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著者	Yoneoka Judy
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Content Development in Kubushiro Ochimi's *Japan Through Women* 1938-1960

Judy YONEOKA

Abstract

This paper introduces the English language mini-magazine *Japan Through Women*, a series of at least 85 issues published from 1938 to 1960 (with a 6-year hiatus during World War II) almost singlehandedly by Kubushiro Ochimi, a women's rights leader and activist of the time. Each issue is composed of an average of 5-6 articles and short news stories covering various topics. 73 issues (86%) of the (generally) 4-page paper have been located and collected by the author.

The contents were classified into 7 categories (Announcements and Errata, Biographies, Christian issues, International issues, Japanology, Prostitution/WCTU Activities and Social Issues), and the change in content of the latter 5 categories was analyzed over 5 periods: Prewar I (1938-39); Prewar II (1940-41); Postwar I (1947-1950); Postwar II (1951-1956); Postwar III (1957-1960). It was found that the overall message of the newspaper shifts from promoting Japanese Christian social work to the West in the Prewar periods to reporting on Japan's recovery in Postwar I. The paper loses steam in Postwar II until revived by an inspiration to change the audience and message to the international community and world peace, spawned by Kubushiro's visits to America in 1956 and China in 1957. International content rises dramatically in Postwar III as Kubushiro experiences an inspiration to promote this message worldwide.

1. Introduction

The period just before World War II was a time of very little friendly media communication between Americans and Japanese. The government controlled the Japanese media, which was increasingly nationalistic and anti-American. The

American media, although preoccupied with the war in Europe, consistently referred to as “Japs” and “the yellow peril.”

However, one woman took it upon herself to rectify this situation as much as possible. Fluent in both English and Japanese, she faithfully and for the most part single-handedly wrote, edited, managed and published a 4-page mini-magazine from 1938 to 1960 at intervals ranging from monthly to yearly. Now, this little magazine is virtually unknown, but it deserves attention as an important historical record of the times.

The woman was Kubushiro Ochimi, a Christian minister, social worker and prolific writer and biographer who lived and served in three countries: Japan, the United States and prewar Japanese-controlled China. She was born in 1882 in present-day Yamaga, Japan, and died in 1972. Her life work has been chronicled in Ikematsu (1972), Takahashi (2001), Seyama (2004), Matsukura (2009), etc., as well as in her own autobiography, *Haisho Hitosuji* [Pursuing the abolishment of licensed prostitution] (1973). She came from a family of Christian social activists including Kajiko Yajima, founder and head of the Japanese WCTU for thirty years, and Tokutomi Soho, a prominent journalist of the time.

The magazine *Japan Through Women* (hereafter referred to as *JTW*), was only one of her life works, which also include several Japanese-language newspapers and full-length biographies of social workers (*Yajima Kajiko Den*, *Anata ha Dare?*, *Chichi*, etc.). It contains a wealth of information in English about the welfare activities of Japanese women at home and abroad both before and after World War II. It also chronicles the changes in the mindset of Kubushiro and her fellow workers with respect to Japan before and after the war.

JTW was a product of its times. Its prewar mission was to give a voice to women to explain their viewpoint of the so-called Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. As Ogawa (2007, p. 170) wrote, “through the narratives of the Japanese



Yamaga city Board of Education 2009, p. 6



found in WCTU Library, Evanston, Illinois, summer 2014

who dedicated their lives to the cause of the least privileged people and world peace, Kubushiro endeavored to present an alternative to the image of the Japanese as brutal warmongers.” She asserts that Kubushiro and the WCTU “embraced the Asiatic cause of the war propagated by the Japanese authorities”, and “embarked on benevolent works for poor Chinese”, such as “the creation of a medical settlement called Airinkan (the hall of neighborly love) in the slum district of Beijing” (ibid., p. 172). This and other activities are chronicled in the first few years of *JTW*.

