, especially for providing role models and inspiration, or in classes for "intellectual training" as those by Hoshino Tenchi (refer to 4.b.2.b), in time he moderated his argument by taking his focus from fiction to writing that was more specifically aimed at meeting practical needs, such as textbooks and guidebooks. This was possibly due to the negative evaluation in society of the impact that the modern literature had on the system of education (refer to 5.a.), but also due to the practical needs at Meiji Jogakkō and other girls' schools, which were short on textbooks (refer to 5.b.).

From the analysis in this chapter, we can conclude that in Iwamoto's understanding female writers could serve Meiji Jogakkō's educational agenda on three levels: 1) they were living examples that women could provide for themselves by writing and could be active and outspoken in the modern society; 2) they could successfully promote the moral and social reform that he/they aspired to achieve on a national level without being hampered by censorship or punishment for making statements considered political; and 3) they could lead the development of modern education and language and make it more accessible for all.

Iwamoto did not discriminate among various types of writing—be it the Bible, poetry, articles in journals or magazines, novels or drama—and likened the written texts to teachers and social influencers. Various types of literature—old and new, foreign and Japanese, scientific and art-centered—were made available via Jogaku Zasshisha's publication and distribution efforts. In the curriculum, Chinese and Japanese classics were joined by Western ones, and various styles and genres were covered—if not officially, then as extracurricular activities. As we saw in 4.b.2.b., the texts were approached critically, as opposed to the rote memorization common at other schools; this approach promoted personal growth, helping students internalize the knowledge and come up with original and sometimes surprising ideas, freely borrowing from a variety of sources and looking for commonalities between them—just like Iwamoto, Hoshino, and other literati brought up in the period were doing themselves.

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[375] "Novels as They Ought to Be," *Jogaku zasshi* 153 (March 16, 1889): "女流の小説家諸君よ、諸君に向つて萬一亦た如此き惡評を寄するものあらんとき、吾人は亦必らずしも常に諸君の爲に辨護することを得ざるものなり、之を辨護することを得ざる吾人が悲しみは蓋し吾人を知るものの能く推察し玉わる所ろならん、實に嘆息なり、殘念の事なり."

[376] Ibid.: "婦人伝."

[377] Ibid.: "子供の談."

[378] Ibid.: "家政看病を案内すべき新書."

[379] Ibid.: "歴史経済理科生理等の学術を平易に説述したる新書."

Overall, while Iwamoto's preference for literature as "educational material" is clear, apart from "the basest of *gesaku*," he did not overtly reject any topics or styles, but rather provided his opinions from the stance of an educator at a girls' school. Iwamoto emphasized this pragmatism when he wrote in 1890 that "every human being must fulfill their duties, […] gaining virtue by studying first, and then being of assistance to others. […] The best writing is that which conveys the idea of learning […] and the best story is that which is lauded as pure, noble, and beautiful by its readers. All these qualities make the story (*shōsetsu*) educational—even if it is depicting adultery."[380] Notably, the prescribed "purity," "nobility," and "beauty"—all subjective terms—were defined by Iwamoto as something that the readers should interpret themselves.

Finally, as we have seen, to Iwamoto literature, while a powerful tool, was not everything, and had to come in a balance with other subjects, especially physical, moral, and scientific education.

[380] "An Address to the 'Meiji Gakko' Pupils. The Present Educational System," (*Meiji jogakkō seito ni tsugu, meshita no joshikyōikuhō* 明治学校生徒に告ぐ、目下の女子教育法), *Jogaku zasshi* 207 (April 5, 1890): "皆人たるの義務を盡くすべき也、[…]曰く自己の徳を修むること一也、人に益すること二也 […]小説の最良なるものは必らず教育の思想なかる可からず。[…]小説の善なる者を評して純粋と云ひ、高尚と云ひ、美と云ふこと、皆教育的の性あることを示す者也、たとひ姦淫の事を寫すにも."

6. Overall Conclusions

6.a. Observed Tendencies

When Meiji Jogakkō is seen as a "living, breathing" school with Iwamoto as its leader, responsible for its well being, it is clear that his ideals and writing often came secondary to the practices. As the school was often in a financially and legally[1] precarious position, dependent on the charity (in both materials and workforce) of like-minded intellectuals, the range within which it could carry out its activities was limited. This struggle was an underlying theme, visible throughout the analyzed materials: in *Jogaku zasshi* it was the advertisements asking for financial support;[2] in *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* it was the call for like-minded individuals to "rise" and cooperate with Meiji Jogakkō in terms of providing textbooks and setting up exchanges as partner institutions; in the memoirs of the students, it appeared in the form of confusion regarding why the school dissolved; and in Iwamoto's and Hoshino's interviews in 1930s, it is in their recurring emphasis on the lack of public approval. Not being able to carry out the education that the school aspired to was thus a major part of the dynamic behind both the ideas and the practices at the school. It often forced the school to settle for compromises that would keep it running, to the detriment of the lofty ideals of social reform it had envisaged.

One of the major compromises arrived to at the school was regarding its moral education. As we have seen, it was partly Iwamoto's choice and partly out of necessity that he balanced Christian ideals promoted by the school with more "universal" moral principles. In my dissertation, I have clarified that the concepts of art, love—both imbued with Western/Christian nuances—and Christianity itself, alongside *bunbu ryodō* or other ideas borrowed from Confucianism, Shintoism, martial ideologists' writing, and the government's discourses, were shaped and applied as practical tools to sustain the school's ideology in a society that was quick to judge Meiji Jogakkō's choices. The school's solutions—such as the emphasis on balance without leaning to extremes and debates on literature, physical education, the *bunbu* concept, the specific employment opportunities, etc.—should thus be seen as ideological "survival tools" that were influenced by the school's changing needs.

In spite of these compromises, the underlying principles at the school were constant. First of all, education was perceived as a means of social reform and a type of social activism in itself. Good quality higher education was seen as a right and a necessity for all who were willing to learn, regardless of their choices in life. All Meiji Jogakkō's activities should thus essentially be seen as aiming to extend education to as large an audience as possible. Especially emphasized was the scientific knowledge that was a practical necessity in women's lives.

At least in theory, the students, rather than being converted to certain beliefs, were educated in a manner that sought to underscore the development of free thought and action to gain physical and mental confidence and independence. The emphasis was on gaining the skills and mindset to change society for themselves gradually. To achieve this, Meiji Jogakkō challenged the gender norms on several levels, one example being the education in "*bun*" and "*bu*" that encouraged girls to learn (and eventually instruct in) martial arts and promoted literary activities using new styles such as *genbun icchi*.

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[1] For instance, Kischka-Wellhäußer, "Japanese Feminism's Institutional Basis," 145, note 19 draws attention to the fact that the school was censored by the government in that it only authorized its more practical training for typists and bookkeepers and not its teacher training.

[2] Seen after *Jogaku zasshi* 268 (June 6, 1891). Refer to Noheji et al., *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*, 99-100.

Each chapter of the thesis aimed to provide new perspectives into how the school responded to the practical realities and challenges of the times, and how its ideals tied to its policies.

The introductory Chapter 1 argued that previous research has not addressed numerous important publications that allow a better understanding of Meiji Jogakkō's activities and ideas. It also proposed that *Jogaku zasshi*, *Jogakusei*, and *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* were not only created as "interactive textbook materials," but also functioned as venues of hands-on professional training. Such new understanding underlines the importance of the connection these publications had with the school's educational policies and allows for new readings of Iwamoto's writing.

Chapter 2 analyzed how the school created the corpus of "necessary knowledge for modern Japanese women" by drawing on a wide variety of sources and combining several types of learning. I pointed out that it was Iwamoto who brought in the aspect of "harmony" between the West and Japan, old and new, as part of this process. Iwamoto especially stressed the practicality and applicability in real life of knowledge gained at the school, which subsequently brought him to emphasize the need for sources in the Japanese language. I also addressed the school's curriculum throughout its history and drew connections between how the practical realities of available teachers, school facilities, and student numbers have shaped it. Finally, I argued that its three characteristic practices (emphasis on avoiding memorization, development of the dormitory system, and the promotion of extracurricular activities) were devised as means to encourage independence and self-supervision.

Chapter 3 stressed that the school's interpretation of *bunbu* was a way to explain and justify the school's practices emphasizing the balance between old and new, as well as intellectual, moral, and physical education. The choice to carry out martial arts education at a Christian girls' school, a topic unaddressed in previous research, reflected the flexibility with which the school exercised its ideas while also bending social norms. I pointed out that the employment of "traditional" ideas and practices at Meiji Jogakkō stemmed from the teachers' own educational experiences, but was also built on the need to respond to *Kyōiku chokugo* and a perceived attack on Christian schools. The result was a convenient interpretation of popular discourses promoting the application of Confucianism for moral instruction, suitable due to its insistence on self-cultivation and its positioning as secular. I argued that Iwamoto, by using local equivalents as vehicles for novel ideas, reassembled Western concepts of morality and science and Japanese traditional learning to suit the practical needs of the school.

