

Miyake Kaho (1868-1944), the first female modern prose writer in Japan, made a striking debut in the literary scene in 1888. She was a young college student from an upper-class family when she published *Yabu no uguisu* (*The Warbler in the Grove*, henceforth referred to as *Warbler*), and it was immediately a phenomenal success taken as an absolute marvel by the contemporary literary world.<sup>1</sup> On the surface, *Warbler* appears to have a simple plot in which a young girl's selfless act is rewarded by marriage to a wealthy gentleman. The story however, is more intricate in that it delivers progressive ideas about modern women's lives in high society, ideas which often went against the contemporary government policies. In this paper, I will analyze the ways in which Kaho, a young woman from the privileged class, negotiated with social forces to write *Warbler*. I will closely examine the interactions of issues such as women's education, gender norms in relation to class, and construction of female sexuality under overwhelming Western influences. I will argue that the main theme of *Warbler* is the need for a modern education for women in the upper class, which the author believes will give them access to national politics.

First, let us look into the historical and cultural contexts that enabled Kaho to produce *Warbler*.

## **PART 1: Historical and Cultural Backgrounds**

In the sections that follow, I will present the historical and cultural backgrounds in which *Warbler* was produced. I will also discuss the reasons why *Warbler* focuses on a particular segment of society, namely, the upper class.

### **1.1. Birth of the Modern Nation-State**

Kaho's birth took place in one of the most significant epochs in the history of Japan. She was born to a wealthy former high-ranking samurai family in 1868, the year when Japan opened up the country after nearly two hundred fifty years of seclusion from the world.<sup>2</sup> Japan witnessed China, the great country of civilization that it had emulated since it was founded, falling into the hands of Western imperial powers. Thus, the Meiji government saw the construction of a modern nation-state strong enough to prevent the Western imperial expansion as imperative. New and foreign ideas from the West were rapidly incorporated into national

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<sup>1</sup> Ryohei Shioda, *Higuchi Ichiyo kenkyu* (Tokyo: Chuo koronsha, 1968), 231.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking, Japan was not totally isolated from the world, as it maintained access to the Netherlands, China, and Korea. Conrad D. Totman, *A History of Japan* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 223.

policies in order to catch up with the European powers.

Western influences affected Japanese literature as well. The most notable was the introduction of the novel, a new form of literature that originated in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Europe, which narrated the reality of everyday life of ordinary people. Through the translation of novels, Meiji intellectuals learned modern Western ideas, one of which was the notion of romantic love. It should be noted that the introduction of this new literary genre facilitated the transformation of Japanese prose fiction in the Meiji period.<sup>3</sup> Up until the Meiji period, Japanese prose fiction was considered lowbrow entertainment, suitable only for the lower class, women, and children. However, recognition by Japanese intellectuals that the novel represented the truth of life elevated the status of Japanese prose fiction to a genre that was properly included in “the high culture of civilized nations.”<sup>4</sup> This transformation, nevertheless, did not happen overnight. It took well over a few decades for this recognition to permeate through society since its introduction. During that time, Japanese novelists were still regarded as engaging in a frivolous and vulgar occupation.<sup>5</sup> It was in this context that Kaho wrote *Warbler* in 1888, when she was just twenty-years old.

Kaho was inspired by *Tosei shosei katagi* (*The Character of Modern-Day Students* 1885-6, henceforth *Students*) written by Tsubouchi Shoyo, a well-known male intellectual who introduced the modern (Western) concept of literature to Japan.<sup>6</sup> *Students* depicted the lives of contemporary male college students, while Kaho’s *Warbler* was a vivid account of the lives of modern female college students. In her memoir, Kaho states that it was when she was in bed sick with a cold that she read *Students* and thought that she could write a novel herself.<sup>7</sup> I will now turn to the major themes of *Warbler*, first looking into the concept of *risshin shusse* (establishing oneself and advancing in the world), the key concept that runs through *Warbler*.

## 1.2. New Class System and *Risshin Shusse* for Women

*Warbler* can be read as a story about a female version of *risshin shusse*, a narrative of progress in which a female orphan descendant from the former warrior-class aims at obtaining

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<sup>3</sup> Indra Levy, *Sirens of the Western Shore: The Westernesque Femme Fatale, Translation, and Vernacular Style in Modern Japanese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 27.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Satoko Kan, *Media no jidai: Meiji bungaku o meguru jokyo* (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 2001), 50. Natsuo Sekikawa, *Futabatei Shimei no Meiji 41 nen*, (Tokyo: Bungei shunjusha, 1996), 265. Unless otherwise noted, all the translations of the excerpts written in Japanese are provided by the author of this paper.

<sup>6</sup> Shoyo Tsubouchi, *Tosei Shosei Katagi, Meiji no bungaku dai 4 kan: Tsubouchi Shoyo* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> Kaho Miyake, “Yabu ugisu, Ichiyo, Tosui,” *Kansho to kenkyu: Gendai nihon bungaku koza/Shosetu 1: Kindai bungaku no akebono* (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1962), 341.

upper-class status by means of a modern education. Here, I insert the modifier “female version” because *risshin shusse* is a term usually thought to be associated exclusively with men. It is extraordinary that Kaho set up *Warbler*—whether consciously or not—as a female *risshin shusse* story, for at that time, a woman’s advancement in the world was in principle only available through marriage. That is, by marrying a wealthy man in exchange for her sexuality rather than using her knowledge in modern education.

In the Meiji period, *risshin shusse* was closely associated with the following two variables: class and education. The abolishment of the pre-modern era’s feudal class system, as well as the introduction of a modern educational system in the Meiji period made it possible for non-elites to aspire to *risshin shusse*. The most significant social transformation that was carried out by the Meiji Restoration (1868) was the elimination of the feudal class system established in the Edo period (1603-1867). The Edo class system divided people into four rigid categories, with warriors at the top followed by farmers, craftsmen, and merchants.<sup>8</sup> However, deconstruction of this feudal class system brought about a re-stratification of classes in the Meiji period into *koozoku* (the imperial family) and their subjects. Within the subjects, there were two levels, *kazoku* (the upper-class) and the rest. Lebra explains the institution of *kazoku* as follows: “The *kazoku* as a group was composed of pre-Meiji aristocracy, primarily daimyo [war lords] and *kuge* (court nobles) as well as new recruits ennobled on the basis of recognized merits.”<sup>9</sup> More than five hundred households were eventually added to the initial five hundred until the *kazoku* institution was finally abolished at the end of World War II.<sup>10</sup> *Warbler* focuses on members of this elite *kazoku* society.

As a consequence of the abolition of the feudal class system, anyone regardless of his former class could now in principle attain a high social status (excluding membership of *koozoku*, which was strictly hereditary) depending on his ability and knowledge acquired through modern education. This new concept was clearly stated in the third article of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles declared by the Emperor in 1868: “All classes of people shall be allowed to fulfill their just aspirations so that there may be no discontent.”<sup>11</sup> In addition to the Imperial Oath, the concept of equality in promotion and the importance of education were strongly emphasized by Fukuzawa Yukichi, one of the most influential Japanese political theorists at the time, in his book

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<sup>8</sup> In fact, there were two more categories that were excluded from this system: the imperial family (beyond the category) and the outcaste (below the category).

<sup>9</sup> Takie S. Lebra, “Fractionated Motherhood: Gender and the Elite Status in Japan.” *Gender and Japanese History: The Self and Expression/Work and Life 2* (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999), 452.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> “The Educational Policy of the New Meiji Government,”

[http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/hakusho/html/hpbz198103/hpbz198103\\_2\\_010.html](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpbz198103/hpbz198103_2_010.html). Translation provided by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.

*Gakumon no susume (An Encouragement of Learning, 1872-6)*. This also meant that the privileges given to the former warrior class were now eliminated, and people from this class had to compete against others to secure their lot in society. Those who could not adjust to the social changes were brought to ruin while others turned to new occupations that were created in the modern era, such as government officials, university professors, military and police officers, occupations whose qualifications included modern education.<sup>12</sup>

Also notable is the fact that *risshin shusse* was thought to be for the benefit of the nation rather than for personal interest. All five articles in the Imperial Oath of 1868 emphasized the importance of modern education to national welfare. For instance, Article Five clearly stated, “Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world in order that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted.”<sup>13</sup> The main objective of promoting modern education for everyone was to create a stronger nation that could compete against the Western powers. Thus *risshin shusse*, which was made possible by means of modern knowledge obtained through education, had to be sought along this line of reasoning as well.

Using this concept of *risshin shusse* as a backbone and thematically revolving around the marriage game of the upper-class Shinohara household, *Warbler* narrates exactly what is needed to be considered a lady of *kazoku*. In that cultural climate, the answer is obvious: what was needed was the knowledge cultivated by modern education. How then, could a woman who aspired for *risshin shusse* contribute her knowledge acquired by modern education to the development of the nation? After all, upper-class women did not have the freedom of pursuing a career of their choice outside their home. Before discussing this question, which is the central theme of *Warbler*, I will introduce the key players of the marriage game in *Warbler*: Hamako and her parents, Tsutomu, Yamanaka and his mistress, Osada, and Hideko.

### 1.3. Major Characters in *Warbler*

One of the main female characters in *Warbler* is Hamako, the daughter of the Shinoharas. Count Shinohara is from the warrior class of Satsuma (present-day Kagoshima prefecture) in the pre-modern time and has been conferred a peerage of *kazoku* after the Meiji Restoration. Before Japan’s opening to the West, Count Shinohara had believed in the doctrine of *sonno-jooi* (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians). After the Restoration, however, he turned into an avid admirer of the West, which he had previously despised. His advancement in class was

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<sup>12</sup> Shizuko Koyama, *Katei no seisei to josei no kokuminka*, (Tokyo: Keiso shobo, 1999), 14.

<sup>13</sup> “The Concept of Education in the Education System Order,”

[http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/hakusho/html/hpbz198103/hpbz198103\\_2\\_023.html](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpbz198103/hpbz198103_2_023.html). Translation provided by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.

mostly due to the connection he had in the Meiji government, which was now dominated by a clique from Satsuma; Kaho suggests that Shinohara has not really earned the title of *kazoku* from his merit. Shinohara's wife (Hamako's mother) is from a wealthy family from the countryside and lacks modern education. She does not have any control over the management of the household.

Hamako, taking after her father's blind admiration of the West, wears flamboyant western dresses and looks down on her traditional, un-educated mother. At the age of eighteen, Hamako quits school. Her justification for this termination of her education is her father's illness, but the real cause is her lack of interest in learning. Nevertheless, she continues her English lessons enthusiastically with her male tutor, Yamanaka, because she is infatuated with this sleek bureaucrat.

However, Hamako is in fact betrothed to Tsutomu, who has just come back from England after obtaining a degree in engineering from Cambridge. Tsutomu is a distant relative of the Shinoharas and has been adopted upon his parents' death by the Shinoharas to marry Hamako and succeed the family. After seeing Europe with his own eyes, he concludes that although Western arts and sciences are impressive, Western ethics are immoral. He criticizes most Japanese as foolishly "mesmerized" by European civilization.<sup>14</sup> He wants his marriage partner to be educated but not fully imbued with Western-style socialization, a woman who possesses modern Japanese feminine virtue.

Hamako's English tutor Yamanaka has obtained a bureaucratic position through Count Shinohara's connection. He lost his father at the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, and his mother died the following year. As an innate slick-talker and a typical self-made man, Yamanaka is successful in climbing up the social ladder and receives an enviable salary as a bureaucrat. Yamanaka is aware of Hamako's infatuation with him and tries to take advantage of it. However, he has a long-time relationship with a former geisha, the widow of a wealthy merchant named Osada. Yamanaka and Osada are actually after Hamako's money.

Upon learning the illicit relationship between Hamako and Yamanaka, Tsutomu suffers from the dilemma between his filial obligation to his foster parents and his true feelings. Tsutomu eventually calls off his engagement to Hamako, yields all his inheritance to her while keeping Shinohara's family name himself, and allows Hamako's marriage to Yamanaka. As is expected however, Hamako's money is squandered by Yamanaka and his mistress, Osada. Finally realizing how shallow she has been, Hamako turns to Christianity and devotes herself to faith. Meanwhile, Tsutomu meets Hideko, the ideal woman of modern Japanese feminine virtue. The story ends with Tsutomu and Hideko's marriage at the year's end. Since Hideko is more

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<sup>14</sup> Miyake Kaho, *Yabu no uguisu. Meiji shosetsushu: Gendain nihon bungaku zenshu* 84 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1957), 46.

comfortable with Japanese manners, they marry in a traditional Japanese style.

Hideko is from a respectable family, but just as in the cases of Tsutomu and Yamanaka, she lost her parents at a young age and lives with her younger brother Ashio. Although she is only seventeen years old, Hideko has quit school to take care of Ashio, acting as a mother figure to the young boy. Hideko and Ashio have inherited a considerable amount of money, but Hideko does piecework (knitting) at home to save money for Ashio's future education and marriage. She satisfies her yearning for study by asking Ashio daily what he has learned at school. Hideko is intellectually more competent than Ashio and helps him with his homework. She is modest and well-educated, a woman who embodies modern female virtues.

Although she does not participate in the Shinohara marriage game, another important person who should be mentioned here is Namiko, a sixteen-year-old female student who was thought by many critics to be the author's alter ego. She is from a wealthy family and is very well educated. Unlike Hamako, Namiko is unpretentious and knows the importance of modern education. At the end of the story, she marries Tsutomu's friend, Miyazaki, who teaches literature at a university. Namiko serves as a prototype of a *kazoku* lady in relation to Hamako and Hideko, as I will discuss later.

#### 1.4. Why Does *Warbler* Focus on *Kazoku* Women?

Kaho, being a college student from the higher echelon of society, emphasizes the importance of modern education for women of *kazoku* in *Warbler*. Some present-day critics claim that *Warbler* exhibits Kaho's limited literary imagination because she only focuses on a particular segment of society.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, I argue that there are other probable reasons why *Warbler* limits its focus to the upper society. First, when Kaho wrote *Warbler*, the common assumption was that only people from the privileged class could serve as the leaders of society. Even the feminist leaders of the time, namely Tsuda Umeko, Yosano Akiko, and Hiratsuka Raicho, all explicitly wrote that it was women of the privileged class who could promote the women's rights movement because other women lacked Western knowledge.<sup>16</sup> Hirota points out that these early feminist leaders did not take the lower-class women into consideration because it was not worth their effort.<sup>17</sup>

In my analysis, however, Kaho had a slightly different view from these early feminist

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<sup>15</sup> Naoko Itagaki, *Meiji taisho showa no joryu bungaku*, (Tokyo: Ofusha, 1967), 49. Yumi Hirata, *Josei hyogen no meijishi*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999), 128.