Ogawa notes that in Kubushiro’s Japanese writings, her stance towards the US before and during the war echoed government lines. She “declared that the time had come to challenge Anglo-Saxons for their arrogant sense of racial superiority over the past three hundred years” (Kubushiro 1942, quoted in Ogawa 2007, p. 173) and “bitterly looked back at the history of the Japanese exclusion movements in the United States beginning at the turn of the twentieth century,” (ibid., p. 174) citing these as a root cause of the war. On the other hand, her tone towards the US audience in *JTW* is friendly and familiar, and avoids political topics. Such two-faced “diplomacy” may have been necessary in her eyes, and the fact that she was allowed to publish in English for as long as she did in spite of heavy pre-war government censorship shows that she had official imperial consent to do so. Moreover, the fact that she was allowed to start up again soon after the war ended demonstrates that the postwar US occupation authorities were also satisfied with the content of the paper.

JTW can be broadly divided into two series: the prewar series consists of 38 or 39 issues from January 1938 to August 1941, and the postwar series has at least 46 issues from 1948 to 1960 or possibly later. The labels PR-W and PO-W will be used to refer to pre-war and post-war issues respectively. The prewar series is numbered by both volume and issue, but the postwar series is numbered consecutively by issue alone. Therefore, prewar issues are labeled with 2 numbers (e.g. PR-W 3-4=Vol. 3, Issue 4), whereas postwar ones have issue numbers alone (e.g. PO-W 14=Issue 14).

Unfortunately, there is no complete collection of this little magazine in any library in the world. Some postwar issues can be found in Japan, but no prewar issues can be found in any Japanese library—victims, no doubt, of war bombings. The majority of issues are housed in the Ritter Mary Beard papers in the Sophia Smith collection at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. This collection holds 61 of the total 85 issues known to the author, up to PO-W 51 (1960), of which 43 were purchased for this research.

Mary Ritter Beard was a historian who was keenly interested in women’s issues,

especially that of suffrage. However, the collection of *JTW* issues was probably donated to the library by Charlotte B. Deforest, daughter of one of the early missionaries in Kobe and long-time director of Kobe Women's college, as the collection is accompanied by receipts bearing her name. Deforest returned to the US in 1940, which would explain why the prewar Sophia Smith collection ends with the September 1940 issue. She returned to Japan in 1947, but went back to Claremont, CA upon her retirement in 1950. Even so, she evidently continued to subscribe to *JTW* until 1960. Interestingly, Deforest's own private collection is also housed separately in the Sophia Smith Collection.

The first two issues located by the author (June and August 1938) were discovered in the library of the WCTU headquarters behind the former residence of Frances E. Willard (also known as Rest Cottage) in Evanston, Illinois, in August, 2014. This visit was generously funded by the Institute of Foreign Affairs at Kumamoto Gakuen University. Other issues were generously provided by the Lancaster Seminary Library in Pennsylvania (5), Asuka Bunko Collection in Nihon Fukushi University, Japan (4), WCTU headquarters (2), the Yale Divinity School Library (1), the Kate I. Hansen Collection in the University of Kansas (1), and the University of Minnesota digital collection (1).

Although the maiden issue of *JTW* was published in January 1938, the first extant issue is March 1938, in the abovementioned Smith Collection. It is difficult to tell when the periodical ended. Kubushiro passed away in 1972, but the last found issue was PO-W 51 (undated, 1960). Assuming this was the final issue (although there is no indication thereof), there were at least 85 issues altogether: 38 or 39 prewar issues between January 1938-August 1941 (Dec. 1940 may not have been published), and 46 postwar ones dating from July 1947. Of these 85 issues, 73 (86%) have been retrieved: 28/39 (72%) of from the prewar series, and 45/46 (98%) from the postwar series.

	prewar	postwar	total
total known	38/9	46	84/85
retrieved	28	45	73
missing	10/11	1	11/12
% retrieved	*72%	98%	*86%

Fig. 1. Overview of the presently known *JTW* collection located by the author.
(NB: *=of 39 prewar issues)

Perhaps because of its scattered state, very little research has been done with this material. The contents of the Smith Collection were introduced and several articles were reviewed in Mamola (1989). Mineyama has used the Japanese version of the paper (*Nihon to Fujin*) to discuss Kubushiro's views on sex education (2008), suffrage (2011), prostitution (2012a), and mixed-race GI children (2012b), but does not make use of the English articles. Therefore, the aim of the present study is twofold: (1) to introduce and preserve as much vital information about this little magazine as possible, and (2) to discuss and analyze the contents in light of pre- and postwar history issues.