Chapter 4 shed light on the ways that Meiji Jogakkō perceived and chose to instruct physical education; it provided an important insight into how the modern and traditional concepts of body and mind, moral, intellectual, and physical education, and femininity and masculinity interacted in a fluid manner at the school. While Iwamoto had been initially encouraged to promote physical education by the attention it received from the government and missionary educators, his ideas, co-created with Hoshino (who also put them to practice) and influenced by students' response, gradually diverged from the officially acceptable forms of physical education. The reasons behind this can be found in his interpretation of classical physical education as capable of cultivating morality and intellect, as well as his pragmatic evaluation that martial arts tradition is the more readily accessible form of physical education than its Western counterparts. Alongside his promotion of martial arts, Iwamoto theorized on the etiquette for women (*jorei*). *Jorei* was a subject promoted by the government to be used at girls' schools, yet Iwamoto positioned it together with (or as an element of) the classical forms of physical education, stating that it can affect students' interactions with the world, and the way they carry themselves or are accepted by society. With this, Iwamoto stressed the connection between physical and mental training, stating that *jorei*

cultivates a mentality that welcomes learning, in contrast to mindless repetition. He recommended mental training that would help students internalize and apply new ideas, but also replace the limited interpretations of instruction in religion or morality. Finally, from how Hoshino chose to carry out "mental training" built around martial arts, classical texts, and the Christian "Sunday school" and camps, we can see how the school's maneuvered around the official developments in the education promoted for Meiji girls and women.

Chapter 5 argued that Iwamoto considered literature of various types to be a form of art enjoyed by the masses and thus one of the few freely available means to unreservedly disseminate ideas and values, in addition to knowledge and skills. My analysis stressed that he saw literature—broadly defined—as one more tool to promote and justify the school's ideas and practices, and emphasized its edifying influence on the reader. To serve as a useful tool, however, to Iwamoto, literature had to be written in modern language and in an easily accessible style. According to Iwamoto, all written genres, from speeches, essays, fiction, historical narratives, to poetry and drama, were necessary and suitable texts for educational purposes, as long as they were of high quality in terms of language and plot, and did not belittle women's position in society. Iwamoto consequently promoted a wide range of Japanese and Western literary pieces and authors, also supporting and encouraging new writing by Japanese women. He expected the modern authors to fulfill the roles of teachers, preachers, and opinion leaders. He introduced examples of noteworthy women to the readers and expected them to deduce what was to be learned, taking the authors as role models. In this, his activities display parallels with movements in the West to improve the position of women.

While it may be easy to assume that Iwamoto was uncertain in his theories due to the seemingly contradictory expressions in his large corpus of writing on various topics aimed at a variety of audiences, his approach was unchanging in that he continuously supported the development of quality education for women, especially on the secondary to tertiary level. He also continuously supported women as professionals, such as writers of literature, and encouraged a progressive and experimentative use of language and expression based on individual thought. Likewise, the theories at the school promoted its position in varied phrasing throughout the years, some more rigid than others, yet, the texts were written in a way to elicit critical readings. On the other hand, the practice at the school depended on the accessibility of means, expanding in its richness and variety when the school acquired experience and materials, and becoming limited when the funds were scarce.

The ideas publicized by Iwamoto were most likely intended to protect the school's hands-on practices from criticism and to advertise them in order to both garner support (in terms of ensuring a satisfactory number of applicants, teachers, and financial aiders) and to spread modern female education far and wide. When judged from this point of view, the changes in Iwamoto's tone can be interpreted as reflections of the fluctuations in the political and economic climate of the educational "market" rather than his "indecisiveness." On the other hand, the following aspects were constant in the school's practice: the effort to respect students' personal bonds and their place within society; improvement of the position of women by helping them secure employment and rights as the ultimate goal; Christian values such as charity and understanding of the special role women played in the family that drove the policies; and the quest for a balance among extremes.

It was with these goals and constants in mind that Iwamoto ascribed *jogakusei* the values of both writer (classical and modern, native and foreign) and warrior, ready to tackle the modern challenges. As the two ideals supplemented one another in his mind, to correctly evaluate Iwamoto's efforts, goals, and methods for promoting and exercising the education of women, this

dissertation analyzed how they merged into new understandings—something that could not be done by looking at each of the idea(l)s separately.

6.b. Iwamoto's Contribution to Modern Female Education

As shown by Carol Gluck and others,[3] Meiji period theories and ideas were drawn from various sources and underwent the processes of being recycled and reconceptualized to suit the practical needs of their promoters. Iwamoto and his peers' contributions illustrate this search for the golden middle—a marriage of the various traditions that were interacting in Meiji-era Japan. According to Rein Raud, "All activities grounded in meaning, or cultural practices, also construct the participants while being constructed by them in the process;"[4] likewise, the choice of ideas to apply and promote shaped their promoters. By not conforming to any one school of thought, Iwamoto was a full member of none, confusing even his students regarding his affiliations. However, precisely because of his efforts to select what he deemed worth preserving and reject what he considered outdated, we can see the raw state of ideas and policies that he dealt with and how his successes and failures became the inspiration for later educators.

An important contribution was his emphasis on physical education and martial arts for women. Recent research by Raul Sanchez Garcia addresses the persistent "gender blind spot," but fails to offer sufficient details on women in martial arts.[5] A close look at Meiji Jogakkō's example fills this research gap, and presents several valuable insights into martiality in the physical education of women during the Meiji period. On the other hand, martiality's role in Iwamoto's understanding of literature is yet another "blind spot," as previous scholarship has concentrated on Iwamoto's Westernized tastes in literature and his Christian bias leaving out the more "classical" influences. Shedding light on the connection between literature (*bun*) and martiality (*bu*) in Iwamoto's thought is one other contribution of this thesis to previous scholarship.

Iwamoto's later writing, "*Daimei gakumon*" 大名學問 (October 10, 1903)[6] goes beyond *bun* and *bu*, exemplifying how science or Spencerian pragmatism at that point in time may have constituted "the other half of the coin" to the *bunbu* ideal. It is fascinating to see the most important "areas of education" that we have already seen discussed in Iwamoto's writing, i.e., physical education and literature, grouped with "physiognomy" (*jinsō jutsu* 人相術) and "office work" (*jimu no sai* 事務の才) and titled *daimei gakumon*, or "distinguished fields of scholarship." Unfortunately, the school closed its gates before Iwamoto could put into practice these new ideas and how he interpreted them remains unclear.

While some see the collapse of Meiji Jogakkō and *Jogaku zasshi* as indicating the fact that Iwamoto as an opinion leader and ideologue had failed to adapt to the rapidly changing society[7], others have argued that instead he chose to play a new role—that of a protector, a leading supporter, who provided women with a place to gather, to exchange information, and to empower themselves according to their own understanding and needs.[8] I believe that Iwamoto serves as a link between the early Meiji ideologists, who published their opinions but did not concentrate on teaching women, and late Meiji and Taishō women's educators, who concentrated on teaching women and

[3] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*; Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 2000); Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity*; and Benesch, *Inventing the Way*.
[4] Raud, *Meaning in Action*, 6.
[5] Raul Sanchez Garcia, *The Historical Sociology of Japanese Martial Arts* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2019).
[6] "*Daimei gakumon*" 大名學問, *Jogaku zasshi* 522 (October 10, 1903).
[7] E.g., Inoue, "On the Concept 'Jogaku'."
[8] E.g., Patessio and Kischka-Wellhäußer among others.

spent little effort on making their ideas known. Iwamoto represented the generation of educators who, in the rapidly changing Meiji setting, experimented by adapting to the needs of students and their families as members of society and the "nation," and whose efforts facilitated the passing of the baton from male opinion leaders such as pioneers Fukuzawa Yukichi, to independent female educators such as Tsuda Umeko, Hani Motoko, and their students.

By the end of Meiji, the government and the intelligentsia seem to have arrived at some form of consensus regarding a desired model of education and what cultural and national values it should espouse. The model that they settled upon was a compromise between the Western-style education and the traditional values and customs that would facilitate unifying the country and modernization, in addition to helping Japan be recognized as an international power. It was within this search for a compromise that Iwamoto provided his own version of an educational model: an amalgamation of ideas from a variety of sources, old and new, native and foreign. While educational ideals and policies like Iwamoto's might have been considered by some as deviating from the "safe" norm and thus a threat, his opinions survived in moral education and the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal, albeit not how Iwamoto envisaged them.

6.c. Further Research

Several issues regarding Meiji Jogakkō's policies remain insufficiently treated in research. First of all, Iwamoto's, Hoshino's, and the students' fiction is a fascinating topic that could not be explored here in detail. Yet, as there is a strong connection between their writing and the goals Meiji Jogakkō envisaged for women, such analysis would contribute an additional layer to facilitate the understanding of the ideals and aspirations promoted by the school and the developments in modern writing styles promoted for and accessible to women. Likewise, while the dissertation has shed light on some textbooks and the curricula of Meiji Jogakkō, which had been previously unaddressed, further analysis of these resources would shed supplementary light on the school's contribution to women's education.

Another topic that was only briefly mentioned but is of importance is the international student exchange carried out at the school. While Iwamoto's support of Tsuda Umeko's scholarship fund has been tackled in previous research,[9] the school's connections to Korea and Taiwan are only mentioned in passing. Iwamoto's wish to expand the school's activities outside of the Japanese metropole reflected his understanding of women's education and responsibilities of educators, but it is important to look into how Iwamoto perceived education in Japan's colonies, his position on expansion and imperialism, but also the issues that exchange students faced at Meiji Jogakkō and the experiences described by the students themselves in order to gain a fuller picture.

Moreover, new influences have been identified in Iwamoto's thought: especially in need of further attention are Iwamoto's Confucian education and his martial training and philosophy. Finally, as the understanding of the body and the need for its cultivation was developing around similar axes throughout the modernizing world, a comparison between the experience of martial arts in Japan and in the West, in addition to other Asian countries such as India[10] that maintained a cultural bond with Japan, would further enhance the understanding of the educational policies at Meiji Jogakkō.

[9] Refer to Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education*, 97.
[10] Hashimoto, "Soft Power of the Soft Art," describes Ghandi's and Tagore's interest in Japanese martial arts and the involvement of women.