<sup>16</sup> Masaki Hirota, "Kindai erito josei no aidentiti to kokka," *Jenda no nihonshi: Ge: Shutai to hyogen, shigoto to seikatsu*, (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1995), 223.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

leaders. She listened to the voices of women regardless of their class. For instance, in *Warbler*, Namiko submits an aphorism for a class assignment, which states that teachings of the wise are worthless if they are not heard, but utterances of the low-class are worth much if they are heard earnestly.<sup>18</sup> In addition, Kaho lets the servants of the Shinoharas utter criticisms of their masters who adhere to the blind adoration of anything Western.<sup>19</sup>

That being stated, however, women who had an opportunity to learn modern/Western knowledge were nevertheless limited to the upper class, and Kaho, who belonged to this tier of society, did not actually engage in conversation with those from the lower class. Thus, Kaho's lack of knowledge about the lower tier of society may be a cause of her not including them as the main characters of *Warbler*. In fact, because Kaho was not familiar with the language used by the lower class, she had to consult her own servants as to the sociolect they used in everyday conversation upon writing *Warbler*. The result was extraordinary; she faithfully reproduced the speech of the lower class, most notably in chapters three and seven.

Yet, it was considered inappropriate for a woman of the privileged class to mimic the indecent variation of the lowly people. Because of this social pressure, I believe Kaho did not choose to focus her story on the lives of commoners. Indeed, Kaho was criticized by one of the most famous contemporary critics, Ishibashi Shian, on her use of the low-class sociolect. He claimed that the dialogs of the commoners in *Warbler* were too vulgar for an upper-class woman to include in her work.<sup>20</sup> Nakajima Utako, Kaho's *waka* poetry instructor who provided the afterword to *Warbler*, also advised her not to include commoners' language in her works any more.<sup>21</sup> These are the probable reasons why Kaho chose her main characters in *Warbler* from the higher tier of society. In this paper, I will follow Kaho's approach and analyze primarily the lives of women of the upper class, namely, Hamako, Namiko, and Hideko, with occasional references to those who affected their lives.

## **PART 2: The Need for Modern Education for Women**

In part two, I will analyze the major theme that Kaho presented in *Warbler*: the need for modern education with regard to upper-class women. It includes the discussions of the ideology of *ryoosai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) that provided momentum for educating upper-class women, educational policies in the early and mid-Meiji era, and criticisms against women's education, which had developed at the time of *Warbler*.

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<sup>18</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 43.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 39, 45.

<sup>20</sup> Shioda, *Higuchi Ichiyo kenkyu*, 232.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

## 2.1 Upper-class Women and Education

As I mentioned above, Kaho argues that women of *kazoku* should contribute to the prosperity of the modern nation and the welfare of its citizens through modern education. In other words, women who do not share this ideology are deemed inappropriate for the status of *kazoku*.

In *Warbler*, the women who are depicted as suitable for *kazoku* status are Namiko and Hideko. Namiko stays in this class throughout the novel because, as I mentioned above, she is the prototype of the *kazoku* lady. She and her future husband, Miyazaki, are regarded as an ideal upper-class couple. Hideko, on the other hand, has fallen from the privileged class due to the loss of her parents. Hideko is able to resume the upper-class position, but only on account of her marriage with Tsutomu. In contrast, the woman who is deemed inappropriate and is thus eliminated from *kazoku* is Hamako. The means through which Hideko takes to reclaim her *kazoku* status reveals what elements are needed to gain the position of the wife of a *kazoku*. In other words, comparing the behavioral differences between Hideko and Hamako provides us clues as to why Hamako is stripped of the status of *kazoku*.

Modern education is something that both Hideko and Namiko take seriously while Hamako does not. Rational knowledge cultivated by modern education enables a woman to avoid making hasty judgments based on superficial traits. As a result, she can have high aspirations, which can promote the prosperity of the nation. As for marriage, the central theme of *Warbler*, she can find a perfect partner in marriage if she is educated. In other words, education increases the probability of finding an ideal partner. A modern family that is built up by such an ideal woman and a man is thought to produce intelligent children, who strengthen the foundation of society, and thereby enable Japan to become a first-rate nation in the civilized world. *Warbler* emphasizes the responsibility that the people of the privileged class owe to the commoners. Having an access to modern education, *kazoku* women are expected to be the role models for society.

Hideko's strong ambition for modern education is emphasized in *Warbler*. She attended Shimoda Utako's academy until her parents' death.<sup>22</sup> Although Hideko quits school after the loss of her parents to take care of Ashio, Hideko has, nonetheless, not given up hope. As mentioned earlier, she satisfies her yearning for study by asking Ashio daily what he has learned at school. Furthermore, she is talented in *waka* poetry; she impresses Miyazaki and Tsutomu with her

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<sup>22</sup> Seki speculates that this is Toyojuku, the academy established by Shimoda Utako in Kojimachi, Tokyo, in 1882. Reiko Seki, *Kataru onnatachi no jidai: Ichiyo to meiji josei hyogen*, (Tokyo: Shin-yosha, 1997), 121. Shimoda Utako was a well-known educator of the Meiji period who advocated the need for conservative education for young women.

excellence in *waka*. While Miyazaki utters a word of admiration toward her talent in *waka*, Tsutomu concurs that it is indeed very profound.<sup>23</sup> Hideko's talent in *waka* qualifies her as an upper-class woman because lower-class people would take up *haiku* instead.

Hideko does not want to leave Tokyo because she believes that Tokyo is the only place where Ashio can get an education, and that to live with her relatives in the countryside would make modern education totally inaccessible to her and Ashio.<sup>24</sup> Hideko is determined to make Ashio a person of great stature.<sup>25</sup> Although she does not directly articulate her ambition for climbing up the social ladder, her words and actions suggest that a woman can advance in society through an agency of a man, in her case, through her brother. To this end, she must play the role of the mother and assist her brother's success in education. The fact that Hideko and Ashio are set up by the author as orphans is important in this context because if they had their mother, Hideko could not exercise her motherhood over her younger brother. The idea of motherhood is yet another major issue in *Warbler*, which is also related to education. The idea that the mother should be wise enough to educate her children is a modern ideology imported from the West. This ideology is called *ryoosai kembo* (good wife, wise mother), which I will discuss next.

## 2.2 Ideology of *Ryoosai Kembo*

The ideology of *ryoosai kembo*, which Hideko embodies in *Warbler*, became the cornerstone of women's education in the latter half of the Meiji period and had exerted power over women's lives, directly or indirectly, all the way through the end of World War II. This ideology is crucial to understanding the success of Hideko and the demise of Hamako in *Warbler*. *Ryoosai kembo* was based on the Victorian conceptualization of true womanhood. As McClintock explains:

Controlling women's sexuality, exalting maternity and breeding a virile race of empire-builders were widely perceived as the paramount means for controlling the health and wealth of the male imperial body politics, so that, by the turn of the [twentieth] century, sexual purity emerged as a controlling metaphor for racial, economic and political power. In the metropolis...population was power and societies for the promotion of public hygiene burgeoned, while childrearing and improving the racial stock became a national and imperial duty.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 51.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, (New York: Routledge, 1995), 47.

The ideology of *ryoosai kembo* was thus a modern construct. It originated in England in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and became a dominant ideology in France, Germany, and the U.S. in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>27</sup> This ideology took after the concept of gender binarism that assigned different spheres and roles to men and women in the name of science.<sup>28</sup> However, it did not offer a logical explanation as to why such binarism existed. In this discourse, women were naturally assigned to take charge of the domestic sphere and play the role of a good wife and wise mother. This role was considered to be the essential part of woman's duty.<sup>29</sup>

The ideology of *ryoosai kembo*, however, was not deemed important by the Meiji government at its inception. Just like other policies on women that were introduced in this period, the actual implementation of the *ryoosai kembo* policy was not smooth. Finally, it was adopted fully by the state in the late 1890s, more than ten years after the publication of *Warbler*.<sup>30</sup>

In the present day, *ryoosai kembo* is often taken as a Confucian ideology. However, it was in fact contrary to the traditional Confucian views, in which women were considered inferior to men, incapable of managing the education of their children. The first usage of the term *ryoosai kembo* can be seen in *Onna kagami*, which was published in 1891.<sup>31</sup> Similar terms to *ryoosai kembo* such as “wise wife good mother” (Chinese) and “wise mother good wife” (Korean) came to be used only after the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in the countries dominated by Confucian philosophy.<sup>32</sup> According to Koyama, textbooks on children's education that were published in the Edo period targeted fathers, not mothers.<sup>33</sup> For not only the warrior class but for the townsmen as well, raising children was believed to be men's responsibility because they were more capable than women. The principle of child-rearing for each household was determined by the father, and the mother was merely to follow it.<sup>34</sup> This can be seen in the Shinohara family in *Warbler*, in which the pre-modern, uneducated mother has no say in the education of her daughter, Hamako. As Koyama mentions, women were thought to be incapable of learning in the Confucian discourse because their inability was considered to be innate, thus unchangeable.<sup>35</sup> Confucian scholars maintained that women were blinded with maternal love toward their children, and thus incapable of rational thought.<sup>36</sup>

In the Meiji period, however, leading politicians and educators began to offer an

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<sup>27</sup> Shizuko Koyama, *Ryōsaikembo to iu kihan*, (Tokyo: Keiso shobo, 1991), 6-7.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Koyama, *Katei no seisei to josei no kokuminka*, 20-1.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

alternative view. Mori Arinori claimed that women indulged in motherly love simply because they were not educated.<sup>37</sup> In other words, once they obtained education, they could be reformed as wise mothers. This idea became widespread in the early Meiji period, which can be observed in the following example. *Meiji onna imagawa*, one of the major Confucian-based textbooks on women's morality, presents an image of modern mothers who are well educated. It emphasizes the role that modern women have to play in the national arena as wise mothers.<sup>38</sup> What is remarkable about the example above is that even a Confucian textbook such as *Meiji onna imagawa* endorsed the Western idea of *ryoosai kenbo* in Meiji. What was the cause of this sudden change in the Meiji period?

In the early 1870s, the Meiji government saw education as imperative in counteracting the imminent threat of Western imperialism by raising strong imperial subjects.<sup>39</sup> Providing modern education for women particularly became an imminent issue because the status of women came to be regarded as an index for the nation's level of civilization in the late colonial period in Europe.<sup>40</sup> Thus, the Meiji government saw women's education as an imperative issue, in order to be taken by the Western powers as a civilized nation. It was this concept that gave rise to educated women as representatives of Japanese modernity.

Nevertheless, in the Meiji period, secondary education (middle school) was not given to the entire female population. Only a fraction of the female school-aged population (0.09 percent in 1890) could attend secondary educational institutions where the idea of *ryoosai kembo* was instructed.<sup>41</sup> With the rising need of secondary education for women after the Sino-Japanese War, the number of female students attending secondary schools jumped to 0.38 percent in 1900 from the previous 0.09 percent, though still not a significant figure in the entire female school-aged population.<sup>42</sup>

Therefore, as Uno points out, *ryoosai kembo* was a discourse representative only among the elites. Nevertheless, the concept of *ryoosai kembo* was supported strongly by elite women who served as role models to the rest of the female population and who would later become social leaders and the founders of many women's universities. Thus, their contributions to the dissemination of this concept were tremendous. *Warbler* is one of the examples of the role that an elite woman took in circulating this new concept.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>39</sup> Kathleen S. Uno, "The Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother?'" *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 296-7.

<sup>40</sup> Hirata, *Josei hyogen no meijishi*, 37.

41 Miyako Inoue, *Vicarious Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 38.

42 Ibid.

In addition to the nationalist ideology, there arose a need for women's education from a more practical point of view. As the way of life in Japan became more modern and industrialized, it required women to have modern scientific knowledge. Women were expected to transform into modern mothers with scientific knowledge needed to run the household.<sup>43</sup> Finally in the late 1890s, the government recognized the importance of women's education. Moral education given by mothers to their children at home was to go in tandem with the scientific education offered at school.<sup>44</sup> As I mentioned earlier, it took well over a decade for the national government to finally recognize the importance of education for women since Kaho had pointed it out in *Warbler*.

In *Warbler*, the character who embodies the concept of *ryoosai kembo* is Hideko. At age seventeen, she already has a mature appearance. According to Rikitake, even to this day, the kind of look that is most appealing to men is a motherly face.<sup>45</sup> It makes us believe as if the ultimate beauty came down to motherhood.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, Wakakusa states that the most popular image of a woman in the patriarchal culture is represented as a combination of virginity and motherhood, which Hideko certainly embodies.<sup>47</sup>

Conversely, the person who does not represent *ryoosai kembo* in *Warbler* is Hamako. As is mentioned above, the ideology of *ryoosai kembo* had to be learned since it was foreign to the pre-modern Japanese. Hamako, however, is not serious in studying but is enthralled by ballroom dancing. Saito, a science teacher who works at Hamako's school, testifies that Hamako had been on the verge of flunking.<sup>48</sup> These kinds of women, represented by Hamako, were rebuked in the essay article titled "*Shufu*" ("Housewife") in a conservative magazine for women in the same year *Warbler* was published.<sup>49</sup> The essay maintains that women's ignorance is what engenders the idea of *danson jōhi* (revere men, despise women).<sup>50</sup> Engaging in study and acquiring knowledge, it continues, is the only means to correct such a discriminatory practice. According to the essay, taking up foreign-language lessons or indulging in singing and dancing, and considering such acts as the prerequisites for ladyhood, is reproachable. Another essay article, titled "*Tsumataru monono tsutome*" ("The Duty of a Housewife"), published in the same year as

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43 Koyama, *Katei no seisei to josei no kokuminka*, 34.

44 Ibid.

45 Yumi Rikitake, "Kokoku wa danjo kyodo sankaku suishin no baitai to nariuruka: jenda to gurobarizeishon no shiza ni tatte," *Jenda hakusho 3: Josei to media* (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2005), 309.

46 Ibid.

47 Midori Wakakusa, "Anime no jenda: Shojo o torikomu purinsesu shinwa: Shohi sareru shojozo," *Jenda hakusho 3: Josei to media* (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2005), 86-7.

48 Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 41.

49 "Shufu," *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taikai* 23, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 364.