2. Background to the Paper

Kubushiro Ochimi was born Okubo Ochimi in Kumamoto, Japan, in 1882. After graduating from Joshi Gakuin (presently, Joshi Gakuin High School) in Tokyo, Ochimi accompanied her parents to Hawaii and then to Oakland, California, where her father took up work as a Christian minister to the local Japanese population. There she attended the Pacific Theological Seminary in Berkeley from 1903 to 1908, living through the great San Francisco earthquake of 1906.

Kubushiro was an ardent Christian and a devoted family woman, and made a fitting wife for her pastor husband Kubushiro Naokatsu, whom she married in 1910 in Seattle. The family returned to Japan in 1913 and, after some years in Osaka and Takamatsu, began a church (Tokyo Citizens Church) in Tokyo in 1918. Her husband died of tuberculosis shortly thereafter. Kubushiro was to live another 52 years, however, and she passed away in 1972 at the age of 90.

From the beginning of her adulthood, Ochimi was destined to become a bridge between the East and West. In 1906, at the age of 23, she accompanied her 75-year-old aunt Madame Kajiko Yajima, famous champion of girls' education and the founder and head of the Japan WCTU for 20 years, across the United States to attend the 7th World Conference of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (Yoneoka, 2013). It was Yajima's first trip to the US (she would later make two more in her late 80s), and she spoke no English, so Ochimi went along to act as her attendant and interpreter. During this trip, the two women (along with others who attended the conference from foreign nations) were invited to the White House to meet President Theodore Roosevelt, where Yajima took the opportunity to thank him for his part in mediating the end of the Russo-Japanese war, bringing an early and satisfactory end

to what might have become a disaster in Japan's eyes. Of course, Kubushiro would have been present and interpreting during this important and perhaps unprecedented occasion.

A prolific writer in both English and Japanese, Kubushiro was a born story-teller. She was the biographer of her family and wrote a very long book on her great aunt Yajima, and shorter ones about her father, her aunt Yuasa (Tokutomi) Hatsuko, and fellow worker Hayashi Utako. It was during her 1906 travel with Yajima that she first conceived of writing a paper in English, geared towards cross-cultural understanding between her native and adoptive land. "They were hurrying from new York to Boston....it was during these two hours that young Okubo [Kubushiro] dreamed a dream... we must have the means to talk in written language. We must have a paper however small to express ourselves." She mentioned this ambition to her great aunt, who thereafter presented her family with a gift of money as "a token of gratitude to you so please use it one half for the church and the other half for the little paper young Okubo desired to have" (PR-W 3-8, p. 2).

According to the same article, the magazine started as a mimeographed newsletter before becoming a printed publication. If we assume that Ochimi began her enterprise after receiving the funds from her aunt in late 1906 (say, in early 1907), then the mimeographed letter would have spanned 30 years, from 1907 to 1937. However, Ochimi reported founding another magazine called *Womans Magazine on the Coast* (PO-W 22, p. 1) in 1907, so this was probably where Yajima's original funds went. In a brief internet search, no reference to the existence of this latter magazine was found, and it is unclear whether it was written in English or Japanese. Even so, it is reported to have lasted for some 40 years (ibid.).

Only in 1938 did *Japan Through Women* become a subscription-based periodical. In the more than 30 years of its existence, *JTW* was published at intervals ranging from monthly to annually (except for the war years), with volume numbers and subscription details in each issue. It was generally 4 pages long, with at least 4 exceptions: three joint issues (PR-W 1 (11/12), PR-W 2 (6/7) PO-W 45) had 6 pages each, and PR-W 3 (7) had only 2 pages. Reflecting the economic situation in Japan, the cost for a yearly subscription rose rapidly, from 1 yen in 1937 to 20 yen in July 1947, 35 yen in Sept 1947, 50 yen in June 1948 and 100 yen from January 1949 until 1960. For international subscribers, the prewar issues were 50 cents for US/Canada and 2 shillings for Britain, but the postwar issues simply listed a subscription price of 1 (presumably US) dollar "abroad", postage included.