Annex 1: Glossary of Frequently Used Japanese Terms

The following list provides explanations of terms that appeared romanized rather than translated throughout the text. While some of them cannot be limited to their dictionary definitions, apart from translations found in primary sources and terminology explanations made in current scholarship, two commonly used dictionaries published around the time the treated sources were written were consulted: an 1888 version of *A Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary* by James Curtis Hepburn[1] and the fourth edition (1888) of Ōtsuki Fumihiko's *Genkai* 言海[2].

bu 武	"Military,"[1] yet, when used in contrast to *bun*, denoted physical and, arguably, moral education.[2]
budō 武道	"The martial way." Translated as "military sciences" and the "way of the samurai"[3]; in the modern context often used to indicate martial arts as sport.
bugaku 武学	"Military science."[4]
bugei 武芸	"The military arts or sciences; the accomplishments of a soldier, of which Jap. reckon 18, such as the use of a sword, spear, bow, club, musket, horse, etc."[5]
bun 文	"Writing, letters, composition, literature,"[6] yet, when used in contrast to *bu*, denoted literary (civil/academic) education.[7]
bunbu ryōdō 文武両道 / *bunbu itto* 文武一途	Mastery of both literary and military arts.[8]
bundō 文道	"Literature; learning; letters; belles-lettres"[9]; literary arts/sciences when juxtaposed with *budō*.
bungaku 文学	"Literature, literary studies, especially Chinese classics."[10]
bungakukai 文学会	A literary society/club.
dendō 伝導	"Preaching the Gospel, *-sha*, an evangelist; [...] a missionary; *-kwaisha*, a missionary society."11
bungei 文芸	Literary arts.[12]
dōtoku 道徳	"Morality, moral science."[13]
fukei jiken 不敬事件	A "lèse-majesté" incident, when the person was reprimanded for not displaying enough respect towards the imperial family / national imagery. A form of national censorship.14
futsūka 普通科	The general department/course at schools.
genbun icchi 言文一致	Written language close to vernacular. Usually translated as "unified written and spoken style," although there are discussions about whether it can be said to unify two already existing registers without creating completely new writing styles.

[1] James Curtis Hepburn, *A Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary*, Fourth Edition (Tokyo: Maruya, 1888).
[2] Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦, *Genkai* 言海 (Tokyo: Chikuma Gakugei Bunko ちくま学芸文庫, 2004).
[1] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 45.
[2] Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 883: "「文―ノ道」." There were no separate *bundō* or *budō* sections in the dictionary.
[3] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 45.
[4] Ibid., 45.
[5] Ibid., 45. Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 890 described it in similar terms, also mentioning fighting unarmed (*kenpō*): "弓、馬、槍、劍、拳法、鐵砲、ナド、スベテ戰術ニ係ル技。武術。武技。"
[6] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 47. An example follows: "—*wo shirazu shite budō tsui ni shōri wo ezaru koto*, military science alone, without a knowledge of literature, can never give success."
[7] Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 903: "(武ノ反):「―武ノ道」."
[8] Refer to Benesch, "National Consciousness and the Evolution of the Civil/Martial Binary."
[9] Ibid., 47.
[10] Ibid., 47. According to Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 93, was the opposite to *bujutsu*. *Bunka* 文化 ("culture") on the same page is explained as related to the "study of *bun*" or *bungaku*: "文學强化ノ盛ニ關ワルコト."
[11] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 73. Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 699: "宗旨ヲ傳ヘヒロムルコト（耶蘇教ニ）."
[12] Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 903: "文學に關する藝." No mention in Hepburn.
[13] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 80. Not found in Ōtsuki.
[14] Doak, *A History of Nationalism*: 97 translates the term as the "incident of *fukei* (lèse majesté; treason; blasphemy)."

gesaku 戯作	A "general name for fiction composed from about 1770 to 1870. Originally, humorous."[15] Common themes were vendettas and licensed quarters.
haishi 稗史	"A novel; fictitious story-book; romance. Syn. *kusazōshi*, *shōsetsu*."[16]
honka 本科	The main department/course. Also used interchangeably with *futsūka* at Meiji Jogakkō where it denoted the secondary-level education.
jiyū minken undō 自由民権運動	Freedom and People's Rights Movement, took place around the 1880s.
jiyūka 自由科 / *senka* 選科	The "free electives" department. At Meiji Jogakkō it was perceived as tertiary-level education that allowed a choice from a variety of professional skills / accomplishments.
jisshūbu 実習部	The practice/training course at Meiji Jogakkō during its later years.
jogakkō 女学校	"A girl's school, female seminary."[17]
jogaku 女学18	Not in dictionaries. Translated as "the study of womanhood" in *Jogaku zasshi*. Used by Iwamoto since 1884 and picked up by other magazines within a few years. The Western equivalent would be "feminology," following Florence Dressler's book of the same title.[19]
Jogaku zasshi 女学雑誌/女學雜誌	Published in 1885–1905 by Jogaku Zasshisha. Is kept as *Jogaku zasshi* rather than *The Woman's Magazine* (the official English title provided in the magazine itself).
Jogaku Zasshisha 女学雑誌社/ 女學雜誌社	*Jogaku zasshi* members as a publishing house, a large part of which were also Meiji Jogakkō's staff or students.
Jogakusei 女學生	Published in 1901–02 by Jogaku Zasshisha. Referred to as *Jogakusei* rather than *The Girl-Student*, the title found in the magazine itself.
jorei 女礼/女禮	"Female etiquette, or decorum; *-shiki*—the rules of."[20]
joryū 女流	"Women; female sex."[21] Rebecca Copeland describes how there was an epistemological shift in defining the female author that took place in Meiji from the female authors of the classical tradition (*keishū sakka* 閨秀作家) to the *joryū* authors in the early 1900s, as the language was "more stabilized and women [became] able to participate in the literary circles dominated by men."[22] Iwamoto uses the terms interchangeably.
joshi 女史	"A female scholar or writer; a literary woman."[23] A "suffix" to names.
joshi 女子	While the word has come to mean a "woman" in the contemporary context, Hepburn defines it as a "daughter, girl."[24] Meanwhile, Suzuki describes the lumping together of women (女) and children (子) as "a cliché used since the Edo period [1603–1868], [that] function[ed] as a rhetorical figure to represent uneducated people, as opposed to cultured modern (mainly male) citizens."[25] In the Meiji period, the term was most likely used on a spectrum from derogatory to respectful. Translated as "girls and women."
joshi (*kōtō*) *shihan gakkō* 女子(高等)師範学校	Women's (higher) normal school (i.e., for acquiring teaching qualifications).
joshi kyōiku 女子教育	Education for girls and women.
kanbun 漢文	A Sino-Japanese reading/writing system devised to access the Chinese classics (as a subject of study / type of literature) and classical Chinese (as a writing system).

[15] Keene, *Dawn to the West*: 1240.
[16] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 125. Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 796, also describes *haishi* as synonymous to *shōsetsu* or *haikan* 稗官, historical narrative written like *shōsetsu*.
[17] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 229.
[18] Explained in detail in subsection 2.b.1.
[19] Florence Dressler, *Feminology: A Guide for Womankind, Giving in Detail Instructions as to Motherhood, Maidenhood, and the Nursery* (Chicago: C.L. Dressler & Co., 1901).
[20] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 231.
[21] Ibid., 231.
[22] Copeland and Ortabasi, *The Modern Murasaki*, 3.
[23] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 231.
[24] Ibid., 231.
[25] Suzuki, "Women and the Position of the Novel, 148.

kanzen chōaku 勧善懲悪	"'Promotion of virtue and chastisement of vice'—the ostensible justification of works of fiction and drama,"[26] poetic justice. Iwamoto had both positive and negative things to say about the concept.
kasei 家政	"Household management, home economics,"[27] referred to as "domestic science" in the thesis, as Meiji Jogakkō and its publications emphasized natural sciences while instructing *kasei*.[28]
kokoro 心	"Mind, heart, will, thought, affection, reason, meaning, signification."[29] Usually kept as "mind" in translations.
kōtō jogakkō 高等女学校	A higher girls' school, or a girl's middle school—the school for women at above-the-elementary level; also, a government-recognized *jogakkō*. The term appeared in 1891.
kōtōka 高等科	Higher education department/course.
Kyōiku chokugo 教育勅語	*Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo* 教育ニ関スル勅語 in full. Translated as the Imperial Rescript on Education. Promulgated in 1890.
Kyōfūkai 矯風会	Tōkyō Fujin Kyōfūkai 東京婦人矯風会 in full. Known in English as Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Established in 1886, still running.
kyōkunsho 教訓書	Instructional texts; used interchangeably with *jokun* 女訓—moral guides for women and girls.
Meiji Jogakkō 明治女学校/ 明治女學校	Meiji Girls' School; kept as Meiji Jogakkō in the text. Functional from 1885 to 1909.
Monbushō 文部省	Ministry of Education; the title was in use from 1871 to 2001. Current equivalent: Monbukagakushō 文部科学省, translated as Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT).
naginata 薙刀	A type of martial art carried out while using a halberd. Translated in *Jogaku zasshi* as both "naginata" and "halberd," kept as *naginata* throughout the text.
nanbungaku 軟文學	Romantic literature. "軟" translates as "soft," "gentle," etc.
ninjō 人情	"The heart, feelings, or affections common to man; humanity, kindness."[30]
ninjōbon 人情本	"A kind of novel or love story,"[31] or "[w]orks of *gesaku* fiction that emphasized romantic attachments."[32] Translated as "romantic novels."
ōraimono 往来物	Texts for studying handwriting and reading[33] that also covered a wide variety of subjects.
-rei 令	"A command, order."[34] Common suffix in law titles. Similar to *-kitei* 規程: "regulations of..."
rei 礼/禮	"Politeness, decorum, etiquette."[35] An intrinsic part of Japanese classical arts.
reihō 礼法/禮法 / *reishiki* 礼式/禮式	System of etiquette.
ryōsai kenbo 良妻賢母[36]	"Good wife, wise mother." Theories on modern womanhood that started in Meiji Japan.
seishin 精神	Mind, spirit, etc., as opposed to the physical body.[37]
senshūka 専修科	Vocational course/department, seen in Meiji Jogakkō as describing both secondary and tertiary levels of education.
shiki 式	"Law, rule, custom, usage, ceremony, rite; order, disposition or arrangement."[38]