50 Translation by Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 275.

the essay above, advises wives to always ask for permission from their husbands on what to buy or where to go.<sup>51</sup> It states that a wife should not leave her house, whether day or night, to waste time socializing without permission from her husband.<sup>52</sup>

Instead of following the ideology of *ryoosai kembo*, Hamako believes in *joson shugi*, the doctrine of women's superiority. After breaking off her wedding engagement to Tsutomu, Hamako buys a house with a large sum of money she has received from Tsutomu, brings all her servants from the Shinoharas, and begins to live with Yamanaka. Holding complete control over the household, Hamako goes out freely to socialize, engaging in the same lavish lifestyle as before.<sup>53</sup> Hamako confuses *joson shugi* (women's superiority) to *joken shugi* (equal rights for women) because of her lack of proper education. Being an avid reader of *Jogaku zasshi* (*Women's Education Magazine*), the leading magazine that promotes women's rights, Hamako nonetheless claims the discriminatory doctrine of *joson shugi*, the other side of the coin of male chauvinism.<sup>54</sup> Hamako, however, is punished because she is pursuing her selfish desires without considering her responsibility to contribute to the prosperity of the nation. In her essay, Kaho writes about her friends who claim women's superiority over men.<sup>55</sup> Kaho thinks that such stubbornness only brings unhappiness to women. Flexibility, refinement, and selflessness—such are the qualities of respectable women, Kaho maintains.

Hence, Hamako loses her status as a *kazoku*. Just like her daughter, Hamako's mother is far from the ideal image of *ryoosai kembo*. Being uneducated, she is not qualified as a mother of *kazoku*. Although she is not stripped of her status, she is not given any power in the Shinohara household.

In the following section, I will discuss how the new educational system implemented by the Meiji government was taken by the people, what kind of hope it provided to upper-class women, as well as frictions it caused in society, all of which are clearly demonstrated in *Warbler*.

### 2.3 New Education Policies and Criticisms against Education for Women

The new educational system implemented by the Meiji government played a key role in

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<sup>51</sup> "Tsumataru monono tsutome," *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taiki 23* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 365.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 365-6.

<sup>53</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 49.

<sup>54</sup> *Jogaku zasshi* was the most influential journal for women's education at the time. It was published by Iwamoto Yoshiharu, a prominent Christian educator and journalist who promoted the Western concept of spiritual love and Victorian femininity.

<sup>55</sup> Miyake Kaho, *Sono hi sono hi* (Tokyo: Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan kindai dejitaru raiburari, 1914), 89, [http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/BIIimgFrame.php?JP\\_NUM=43015653&VOL\\_NUM=00000&KOMA=1&ITYPE=0](http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/BIIimgFrame.php?JP_NUM=43015653&VOL_NUM=00000&KOMA=1&ITYPE=0).

the transformation of women's lifestyles. Five schoolgirls, the youngest being six-year-old Tsuda Umeko, were sent to the United States on a studying mission in 1871 and gave tremendous hope to other school-age girls.<sup>56</sup> In 1872, the Education System Order was proclaimed, claiming to provide equal opportunity for all regardless of sex. This new system, however, invited huge resistance from the commoners, whose children were considered an important source of labor.<sup>57</sup> Sending them to school meant losing labor force.

However, for women in the privileged class, including Kaho, the Education System Order became a catalyst to expand their space for activities and to transform their lifestyles; it provided them with more choices in life.<sup>58</sup> Upper-class girls learned modern lifestyles in the Western-style schools where many instructors were foreigners. The education they received played a significant role in propelling modernization in Japan.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, Hirota points out the significance of the experiences of the girls who lived in dormitories, which was a common practice among girls who came from the countryside to attend missionary schools in Tokyo.<sup>60</sup> Living in the dorms provided them an opportunity to live away from home, where they were always under the surveillance of their parents and servants.<sup>61</sup> *Warbler* vividly describes the conversations of female students in their dorm rooms in chapter six. The girls, interspersing foreign languages they have recently acquired in school, talk about their future dreams. Similar scenes must have been seen at every other women's school in Meiji-era Japan. Hirota argues that modern education brought up in women the idea that they could also participate in national policy-making.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, *Warbler* can be seen as Kaho's attempt to have a say in politics by way of literature.

The optimistic and liberating atmosphere of the early Meiji with regard to women's education did not last long. Honda points out that the 1886 Middle School Order presents a way in which the concept of modernization is modified in a more Japanese way.<sup>63</sup> As was clearly designated in the 1872 Education System Order, earlier education policies did not discriminate students based on sex; the main purpose of the 1872 Order was to provide education for all. Soon, however, it came to be seen that it would be better to spend money on education for boys rather than for girls, who would eventually become housewives.<sup>64</sup> Thus, two years before *Warbler* was published, the 1886 Middle School Order was issued to strengthen the educational system for

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<sup>56</sup> Hirota, "Kindai erito josei no aidentiti to kokka," 264.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Kazuko Nagahara, "Minzoku no tankan to josei no yakuwari," *Nihon josei seikatsushi 4: Kindai* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1990), 54–5.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Hirota, "Kindai erito josei no aidentiti to kokka," 263.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 264.

<sup>63</sup> Masuko Honda, *Jogakusei no keifu* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1990), 180.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

boys.

The period between the late 1880s and early 1890s was the time when the earlier extreme adherence to Westernization was faced by a backlash of the resurgence of Confucian ethics in a rising nationalistic sentiment. Secondary schools for upper-class women, which were mostly run by Christian missionaries, became the focus of public scrutiny. The way they immersed Japanese girls into a Western learning atmosphere was considered inappropriate, for they were nevertheless Japanese.<sup>65</sup> In 1890, a certain congressman claimed that a man should avoid having a wife who was educated. Engaging in literature, he claimed, was particularly harmful for women, for it would make them snobbish to the point that would cause him nausea. He denounced as abhorrent women who claimed women's rights or attempted to meddle in the world of politics.<sup>66</sup>

Reflecting these unfounded criticisms, Namiko in *Warbler* speaks on behalf of contemporary scholars who wish to point out the harmful effects of educated women. According to Namiko, these scholars say that it is better to make women illiterate because if they are educated, they would remain single. As a consequence, they would not reproduce, and eventually the nation would perish. Such women, the scholars claim, are not patriotic.<sup>67</sup> What is notable here is that Namiko does not present these ideas as her own; she is merely representing the opinions of scholars in hearsay. It is obvious that Namiko does not agree with these scholars from the fact that she lets Saito, her schoolmate, give an objection each time Namiko makes a remark. Saito claims that she does not want to hear such "crap."<sup>68</sup> On a similar occasion, Aizawa, another classmate of Namiko's, pitches in by saying that she would rather become a teacher and remain single, so as to not have to kneel down to men.<sup>69</sup> By having Namiko report the claims of those scholars, and having her friends negate her remarks immediately afterwards, Kaho implies that she strongly supports education for women. I will discuss more about this point in the later section regarding *jogakusei* (female students).

### **PART 3: Women and Financial Independence**

This part examines the issue of upper-class women's financial independence, however limited it was. The call for upper-class women's financial independence is strongly emphasized

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<sup>65</sup> Soma Kokko, who attended Christian missionary schools at this time, later wrote in her memoir, *Mokui*, that her American teachers would provide them a strictly American style education. Kokko Soma, *Mokui* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 21.

<sup>66</sup> Kiyoshi Fukawa, *Kindai nihon josei rinri shiso no nagare* (Tokyo: Otsuki shoten, 2000), 114-5.

<sup>67</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 43.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

in *Warbler*.

### 3.1 Women and Household Finances

The ability to manage household finances became important for upper-class women in the Meiji period. Hideko and Namiko in *Warbler* are endowed with a good sense of household finances, which is attributed to their skills acquired through modern education. Hideko does piecework (knitting) to save money for her brother's education.<sup>70</sup> Also, Namiko, who is from a family of a high government official, is not interested in spending money on fashion.<sup>71</sup> Her frugal attitude appears rather bizarre as a daughter of a wealthy family, but it actually reflects the idea of saving that was introduced to Japan at the beginning of the Meiji period.

The idea that the household budget has to be handled by women is a modern concept. In the Edo period, as I have mentioned, women were considered incapable of household management. A book titled *Nyooboo no kokoroe (The Must-do's for Housewives)*, published some eight years before *Warbler*, makes the following requests to women: have knowledge in modern education and household budget as well as an ability in using *soroban* (abacus).<sup>72</sup> This book certainly designates the role of household management to wives.<sup>73</sup> Further, the aforementioned article titled “*Shufu*” (“Housewives”) claims that the only way women can correct the discriminatory practice of *danson johi* (revere men, despise women) is to have women get acquainted with home economics.<sup>74</sup> The article further claims that housewives are the heads-of-the-household and proposes rational finance management. Ueno points out that in this article, household management is considered to be the equivalent of national economy.<sup>75</sup> In *Warbler*, Miyazaki compliments Hideko on her excellence in handling household management.<sup>76</sup> Having a good sense of domestic economy is considered a virtue. Both Hideko and Namiko, who are endowed with a good sense of household economy, are well qualified as wives of the upper class.

I will now turn to the issue of upper-class women and occupation. How are upper-class women expected to use their knowledge acquired through modern education?

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>72</sup> Makoto Mochizuki, “Nyobo no kokoroe,” *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taikai* 23 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 367-8.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> “*Shufu*,” 364.

<sup>75</sup> Chizuko Ueno, *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taikai* 23 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 362.

<sup>76</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 52.

### 3.2 Upper-class Women and Occupation

In *Warbler*, Namiko openly announces her wish to have an occupation after marriage. She states that since she likes literature, she wants to marry a literature professor and become a two-earner couple.<sup>77</sup> As for Hideko, it is also implied by the remark made by Tsutomu that she would continue her piecework after marriage.<sup>78</sup> Tsutomu claims that he wants his wife to do at home some side job like knitting to supplement his salary.<sup>79</sup> He considers women's financial independence important. Tsutomu's remarks reflect the view that came to be discussed often at the time of *Warbler*.

According to Fukawa, the issue of women's occupations came to be discussed frequently in the media around 1885.<sup>80</sup> Even a conservative magazine like *Kijo no tomo* claimed that upper-class women should have an occupation. In the article "*Fujin mo mata shokugyoo ni juujisuru no gimu ari*" ("Women's Responsibility of Having an Occupation"), published in *Kijo no tomo* in 1889, calls upper-class women without an occupation parasites.<sup>81</sup> The article argues that it is self-evident that men and women have occupations and claims that the fact that women suffer a low status in society is due to their lack of income. It urges women to engage in an appropriate occupation depending on their ability so as to contribute to the betterment of the nation.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, the article denounces the flamboyant lifestyle of upper-class women who dress up like Europeans and frequent dance parties.<sup>83</sup> The article argues that if a woman does not fulfill her duty as a subject of the nation, her low status will never be improved.<sup>84</sup> These arguments all apply to Hamako in *Warbler*, who is more concerned about her next dance party than her father's illness.

However, there was a persistent view in society that considered a wage-earning job inappropriate for upper-class women to engage in. In *Warbler*, Ashio reflects this viewpoint. When his friends ask him about Hideko's piecework, Ashio feels ashamed and runs away.<sup>85</sup> The aforementioned article in *Kijo no tomo* also touches on this view, but it instead argues that in modern society, being a good housewife is not considered enough since she must fulfill her

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<sup>77</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 44.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Fukawa, *Kindai nihon josei rinri shiso no nagare*, 136.

<sup>81</sup> "Fujinmo mata shokugyo ni juji suru no gimu ari," *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taikai* 23 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 379.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 39.

responsibility as the subject of the nation.<sup>86</sup> It claims that upper-class women are expected to contribute to the national economy as well by taking a respectable occupation.<sup>87</sup>

The message that *Warbler* sends regarding women's financial independence is unequivocal. Miyazaki assures Ashio that his sister's act is indeed admirable, claiming that both men and women should be financially independent in the modern world.<sup>88</sup> Atomi Kakei, Kaho's elementary school teacher, maintains in the article titled "*Fujin shokugyoo ron*" ("Women's Occupation") in *Kijo no tomo* that it is utterly surprising that upper- and middle-class women do not have occupations while lower-class women do.<sup>89</sup> Kakei wants to encourage the upper- and middle-class women to take on an occupation, for without it, they would have to remain below the feet of their husbands. In *Warbler*, the reason why Hamako has to resort to the mercy of Christianity is because she does not have the ability to earn money herself.

While the imminent need of women's financial independence was argued, in reality, there were limited opportunities for upper-class women to work outside their home. Indeed, they were not expected to work outside as men did. An ideal job for the upper- and middle-class women was thought to be handicraft, which they could do at home. In 1893, *Katei zasshi* (*Home magazine*) ran a serial article titled "*Fujin shokugyoo annai*" ("A Guide for Women's Occupations"), guiding women to appropriate occupations for their class.<sup>90</sup> The article denounces upper-class women without a job as "beggars clad in brocade" and offers them suggestions as to what kind of jobs are appropriate for women in high society to take as "an admirable side job."<sup>91</sup> The best job that the article designated for upper- and middle-class women was, in fact, knitting, a new practice introduced from the West in the early Meiji.<sup>92</sup> That knitting, rather than sewing—the quintessential side job for women—is suggested as the best job is noteworthy. In fact, sewing and weaving had come to be considered lowbrow.<sup>93</sup> Hideko's piecework, therefore, was indeed the ideal job for an upper-class woman.

Whereas *Katei zasshi* recommended knitting, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, the editor of *Jogaku zasshi*, suggested writing as the ideal job for upper-class women. This, of course, could be done in their home as well. In 1886 to 1887, Iwamoto carried a series of articles in *Jogaku zasshi*, claiming that women should acquire skills in art so as to gain financial independence. He

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<sup>86</sup> "Fujin mo mata shokugyoo ni juujisuru no gimu ari," 380.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 41.

<sup>89</sup> Kakei Atomi, "Fujin shokugyo ron," *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taikei* 23 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 1990), 516-7.

<sup>90</sup> "Fujin shokugyo annai," *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taikei* 23 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 365.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 391.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Toru Hattori, "Joshi shakai no shokusan jigyo," *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taikei* 23 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 516.

claimed that women were not as capable as men in the fields of philosophy and science but that they could excel in literature. In addition, he listed painting, sculpture, sewing, knitting, and music as appropriate occupational choices for women. He presented a view that was heavily influenced by the Victorian concept of womanhood, in which he claimed that women were morally purer than men, thus were more suitable for the field of arts.<sup>94</sup> Imbibing Iwamoto's view, Namiko in *Warbler* aspires to become a writer, and her friend Saito, a painter.<sup>95</sup> What is remarkable about *Warbler* is that it goes a step further than Iwamoto's idea and shows a female student who aspires to become a scientist, which was deemed impossible for a woman to pursue by male intellectuals like Iwamoto.<sup>96</sup> So long as they hold onto the principle of *isshin ittoo* (one heart, one achievement; i.e., the importance of devoting oneself to one field), *Warbler* assures that women will be given more freedom of choice in their career. *Warbler* implies that by having a career of their choice, be it in art or science, women can contribute to the prosperity of the nation. Kaho presents yet another unique view of her own.