One immediate reason for the change from newsletter to subscription-based mini-magazine seems to have been Kubushiro's visit to Brazil in 1935, where "she realized how insignificant the voice of Japan was, especially the women's" (PO-W 22, p. 2). Therefore, *JTW* was an outlet to publicize Japanese women's opinions and activities in the world. Another underlying impetus may well have been the publication of *Japanese Women Speak* by Kubushiro and Michi Kawai, the latter an internationally-known Christian woman who taught at Tsuda College and served as head of the Japanese YWCA for some 20 years. The book was originally solicited by the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions in 1933. Kawai first rejected the proposal because of her busy schedule and because the "international storm of 1932 [i.e. the Japanese invasion of Manchuria], with Japan at its center, checked the natural outflow of free expression for fear of misunderstanding even among Christian peoples" (Kawai and Kubushiro 1934, p. XVII). However, after recruiting Kubushiro and others to aid her (Kubushiro wrote several chapters of the book), Kawai found time to work on the manuscript. It was published two years later, in the hopes that it would "help to bind together in greater love and mutual understanding the Christian women of Japan and of America as together they work to bring the Kingdom of God on earth" (Kawai and Kubushiro 1934, p. XVII). The *JTW*, with the same purpose, can be considered an ongoing extension of this work.

2.1. The Prewar Years (1938-1941)

The *JTW* series began as a monthly publication in January 1938, although it never put out a complete set of 12 issues per year. Fig. 2 shows the overall numbers of prewar issues published and actually located. The first year, 1938 (V. 1), was published monthly through October, but Nov./Dec. was a joint issue, with 6 pages. Sept and Oct 1938 are missing, but it is clear from the numbering of serial articles that they were separate issues. In 1939 (V. 2), a joint issue appeared for June/July, and three issues are missing: January, April, and May; the latter two clearly separate issues. From 1940 (V. 3), numbering is by issue rather than by month: Issue 1 is January, but Issue 3 is April. Issue 2 (Feb./March) is missing, as is October. No issue may have been published for December. Feb. and June are missing from 1941 (V. 4), and the final prewar issue is dated August 1941. This issue announces an impending suspension of publication from September, as "the tide is getting higher very rapidly" and "out of 160 Women's periodicals two third [sic] must be combined or discontinued" (PR-W Aug 1941, editorial, p. 1). A note from Stanford University

also shows the publication suspended from Sept. 1941. Interestingly but not surprisingly, all the currently extant prewar issues are found only in US libraries and archives.

PERIOD	Year/Volume	overall	found	joint	missing
PR-W I	1938 (V. 1)	11	7	11 12	1 2 9 10
	1939 (V. 2)	11	8	6 7	1 4 5
PR-W II	1940 (V. 3)	*10 or 11	8	2 3	2/3 10 *12
	1941 (V. 4)	6	5	4 5	2
	total prewar	*38 or 39	28	72% (of 39)	

Fig. 2. Prewar *JTW* Issues (1938-1941) (*V. 3 issue 12 possibly not published)

Considering the nationalism prevalent in these prewar years, it could not have been easy to maintain the little paper. Austerity, anti-foreignism and government control and censorship can all be read between the lines, and the final decision to forego the paper from September 1941 must have been a painful one for Kubushiro. Even so, she convincingly writes in her April-May 1941 issue editorial:

Tis three years and half now since J.T.W. was started. The editor said, "I have one hundred friends abroad, and in order to keep a post card correspondence I will start this paper." The days ran into months and three years had already gone. All sorts of hardships assailed this little paper, and yet it kept up its slow but steady growth. Now the friends are increasing both in and abroad and the freign foriends had doubled and tripled beside those at home.

*(Note: all quotes from *JTW* articles are verbatim and include original spelling and grammar)

There are several series of articles found only in the PR-W issues. The longest series, encompassing 35 articles and found in almost every prewar issue, is entitled "How We Read Our Bible" and focuses on Biblical images of "good Christian women." Another prewar-only series was a short-lived set from June-August 1940 entitled "I Wonder if You Know" which focused on Japanese immigrants on the US West Coast. The first introduces Mr. and Mrs. Okuye, who ran a vineyard but refused to sell to breweries. The second is the life of a hard-working Christian Japanese tailor who brought up ten college graduates. The third focuses on Kubushiro's own travels

with her aunt Yajima Kajiko in 1906, and tells the story behind the birth of *JTW*. Finally, a 16-part series on the Japanese language contributed by Yahei Matsumiya ran from Jan. 1939-June 1940. The first two issues introduce hiragana, katakana and numbers, and the third has pictures of a dog, chair, flower and flag, with *katakana* and *romaji* for each. The final lesson (#16) has five sentences with the pattern *-ga imasu* (there is a...), and an explanation about how to change from affirmative *-su* to negative *-sen*. There is no explanation as to why this series suddenly and mysteriously appeared and disappeared, but we may read government policy between the lines.