[26] Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era, Fiction* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998): 1241.
[27] Koyama Shizuko 小山静子, *Ryosai Kenbo: The Educational Ideal of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" in Modern Japan*, trans. Stephen Filler (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), xvii.
[28] Iwahori, "Construction of the Ideal Wife."
[29] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 322. Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 341 uses *jō* 情, *nasake* ナサケ, *omoi* オモヒ, *kangae* カンガへ, and *imi* 意味" among others.
[30] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 454.
[31] Ibid., 231.
[32] Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 1243.
[33] Koyama, *Ryōsai Kenbo*, xviii.
[34] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 500.
[35] Ibid., 500. Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 1074: "人倫ノ交際ニ、心ニ敬ヒ、行動ニ測ヲ守ル道."
[36] Explained in detail in section 2.b.1.
[37] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 543: "The mind, motive, will, mental power." Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 341 uses *kokoro no hataraki* 心ノハタラキ, *tamashii* タマシヒ, *kiryoku*, 気力, and *konki* 根気.
[38] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 564.

Shinbunshi jōrei 新聞紙条例	Press regulations in 1875, revised in 1883 and 1887.
shisō 思想	"Thought, idea, opinion, sentiment."[39]
shodan 初段	First rank in teachings of an art; often succeeded by *mokuroku* 目録—a "half-way" rank, then by *menkyo* 免許 and/or *denju* 伝授. Being granted the rank of *kaiden* 皆伝 signified having mastered the teachings and usually being allowed to instruct as a master. *Mokuroku kyojō* 目録許状 license showed considerable mastery of a skill.[40]
shōsetsu 小説	"A story, novel, fiction."[41] In Meiji discourse, "the word is used indiscriminately for the novel, the novella, and the short story, and even for factual accounts related in a literary manner."42 Was used by Iwamoto when describing Western-style fiction within and without Japan. To avoid confusion, is kept as *shōsetsu* when translating.
shūkai jōrei 集会条例	Released in 1880, the law prohibited women's participation in politics, including public gatherings; replaced in 1890 by *shūkai oyobi seisha hō* 集会及政社法 that did not lift the prohibition.
shūshin 修身	"Governing or regulating one's self, cultivating virtue,"[43] denoted a subject in ethics/morals in the modern school system.
taisō 体操	"Gymnastic exercise, calisthenics, athletics."[44] Often used as an umbrella term for Western-style physical education in the modern school system.
tensei 天性	"Natural disposition or temperament."[45]
tentō/tendō 天道	*Tentō*: "The ruling power of nature, the Deity, heaven, the sun—worshiped as a deity."[46] *Tendō*: "The laws or ordinances of heaven, laws of nature, heaven, Providence."[47]
tsūshin 通信	Used to denote correspondence courses and publications where there would be exchanges between teachers and students by mail.
wa 和	"Peace, harmony."[48] Also marks that something is Japanese.
Wagatō/Gotō no joshi kyōiku 吾黨之女子教育	Translatable as "our education for women," a title of a publication by Jogaku Zasshisha / Meiji Jogakkō in 1882.
yoka 予科	Preparatory department at Meiji Jogakkō (equivalent to the modern-system education provided at higher-elementary level (*kōtō shōgakkō* 高等小学校)).
yōnenka 幼年科	Primary department at Meiji Jogakkō (equivalent to modern-system elementary-level education, or *jinjō shogaku* 尋常小學).

[39] Ibid., 581. Not found in Ōtsuki.
[40] Ōtsuki, *Genkai*.
[41] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 592.
[42] Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 1244.
[43] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 598.
[44] Ibid., 633. Not found in Ōtsuki.
[45] Hepburn, *Dictionary*, 598.
[46] Ibid., 658.
[47] Ibid., 656. Ōtsuki, *Genkai*, 699 uses the word to describe the sun (*taiyō* 太陽).
[48] Ibid., 721.

Annex 2: On Iwamoto's Publications

1. *Jogaku Shinshi* and Other Early Endeavors

Jogaku shinshi (27 issues, June 16, 1884 – September 19, 1885) is known as the first modern female-readership-oriented magazine and as a predecessor to *Jogaku zasshi*; the latter took on the format and the mission of the former without much change other than the title. However, as Iwamoto was not involved with Meiji Jogakkō at the time of publishing, and neither are his ideas distinguishable from Kondō Kenzō with whom they co-edited the magazine, *Jogaku shinshi* is only partially relevant to this dissertation. For instance, while it provides a glimpse into Iwamoto's early understanding of *joreishiki* (etiquette for women) by serializing the guidelines supported by the government at the beginning of most of the numbers,[1] it does not provide any commentary on them, showing the lack of easily identifiable critical approach before Iwamoto became a practicing educator.

2. *Jogaku Zasshi*

Published from 1885 (July 20) to 1905 (February 12), from once a week to once a month throughout the years, *Jogaku zasshi* would usually consist of about thirty pages. Opinions about the numbers of distributed copies differ and there was a wide variation during the years. Koyama Shizuko writes that in 1887 there were 70,362 copies made, yet in 1888 the number decreased to 13,023.[2] However, even though the number of released issues appears small, the circulation of the magazine was wide, as the issues were preserved and shared.[3] Thus, it is safe to say that, given its popularity and circulation, *Jogaku zasshi* contributed to nationwide discussions about modern love, family, and women's education through the changing political climate of approximately twenty years. Due to the wide range of interests of the editing staff, it contained a variety of topics, not all of which were considered fit for women: politics, social critique, conditions abroad, etc. Out of 526 issues, the first 23 were edited by Kondō Kenzō and Iwamoto, the last three (524−26)[4] by Aoyanagi Yūbi, and the ones in between by Iwamoto himself or under his guidance. While these men were the official editors, numerous women, as they could not legally become editors-in-chief, were unofficially participating in the editing processes, at certain points becoming publicly entrusted with sections of the magazine. This is particularly visible in 1890–93 when *Jogaku zasshi* started running in two alternating editions.

Jogaku zasshi split into two editions because it outgrew its covers.[5] The topics covered ranged from instructions on how to feed a baby or scold a maid, to social and political problems; and from translations of Western fiction to essays on such historical figures as Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616) and Empress Jingū 神功皇后 (est. 169–269). Throughout the years, the following columns (and more) could be found in *Jogaku zasshi*: editorials (*shasetsu* 社説), leading articles (*ronsetsu* 論説), literary reviews (*hihyō* 批評), biographies (*kaden* 佳傳), historical recreations (*shiden* 史傳), contributed articles (*kisho* 寄書), novels (*shōsetsu*), open letters (*kaisho* 開書), miscellanies (*zatsuroku* 雜錄), "word and deed" (*gendō* 言行), domestic science (*kasei* 家政), science (*rigaku* 理學), *jogaku* 女學, thoughts and fancies (*zuikan* 隨感), children's column

[1] *Shōgaku joreishiki* 小學女禮式 (東京府兩大廿三號達), *Jogaku shinshi* 1-10, 12, 14-15, and 18-22.
[2] Koyama, *Tsūshin jogaku*: 13, note 14.
[3] Sōma Kokkō writes how *Jogaku zasshi* reached her in Tōhoku and how the issues were well-preserved by one of her friends until the time she wrote her memoirs in the 1930s (*Mokui*, 22).
[4] Noheji, *Josei kaihō shisō*, 120: With the red and white covers counted as separate, all in all, 548 issues of *Jogaku zasshi* are known to have been published.
[5] Noheji, *Josei kaihō shisō*, 120.

(*jikan* 兒籃), literature (*bungaku* 文學), drollery (*shōshō* 笑章), news (current (*jiji* 時事): general (*shinpō* 新報), foreign (*gaihō* 外報), and concerning women (*johō* 女報)); questions and answers (*montō* 問答), the friend of the orphans (*koyū* 孤友), and more.[6]

Literature-related sections seem to occupy a large number of the above columns. From its inauguration, *Jogaku zasshi* featured the poetic traditions of *waka* 和歌 or *kanshi* 漢詩, while also introducing the Western classics and modern poetry (*shintaishi* 新体詩). Since 1886, together with a movement to create the modern Japanese novel as a new literary genre, it started featuring essays debating controversial issues in contemporary Japanese literary theory such as *genbun icchi*, or *kanzen chōaku*. Since the 1890s, women especially were encouraged to write for *Jogaku zasshi* and several prominent authors kept on publishing in the magazine throughout the years.

Due to such varied contents, it was thus up to Iwamoto as an editor to tie all the topics together[7] and his ideas and understanding—about what knowledge was necessary to advance the education for women—served as the string. Aware of the fact that such variety in topics was possibly weakening the overall argument, in 1892 Iwamoto toured western Japan, speaking to women's groups about *Jogaku zasshi* and concluding that the magazine no longer satisfied the needs of its readers.[8] To tackle the issue, in addition to *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* and *Jogakusei* that were already running parallel to *Jogaku zasshi*, Iwamoto experimented with creating two *Jogaku zasshi*s by dividing the magazine into two separate editions. They ran on alternate weeks between June 1892 and April 1893.