That one finds importance in acquiring skills in art is related to the concept of *risshin shusse* in Japan. Ito finds ideas such as 'skill is no burden' prevalent in modern Japanese literature.<sup>97</sup> He claims that the image of a person striving for the perfection of his or her skills in art is analogous to the concept of *risshin shusse* in that both aspire for higher status in society. It also echoes Kaho's idea of the aforementioned *isshin ittoo* (one heart, one achievement).

In the next part, I will examine the relationship between women's education and sexuality. These seemingly unrelated issues were increasingly linked in the dominant discourse of society in the Meiji period.

## **PART 4: Education and Women's Sexuality**

This part addresses issues of 'prostitutionalization' of women (represented by Hamako and Osada in *Warbler*) and the introduction of the Western concept of romantic love, which

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<sup>94</sup> Sachie Kitada, *Kaku onnatachi: Edo kara meiji no media, bungaku, jenda o yomu* (Tokyo: Gakugei shorin, 2007), 24-5.

<sup>95</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 44.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Sei Ito, *Kindai nihonjin no hasso no shokeishiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1981), 58.

caused major confusion for Japanese women and can be seen in the doom of Hamako in *Warbler*.

#### 4.1 The Binarism of Educated and Uneducated Women

Education for women is linked to yet another major issue, as it came to be closely associated with women's sexuality. The dichotomy of educated and uneducated women are linked to the binary idea of 'modern is good and pre-modern is bad.' In other words, education became an indicator of the quality of women. Educated and modest women are welcomed as wives of the upper class (represented by Hideko and Namiko in *Warbler*) while educated but impertinent women are ostracized from high society. Uneducated women are *yuujo-ka suru* or 'prostitutionalized' (i.e. to be considered a prostitute) in this discourse, reduced to a mere object that is only useful to satisfy male desires.<sup>98</sup>

How has this idea which associates education to the quality of a human come into being? Tonomura points out that in the Western system of patriarchy, worldly affairs are defined by hierarchical binary distinctions; the system gives a hierarchical order to a pair of opposing ideas.<sup>99</sup> For instance, rationality is good while emotion is bad, and mind is good but body is bad.

Another point of uniqueness in this binarism, Tonomura points out, is that it is considered universal. This binary system can be seen as early as in the Greek culture, proliferated by the Bible, and solidified during the Age of Enlightenment.<sup>100</sup> The philosophy of Enlightenment makes us believe that this binarism is universal and just, and that this knowledge will bring freedom and progress to all humankind. This way of thinking endorses the holders of knowledge to be just and admirable.<sup>101</sup>

This dichotomy, that the educated is excellent in character while the uneducated is not, is prevalent in *Warbler*. At the Rokumeikan dance ball, Hamako speaks ill of a frivolous man named Saito. Namiko, who is with Hamako at the scene, offers a defense of Saito, who is well-educated. For Namiko, Saito's frivolity turns into cheerfulness since Saito is educated.<sup>102</sup> Her way of judging human character by his or her attainment in education is contrasted with that of Hamako, who judges human value only by his or her appearance. Hamako claims that being

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<sup>98</sup> The term *yuujo-ka* (transformation into a prostitute) is coined by Yokota (1994, 382). See Fuyuhiko Yokota, "Onna daigaku saiko: Nihon kinsei ni okeru josei rodo." *Jenda no nihonshi: Ge: Shutai to hyogen, shigoto to seikatsu* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1995), 382. In my thesis, I use this term as a transitive verb, *yuujo-ka suru*, with a passive connotation meaning "to be regarded as a prostitute in the dominant discourse."

<sup>99</sup> Hitomi Tonomura, "Nikutai to yokubo no keiro: Konjaku monogatari ni miru otoko to onna." *Jenda no nihonshi: Jo: Shukyo to minzoku,shintai to seiai* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1995), 325.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 35.

good-looking certainly adds to the value of a person.<sup>103</sup> In this regard, curiously, Namiko even defends Hamako, whose flirtatious behavior is criticized by Namiko's schoolmate. Namiko assures her schoolmate that since Hamako is educated, she is not as sexually promiscuous as the rumor says.<sup>104</sup> Hamako's level of educational attainment, however, is quite shallow. To make the matter worse, she does not study for the benefit of society but for her self-gain; that is, to get close to Yamanaka. Still, since Hamako is not totally illiterate, she is given a chance for redemption by the Christian Church at the end of the story. I will come back to this point later.

Just like Namiko, Hideko also judges people by their scholarship rather than by appearance. When meeting Tsutomu for the first time, Hideko is impressed by his profound attitude. She thinks Tsutomu is noble because he has experience studying abroad.<sup>105</sup> Similarly, Tsutomu falls in love with Hideko due not to her physical appearance but her adept skills in *waka*:

*Itazura ni chiriyahatsuran momijiba mo, makoto no iro wo miru hito no nami*<sup>106</sup>

'While no one recognizes my true color,  
my youthfulness is simply dissipating'

Recognizing Hideko's true color in this *waka*, Tsutomu gives it the utmost praise. With regard to the Western admirers who reduce *waka* to some childish play, Tsutomu insists that it is indeed a sophisticated art and that it should be taught at every women's school.<sup>107</sup> Thus, it is cultural accomplishments and knowledge in high art that bring Hideko and Tsutomu together.

In fact Kaho herself criticizes the tendency to regard a woman's looks as the basis of judgment in marriage. In her essay *Sonohi sonohi*, she claims that those who rely on outside appearances in making judgments do not possess true knowledge.<sup>108</sup> She also maintains that knowledge determines a woman's worth. In this respect, it can be said that Kaho has also fallen into the Western binarism and that it reveals her limitations.

Before moving onto the next topic regarding education, let me briefly explain the role that a *waka* and colored leaves play in the relationship between Hideko and Tsutomu. Wada Shigejiro, one of the major critics of Kaho's works, criticizes Kaho's use of *waka* as a matchmaker for

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid. In fact, Kaho taught *waka* and calligraphy at a women's school and she even established her own academy. See Masukichi Nakajima, "Cho yo hana yo." *Meien no gakusei jidai* (Tokyo: Yomiuri shinbunsha, 1907), Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan kindai dejitaru raiburari, [http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/BIIimgFrame.php?JP\\_NUM=40016651&VOL\\_NUM=00000&KOMA=89&ITYPE=0](http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/BIIimgFrame.php?JP_NUM=40016651&VOL_NUM=00000&KOMA=89&ITYPE=0). Notice the view that reflects Tsutomu's (and also the author's) gender binarism with respect to scholarship, which will be discussed later.

<sup>108</sup> Miyake, *Sonohi sonohi*, 115-6.

Hideko and Tsutomu as being too easy and abrupt.<sup>109</sup> Although Hideko and Tsutomu's encounter by way of a *waka* appears too abrupt for a modern reader, I argue that it nevertheless functions in the framework of scholarship by which they are brought together. In addition, Tsutomu has at least heard about Hideko through the words of his friend Miyazaki, before their direct encounter at a famous sightseeing spot.<sup>110</sup> This scene is most likely based on a well-known legend in China, in which an autumn-colored leaf became a match-maker for young lovers. It is said that in the Song dynasty, a young bureaucrat wrote a poem on a colored leaf and released it into the river that flowed into the palace. A court lady picked up the leaf and kept it with her. Eventually, the bureaucrat discovered her, fell in love with her, and they married. In *Warbler*, Hideko and Tsutomu's wedding hall is called *Kooyookan* (hall of colored leaves), an upscale restaurant that really existed in Meiji. Therefore, *waka* and colored leaves were used in *Warbler* as important motifs that immediately triggered the attention of Kaho's contemporary readers.<sup>111</sup>

Going back to the issue of education, it must be noted that there is a gender hierarchy with respect to the levels of attainment in modern education. Kaho's idea is that women's scholarship should be led by men. This aspect is reflected well in Namiko's thoughts in *Warbler*. Namiko tells Hamako that it would be nice when Tsutomu comes back to Japan so that he could assist her in school assignments.<sup>112</sup> It is as if Namiko only thought of Tsutomu as Hamako's tutor. In her essay, Kaho mentions that she was often inspired by men rather than by women.<sup>113</sup> Elsewhere she states that since a woman becomes a wife when she is much younger and more immature than her husband, she should be educated by him so that she can be tailored properly to suit her new family.<sup>114</sup> In *Warbler*, Miyazaki recommends to Hideko that she seek educational help from Tsutomu. He cites an ancient verse from China that even a great horse that can run one thousand *li* may seldom meet a trainer who acknowledges its true worth.<sup>115</sup> Miyazaki likens Hideko to the great horse, and Tsutomu, the trainer.

As for the encounter of Hamako and Yamanaka, they have also met by way of education: English. However, Hamako is drawn to Yamanaka's sexual appeal rather than his talent in English. In other words, she is using English as a way to satisfy her physical desires. On the other hand, Yamanaka teaches English to Hamako not in order to improve her language skills but

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<sup>109</sup> Shigejiro Wada, *Meiji zenki joryu sakkaron: Higuchi Ichiyo to sono zengo* (Tokyo: Ofusha, 1989), 202.

<sup>110</sup> Takinogawa in Oji is where they have met. It was a popular sightseeing spot for colored leaves in Kaho's time.

<sup>111</sup> Natsume Soseki also uses the motif of a colored leaf in *Kokoro* to describe the relationship of Sensei and his wife. Soseki Natsume, *Kokoro* (Tokyo: Shueisha, 2000), 27.

<sup>112</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 35.

<sup>113</sup> Kaho Miyake, "Ochanomizu jidai." *Meiji bungaku zenshu 81: Meiji joryu bungakushu 1* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1966), 407.

<sup>114</sup> Miyake, *Sonohi sonohi*, 121.

<sup>115</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 52.

to take advantage of her wealth. After all, Hamako is merely learning the skill to speak English; it is not that she would use the skill to attain higher knowledge. English for Hamako is no more than an ornament to complete her superficial adornment toward anything Western.

In the next section that follows, I will demonstrate how Hamako, who adorns herself with superficial knowledge, is associated by Kaho with a prostitute.

#### 4.2 Women Who Are ‘Prostitutionalized’

In this section, I will analyze the issue that uneducated women were *yuujo-ka suru*, or ‘prostitutionalized’ in modern patriarchal society. The ‘prostitutionalized’ women were not welcomed as wives of the upper class. Rather, they were reduced to a mere object to satisfy men’s sexual desires. I need to clarify the use of the term ‘prostitutionalization’ here. It does not refer to an actual woman who was literally selling her body for money. In fact, there were many former prostitutes who became wives of Meiji-period politicians. What is meant by prostitutionalization in this paper is the category of women who were marginalized by the dominant discourse as such. That is, the prostitutionalization of women did not refer to actual prostitutes, but occurred on the discourse level. The ‘prostitutionalized’ woman most clearly represented in *Warbler* is Osada, but Hamako also reaches close to the boundary of this realm and is eventually ostracized from the high society.

The idea of categorizing women into a dichotomy of general women and prostitutes had existed in pre-modern times as well. We can observe this tendency in the pre-modern textbooks for women’s moral education called *Onna daigaku*. In *Onna daigaku*, women were categorized in terms of their functions in the *ie* (patriarchal family). General women were expected to produce children who would succeed the *ie*. Thus, their moral chastity, on the discourse level, was highly regulated: “women must always pay attention to their sexuality to be chaste.”<sup>116</sup> On the other hand, men needed another kind of woman who would satisfy their erotic needs out of wedlock: prostitutes.<sup>117</sup>

This binarism continued into in the Meiji era. There were, however, two major differences between the pre-modern and the modern categorizations of women.<sup>118</sup> One was the degeneration of the status of prostitutes, while the other was the issue of modern education in relation to women’s sexuality. Both issues were the direct influence of imported Western thoughts.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Yokota, “Onna daigaku’ saiko: Nihon kinsei ni okeru josei rodo,” 380.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Yukie Okano, “Shugyofu toiu hitsuyo aku: Kaika shisokatachi no shucho,” *Baibaishun to nihon bungaku* (Tokyo: Tokyodo shuppan, 2002), 91.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

The first issue, which related to the degeneration of the status of prostitutes, was caused by the Christian ideology introduced during the Meiji era. Women who were responsible for reproduction (i.e. wives) were enclosed in the *ie*. To keep them away from sexual immorality, the sacred image of motherhood was assigned to them. On the other hand, women who were associated with male erotic pleasures were marginalized outside of the *ie* system as the most degenerated object of male sexual desires. This hierarchy between the two types of women did not exist in the pre-modern era in Japan.<sup>120</sup> In fact, as was most obvious in the literary world, prostitutes were often beautified and glorified by the male authors in the pre-modern era.<sup>121</sup> Otsuka maintains that this hierarchical dichotomy was a result of the introduction of Protestantism in Meiji.<sup>122</sup> As Murakami-Yokota also points out, the Western concept of romantic love, which comprised two levels, spiritual and carnal, was foreign to pre-modern Japan, in which the definition of love was singularly related to coitus.<sup>123</sup> Thus, women in the pleasure quarters were considered extraordinary but not degenerated. Otsuka maintains that the introduction of the Christian concept of sacred love defined and exacerbated the image of prostitutes as something utterly disgusting.<sup>124</sup>

The major conflict that this imported ideology of Christian love brought to Japan will be discussed later. For now, I will point out that it is Hamako's licentious attitude toward Yamanaka that has drawn her closer to the realm of prostitutes. Because Hamako's attainments in modern education are simply on the superficial level, she cannot tell the traditional sense of love (what Murakami-Yokota calls *iro*) from the modern one. Thus, Hamako is drawn ever closer to the 'prostitutionalized' realm, represented by Osada in *Warbler*. In terms of Hamako's relationship with Osada, Seki claims that Hamako is not given any sympathy from the author and that she is totally dismissed in *Warbler* as an outcast.<sup>125</sup> Contrary to this claim, I argue that the author, through choosing to make Hamako into a devoted Christian at the end of the novel, is in fact redeeming her. By becoming a nun, her status is improved to the level of the sacred.<sup>126</sup> However, since Hamako has once degenerated to the realm of prostitutes, her role as a wife and mother of *kazoku* will never be redeemed.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> One example is *Shinju ten no amijima* (1721) written by the Edo-period playwright, Chikamatsu Monzaemon.