2.2. The Postwar Years 1947-1960 (?)

From January 1947, the postwar volume and issue numbers “start over” with Volume 1, Issue 1. The existence of 46 issues is known, 45 of which have been located by the author, with only issue 24 (1951 or 1952) missing. Issue 51 (1960) was the last issue in the Sophia Smith Collection, and the final one located by the author.

The first few issues of the postwar series were printed by the “Oriental Economist Printing Shop,” 284 Chojamaru Kamiosaki Shinagawaku Tokyo. The printer changed to Fujiya Printing Co. in June 1948, and Kubushiro is listed as both editor and publisher. The contact address given is 835, 5-chome, Sendagaya, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo Japan. The issues bear the information “Printed as substitute for mimeograph”. From Issue 19 (Nov./Dec. 1950), the address changes to the W.C.T.U. : 360, 3 chome Hyakunin-cho Shinjuku-ku Tokyo Japan.

Although the paper reemerged during the US occupation, US censorship was not very rigid. Only four of the early postwar issues in the National Diet Library (from the University of Maryland Prange Collection) show censorship markings. Two of these (PO-W 2 and 6) are stamped with the words *NEWS DPT. FILE* on the front page, and the second bears the handwritten word *Christianity (15)* at the top and a second stamp reading *FILE*. The third (PO-W 7) simply has the *FILE* stamp, and the fourth (PO-W 8) is stamped *PROCESSED W/O EXAMINATION* and bears the words *FILE* and *Mailed October 12*, and a signature. From this it can be surmised that examinations were actually performed on Issues 2, 6, and 7, and that from then on the paper was not examined at all. There is no evidence of any cross-outs or other changes in content or language.

As shown in Fig. 3, the number of issues per year ranges from 11 in PR-W I to

2.75 in PO-W III. Moreover, there were fewer articles per issue in the postwar years, averaging 6.7 to 4.2, with at most 8 articles (PO-W 2, 5, 10/11). The length in pages is the same, however; postwar articles tend to be longer than the prewar ones, and there are fewer series and more pictures.

period	PR-W I 1938-39	PR-W II 1940-41	PO-W I 1947-50	PO-W II 1951-56	PO-W III 1957-60	total/ave
total issues	22	16 (17)	16	19	11	84 (85)
ave issues/year	11	8	4	3.16	2.75	4.67

Fig. 3. Average issues/year in each period.

period	PR-W I 1938-39	PR-W II 1940-41	PO-W I 1947-50	PO-W II 1951-56	PO-W III 1957-60	total/ave.
Found issues	15	13	15	17	10	70
articles	97	106	88	54	41	386
ave. arts/issue	6.5	8.15	5.9	3.2	3.7	6.1
(prewar/postwar)	(7.25)		(4.2)			
content	133	123	103	84	42	485
art/con	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.0	1.3

Fig. 4. Total number of articles and averages for each period

The PO-W series is numbered by issue. Joint issues appear 3 times in 1949, once in 1957 and once in 1959. Kubushiro seems to have restarted the magazine with every intention of publishing bi-monthly, in contrast to the monthly frequency of the PR-W series. However, no full year of 6 issues exists. In 1953, Kubushiro finally admits that “the bimonthly has become a quarterly” (*JTW*, 31 p. 1), but in reality it was only issued three times a year. The frequency dwindles further, with a single issue in 1956. However, Kubushiro finds a second wind thereafter, and 1957 has 4 issues.