The "white covers" (*shirabyō* 白表), also known as the "first volumes" (*kō no ken* 甲の巻), were supervised by Hoshino Tenchi and covered matters of literature and social reform. It is clear that Hoshino played an integral role in editing Jogaku Zasshisha's publications from 1890 to 1893, being responsible for *Jogakusei* and the "white covers" from no. 320 to no. 341. This helped him build his network, which later materialized into the magazine *Bungakukai*. The "red covers" (*akabyō* 赤表), or the "second volumes" (*otsu no ken* 乙の巻), concentrated on practical issues and lifelong education and were supervised largely by female staff.[9] As for female editors, Shimizu Shikin and Yamamuro Kieko[10] 山室機恵子 (1874−1916) were particularly prominent. Shimizu Shikin joined the magazine in 1890 as a journalist; she argued for women's rights, exposing their unequal position in society, while also teaching at Meiji Jogakkō. Among her contributions were leading articles and editorials, in addition to novels, essays, and numerous others.[11] Yamamuro Kieko, after having graduated in 1895 from Meiji Jogakkō, is known for joining the Tōkyō Fujin Kyōfūkai and the Japanese branch of the Salvation Army (*Kyūseigun* 救世軍) established by her husband in 1899. The topics Shimizu and Yamamuro worked on ranged from personal hygiene and housekeeping to changes in the local and international governmental policies. They also covered the practical issues of education in Japan: news about the establishment of schools, their policies, curricula, events, lists of graduates, available scholarships, and messages about visiting scholars. In addition, they created a venue to share experiences by featuring interviews and writing of female students, authors, and activists.

[6] English translations as provided in the magazine. Some were less regular or long-lived than others. Various columns established by the magazine (such as the one for children) served as examples for other magazines.
[7] Noheji, *Josei kaihō shisō*, 120.
[8] Brownstein, "*Bungakukai*," 328.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Known as Satō Okie 佐藤お機恵 while a student.
[11] *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*, 174-76.

Inoue recognizes the influence the societal changes and the reception of the magazine had on *Jogaku zasshi*'s development and splits it into three periods.[12] According to her, the beginning (1885–89) was marked by many articles written by Iwamoto himself who had to set the theme of the magazine. Also, as Iwamoto felt the need to provide *Jogaku zasshi* a strong basis by displaying the support of authoritative figures, contributions from older, established authors were prevalent. The most fruitful period of the magazine followed when, in 1889–93, Iwamoto was joined by numerous contributors close to him in age, ready to help his cause, and bringing in an energetic intellectual exchange between *Jogaku zasshi* and other periodicals. This period coincides with the time the magazine was split into two specialized editions. Inoue describes how during the final period of the magazine, 1893–1905, Iwamoto, pressed to search for funds for the school and by other urgent work, increasingly left the steering wheel to his collaborators, who were full-time journalists dedicated only to *Jogaku zasshi*. Inoue argues that this led to a decrease in intellectual exchanges and narrowed the magazine's scope, which in turn gave birth to a stale ideology that sped up the magazine's demise.[13] Whether leaving the journal in the hands of the magazine's staff affected it negatively is questionable, as there were many other factors that had rendered the climate unfavorable. In addition, rather than an unfortunate outcome, it appears to have been Iwamoto's intention from the early stages to nurture individuals (preferably women) who could run the magazine by themselves.

Iwamoto assured this by shaping *Jogaku zasshi* into a tool to cultivate young specialists and maintaining networks. Indeed, the magazine had numerous influential female and male contributors. Among the women who contributed[14] were Iwamoto's wife Iwamoto Kashi who wrote under her well-known pen name Wakamatsu Shizuko and several others. Her teacher at Ferris Jogakkō, Kishida Toshiko, famous for her imprisonment in 1883 after delivering a speech on "Daughters in Boxes" (*Hako-iri musume* 箱入り娘), contributed *kanshi* (Chinese-style poems) in 1888 and a series of essays from 1899 to 1900. Miyake Kaho, who had studied at Meiji Jogakkō, contributed several novels, essays, miscellanies and more.[15] Ōtsuka Kusuoko[16] 大塚楠諸子 (1875–1910), who attended English classes at Meiji Jogakkō, graduating as a non-matriculated student and later becoming an author, shared her writing as well. The previously mentioned students Hani Motoko, Sōma Kokkō, and Nogami Yaeko, who all sought out careers in literature, also contributed their writing occasionally.

Many of the men who took part in running *Jogaku zasshi* also taught at Meiji Jogakkō. The most well-known are those who were writing and contributing to the public discourses on literature, such as Aoyanagi Yūbi, Hoshino Tenchi, Ishibashi Ningetsu[17] 石橋忍月 (1865–1926), Isogai Yūtarō[18] 磯貝由太郎 (1865–97), Iwano Hōmei[19] 岩野泡鳴 (1873–1920), Kawai Shinsui 川合信水 (1867–1962), Kitamura Tōkoku, Sakurai Ōson 桜井鷗村 (1872–1929), Shimazaki Tōson, Uchida Roan[20] 内田魯庵 (1868–1929), and Yamaji Aizan[21] 山路愛山 (1864–1917). There were also contributions from well-known public figures such as Shimada Saburō, Taguchi

[12] Inoue, "On the Concept 'Jogaku'."
[13] Ibid.
[14] Writing by the female authors found in *Jogaku zasshi* is discussed in detail in 5.b.3.
[15] *Jogaku zasshi shosakuin*, 172-74.
[16] Given name: Ōtsuka Kusuo 大塚久寿雄.
[17] Legal first name Yūkichi 友吉.
[18] Also known as Uchida Yūtaro 内田由太郎 or Isogai Unpō 磯貝雲峰.
[19] Legal first name Yoshie 美衛.
[20] Also known as Uchida Fuchian 内田不知庵. Given name: Uchida Mitsugi 内田貢.
[21] Legal first name Yakichi 彌吉.

Ukichi, and Ueki Emori. Shimada, who frequently contributed to *Jogaku zasshi*, was a political critic, who figured, at least in name, in the establishment of Meiji Jogakkō and the Kyōfūkai as well. He was friends with journalist Taguchi, who, being the brother of Kimura Tōko, contributed to *Jogaku zasshi*, sometimes in a critical manner.[22] Ueki, a famous activist in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, was involved in the activities of the school and published his opinions in *Jogaku zasshi*.[23] This network-community was kept together by both the school and the magazine and helped to disseminate information relevant to the education of women in terms of both practice and theory.

As the magazine announced the aspirations, developments, and results of practices at Meiji Jogakkō, it attracted students and like-minded individuals, both indispensable for the school's survival. The publishing activities kept the network's varied activities within and without the school organized and transparent; meanwhile, the knowledge students gained at the school was reflected in contributions and editing work. It thus can be said that while *Jogaku zasshi* explicated the theory, Meiji Jogakkō was the ground for its application. With time, the experience gained while running *Jogaku zasshi* inspired other school's enterprises to appear to better facilitate carrying the ideas and practices of the school beyond its walls.

3. *Tsūshin Jogaku Kōgiroku*

Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku 通信女學講義録 ran as a correspondence course parallel to *Jogaku zasshi* from April 15, 1887[24] to 1892, completing at least four year-length cycles. After the first cycle ended at fifteenth installment on November 29, 1888, the project continued for a brief period as an attachment to *Jogaku zasshi* while titled *Tsūshin jogaku furoku* 通信女學付録.[25] The independent correspondence course was revived in 1890[26] and two more cycles of *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* followed in 1891 and 1892.[27]

Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku was mostly supervised by the staff at Meiji Jogakkō, yet some contributors came from beyond the school, and the publication expanded its breadth with each cycle. It is possibly the first enterprise of such kind, later followed by *Jogaku kōgiroku* 女學講義 (1895–1905) and *Jogaku no shiori* 女學の枝折 (1900), which used a similar style of distance education via correspondence.

As can be illustrated by the fact that *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* briefly ran as an appendix to *Jogaku zasshi*, the two functioned synergistically. The advertisements claimed that while *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* remained constant throughout the year, *Jogaku zasshi* adapted itself to the seasons. The connection with *Jogaku zasshi* was also made clear by the 10% discount if purchased together.[28] One issue of *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* cost 32 sen; half a year's worth was 1 yen 80 sen, and the full course was 3 yen 50 sen. *Jogaku zasshi*'s price was 6 sen for one issue and 50 sen for

[22] *Jogaku zasshi* 111 (May 26, 1888) is responding to Ueki's criticism on the meaning of *jogaku*. Such interactions were most likely carried out in a friendly manner.
[23] Aoyama, *Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū,* 602, writes that he participated in the *bungakukai* of the school. *Jogaku zasshi* 302 ("*Ueki Emori-kun wo chōsu*" 植木枝盛君を弔す) refers to his contributions.
[24] Announced for the first time in *Jogaku zasshi* 55 (March 12, 1887).
[25] *Jogaku zasshi* 143-60 (January 5 to May 4, 1889).
[26] Announced in *Jogaku zasshi* 194 (January 1, 1890).
[27] Announced in *Jogaku zasshi* 245 and 318 (December 27, 1890, and May 21, 1892, respectively).
[28] Ibid.: "女學雜誌は四季折々の必要を足し通信女學は年中同様の必要を足す、故に二つを合せ御覽にならば一層に便利なるべし、編者も其心掛けにて編輯し相合せて錦と花との如くなきまく祈る、左れば右二つを合せ購讀の人には特別の割引を可致也."

10, with an extra 5 rin if it had to be sent outside of Tokyo.[29] Even with the discount, *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* was an expensive publication in contrast to contemporaneous magazines,[30] likely due to the extensive amount of materials provided and due to employing the necessary staff to contribute courses and respond to the readers' questions. According to Koyama, the sales for the first cycle were 3,577 issues in 1887 and 546 issues in 1888.[31] Despite the price, it seems to have found its niche.