<sup>122</sup> Aiko Otsuka, "Baishunfu genso no rekishi: Shukyo ni okeru besshi to kyusai no ronri," *Baibaishun to nihon bungaku* (Tokyo: Tokyodo shuppan, 2002), 33.

<sup>123</sup> Takayuki Murakami-Yokota, "Lovers in Disguise: A Feature of Romantic Love in Meiji Literature," *Comparative Literature Studies* 28.3 (1991): 222.

<sup>124</sup> Otsuka, "Baishunfu genso no rekishi: Shukyo ni okeru besshi to kyusai no ronri," 33.

<sup>125</sup> Seki, *Kataru onnatachi no jidai: Ichiyo to meiji josei hyogen*, 109.

<sup>126</sup> It is noteworthy that Hamako has resorted to Christianity rather than Buddhism because in Buddhism, women cannot achieve enlightenment unless they are reborn as men.

A second difference between the pre-modern and the modern categorizations of women is the issue of education that came to be linked to the dichotomy of sacred and degenerate women. Modern education came to be used as an indicator for the dichotomy of women for reproduction and women for sexual pleasure. The issue of women's class is also closely associated with this dichotomy. Educated women were assigned the role of wives (and eventually mothers) of the upper class, for modern education was needed to run the upper-class family. Uneducated women, on the other hand, were not given a chance to advance to the higher segment of society because they had no resources to secure an education.

For a modern woman, education was regarded as her status symbol. Upon hearing Namiko's remark that Miyazaki's younger sister is the most beautiful girl in the school, Hamako immediately asks back if she is educated.<sup>127</sup> Hamako obviously expresses her sense of rivalry in this scene. In the Meiji period, it was no longer adequate for a woman just to look beautiful; she needed to be educated as well. After all, resorting to one's beauty is no different from being a geisha or prostitute. A similar description can be observed in Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* (*Drifting Clouds* 1887-89), in which Osei shows her rivalry with a beautiful woman.<sup>128</sup> Just like Hamako, Osei is concerned about the woman's attainment in modern education. Incidentally, both Hamako and Osei read *Jogaku zasshi*, a must-have item for modern educated women. Both in *Warbler* and in *Ukigumo*, *Jogaku zasshi* serves as an indicator for women's modernity.<sup>129</sup> However, neither Hamako nor Osei are concerned about the content of the journal; they are merely indulging in the image of a modern woman reading *Jogaku zasshi* since their level of attainment in modern education remains at the superficial level.

Along with this sexualized dichotomization of women, Osada is treated as the representative of the 'prostitutionalized' women in *Warbler*. She does not belong to the upper society and has no access to modern education, let alone *Jogaku zasshi*. Her first appearance in *Warbler* is marked by a subhuman treatment by the author. Her hairline is slightly receding, which indicates that she has formally been a geisha. Kaho even calls Osada a *kedamono*, "a savage."<sup>130</sup> In *Warbler*, it should be noted that the aforementioned traditional sense of love or *iro* is marked by the traditional Japanese setting. Osada's house is no exception. She wears kimonos that give her the appearance of a geisha.

Although Kaho was opposed to making superficial judgments based on appearance, ironically, she is trapped in this tendency. In *Warbler*, a woman's attainment in education is

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<sup>127</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 36.

<sup>128</sup> Shimei Futabatei, *Ukigumo. Meiji no bungaku dai 5 kan: Futabatei Shimei* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 2000), 89.

<sup>129</sup> Kitada points out that even the Meiji Empress was an avid reader of this magazine. Kitada, *Kaku onnatachi: Edo kara meiji no media, bungaku, jenda o yomu*, 70.

<sup>130</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 37.

marked by her appearance. Those who are excessively flashy or coy are associated with prostitutes, who lack modern education. They are, therefore, exposed to sexual gaze by men. Taking advantage of one's sexuality to solicit male gaze is analogous to behaving as a prostitute, no matter what class a woman belongs to. In the opening scene in *Warbler*, Hamako's artificial beauty is emphasized to the extreme. Her frizzy red hair and flamboyant dress give a garish impression. She bedizens herself with lead-based face powder, which is supposed to be harmful to her health. Her overly white face reminds the reader of a geisha. Moreover, she squeezes her waist with a tight corset to emphasize her body line. Later in *Warbler*, Tsutomu denounces her potentially harmful practices as an act to solicit the vulgar male gaze.<sup>131</sup>

Tsutomu's criticism synchronizes with the contemporary public opinion in the late 1880s. According to Honda, the public was expressing vociferous attacks on women's excessively flamboyant Western-style attire at the Rokumeikan balls.<sup>132</sup> Women's dress in the Rokumeikan era was called the bustle-style; their waists were squeezed by a corset and their hips were pumped up with huge pads. Many were expressing concerns from a medical point of view.<sup>133</sup> Honda argues that the drastic change in women's clothing in the Meiji era was marked by the public not simply as a change in fashion but as a transformation of women's sexuality.<sup>134</sup> That is, the change in women's clothes was taken by the public as an intentional sign from women—a desirable body that was exposed to male sexual gaze.

In *Warbler*, Hamako's doom is caused by her reaching too close to the realm of 'prostitutionalized' women. These women are not expected to become mothers of the upper class or take the responsibility of succeeding the family tradition. In exchange for her health, Hamako pursues external beauty and arouses men's sexual desires. She is considered inappropriate by the upper-class norms to be a mother, and is stripped of her status as a *kazoku*.

#### 4.3 The Problem of Superficiality

Earlier, I mentioned briefly Kaho's critical view toward judging based on superficial traits. I will analyze this issue more extensively here because it is one of the major themes in *Warbler*, one which also relates to the problem of education.

Kaho talks about an interesting episode in her memoir. When she was a student of High

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>132</sup> Honda, *Jogakusei no keifu*, 80.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 92.

Normal School for Women (currently called Ochanomizu Women's University), the vice principal had an art instructor draw a painting of one of the most beautiful students in school. Rumor had it that the vice principal was having an affair with this girl and had her painting hung on the wall in a classroom. Outraged, Kaho confronted the art instructor and demanded that it be removed immediately: "I told him, 'what on earth is on your mind, having to hang such a disgusting painting in the sacred learning space!'"<sup>135</sup>

This episode demonstrates Kaho's adamant rejection of the attempt to expose educated women to male sexual gaze. Seki calls this a "funny episode" and considers Kaho to have overreacted.<sup>136</sup> Seki also states, with regard to Namiko's seemingly abrupt marriage with Miyazaki in *Warbler*, "no wonder Kaho could not write Namiko's romance," pointing to Kaho's rigid attitude toward romantic relationships.<sup>137</sup> However, this is not just a "funny episode" as Seki maintains, for it exemplifies the attitude that Kaho has tried to condemn—the attitude that only concerns women's external appearances. A sexual relationship must not be allowed between a teacher and a student at a sacred space such as the classroom, where women obtain knowledge. A female student who shoulders a huge responsibility to succeed the *kazoku* institution must not be confused with a 'prostitutionalized' woman. I additionally argue that Kaho omitted the episode of Namiko's romance not because she was incapable of writing it, but because she did not intend to include it as part of the main plot. As I argued earlier, Kaho set Namiko as a prototype of a *kazoku* woman to emphasize the difference between Hideko and Hamako. Thus Namiko is not suitable to be the heroine of the story.

In my view, Kaho is not excessively sensitive toward romance. In her memoir, she mentions that after her publishing *Warbler*, quite a few male intellectuals from *Jogaku zasshi* frequented her house. Seeing this, her father made a joke that she could become a mistress of *ochaya*, a teahouse.<sup>138</sup> *Ochaya* is a place where a geisha entertains her clients. Kaho included in her memoir her father's rather insulting remark as a funny episode without expressing any discomfort. Kaho states, however, that when it came to her actual marriage, it was very difficult to find a suitable man.<sup>139</sup> She believed that a woman's worth should not be determined by her appearance but by her inner virtue. She wanted to be evaluated by others in terms of who she was rather than how she looked. That is why, I argue, she did not marry until the age of twenty-five, a rather late marriage in her time for a woman from the upper class. Five years after her publication of *Warbler*, Kaho married Miyake Setsurei, a nationalist philosopher who was

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<sup>135</sup> Miyake, "Ochanomizu jidai," 407.

<sup>136</sup> Seki, *Kataru onnatachi no jidai: Ichiyo to meiji josei hyogen*, 117.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Miyake, "Ochanomizu jidai," 407.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

famous for his eccentric appearance. Yanagida Izumi, a Meiji literary scholar, praised Kaho's prudence in judging people by their character in a rather sarcastic remark. He stated that what was great about Kaho was that she had chosen, among all others, Miyake Setsurei as her husband. Being a daughter of a distinguished family, Yanagida continued, she could have had many suitors, but among all the gentlemen and the sons of the bourgeoisie, she, in the end, chose the shaggy-haired grimy-faced hermit. Yanagida said that this talent of hers, and this alone, was truly magnificent.<sup>140</sup>

Kaho's rejection of superficiality can also be observed in the following episode. In 1895, *Bungei kurabu*, a major literary magazine in the late 1890s, launched a special issue that exclusively carried the novels of *keishuu sakka* (women writers of the domestic sphere).<sup>141</sup> However, it was not the content of their writings that caught the eyes of readers but the spectacular photographs of *keishuu sakka*. This was exactly what the editors of the *Bungei kurabu* intended—commoditization of *keishuu sakka* to increase sales of their journal. By doing so, Rebecca Copeland claims, the editors of the *Bungei kurabu* were suggesting that “a woman who sells her fiction is little more than a woman for sale.”<sup>142</sup> Thus, presented as the equivalent of the beauties of the licensed quarters, *keishuu sakka* were regarded as a sexualized commodity, reduced to a mere sexual object pleasing to the male eye. What is significant about Kaho is that while other *keishuu sakka* submitted their photographs, Kaho refused to do so and instead, she submitted her hand-written poem.<sup>143</sup> Again, we can observe Kaho's adamant refusal to be analyzed by her looks in this episode.

In the same vein, we can observe her philosophy in the title of *Warbler* itself. A warbler as a motif of art is usually paired with plum blossoms in Japan. In the natural environment, however, wild warblers dwell in bamboo groves. Warblers are identified by their distinctly beautiful voice rather than by their looks. Instead of resorting to the conventional design of a warbler on a blossoming plum branch, Kaho cleverly chose the warbler in the grove as the title of her work, demanding the reader not to judge her *Warbler* by its image (i.e. a book written by a young, upper-class woman) but by its content.

Educated upper-class women, Kaho suggests in *Warbler*, should not be affected by superficiality. Also, by holding tight to the expected moral codes of the *kazoku*, they should make an effort not to be judged by virtue of their appearances. As Yokota states, future wives of the

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<sup>140</sup> Shioda, *Higuchi Ichiyo kenkyu*, 241-2.

<sup>141</sup> Kaho and other contemporary female writers were classified into the single rubric, *keishuu sakka*, a term originally from Chinese meaning “talented women of the inner chamber” (Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*, 232).

<sup>142</sup> Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*, 221.

<sup>143</sup> Kensuke Kono, *Shomotsu no kindai* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1999), 171.

upper class were expected to protect their bodies from chance sexual advances.<sup>144</sup> Contrary to Hamako, who goes out to dance balls even when her father is on his death bed, Hideko rarely goes out other than to deliver her piecework to the wholesaler. That is why her brother, worried about Hideko's health, has invited her on a day trip for a change to a famous sightseeing spot, where she happens to meet her future husband Tsutomu.<sup>145</sup> Similarly, Namiko, who goes out relatively more often than Hideko, seldom attends dance parties because she is busy studying at school.<sup>146</sup> Here, the message Kaho sends is clear: educated upper-class women should be chaste and should not expose themselves unnecessarily in public.

#### 4.4 The Concept of Romantic Love

One of the major concepts that were introduced from the West in Meiji Japan was the concept of romantic love. I mentioned briefly this foreign concept in the section about the prostitutionalization of Hamako, but I will discuss this issue more extensively here.

According to Watanabe, the concept of romantic love was constructed in Western countries in the late eighteenth century and had spread elsewhere ever since, though varying according to contexts.<sup>147</sup> The concept of romantic love was based on the mutual attraction between a modern man and a woman. This spiritual attraction between a man and a woman was thought to lead to a sexual bond and eventually to marriage: this is the so-called trinity of sex, love, and marriage. The ultimate goal of romantic love was to build a 'home,' which would function on the basis of the spiritual love that existed between the married couple.<sup>148</sup>

The concept of romantic love was spread by way of the novel, which originated in Europe at about the same time, and has become a powerful ideology ever since.<sup>149</sup> In a 'home' that was bound by romantic love, women were expected to create a warm environment. With regard to the concept of *ryoosai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) that I discussed earlier, it was the *ryoosai*, or good wife, who was expected to be in charge of creating an oasis at home. In *Warbler*, Namiko is depicted as the ideal *ryoosai* because she plays *koto* (the Japanese harp), serves tea, and discusses literary issues with her husband whenever she sees fit.<sup>150</sup>

This imported concept of romantic love was foreign to the Japanese at the time and

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<sup>144</sup> Yokota, "Onna daigaku saiko: Nihon kinsei ni okeru josei rodo," 380.

<sup>145</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 51.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>147</sup> Sumiko Watanabe, "Meiji 20 nen (1887)." *Hennentai kindai gendai josei bungakushi* (Tokyo: Shibundo, 2005), 182.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 182-3.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>150</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 51.

generated tremendous confusion and discrepancies in the relationship between men and women after its introduction in Meiji. In the discourse of romantic love, spiritual attraction was emphasized while the carnal bond was negated. Therefore, women were to remain virgins until marriage. In other words, a sexual relationship that did not lead to marriage was considered base. However, Tomonura points out that the concept of women's virginity did not exist in pre-modern Japanese society.<sup>151</sup> According to Tonomura, a women's virginity was an essential element in the construction of the ideology of romantic love in medieval Europe and was spread elsewhere as a universal concept. In pre-modern Japanese society, by contrast, a women's body was not bound by the concept of virginity; she had a relatively free agency in terms of sexual activities.<sup>152</sup> The problem arose when the European concept of romantic love, which claimed universal legitimacy, was introduced to Japan in the Meiji period, as such a concept was missing in the minds of the Japanese. Major confusion was caused when the Meiji intellectuals introduced this concept using the existing vocabulary *ai* (love), which had a totally different connotation in pre-modern Japan. We can say that Hamako in *Warbler* is one of the victims whose misconception of this new term has led her to ruin. Let me explain exactly what confusion the introduction of this modern concept of romantic love by way of using the existing term *ai* caused to the minds of the Japanese in the Meiji period.