The overall editing quality of the latter magazines decreased yearly with more English errors, showing Kubushiro’s advancing age. She would have been almost 70 years old in 1951 when she wrote that “it was in Christmastime of 1939 that the first number of *Japan Through Women* appeared” and that the newsletter was celebrating its 10th anniversary. This is clearly erroneous, from the fact that the first extant issue is from March 1938. However, knowing the Japanese penchant for confusing 9 and 7 (7=*nana* in Japanese), it could be that she actually meant Christmastime of

1937, a reasonable dating. If the first issue had indeed been written in Dec. 1937, then the math is correct: there would have (nominally) been 10 years of issues, first for the five years between 1937-1941, and again from 1947-1951.

On the other hand, the “second wind” issues after 1956 show more energy and clarity, as evidenced by the increase in issues and renewed effort put into the “Who Art Thou?” series (picking up with Chapter 26 after an 8-year hiatus). Issue 56 (undated, 1958) reflects on the “twentieth” anniversary of the magazine, dating it correctly this time from 1938, and including the war period in the span.

3. Change in Content

The overall structure of the magazine changes little over the years. Each issue usually begins with an article labelled “editorial”, although many of these would not be considered editorials in the sense used today. These are followed by news briefs (fewer in the PO-W series), which generally discuss recent events related to WCTU and women’s issues. Thereafter, there may be one or more feature articles, and usually one or more biographical articles. The latter are often parts of series of varying lengths. As discussed above, the PR-W issues also carried series with the titles “How we Read our Bible” and “I Wonder if You Know” as well as a short-lived series on the Japanese language.

For this study, the contents of each article were classified into the following 7 categories:

- A. Announcements and Errata (A)—articles concerning the magazine itself
- B. Biographies (B)—ongoing series, 2-part series, and one-off articles, generally featuring Christian social activists, both male and female.
- C. Christian and religious issues (C)—religious meetings and other news issues. The series “How we read our Bible” is also classified under this category.
- I. International issues (I)—all articles dealing with countries other than Japan, or with relations between Japan and other countries, including war and peace, the “China Affairs”, US Occupation and GI babies, India and Russia
- J. Japanology (J)—articles introducing Japanese language, culture, politics, and society to the larger world audience, including semi-

fictional poetry and seasonal musings.

- P. Prohibition and WCTU-related news (P)—Although the Japanese WCTU concerned itself with many social issues, its international counterpart focused generally on prohibition. Therefore, these are treated as one category.
- S. Social issues (S)—Women’s and children’s issues in Japan, including prostitution, suffrage, and children’s education. Prohibition is classified with WCTU-related news.

Articles that spanned more than one category were included in both. A total of 203 prewar and 183 postwar (=386) articles were analyzed, and each was included in at least one category (average=1.3 categories per article). Article length was not taken into consideration, so a 3-page biographical article received the same weight in terms of content as a 3 line news quip.

The content was then classified into 5 periods as follows:

1. PR-W I: 1938-1939 (15/22 issues found) corresponding to the years that Kubushiro was working in Manchuria
2. PR-W II: 1940-1941 (13/17 issues found) representing Kubushiro’s return from Manchuria and tightening of government control.
3. PO-W I: 1948-1950 (all 16 issues found) years of direct and indirect GHQ control until the San Francisco treaty.
4. PO-W II: 1951-1956 (18/19 issues found) Interim years, a low point for the paper and for Kubushiro.
5. PO-W III: 1957-60 (all 11 known issues found) Kubushiro’s “second wind” era, after her return from the US and China.

Results for the classification of the articles (Fig. 5) and percentages by period (Fig. 6) show that the article types were relatively evenly represented, with more weight on articles concerning Japan and biographies than other types. The category of Announcements/Errata accounts for between 5% and 10% of the paper in all periods, and will be omitted from further analysis. Biographies introducing important Japanese people representing idealized Christian service to the world account for between 13% and 25% of the articles, with a low point in 1951-56, coinciding with a low in Christian-related articles and an increase in social and global

issues. These are also omitted from further analysis, as they often embody all of the other categories.