The intended readership is described as wives and mothers unable to attend schools or hire private teachers.[32] However, Noheji notes that it was read by educators as well—both men and women. [33] The format was two hundred pages of information posted each month, the recommendation was to read eight pages every day.[34] Questions to the teachers were encouraged, and thus *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* was, even if less explicit in promoting written discussions than *Jogaku zasshi* or *Jogakusei*, a learning experience that involved the readers and their questions. At the end of the course, the students were supposed to become proficient in interacting with other educated women and men. The advertisement admonished that women who do not learn the basics that *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* covers will be left behind their peers in a few years' time.[35] The "basics" offered were an intriguing selection of topics and ranged from Western etiquette to Japanese poetry and from Chinese classics to chemistry, history, and physics.

While not all issues are available, Koyama has compiled the first fifteen installments (1887–88) of the first cycle,[36] while the 1890 cycle can be found in Ishikawa Takeyoshi Memorial Library (no. 1, dated January 20, 1890), and Center for International Children's Literature, Osaka Prefectural Central Library (no. 11 and no. 12, published on November 15, 1890, and December 16, 1890, respectively). While the December issue is the latest that could be located, it carried an announcement that the thirteenth installment would complete the cycle. The reasons behind the discontinuation of the project are unclear, yet, as argued in the following chapters, could have been changes in the political climate and Jogaku Zasshisha's financial standing, or the fact that it was more feasible to publish the lectures as textbooks.

The publication provides a valuable insight into the possible contents of the courses at Meiji Jogakkō and thus details about the curricula of *Tsūshin jogaku kōgiroku* are discussed in section 2.c.2.e.

4. *Wagatō no Joshi Kyōiku*

Wagatō no joshi kyōiku, or "our education for women," was a compilation of Iwamoto's most seminal writings as deemed so by the school in 1892. In addition to sharing experience and clarifying certain practical aspects of Meiji Jogakkō's management, it was designed to serve as a primer on why and how to open a school for girls.

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[29] Ibid.: "通信女學一册前金三十二錢（無送税）、半年分前金一圓八十錢、一年分前金三圓五十錢、一切前金に非れば發送せず。女學雜誌一册六錢、十册前金五八錢（都外は此外に一册五厘宛の郵税申受く）、而して通信女學を總方購讀の方には各一割づつ相減じ可申也."

[30] Koyama, *Kōgiroku kaidai*, 3, compares the prices with other publications of the time.

[31] Koyama, *Kōgiroku kaidai*, 3.

[32] *Jogakusei* 1 (May 21, 1890): "既に妻となり母となりて一家女子の掛念ある方々は最早家を出で通學することも出來ず又家に教師を引て教を受るも甚はだ手數なれば."

[33] Noheji, *Josei kaihō shisō*.

[34] *Jogakusei* 1 (May 21, 1890): "毎月二百頁程の講義録一回宛出版し毎日四枚（八頁）宛讀み一月にて終る筈の事."

[35] Ibid.: "一年にて左諸科目を終る、此丈けを心得れば普通一と通りの女學は學び得たることにて文明なみなみの交際に差支を生せず若し此丈けをだに知らねば此後二三年の内に婦人仲間中以上の交りにも列し難きこととなかるべし."

[36] Koyama, *Tsūshin jogaku*.

Wagatō no joshi kyōiku, dedicated to comrades (*dōshi* 同志), opens by explaining that the majority of the texts have already been published, yet, as statements in them still hold, they are compiled together to represent the current (1892) education at Meiji Jogakkō.[37] As this republication emphasizes the continuity in the educational policies at the school, I have compiled a chart to identify the changes.

The publication does not include an English list of contents and thus for the translation below I have used titles available in *Jogaku zasshi* when they were available. The formatting is as per the original.

Table 31: **Wagatō no joshi kyōiku's *list of contents***

"Contents" (*Mokuji* 目次)
The treatise consists of 15 chapters, 217 pages.

"Introduction" (*Jo* 序), pp. 1-4.

Chapter 1, "An Address to the 'Meiji Gakko' Pupils. The Present Educational System." (*Meiji Jogakkō seito ni tsugu. Meshita no joshi kyōiku hō* 明治女學校生徒に告ぐ。目下の女子教育法), pp. 1-30. (The address was carried out in April 1890).[38]

- "Ryū Shikō's *Takuda den*" (*Ryū Shikō ga Takuda no den* 柳子厚が郭橐駝の傳), p. 1.
- "The Great Educators of the Past" (*Korai no daikyōikusha* 古來の大教育者), p. 2.
- "The Definition of the Education for Women" (*Joshi no kyōiku to wa* 女子の教育とは), p. 4.
- "To the Arguments about the Equality between Sexes and to the Theories about the Domestic Science" (*Danjo dōkenron ni mo kaseiron ni mo* 男女同權論にも家政論にも), p. 7.
- "The Subjects in the Education for Girls and Women" (*Joshi kyōiku no kamoku* 女子教育の科目), p. 10.
- "Meiji Jogakkō" (明治女學校), p. 11.
- "For Those Who Believe that Only the Missionaries Have Power" (*Senkyōshi shokun nomi no kenryoku shitaru mono* 宣教師諸君のみの權力したる者), p. 11.
- "Not Adhering to One Denomination" (*Ichi no shūha ni zoku sezu* 一の宗派に屬せず), p. 13.
- "Proselytizing Abroad and Helping Society" (*Gaikoku dendō shakai no hojo* 外國傳道社會の補助), p. 14.
- "The Greatness of the English Literature" (*Eibungaku wa dai-naru bungaku nari* 英文學は大なる文學なり), p. 15.
- "The Teacher Training Course" (*Shihanka* 師範科), p. 16.
- "Domestic Science Course and *Naginata*" (*Kaseika oyobi naginata* 家政科及び薙刀), p. 20.
- "The Examinations" (*Shiken* 試驗), p. 23.
- "Maria's Friends and The Literary Society" (*Maria no tomo, oyobi Bungakukai* マリア之友、及文學會), p. 24.
- "The True Wish of Meiji Jogakkō" (*Meiji Jogakkō no hongan* 明治女學校の本願), p. 26.
- "Our Hopes for the Future" (*Kongo no kibō* 今后の希望), p. 28.

Chapter 2, "What is meant by the Right principle. (Mistakes in regard to the Woman's Education)" (*Nani wo chūsei no shugi to iu, joshi kyōiku ni kansuru ikuta no byūken* 何を中正の旨義と云ふ、女子教育に關する幾多の謬見) April 1889, pp. 30-53.[39]

Chapter 3, "Women and Education" (*Jogaku oyobi joshi kyōiku* 女學及び女子教育), January 1889, pp. 54-64.[40]

Chapter 4, "The Theories about Mothers and Wives" (*Bosairon* 母妻論) March 1889, pp. 64-84.[41]
"1. Must Women Marry?" (*Ue. Joshi wa kon'in sezaru bekarazaru ka* 上　女子は婚姻せざる可らざる乎), p. 65.

[37] Ibid., "Introduction," 1.
[38] English title of the editorial from *Jogaku zasshi* 207 (April 5, 1890). I translated the section titles that were not included in the original.
[39] English title of the editorial from *Jogaku zasshi* 157 (April 13, 1889).
[40] English title of the editorial from "Women and Education. No 1. The Woman's Magazine." (*Jogaku oyobi joshi kyōiku, shogen,* Jogaku zasshi 女學及び女子教育、緒言　女學雜誌) in *Jogaku zasshi* 143 (January 5, 1889). The series continued speaking on women and religion, but they are not included in the compilation.
[41] It is a response to a person claiming that women are not women if they do not marry. The original was found in *Jogaku zasshi* 151 (March 2, 1889) where both parts were published under the English title "Protestant 'Superfluous Woman'." The title "*Bosairon*" is a new addition, thus the translation is mine.

"2. Is Marriage Unnecessary?" (*Shita. Kon'in wa hitsuyō no koto ni arazaru ka* 下　婚姻は必要の事にあらざる乎), p. 75.

Chapter 5, "An Argument of those who object to the Girl's Education." (*Jogaku ni hantai suru mono no genron* 女學に反對する者の言論, November 1890, pp. 84-92.[42]

Chapter 6, "Compilation of Textbooks fit for the Japanese Women" (*Nihon jogaku dokuhon no hensaku* 日本女學讀本の編纂), January 1891, pp. 92-100.[43]
1. "The Ebb and Flow." (*Ichi. Shio no mankan* 一。潮の滿干), p. 92.
2. "The Efforts." (*Ni. Mi wo tsukushi* 二。みをつくし), p. 95.
3. "The Compass." (*San. Rashinban* 三。羅針盤), p. 96.

Chapter 7, "*Jorei* and *Taisō*" (*Jorei to taisō* 女禮と體操), June 1890, pp. 100-12.[44]
"1. *Taisō*" (*Sono ichi. Taisō* 其一　體操), p. 100.
"2. *Jorei*" (*Sono ni. Jorei* 其二　女禮), p. 105.

Chapter 8, "Sewing Lessons in Girls School" (*Jogakkō no saihōka* 女學校の裁縫科), February 1887, pp. 113-23.[45]

Chapter 9, "Three Practices of Student Housing" (*Shukusha ni mitsu no hō ga ari* 宿舍に三つの法あり), August 1890, pp. 123-27.[46]

Chapter 10, "On the Warlike Accomplishments" (*Budō no ben* 武道の辨), June 1891, pp. 127-47.[47]
1. "The New Acclaim" (*Shinkassai* 新喝采)
2. "The Martial Art, or Way" (*Bu no gei, oyobi michi* 武の藝, 及び道)
3. "The Mind Behind Various Arts" (*Shogei no seishin* 諸藝の精神)
4. "The Secrets of Martial Arts" (*Bugei ōmyō* 武道奧妙)
5. "The Inseparability of Martial and Civil Arts" (*Bunbu funi* 文武不二)
6. "Martial Education" (*Buiku* 武育).