According to Honda, the term *ai* (love) has existed in Japan throughout its history but with a different connotation.<sup>153</sup> *Ai* was used to describe the feeling of affection from parents to children, from men to women, from the master to the servant, and from human beings to animals in the pre-modern times. This feeling of attraction had a distinct direction; it flowed from high to low. Moreover, the word *ai* denoted physical desires. Therefore, Catholic missionaries who came to Japan in the sixteenth century avoided using this word to describe the mercy of God. They instead used such words as *taisetsu ni oboshimesu* (to consider important) or *kawaigaruru* (to cherish) that did not have a negative connotation.<sup>154</sup> Curiously, however, in the Bible that was published in 1880, the word *ai* was used, replacing the aforementioned terms. That is because this Bible edition was translated from Chinese. Having a Chinese term as a buffer, the connotation of *ai*, which originally involved carnal desires, was transformed into something nobler.<sup>155</sup> Christian educator Iwamoto Yoshiharu stated that *ai* did not have a sublime connotation when he and other intellectuals started using it in the early Meiji. Thus, whenever he used it to describe the concept of spiritual love, people did not understand him, or worse, laughed

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<sup>151</sup> Tonomura, "Nikutai to yokubo no keiro: 'Konjaku monogatari ni miru otoko to onna,'" 305.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Honda, *Jogakusei no keifu*, 154.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 154-5.

at him.<sup>156</sup> Honda speculates that this is the reason why contemporary youth in Meiji did not use the word *ai* but instead used *rabu* (love) to describe the Western concept of romantic love to avoid confusion.<sup>157</sup>

The discrepancy between the concepts of Western love and Japanese *ai* caused tremendous confusion to Japanese women. Ito maintains that the introduction of this new concept caused Japanese women to believe in the illusion that there existed an equal relationship between men and women in terms of love.<sup>158</sup> Ito claims that using the term ‘love’ without having a Christian background generates nothing but falsity.<sup>159</sup> Put differently, the Western concept of love cannot be understood correctly unless one has knowledge of Christian beliefs acquired by modern education. Consequently, there is always the danger that this spiritual word is mixed up with the traditional Japanese concept of carnal desire if the user of the word is not acquainted with modern knowledge.

In *Warbler*, Hamako cannot differentiate the concept of love from *ai* and ends up being trapped in between. Hamako claims at the Rokumeikan party that she only wears Western clothes and looks down on her mother whom she thinks utterly old-fashioned. But when she goes out to have a secret rendezvous with Yamanaka, she slips into a kimono and sails down the river to Mukojima, an anecdotal location for traditional Japanese lovers in pre-modern Japan. Hamako’s modernity is “a mere façade,” for she slips back into the pre-modern mentality as easily as changing her attire when she meets Yamanaka.<sup>160</sup> Notice the meaning of women’s change in clothes that I mentioned earlier: the change in clothes was taken as a transformation of women’s sexuality. Hamako steps out of the boundary of sacred love and transgresses into the realm of debase desire (*ai* or *iro*). It can be said that Hamako slips into what McClintock calls the “anachronistic space” when she meets Yamanaka.<sup>161</sup> According to McClintock, this term was coined by the European colonizers to refer to the space of savagery (their colonies) that was yet to be civilized, dwelled by the colonized.<sup>162</sup> While European colonizers sailed down to the savage land on their sacred mission, Hamako sails down the Sumida River to the “anachronistic space” when she engages in a love relationship with Yamanaka in the pre-modern sense. Unlike the European colonizers, however, Hamako is not on a mission to enlighten the uncivilized; instead, she identifies herself with the uncivilized. Slipping into the space of savagery, Hamako becomes sexualized, analogous to Osada. Osada is lascivious, un-educated, belongs to the

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ito, *Kindai nihonjin no hasso no shokeishiki*, 160.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 142-3.

<sup>160</sup> Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*, 45.

<sup>161</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, 40.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

working class, and speaks the vulgar sociolect. Hamako's moving back and forth between the two incompatible worlds is clear evidence that she has not yet established her modern identity despite her modern appearance. Hamako's infidelity is depicted as totally impermissible as opposed to the sublime spiritual bond that she should have sought as a modern woman of the privileged class.

Hamako and Yamanaka cannot be considered a legitimate couple of the upper class for the aforementioned reason alone. To make the matter worse, Hamako and Yamanaka have not fulfilled their responsibility of announcing their marriage properly in public.<sup>163</sup> The author believes that the wedding ceremony has an important function for the members of high society. Kaho claims that a wedding ceremony serves as a baseline for the public to measure the married couple's future developments.<sup>164</sup> Since she thinks that upper-class people owe much to society, weddings are important opportunities for them to express their commitment to return gratitude to the public.<sup>165</sup> Failing to do so properly invites doom, as can be seen in the case of Hamako. Although Hamako claims that she and Yamanaka have had *ippu-ippu no tairei*, a grand ceremony of monogamy (I will discuss this in the next section), they have not yet announced it to the public.<sup>166</sup> Thus, Hamako and Yamanaka's marriage is not considered legitimate, and soon Yamanaka leaves with Osada, taking all of Hamako's inheritance. Hence, *Warbler* is not a simple story that presents "marriage as a denouement," if I borrow the words of Hirata, as commonly believed by critics.<sup>167</sup> Rather, I argue that it presents an ideal form of marriage that can be considered a denouement. The ideal form of marriage, I argue that the author has believed, has to be composed of a qualified couple who fulfill the requirements of the members of the upper class. In *Warbler*, therefore, it is represented by the marriage of Hideko and Tsutomu, the couple which is well-educated and knows the responsibility they owe to society. Next, I will discuss the issue of *ippu-ippu no tairei*, the grand ceremony of monogamy, and what it meant to women in the Meiji period.

#### 4.5 The System of Monogamy and *Ippu-ippu no Tairei*

*Ippu-ippu no tairei*, a grand ceremony of monogamy, was first discussed by Fukuzawa Yukichi in his *Gakumon no susume (An Encouragement of Learning, 1872-6)*.<sup>168</sup> What this suggests is that monogamy was not a common practice at the time. Driven by women's rights

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<sup>163</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 49.

<sup>164</sup> Miyake, *Sonohi sonohi*, 36.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 49.

<sup>167</sup> Hirata, *Josei hyogen no meijishi*, 91.

<sup>168</sup> Fukawa, *Kindai nihon josei rinri shiso no nagare*, 207.

activists as well as pressure from Western nations, concubines were finally prohibited by law in 1882.<sup>169</sup> The system of monogamy was a big move for wives, who had cried over their husbands' sexual frivolity. Fukawa points out, however, that the system of monogamy was inextricably linked to the ban of divorce and remarriage.<sup>170</sup> In fact, Japan had had high divorce numbers and remarriages even at the beginning of the Meiji period.<sup>171</sup> *Fujin shinpo* magazine reported that the divorce rate of 1902 was one out of every four marriages.<sup>172</sup> Also, contrary to the present-day belief that women in the warrior class in the Edo period could not remarry once they had lost their husbands, there were in fact high numbers of divorces and remarriages among them.<sup>173</sup> This was due to the fact that the mortality rate was so high in the Edo period that it was common for married individuals to lose a spouse during their marriage. Since preservation of the *ie* (family) was extremely important for the warrior class, if a married person had lost a spouse, he or she was advised to remarry for the sake of the bereaved family members.<sup>174</sup>

The Confucian-based moral textbooks published in the Edo period constructed the discourse that women were to be chaste. This discourse was succeeded in the Meiji period. However, as Fukawa points out, the aforementioned examples clearly indicate that there was a discrepancy between the levels of discourse and the reality.<sup>175</sup> It can be said that the restriction on morality arises when the reality is otherwise. Alice Bacon (1858–1918), an American woman who spent a few years in Japan as an educator, wrote in her memoir *Japanese Girls and Women* (1891) that she was surprised to learn of the high divorce and remarriage rate. She was bewildered by the fact that both men and women in the Meiji period married and remarried without hesitation.<sup>176</sup>

Curiously, however, there is a contrary remark in *Warbler* with regard to Osada's remarriage. In the second chapter, Osada laments that she cannot remarry after her husband's death. The narrator concurs: in the Western countries, women can freely remarry without shame, so why not Osada?<sup>177</sup> As I mentioned above, even women in the upper-class, let alone women of Osada's status, could remarry in real life. Why did Kaho insert such a plot as this to restrict Osada's remarriage? I argue that this reflects Kaho's criticism toward the Meiji government,

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 208-9.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 214.

<sup>172</sup> Kan Yabuta, "Kinsei josei no raifu saikuru." *Nihon josei seikatsushi 3: Kinsei* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1990), 216.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 245.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Fukawa, *Kindai nihon josei rinri shiso no nagare*, 219.

<sup>176</sup> Yuko Nishikawa, "Sumai no hensen to 'katei' no seiritsu," *Nihon josei seikatsushi 4: Kindai* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1990), 14.

<sup>177</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 38.

which was trying to strengthen moral restrictions on women's sexuality, concerned about the criticisms from abroad with respect to the relatively open sexuality of both men and women prevalent in Japanese society at the time. In fact, owing to the government's effort, the divorce rate dropped to one-third some ten years after *Warbler* was written.<sup>178</sup> I argue that by inserting Osada's episode, Kaho was criticizing the government's policy on two accounts. One is that the policy to restrict divorce and remarriage was imposed only upon women; the other is that it was implemented not so as to improve women's rights but rather to put up good appearances toward the West. Again, Kaho is criticizing the superficiality that lacks substance.

Lastly, with regard to the relationship between women's education and sexuality, the issue of *jogakusei* (female students) has to be analyzed.

## **PART 5: *Jogakusei* (female students)**

This part continues the analysis of the relationship between women's education and their sexuality, with a specific focus on *jogakusei* (female students), a new symbol of cultural modernity in the Meiji era. I will discuss the extraordinary qualities that were attributed to *jogakusei*, both in their appearance as well as their speech.

### **5.1 *Jogakusei* (female students) and Their Sexuality**

Replacing the geisha and prostitutes, *jogakusei* came to be considered in the Meiji era the ideal woman for modern men.<sup>179</sup> We can observe the aforementioned eroticized binarism of women in this context as well. Both *jogakusei* and prostitutes were 'public' women, whom the public could see outside of the enclosure of *ie* (house).<sup>180</sup> As I mentioned earlier, young women were deployed by the government as cultural currency that would bridge the gap between Japan and the West, because in the late colonial period in Europe, the status of women was regarded as an index for the nation's level of civilization.<sup>181</sup> Thus, as the signifier of civilization, female students were encouraged by the nation to learn Western social conventions to impress Western dignitaries at the Rokumeikan balls. In fact, Kaho herself was a *jogakusei* of the High Normal School for Women at the time she wrote *Warbler*.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Nishikawa, "Sumai no hensen to 'katei' no seiritsu," 33.

<sup>179</sup> Yukiko Kagawa, "Jogakusei no imeji: hyogensuru kotoba no utsurikawari." *Nagoya daigaku daigakuin kokusai gengo bunka kenkyuka kiyō: Kotoba to bunka* 6 (2005): 64. <http://hdl.handle.net/2237/8271>.

<sup>180</sup> See Inoue (2006, 44) for more discussions about the publicness of *jogakusei*.

<sup>181</sup> Levy, *Sirens of the Western Shore: The Westernesque Femme Fatale, Translation, and Vernacular Style in Modern Japanese Literature*, 54.

<sup>182</sup> It is said that the teachers and students of the school Kaho was attending started wearing Western clothing

*Jogakusei*, who were regarded as the symbol of civilization and enlightenment, were indeed eye-catching. Honbu recorded the mode of life of modern students in Tokyo in the same year when *Warbler* was published.<sup>183</sup> He wrote about the distinct fashion of the female students prevalent in the capital city; one could immediately distinguish *jogakusei* from others due to their exquisite attire and modern hairstyle, with the hairpin in shape of rose.<sup>184</sup>

Both *jogakusei* and the prostitutes were visibly distinctive compared to ‘regular’ women. However, what distinguished *jogakusei* from prostitutes was the knowledge obtained through modern education. Kan points out that the sacred image that was attributed to *jogakusei* was due to their educational attainments.<sup>185</sup> This image generated the illusion that the educated were of excellent character, as I mentioned above. The discourse on *jogakusei* was, therefore, always centered on her degeneration.<sup>186</sup> On the one hand, *jogakusei* were regarded as virtuous, but on the other, they were subject to censure if they did not comply with the prescribed sexual norms. At the time when *Warbler* was written, *jogakusei* came under intense scrutiny from the public, who were critical about their modern, liberated behaviors. The criticism came even from within the school they attended. The following remark was made by an instructor at the High Normal School in 1887, one year before *Warbler* was written. He stated that once a *jogakusei* became familiar with foreign languages, she would become arrogant, talk back to her parents, and take impertinence to liberty, vulgarity to liveliness. Eventually, he claimed, she would lose women’s virtues of elegance and modesty.<sup>187</sup> In *Warbler*, Hamako represents this discourse of *jogakusei*’s moral degeneration.

## 5.2 *Jogakusei Kotoba* (Female Students’ Speech)

*Jogakusei* were distinguished by the Meiji public by their singular use of language as well as their looks. In *Warbler*, particularly in the scene of a dorm-room, we can observe the lively conversation of *jogakusei* whose speech is interspersed with foreign languages and distinct sentence-final particles. The so-called *jogakusei kotoba* (female students’ speech) is thought to

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in the 1870s. It then gradually spread to the middle- and upper-class women (Watanabe, 2005: 12). Hence, Kaho was one of the first women to adopt Western-style clothing.

<sup>183</sup> Yasujiro Honbu, “Chihosei shishin.” *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taikei 23* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 350.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Kan, *Media no jidai: Meiji bungaku o meguru jokyo*, 136.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 114.

have originated from the language used by the daughters of lower-rank warriors at the beginning of the Meiji period. It eventually permeated beyond the boundary of students through the middle- and upper-class women in the late 1890s.<sup>188</sup> *Jogakusei kotoba* would later be recognized as *onna kotoba*, Japanese women's speech, a symbol of Japan's modernization. At its inception, however, it was criticized by male intellectuals as vulgar and unfeminine.<sup>189</sup> *Jogakusei kotoba* was characterized by the unique sentence-ending forms and a frequent mixture of foreign words—English and Chinese.<sup>190</sup> Let me briefly explain how *jogakusei kotoba*, spoken by Hamako, Namiko and other *jogakusei* in *Warbler*, has obtained an elevated status of *onna kotoba* (women's speech), a symbol of Japan's modernity.