Chapter 11, "Complaint to Girl Students" (*Jogakusei he no kujō* 女學生徒への苦情), Oct 1887, pp. 150-59.[48]

Chapter 12, "Wife, a Helpmate" (*Saikun naijo no ben* 細君内助の辨), August 1890, pp. 159-97.[49]
1. "Slave/Servant" (*Dorei* 奴隸), p. 159.
2. "Home" (*Hōmu* ホーム), p. 161.
3. "Friend/Companion" (*Hōyū* 朋友), p. 166.
4. "Physical Half" (*Hanshin* 半身), p. 168.
5. "Yin and Yang" (*In'yō* 陰陽), p. 173.
6. "Supporting Each Other" (*Aitasukuru no tokoro* 相助くるの所), p. 175.
7. "The Ideal Wise Wife" (*Risō kenpujin* 理想賢夫人), p. 178.
8. "The Servant Girl" (*Kahi* 下婢), p. 182.
9. "Guidelines for Choosing a Partner" (*Danjo aierabu no hyōmoku* 男女相選ぶの標目), p. 190.
10. "The Beautiful Helper" (*Bi naru naijo* 美なる内助), p. 192.

[42] English title of the editorial from *Jogaku zasshi* 241 (November 29, 1890).
[43] English title of the editorial from *Jogaku zasshi* 250 (January 31, 1891). I translated the section titles.
[44] This particular piece of writing was not to be found anywhere else, and there is no explanation about this being written down before like in the other pieces provided. It could have been a new contribution of previously unpublished material. The English titles could not be located.
[45] English title of the editorial found in *Jogaku zasshi* 89 (December 17, 1887).
[46] The original found in *Jogaku zasshi* 228 (August 30, 1890), where the title is different: "Three Methods of Educating Girls" (*Joshi kyōiku ni mitsu no hō ari* 女子教育に三つの法あり).
[47] English titles of the editorials found in *Jogaku zasshi* 271 (June 27, 1891), which ran the first two sections, and in 272 (July 4, 1891). I translated the section titles.
[48] English title of the editorial from *Jogaku zasshi* 81 (October 22, 1887).
[49] English title found in *Jogaku zasshi* 224 (June 26, 1890). The second installment was split between 225 and 226 (August 9 and 16 respectively). I translated the section titles.

Chapter 13, "Spirit of Modern education of Girls" (*Tōkon joshi kyōikusha no kyōoku* 當今女子教育者の胸臆), October 1888, pp. 197-207.[50]

Chapter 14, "A new plan to promote woman's Education in Japan" (*Jogaku fukyū no keirin* 女學普及の經綸), August 1891, pp. 207-13.[51]

"The Supplement" (*Hogen* 補言), pp. 214-17.[52]

"The Running of the Meiji Jogakkō" (*Meiji Jogakkō kisoku ryaku* 明治女學校規則畧) Last page.[53]

While the inclusion of the topics above shows their importance to the school's management, the parts promoting the most relevant knowledge of practical elements are the following. 1) "The Foreword," which mentions the reasons for establishing Meiji Jogakkō, its policies, organization, and is signed by the elected head of the Dōshi Hyōgikai 同志評議会 (council of fellows); 2) "The Supplement" and "The practical Running of the Meiji Jogakkō" that provide guidelines for educators; and 3) chapters that offer details on the arrangements at the school (1 and 6–10). They are addressed throughout the dissertation to discuss Meiji Jogakkō's approach to education.

5. *Jogakusei* and *Bungakukai*

Jogakusei 女學生, or *The Girl-Student*, was published between May 1890 and December 1892 by Jogaku Zasshisha as a literary magazine for female students in secondary education. Just like *Jogaku zasshi*, each issue of *Jogakusei* was around thirty pages. However, the layout differed. *Jogakusei* had fewer *furigana* readings attached to difficult characters, suggesting expectations for higher language-command from its readership. In addition, while the editors also contributed, the majority of texts were expected to come from students themselves. For this reason, the format was devised to allow for editors to provide short commentaries on the students' writing.

In the previous scholarship, *Jogakusei* is discussed as helping Hoshino Tenchi gain the experience and confidence to begin an independent literary enterprise: *Bungakukai*. *Bungakukai* 文學界 (January 31, 1893 – January 1, 1898) boasted contributions from Higuchi Ichiyō and other leading female authors rather than girl students. The split from *Jogaku zasshi* was made official from *Bungakukai* 5 that carried the name of the new publisher—Bungakukai Zasshisha 文學界雜誌社 instead of Jogaku Zasshisha. Jogaku Zasshisha started running *Hyōron* 評論 (April 1893 – October 1894). *Hyōron* concentrated on literary criticism and replaced "white covers" after the establishment of *Bungakukai*. Little is known about the publication, yet, like *Tsūshin jogaku*, it was a constituent of *Jogaku zasshi* that grew into an independent publication and then was reincorporated as a column later, when the financial situation declined.

Inoue writes that when Iwamoto published "*Bunshō no michi*" 文章道 (the literary way/teaching) in the first issue of *Bungakukai*, other members were displeased by how he was trying to use literature to meet certain ends rather than striving to create "art for art's sake," and initiated the split as a result.[54] Meanwhile, Brownstein suggests that the wish of the young literati to detach themselves from the perceived Christian norms and limitations in writing was the reason for the separation:

[50] English title found in *Jogaku zasshi* 132 (October 20, 1888).
[51] English title found in *Jogaku zasshi* 289 (August 29, 1891).
[52] Advice on how to establish a *jogakkō*. My translation.
[53] Ditto.
[54] Inoue, "*Iwamoto Yoshiharu no bungakuron*," 122.

> The coterie's physical break with *Jogaku zasshi* was symbolic of their intellectual (and emotional) departure from the world of Iwamoto. For Iwamoto, literature had always been of secondary importance, subordinate to his larger concerns of elevating the status of Japanese women through education and social reform. For the members of the *Bungakukai* coterie, however, literature was of primary importance, a spiritual endeavor subordinate only to the demands of the inner life.[55]

Hoshino, however, claims to have had little overall disagreement with Iwamoto over the matters of literature or its purpose, and such position is confirmed in the analysis of his ideas in chapter 5.

The first issue of *Bungakukai* carried the introductory remarks ("*Hakkō shogen*" 發行緒言) claiming that *Bungakukai* is an upgrade on *Jogakusei* and that the responsibilities *Jogakusei* had to the literary clubs of the schools participating in providing publications and purchasing the issues of *Jogakusei*—the "Alliance" members, or *Jogakusei dōmei jogakkō* 女學生同盟女學校,[56]—will now be inherited by *Bungakukai*. In addition, the magazine was to establish a literary column in order to provide a voice for women who study literature.[57] Thus, it promoted contributions from female writers on both amateur and professional levels. This was also a change in form, moving away from revolving around the writing of girl students and serving as a primer in writing, to focusing on the writing of a coterie of male and female authors who wished to lead by their professional example.

Other than with regard to its connection to *Bungakukai*, there is not much academic discussion on *Jogakusei*. One of the reasons could be that not all the copies are extant, and even the remaining ones are rare.[58] However, the magazine provides a valuable glimpse into the student experiences and Meiji Jogakkō's struggle in practical education; that is why section 5.c.2. discusses its contributors, form, and contents.

Jogakusei was inaugurated with an editorial of the same title ("*Jogakusei*"), in which Iwamoto defines a literary society as a platform to hone one's independent, imagination, and as a venue to put to practice what has been learned in school: "At a place of education, you are instructed by your teachers. At a literary society, you find a place to express that knowledge. At school, you explain by using memorization, at *bungakukai*, you argue, reason, and conclude. While at school you attend lectures, here is the place to practice/check the knowledge you have gained."[59] He explains how he had wanted to establish such a platform for a long time and had finally found the right people, Hoshino Tenchi and Isogai Yūtarō, who volunteered to supervise the magazine.

In the editorial Iwamoto also notes how there are numerous literary societies sprouting up at schools for girls, yet the general public gets to hear very little about them. To him, people should learn about and from the girl students via their writing. In addition, he argued that girls should create networks to become stronger together in times when they have so few supporters. Lastly,

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[55] English title of the editori al from "Women and Education. No 1. The Woman's Magazine." (*Jogaku oyobi joshi kyōiku, shogen, Jogaku zasshi* 女學及び女子教育、緒言　女學雜誌) in *Jogaku zasshi* 143 (January 5, 1889). The series continued speaking on women and religion, but they are not included in the compilation.

[56] Refer to Table 32.

[57] With reference to the translation of "*Hakkō shogen*" found in Brownstein, 334.

[58] The first 12 issues are compiled together and can be found in several libraries, while the latter half is preserved by Ishikawa Takeyoshi Memorial Library. Issue 13, however, seems lost.

[59] *Jogakusei* 1 (21 May, 1890): "教場に於ては教師より教を受く、文學會に於ては其得たる所を發表す、教場に於ては暗誦し筆記し説明す、文學會に於ては立論し、論辨し、付論す、蓋し學校内の教場は之に講話するの地にして其文學會は之をして自ら試みしむるの地なり."

he offers to help the girls with running their literary societies. A significant point here is that he urges girls to use *genbun icchi* as best as they can.