The creation of women's speech was closely related to the rise of a new form of literature: the novel and the associated *gembun itchi* (write as you speak) movement in the Meiji period. As I mentioned above, the novel originated in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century in Europe and was inseparably connected to the rise of middle-class. That is, the creation of this new literary genre in Europe was made possible by the emerging capitalism and the burgeoning middle-class that supported the consumption of novels. The Meiji intellectuals were able to learn modern Western ideas through novels that were translated into Japanese in the *gembun itchi* style. However, modern Japanese writers faced a serious problem. Although there was a need to translate Western women's dialogues, Japanese did not have such variation. The writers needed an example after which to model a woman's speech.

It is said that these writers gained inspiration from the distinct speech of *jogakusei*. In 1899, a new education policy was instituted that enabled girls from elite families to attend secondary schools. Inoue maintains that "as *jogakusei* as a cultural construct became increasingly recognized, objectified, and imagined as a metonymy for Japan's modernization, so did their speech."<sup>191</sup> Their speech had unique features (i.e., the use of sentence final particles such as *te-yo*, *da-wa*, and *no-yo*) that were later considered to be the essential linguistic features that constitute Japanese women's speech.

This *jogakusei kotoba* was considered vulgar and low-class as late as the end of the nineteenth century. It is said to have originated in speech used by women in the pleasure quarters and teahouses, and was later adopted by the daughters of the low-rank samurai class.<sup>192</sup> By the early twentieth century, however, *jogakusei kotoba* was endorsed by modern writers and gained

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<sup>188</sup> Miyako Inoue, "Gender, Language, and Modernity: Toward an Effective History of 'Japanese Women's Language'" *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 67.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>192</sup> Yoshifumi Hida, *Tokyo-go seiritsu no kenkyu*, (Tokyo: Tokyodo shuppan, 1992), 204-207.

popularity among women of the middle- and upper-class. The so-called *kateishoosetsu* (the domestic novel) played an important role in the elevation of the status of *jogakusei kotoba*, which was once considered vulgar. The *kateishoosetsu* was a particular form of novel that was serialized in newspapers. It was in fact a strategy of the newspaper companies to expand the readership to non-elites and literate women. In the *kateishoosetsu*, the protagonists were usually young women of the upper class who used *jogakusei kotoba* and adhered to the virtue of *ryoosai kembo*. Komori argues that the *kateishoosetsu* was “in a way complicit with the state apparatus to nationalize women and to enable readers to imagine the modern Japanese womanhood.”<sup>193</sup> Inoue argues that *jogakusei kotoba* was instituted as “‘modern,’ well educated and sophisticated, urban, and of good upbringing.”<sup>194</sup>

In *Warbler*, Namiko, who is a *jogakusei*, speaks *jogakusei kotoba*. Interestingly, however, the negative image of *jogakusei* (i.e. their sexual promiscuity), which characterizes Hamako, is carefully eliminated from Namiko. As opposed to Hamako, Namiko belongs to the sacred category of *jogakusei*, as Honbu described in his book. He stated that *jogakusei* were more conservative and less sociable compared to male students. They studied hard and demonstrated profound principles. Because they were taught mostly by foreigners, they became proficient in English. Honbu wrote that they spoke English better than most male students. Compared to other women, Honbu maintained, the *jogakusei* he saw were more serious and excellent in their character.<sup>195</sup>

### 5.3 *Jogakusei* and the Betterment of Society

The idea that Namiko is serious in studying can be observed in the sixth chapter of *Warbler*, in which her friends worry about her health.<sup>196</sup> Namiko responds by saying that a *jogakusei* like herself is causing controversy among intellectuals. The argument raised by the intellectuals is, according to Namiko, that if a *jogakusei* studies too much, she develops symptoms, and ends up having weak children.<sup>197</sup> This, however, is not Namiko’s opinion since it is once again delivered as hearsay. Besides which, it is she who studies so hard to the point that she worries her friends. As is observed in Namiko’s remarks, contemporary scholars argued that women should be kept illiterate because if they became educated, they would never marry and would not produce children. This view was presented in the article titled “The Discourse on Women’s Education 1”

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<sup>193</sup> Inoue, “Gender, Language, and Modernity: Toward an Effective History of ‘Japanese Women’s Language,’” 68.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Honbu, “Chihosei shishin,” 350.

<sup>196</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 43.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

in *Onna kagami*, a conservative textbook for women's moral education. The article argued that the equal rights between men and women must not be permitted because if the equal rights were permitted to women, they would become independent, would not seek marriage, and as a consequence, humankind would perish.<sup>198</sup>

*Jogakusei*, as observed by Honbu, studied very hard despite the criticisms exemplified in the articles mentioned above. Girls cut their hair short in a Western-style called *sokuhastu*, not to follow the latest western fashion but to save time washing and fixing it up in the traditional Japanese style, which literally took hours. Tanaka Ei, who was a student in 1885, reminisced about her school years in an interview. She stated that it was not that she followed a trend that she cut her long hair but was rather out of necessity.<sup>199</sup> Why did women study so hard? Sano Umeko, also a student in the Meiji period, testified that female students studied hard so as to contribute to the betterment of society.<sup>200</sup> As Fukawa points out, female students did not seek higher education for their self-gain but for the benefit of society.<sup>201</sup> This perspective is surely reflected in *Warbler*. Whenever Tsutomu and his friends meet, they talk about how important it is to use their educational attainments for the benefit of all people.<sup>202</sup> They give high regards to Benjamin Franklin and Ferdinand de Lesseps rather than to George Washington and Otto von Bismarck because they believe that industrialists can bring more wealth and happiness to society than politicians, who think only of selfish gain.

#### 5.4 Hideko and the Problem of *Jogakusei*

The most important issue regarding *jogakusei* in *Warbler* is that Kaho did not set up Hideko as a *jogakusei*. Being a *jogakusei* herself, Kaho knew very much the criticisms they had received. In her essay, Kaho states that *jogakusei* were misunderstood and attacked intensely by the public during the heyday of extreme Westernization.<sup>203</sup> The *jogakusei* faced criticism that what they learned at school was not useful in real life. It was better that they learned sewing and cooking, otherwise, girls would become insolent—these were the most common criticisms that *jogakusei* received at the time of *Warbler*.<sup>204</sup>

The historical background of this attack on *jogakusei* was the shift in political atmosphere observed in the late 1880s. In the Meiji period, the Japanese women's body became a symbol of

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<sup>198</sup> Fukawa, *Kindai nihon josei rinri shiso no nagare*, 160.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>202</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 41, 47.

<sup>203</sup> Miyake, "Ochanomizu jidai," 407.

<sup>204</sup> Fukawa, *Kindai nihon josei rinri shiso no nagare*, 114.

two opposing forces: modernity and tradition. During the rapid process of modernization, women, especially *jogakusei*, became the signifier of a civilized nation. On the other hand, women were also treated as an embodiment of traditional culture, which was typical in nationalist politics.<sup>205</sup> I argue that Kaho's ambivalent treatment of Hideko was a consequence of these conflicting forces within the author. As a result, Kaho had to project her internalized modern and traditional values on Hideko.

As a *jogakusei* writer, Kaho had to face many constrictions at the time she wrote *Warbler*. For one, she had to comply with the gender norms of her class in a rising nationalistic sentiment in the late 1880s and early 1890s, when earlier adherence to Westernization was faced by a backlash of conservative ethics. Kan argues that the *jogakusei* were crucified by the dominant discourse starting in the late 1880s.<sup>206</sup> Words of criticism toward *jogakusei* were reproduced in the works of male writers in their novels as if they had been uttered by real women. For instance, in Tsubouchi Shoyo's *Saikun (Housewife: 1889)*, the author made an older woman utter criticisms of *jogakusei* that reflected the contemporary public opinion. For example, she asked, "Women do not cook with science; so why study?" As well as, "It is disgusting when women start demanding equal rights."<sup>207</sup> By delivering his criticism through the voice of a woman character, Tsubouchi aimed to give legitimacy to his claim.

### 5.5 *Jogakusei* and Their Constructed Image of Impertinence

In the Meiji period, the terms that were most frequently used to describe *jogakusei* were *namaiki* (impertinent) and *otenba* (tomboy).<sup>208</sup> Kaho also uses these terms in *Warbler* to describe the impertinent quality of Hamako, though with a little twist, which I will discuss later. Kagawa argues that the fact that a *jogakusei* came to be considered an ideal marriage partner by the elites was not only because she was educated but because she appeared attractive for her assertiveness.<sup>209</sup> In this respect, Kagawa points out that a *jogakusei* was considered analogous to a geisha.<sup>210</sup> The same terms that were used to describe *jogakusei*, such as *namaiki* and *otenba*, were used to illustrate the attractive geisha girls who appear in Tsubouchi Shoyo's *Students*. This active attractiveness common to both *jogakusei* and geisha, however, was missing from the descriptions of housewives. The common factor between *jogakusei* and geisha was that they

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<sup>205</sup> V. Spike Peterson, "Sexing Political Identities: Nationalism as Heterosexism," *Women, States, and Nationalism: At Home in the Nation?* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 64-65.

<sup>206</sup> Kan, *Media no jidai: Meiji bungaku o meguru jokyō*, 140.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Kagawa, "Jogakusei no imeji: hyogensuru kotoba no utsurikawari," 54.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 64.

were not housewives, who were bound by moral restrictions.

According to Kagawa, *namaiki* was initially not a gender-specific term. In fact, it was used to refer to insolent male students who showed off their recently-acquired knowledge in Shoyo's *Students*.<sup>211</sup> Thus, *namaiki* was used when a person's speech and/or actions provoked an unpleasant impression on the part of the hearer. Notice that it was also related to one's educational attainments. This quality of the term came to index a characteristic of a *jogakusei*, who had access to modern education that was still not available to most of the public in the Meiji period.

In *Warbler* however, *namaiki* is used in a unique way. In the common usage, *namaiki* has a negative connotation in relation to educational attainments. That is, it is used with a connotation that it is the educational attainments that make a female student *namaiki*. In *Warbler*, however, as is observed in Miyazaki's remark, it is the effect of education that makes a woman not *namaiki*.<sup>212</sup> This is yet another example that shows Kaho's unique perspective toward education.

Another term that was often used to describe the quality of *jogakusei* was *otenba* (tomboy). Unlike *namaiki*, *otenba* has been used exclusively to describe the quality of women who are active and immodest. According to Kagawa, the term *otenba* has been used since the Edo period to describe the active quality of women who transgress the prescribed gender norms.<sup>213</sup> In the Meiji period, the term, just as the case with *namaiki*, came to be linked to modern education. In the early to mid Meiji period, women's schools started to incorporate ball-room dancing and physical education to their curriculum in order to make elite women acquainted with Western manners so that they could entertain foreign dignitaries at the Rokumeikan dance balls as part of the nation's foreign diplomacy. Atomi Kakei, the school principal of Atomi Academy for Women, was thought to be one of the first educators to incorporate physical education into the school curriculum for girls. Incidentally, Kaho spent her elementary school years at Kakei's academy and was greatly inspired by her. In fact, Kaho's pseudonym was taken after Kakei (*ka* as flower).<sup>214</sup>

With regard to the undesirable influence that modern education brings to *jogakusei*, Hosokawa Junjiro, the principal of Women's High Normal School where Kaho was attending at the time she wrote *Warbler*, spoke out in an interview on a newspaper in 1891. He said that *jogakusei* were not under the surveillance of their parents and therefore lacked feminine manners. He stated that it was inevitable that his students become *otenba* (tomboy) because many of them

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>212</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 52.

<sup>213</sup> Kagawa, "Jogakusei no imeji: hyogensuru kotoba no utsurikawari," 55.

<sup>214</sup> Shioda, *Higuchi Ichiyo kenkyu*, 226.

would aspire to become teachers and would not marry for at least five years after graduation.<sup>215</sup> He promised the readers of the newspaper that he would discipline them severely from then on.<sup>216</sup> As is obvious in this article, *otenba* was clearly linked to modern education.

In *Warbler*, *otenba* is used in the following scenes to describe the undesirable quality of Hamako, on both occasions uttered by men. One is the remark made by Yamanaka, when he criticizes Hamako for her immodesty. He denounces her as an *otenba* who “stinks” like a foreigner.<sup>217</sup> Another remark is made by Tsutomu, when he says that he does not want a woman (i.e. Hamako) who has become *otenba* by blindly internalizing foreign morality.<sup>218</sup> Curiously, just as is the case with the term *namaiki*, Kaho presents her own definition of *otenba* in *Warbler*. *Otenba* in *Warbler* is related to Hamako’s blind cravings for things Western, but neither remark made by Yamanaka nor Tsutomu is related to education. I argue that Kaho is trying to clarify the definition of *otenba* in *Warbler* by offering her own definition, that *otenba* is not made by educational attainments but by blind adherence to foreign morality. In fact, she praises Atomi Kakei’s decision to incorporate physical education into the women’s school curriculum in her essay.<sup>219</sup>

Whenever *jogakusei* tried something new, they were criticized as either *namaiki* or *otenba*. Iwamoto Yoshiharu lamented this view of the public by claiming that it might actually undermine women’s education as a whole.<sup>220</sup> Similar claims were made by Honda Masujiro in his newspaper article in 1902. Honda was the school principal of Rikkyo jogakko and claimed that it was absolutely nonsense to bind women with a double standard by calling them *namaiki* and *otenba* when they were studying hard to contribute to the welfare of society.<sup>221</sup> Indeed, “a woman is damned if she does and damned if she doesn’t.”<sup>222</sup>

*Jogakusei* thus came under public scrutiny at the time of *Warbler*. I argue that Kaho cleverly avoided the possible criticisms toward Hideko by not setting her up as a *jogakusei* in *Warbler*. Indeed, Hideko is identified as a *fujin* (lady), a term usually used to refer to a mature woman older than the age of Hideko. Not being a *jogakusei*, however, does not mean that Hideko is uneducated, as I have mentioned above. Similarly, Namiko, who is a *jogakusei*, impresses the male characters in *Warbler* with her non-*namaiki* quality; Namiko is modest, intelligent, and unpretentious.<sup>223</sup> By contrast, Kaho assigns the stereotypical (i.e. sexually degenerated) image of

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<sup>215</sup> Women’s High Normal School was established to raise female teachers.