Jogakusei 1 also ran the following description of the project in English.[60]

> WHAT "JOGAKUSEI" (THE GIRL-STUDENT.) AIMS AT.
> 1. Literary societies in educational institutions all aim at the cultivation [of] independent thinking and originality of the students. "Jogakusei" seeks! to encourage and assist in the attainment of this object by collecting the productions of these societies, and by making critical comments on them.
> 2. "Jogakusei" seeks to bring forward before [the] public the achievements of the Girl-students and will serve as a champion of Female educations [sic].
> 3. "Jogakusei" will serve as a convenient means to bring about a greater sociableness and a mutual exchange of ideas so profitable for the Girl-students.
> Its aims being such, awe [sic] hope that "Jogakusei" will meet the favor of all interested in Female education.[61]

The goals of the magazine are thus to support and encourage female students' writing, showcasing it as proof of the achievements in the education of women. In addition, it is not for the students exclusively, but for their educators as well.

Brownstein describes how the initiators, Iwamoto and Hoshino, saw their project connected to Meiji Jogakkō, but also bigger than the school itself, reaching out to other institutions with similar goals.

> "[T]he purposes of the new magazine was to improve the character of young women through literature by encouraging them to write, a favorite project of Iwamoto's that now focused on mission-school students. With the promulgation of the Constitution, Iwamoto realized that the need for women to take a more active role in their advancement had become acute; hence, his calls for women writers also became more insistent. He and [Hoshino] Tenchi hoped that by publishing student compositions along with critical evaluations, *Jogakusei* would spur members of writing clubs at different mission schools to unite in a feminist literary movement. Tenchi visited mission schools in the Tokyo-Yokohama area in May 1890 to stimulate interest, and by the time the first issue of *Jogakusei* appeared at the end of that month, seventeen schools had joined the '*Jogakusei* Alliance'."[62]

Table 32:* Jogakusei *alliance members

Name	Years open	Management	Presently known as
Joined since no. 1[63]			
Sakurai Jogakkō 櫻井女學校	1876–90	private, later mission	Joshi Gakuin Chūgakkō and Kōtōgakkō 女子学院中学校・高等学校
Atomi Jogakkō	1875–present	private, terakoya-based	Atomi Gakuen

[60] The announcement section at the inner cover of *Jogaku zasshi* was often in English, alongside the table of contents that included both Japanese and English. The reason behind such English language usage is unclear, yet it could have served as a reading practice; as a way to give the magazine an international feel; or to make it accessible to the foreign educators.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Brownstein, "*Bungakukai*," 328.
[63] Published on May 21, 1890.

跡見女學校			
Seiritsu Gakusha Joshibu 成立學舎女子部	unknown	private, taught in English	
Kaigan Jogakkō 海岸女學校	1874–present	mission	Incorporated into Aoyama Gakuin.
Shin'ei Jogakkō 新栄女學校	1873–90	mission	Joshi Gakuin Chūgakkō and Kōtōgakkō
Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō 東洋英和女學校	1884–present	mission	Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin
Ferris Jogakkō フェリス女學校	1870–present	mission	Ferris Jogakuin
Shōei Jogakkō 頌栄女學校	1884–present	private Christian; Kimura Kumaji was its principal from 1888 to ?	Winchester Shoei College
Joshi Dokuritsu Gakkō 女子独立學校	1889–present	private	Tokai University Ichihara Boyo Senior High School
Meiji Jogakkō 明治女學校	1885–1909	private Christian	dissolved
Chōei Jojuku 長栄女塾	unascertained	private Christian	unascertained
Aoyama Eiwa Jogakkō 青山英和女學校	1874–present	mission	Incorporated into Aoyama Gakuin
Joshi Shingakkō 女子神學校 (likely: Kanagawa Prefecture's Kyōritsu Joshi Seisho Gakuin 共立女子聖書學院	unknown	mission	
Yokohama Ni-hyaku-ni-jū-ban Kyōritsu Jogakkō 横浜二百十二番共立女學校	1861–present	mission; later private Christian	Yokohama Kyōritsu Gakuen Chūgakkō and Kōtōgakkō 横浜共立学園中学校・高等学校
Joined since no. 17[64]			
Hiroshima's Eiwa Jogakkō 英和女學校	1886–present	mission	Hiroshima Jogakuin Chūgakkō and Kōtōgakkō 広島女学院中学校・高等学校
Nagoya's Seiryū Jogakkō 清流女學校	1888–1920	mission	dissolved
Joined since no. 18[65]			
Nagasaki's Umegasaki Jogakkō 梅ヶ(香)崎女學校	1872–present	mission	Baiko Gakuin University 梅光学院大学
Joined since no. 20[66]			
Joshi Gakuin 女子學院	1890–present	Yajima Kajiko was the first principal; mission	Joshi Gakuin Chūgakkō and Kōtōgakkō
Nagasaki's Kinjō Jogakkō 金城女學校	1889–present	mission	Kinjō Gakuin Chūgakkō and Kōtōgakkō 金城学院中学校・高等学校
Niigata Prefecture's Kōda Jogakkō 高田女學校	years unknown	connection with Joshi Gakuin; mission	possibly replaced Yokohama Ni-hyaku-ni-jū-ban Kyōritsu Jogakkō 共立女学校 (Doremus School)

These schools had various types of management, yet they interacted by exchanging staff, at times merging. The overwhelming majority had a Christian inclination. Interestingly, we see contributions coming from as far as Nagasaki and Hiroshima. While Brownstein describes how the project was hard to run as the students were reluctant to contribute,[67] the number of participating schools in the "*Jogakusei* Alliance" increased with time.

[64] *Jogakusei* 17 (October 21, 1891).
[65] Ibid., 18 (October 30, 1891).
[66] Ibid., 20 (January 23, 1892).
[67] Brownstein, "*Bungakukai*," 328.

The intention to revamp the magazine is visible on several occasions and the layout was often shifting. For instance, *Jogakusei* 6 changed the format of the magazine, describing that as *Jogakusei* has spread throughout Japan (gathered attention outside of the capital), it will no longer concentrate on the encouragement of each school's literary clubs (*bungakukai*). Instead, it will become the stage from which "to argue the feelings of the female students." It notes that, as the good magazines on *jogaku*[68] have become a rarity, the magazine is taking the chance to improve, remodeling the previous columns into "*Sha, danran*" 社、團欒 ("company gathering") for the contributions of the in-house staff; "*Setsu, setsusetsu*" 説、切々 ("earnest opinions") for articles of the "*Jogakusei* alliance members" and publishers' feedback; "*Shi, reirei*" 詞、麗々 ("bold poetry") for the alliance members to contribute various types of poetry; "*Kyaku, rairai*" 客、來々 ("coming guests") for various contributions and public criticism; "*Bu, rinrin*" 武、凛々 ("awe-inspiring martiality") for texts on martial stories (*budan* 武談) and martial arts (*bugei* 武藝); "*Kō, konkon*" 答、懇々 ("earnest questions") for useful stories or letters; and, finally, "*Hanashi, yuyu*" 話、愉々 ("fun stories") for fiction (*shōsetsu*).[69] While the new titles of columns were quickly replaced with more "mainstream" ones, the intention to expand the magazine's scope is clear, as well as the combination of topics in literature and martial arts.

However, it seems that various calamities, such as Mino-Owari earthquake,[70] and busy schedules, in addition to the lack of interest/confidence of the schoolgirls, prevented them from submitting publications. Brownstein explains how, when searching for solutions, Hoshino

> put out a special summer issue of *Jogakusei* [on] August [20,] 1892 that carried no contributions at all from Alliance members; instead, it contained one composition each by Hoshino Sekiei [his brother], [Hirata] Tokuboku, [Kitamura] Tōkoku, [Shimazaki] Tōson, and two by Tenchi himself. This issue immediately sold out and proved to be the prototype of *Bungakukai*. It appears that although Alliance members had been reluctant to write contributions for *Jogakusei*, they were eager to buy the kind of magazine that the special summer issue represented, namely, a combination of *Jogakusei* and the "white covers" edition of *Jogaku zasshi*… Toward the end of that year 1892, he and Iwamoto reached an agreement: *Jogakusei* would cease publication with the December issue, the "white covers" would continue under Iwamoto [as *Hyōron*], and Tenchi would start a new literary magazine under the auspices of *Jogaku zasshi*[: *Bungakukai*]."[71]

Thus, *Jogakusei* that focused on writing by, for, and about girl students, grew into *Bungakukai* that was a literary magazine for educated youth with Iwamoto's encouragement.

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[68] Refer to section 2.b.1. on Iwamoto's definition of *jogaku*.

[69] *Jogakusei* 6 (October 21, 1890), 1: "女學生漸く成長して大に地方女學生の喝采を得たり、最早各自文學界の奬勵のみに用ゆべからず、宜しく人を警め世に訴え、女子の心情を發表して女學生の利用すべき舞臺と爲す可し、進んでは女學雜誌の平易なるものとして全く男子の手をを離るる程の勇氣を以て進めよ、今や女學上の雜誌は漸々霜枯れとなりて殘るもの實に曉星の寥々のみ、正に是れ　一歩進ましむるの機ならすや　從前の各欄を改めて『社、團欒』には社員多人數筆を執り『説、切々』には同盟諸子の論説を掲げて各文末に不評す『詞、麗々』には同盟諸子の詞章歌句等を掲げ『客、來々』には廣く奇書を集め又公表をも掲ぐべし『武、凛々』には武談、武藝を講話しし『答、懇々』には實益應用の諸事を掲げ或は總ての交詢の便を計り『話、愉々』には小説を掲ぐ、夫れ一層刮目熱注せよ."

[70] *Nōbi jisshin* 濃尾地震 that took place on October 28, 1891; is said to have been devastating. *Jogakusei* 18 apologized for the late publication, explaining that students were busy helping the victims and could not contribute.

[71] Brownstein, "*Bungakukai*," 328.

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