<sup>216</sup> Kagawa, “Jogakusei no imeji: hyogensuru kotoba no utsurikawari,” 59.

<sup>217</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 37.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>219</sup> Nakajima, “*Cho yo hana yo.*”

<sup>220</sup> Kagawa, “Jogakusei no imeji: hyogensuru kotoba no utsurikawari,” 57.

<sup>221</sup> Fukawa, *Kindai nihon josei rinri shiso no nagare*, 124-5.

<sup>222</sup> Robin T. Lakoff, *Language and Woman’s Place* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 85.

<sup>223</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 42.

the *jogakusei* to Hamako. What is unique about Kaho, however, is in addition to presenting sacred/degenerated models of *jogakusei*, she goes on further to illustrate diverse images of *jogakusei* in *Warbler*. Therefore, it can be said that there is a discrepancy between the monolithic image of *jogakusei* that the public saw in the media and the images that the actual *jogakusei* writer assigned to her characters. In *Warbler*, Kaho presented real images of *jogakusei*, which were indeed diverse.

## 5.6 *Jogakusei* and Her Future

As I have examined, Kaho represents the lived experiences of *jogakusei* in *Warbler*, which won acclaim from her mentor, Tsubouchi Shoyo.<sup>224</sup> However, she does not specifically mention the future that awaits these young girls in *Warbler*. What will happen to *jogakusei*'s life after her graduation? How does Kaho imply about the future of *jogakusei* in *Warbler*? Two girls, Saito and Aizawa, have openly stated that they would never marry and would resolve to live independently in chapter six. Both girls proceed to High Normal School for women and presumably take on a teaching career. But it is unclear as to what would happen to these girls who have sought independence outside of matrimony. Does the equivocal future of these two girls imply that their lives are not as gratifying as those who are in marriage? Honda claims that the future of *jogakusei* in the Meiji era was wrapped in obscurity.<sup>225</sup> Although *jogakusei* were given tremendous responsibility for contributing their lives to national welfare, they could, in reality, neither proceed to the political nor to the business sphere. Honda claims that *jogakusei* were left in limbo.<sup>226</sup>

Contrary to Honda's view, I argue that Kaho did not leave the *jogakusei* characters in limbo in *Warbler* because she had foreseen a pessimistic future for them. Realistically speaking, it must have been a difficult task for a *jogakusei* writer to foresee her future because she and her fellow *jogakusei* were indeed pioneers at the time of major social transformations. *Jogakusei* in the Meiji period was bombarded with the ever-changing policies of the government, public scrutiny over their morality, and the huge responsibility and hopes they had shouldered as a symbol of a nation's modernity. I argue that as a pioneer, Kaho honestly did not know what would await her in her future. However, one thing is clear in *Warbler*: through the words of her alter ego, Namiko, Kaho endorses Saito's and Miyazaki's resolutions and offers them utmost

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<sup>224</sup> Tsubouchi Shoyo, "Yabu no uguisu jobun," (Tokyo: Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan kindai dejitaru raiburari, 1888),

[http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/BIIimgFrame.php?JP\\_NUM=41010934&VOL\\_NUM=00000&KOMA=5&ITYPE=0](http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/BIIimgFrame.php?JP_NUM=41010934&VOL_NUM=00000&KOMA=5&ITYPE=0).

<sup>225</sup> Honda, *Jogakusei no keifu*, 186-7.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

encouragements. Namiko assures them: “As long as you hold on to your principles (*isshin itto*), your aspirations will be fulfilled.”<sup>227</sup> From this remark alone, it is obvious that Kaho did not foresee a pessimistic future for *jogakusei* as Honda has maintained. I argue instead that *Warbler* presents diverse possibilities for young women who seek independence, whether in marriage or not.

## 5.7 Hideko as a Modern Woman

Contrary to most published studies on *Warbler* which regard Hideko as the quintessential woman who embodies traditional Japanese values (if such values really exist), I argue that Hideko is not traditional in the least. Kagawa maintains that Hideko is the most successful character in *Warbler* because she is the epitome of traditional Japanese womanhood.<sup>228</sup> However, as I have discussed, the most prominent characteristics of Hideko are marked by the knowledge that she has obtained through modern (Western-style) education. That she represents modernity can be seen from her appearance as well. Hideko does not fix her hair in the traditional Japanese style that made a comeback at the time of *Warbler*. Instead she wears a *sokuhatsu* (Western-style hairdo), which was considered anti-establishment due to the backlash of conservative Confucianism at the time of *Warbler*.<sup>229</sup>

Furthermore, the word that is used to refer to Hideko also suggests her modernity. As I briefly mentioned above, Miyazaki uses the word *fujin* (lady) to refer to Hideko when he introduces her to Tsutomu.<sup>230</sup> According to Tamanoi, the term *fujin* began to be used in the 1880s by Japanese liberal scholars who tried to promote a new image of independent women.<sup>231</sup> The term denoted a quality of women who did not blindly imbibe Confucian ethics. *Fujin* was a woman worthy of respect as an independent modern human being.<sup>232</sup>

Last but not least, Hideko is courageous enough to transgress the prescribed gender norms by aspiring for *risshin shusse*, which has been associated exclusively with men as I mentioned earlier.

I have thus far analyzed the relationship between women’s education and their sexuality in the Meiji period, with a specific focus on *jogakusei* and the extraordinary qualities that were

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<sup>227</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 44.

<sup>228</sup> Kagawa, “Jogakusei no imeji: hyogensuru kotoba no utsurikawari,” 62.

<sup>229</sup> Isao Kumakura, *Zoku, sei: Nihon kindai shiso taikai 23* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 496.

<sup>230</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 52.

<sup>231</sup> Mariko Tamanoi, “Teiko toshite no komoriuta: Kindai ni okeru kokka kensetsu to komori no sabukarucha ni tsuite,” *Jenda no nihonshi: Ge: Shutai to hyogen, shigoto to seikatsu* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1995), 528.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, 529.

attributed to them, both in their appearance as well as their speech. I have also presented the unique qualities that Kaho has attributed to her diverse female characters in *Warbler*, who do not merely succumb to dominant social norms of the time. In the part that follows, I will explore the issue of imitation that most critics claim with regard to *Warbler*. Is *Warbler* a mere imitation of the work of a male author? Or did it actually inspire contemporary male authors? I will analyze the similarities I find in *Warbler* and Saganoya Omuro's (1971) *Hakumei no Suzuko* and argue how *Warbler*, a work written by a female college student, inspired the work of a male author.

## **PART 6: Is *Warbler* a Mere Imitation?**

Many preceding studies on *Warbler* touch on the issue of imitation. Let me discuss this issue to conclude my paper. Itagaki calls *Warbler* *rojoosama gei* (an upper-class girl's avocation), claiming that it is a mere copy of Tsubouchi Shoyo's *Student*.<sup>233</sup> Miyamoto also argues that *Warbler* merely reflects the dominant discourse of the time.<sup>234</sup> However, as I have analyzed so far, *Warbler* is a treasure trove of Kaho's original ideas and progressive perspectives that are beyond the purview of the social norms in the Meiji era. The impact that *Warbler* made on modern Japanese literature reached beyond the boundary of contemporary women writers, such as Higuchi Ichiyo, Kimura Akebono, and others. I see a tremendous influence of Kaho's *Warbler* in the following work written by Saganoya Omuro in 1888, about six months after the publication of *Warbler*. The title of his book is *Hakumei no Suzuko* (*Suzuko, the Unfortunate*; henceforth referred to as *Suzuko*).

*Suzuko* was serialized from December 1888 to March 1889 in the magazine *Yamatonishiki*, published by one of the most influential publishers at the time, Hakubunkan. *Suzuko*, the female protagonist, is depicted as a combination of Hamako, Hideko, and Namiko in *Warbler* but a significantly diluted version of each. After losing her father to illness, *Suzuko* falls ill but recovers due to the psychological and financial help provided by her childhood friend, Matsumoto Saburo, who has recently come back from studying in England. With help from Saburo, *Suzuko* gets a teaching position at a women's school. Although *Suzuko* and Saburo both feel attracted to each other, *Suzuko* suddenly turns to another man, Yamaguchi, who is her co-worker at school. Yamaguchi asks *Suzuko* for marriage and she accepts it. However, Yamaguchi is an immoral man, pursuing nothing but selfish gain. He leaves *Suzuko* once he meets a daughter of a wealthy merchant. Devastated, *Suzuko* turns to Christianity.

Just by following this synopsis, the plot of *Suzuko* is very similar to *Warbler*. However,

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<sup>233</sup> Itagaki, *Meiji taisho showa no joryu bungaku*, 49.

<sup>234</sup> Yuriko Miyamoto, "Yabu no uguisu," *Meiji bungaku zenshu 81: Meiji joryu bungakushu 1* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1966), 391.

Suzuko does not show Hamako's extreme Western worship, nor does she demonstrate Hideko's prudence or Namiko's progressive ideas. Literary critic Nakamura Mitsuo finds a strong influence from Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* in *Suzuko*.<sup>235</sup> In fact, Futabatei was thinking about concluding *Ukigumo* by having the female protagonist turn to Christianity after being deserted by two suitors. Futabatei, however, left *Ukigumo* incomplete. According to Togawa, Futabatei asked Saganoya Omuro, his friend and the author of *Suzuko*, to complete *Ukigumo* on his behalf.<sup>236</sup> But they had a fight, and this plan was never implemented. Both Togawa and Nakamura claim that Saganoya used Futabatei's idea in his own work. It is indeed provocative that three contemporary writers, Kaho, Futabatei, and Saganoya, were thinking about giving the same conclusion to their main characters: Hamako in *Warbler* (published in June 1888), Suzuko in *Suzuko* (December 1888), and Osei in *Ukigumo* (1887-1889). Is this just a coincidence?

There is a possibility that Kaho had read Futabatei's *Ukigumo*. However, the conclusion that Futabatei had planned was never made public until January, 1889, almost a year after Kaho started writing *Warbler*.<sup>237</sup> Thus, it can be said that Kaho's plot is very much her own. Furthermore, as opposed to what Nakamura and Togawa suggest, I argue that Saganoya was inspired by Kaho more than by Futabatei from the following distinct similarities I find in *Suzuko* and *Warbler*.

The first similarity is the scene when Suzuko's brother asks his sister for assistance in studying for his class. After her father's death, Suzuko quits school to support her family financially and helps her brother with his school assignments since she is intelligent. Suzuko's brother shows his gratitude to her by saying that he is the only one in his class who understands Swinton's *Outlines of the World's History*.<sup>238</sup> This scene resembles the part in *Warbler* in which Hideko helps Ashio with his school work. Thanks to Hideko's help, Ashio succeeds in his class.<sup>239</sup> And of course, the textbook that Ashio reads is Swinton's *Outlines*. Such a similar scene cannot be found in *Ukigumo*, in which Osei, who also has a younger brother, is not intelligent enough to help her brother in school assignments. Rather, her brother looks down on her lack of knowledge in modern education.

Another resemblance can be observed in the scene when Suzuko tries to persuade Yamaguchi to pursue a career that leads to the prosperity of the nation. She argues that it is

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<sup>235</sup> Mitsuo Nakamura, "Kaidai," *Meiji bungaku zenshu 17: Futabatei Shimei, Saganoya Omuro shu* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1971), 431-2.

<sup>236</sup> Shinsuke Togawa, *Meiji bungaku kotoba no iso*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2004), 375.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>238</sup> Omuro Saganoya, *Hakumei no Suzuko, Meiji bungaku zenshu 17: Futabatei Shimei, Saganoya Omuro shu* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1971), 247.

<sup>239</sup> Miyake, *Yabu no uguisu*, 41.

selfish if a man pursues a career for his personal gain rather than for the benefit of society.<sup>240</sup> This remark mirrors the opinions of Tsutomu, Miyazaki, Saito, and Namiko in *Warbler*. Moreover, both *Suzuko* and *Warbler* use the Chinese legend of *gekka hyoojin* (an old man under the moon) as a matchmaker for the main characters. This motif is not observed in *Ukigumo*. Thus, I argue that *Suzuko* is greatly inspired by *Warbler*, although it significantly lacks *Warbler*'s lively descriptions about *jogakusei* and progressive ideas regarding political issues surrounding them.

## Conclusion

In this paper, I have analyzed the lives of *kazoku* women depicted in *Warbler*, situating them in a cultural history of Japan that was going through tremendous transformations under the influence of the Western powers in the late nineteenth century. I have also demonstrated how these characters reflect the unique views of the author, who was herself a female college student at the time she wrote *Warbler*. I have argued that in *Warbler* Kaho consciously and boldly presented her opinions against many of the government's policies implemented on women during these turbulent times. She clearly demonstrated the need for modern education for upper-class women and has even presented a possibility of social mobility, by way of education, which was deemed impossible for women at the time. *Warbler* indeed shows Kaho's limitations as a writer, as can be seen in her ambiguous treatments of superficiality and gender binarism with respect to education. At times she was trapped in the very dichotomy that she was trying to condemn. Also, she was not able to provide the reader with the future of her *jogakusei* characters. These limitations notwithstanding, I recognize in *Warbler* Kaho's resistance against the pressures from the dominant discourse as well as the hope she provided to her fellow *jogakusei*, which made *Warbler* uniquely her original.

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<sup>240</sup> Saganoya, *Hakumei no Suzuko*, 248.

## Appendix: List of Japanese Terms

*ai* (love)  
*daimyo* (war lords)  
*danson johi* (revere men, despise women)  
*fujin* (lady)  
*gembun itchi* (write as you speak)  
*ie* (family; house)  
*ippu-ippu no tairei* (grand ceremony of monogamy)  
*iro* (pre-modern sense of love)  
*isshin ittoo* (one heart, one achievement)  
*jogakusei* (female students)  
*jogakusei kotoba* (female students' speech)  
*joken shugi* (equal rights for women)  
*joson shugi* (doctrine of women's superiority)  
*kateishoosetsu* (domestic novel)  
*kazoku* (upper-class)  
*keishuu sakka* (women writers of the domestic sphere)  
*koozoku* (imperial family)  
*kuge* (court nobles)  
*namaiki* (impertinent)  
*onna kotoba* (women's speech)  
*otenba* (tomboy)  
*risshin shusse* (establishing oneself and advancing in the world)  
*ryoosai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother)  
*sokuhastu* (Western-style hairdo)  
*sonnoo-jooi* (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians)  
*yuujo-ka suru* (to be considered a prostitute)

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