	A	B	C	I	j	P	S	TOTAL
PR-W I	7	17	35	20	22	7	15	123
PR-W II	14	20	35	16	27	8	13	133
prewar	21	37	70	36	49	15	28	256
PO-W III	5	24	7	8	38	1	20	103
PO-W IV	8	11	1	16	21	10	17	84
PO-W V	4	8	4	15	8	2	1	42
postwar	17	43	12	39	67	13	38	229
TOTAL	38	80	82	75	116	28	66	485

Fig. 5. Results of articles classified by content

	A	B	C	I	j	P	S	TOTAL
PR-W I	6%	14%	28%	16%	18%	6%	12%	123
PR-W II	9%	13%	23%	11%	18%	5%	9%	133
PR-W	8%	13%	25%	13%	18%	5%	10%	256
PO-W I	5%	23%	7%	8%	37%	1%	19%	103
PO-W II	10%	13%	1%	19%	25%	12%	20%	84
PO-W III	10%	19%	10%	36%	19%	5%	2%	42
PO-W	8%	19%	5%	17%	30%	6%	17%	229
TOTAL	8%	16%	16%	15%	23%	6%	13%	485

Fig. 6. Percentages of article content by period

Fig. 7 shows the changes in the remaining five categories by period, which will be discussed in detail by period below.

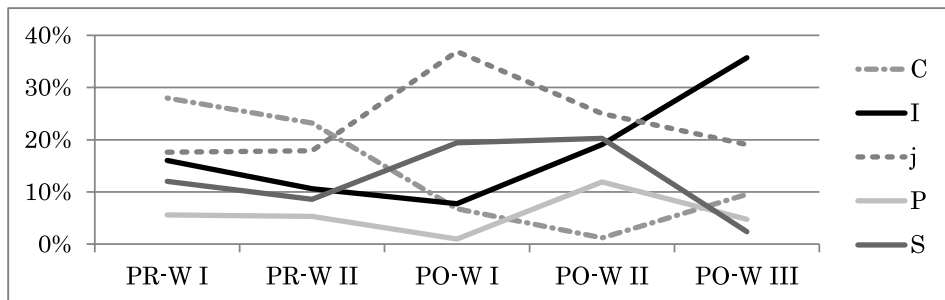


Fig. 7. Change in Content of JTW by Period (Announcements and biographies omitted)

3.1. PR-W I content (1938-1939)

In Prewar I, the bulk of the content concerns Christian issues, with less than 10% on Social and Prohibition/WCTU news. The Christian articles includes the series “How We Read Our Bible” and it is clear that Kubushiro is heavily involved in church issues, including attending the International Missionary Council meeting in Madras, India in 1938.

International news generally focuses on what Kubushiro euphemistically calls the “Manchurian affair” or “China affairs”, that is, the Japanese invasions of Manchuria in 1932 and 1937. The author went to China no less than four times before and during this period. In the March 1938 issue, Kubushiro was “sailing the China Sea, in company of the Baud, who are going to Peiping, sent by all the Christian women of Japan, for the purpose of healing and rescuing the Chinese refugees in North China” (PR-W I(3), p. 3). At that point she had already been to the area at least three times, reporting that “it was early summer in 1921 when the writer went to Manchuria for the first time accompanying Madam Kaji Yajima” (PR-W II(6/7), p. 1), “it was in Early December, 1931, that the writer...went to visit our local unions there, all along the Manchurian railway” (ibid.) and “when the writer called on Mukden last year” [1937] she found 120 Japanese women’s organizations united as the “League of Manchukuo Women’s Organization of Japan” (PR-W I(3), p. 1). According to Ogawa (2007, p. 165) when “the Japanese union sent Hayashi Utako and Kubushiro Ochimi to China to inspect Manchuria and negotiate with Chinese women leaders...[they] greeted guests from Japan with great anger and accused Japan of assaulting the fragile new Republic”.

The “Baud” above refers to the ladies of a “Healing and Rescue Band” to Peiping (Beijing) that started out from Tokyo on Feb. 8, 1938, and included leaders from the YMCA, NCC (National Council of Churches), Keisen Girl’s School, Methodist Women’s Board and the League of Congregational Women’s Societies. The entourage also included “a doctor and several nurses” and planned to stay in China for 6 months (PR-W I(3), p. 3).

In the same issue is an article about the “Moving Rest Cottage” sponsored by the NCC for the Japanese military in China, a traveling place of rest inspired by the WCTU Rest Cottage (Frances Willard House) in Evanston, Illinois. It is described as follows:

[The Rest Cottage was] decorated with paper flags of international colors.

And go and shogi (a sort of Chinese and Japanese chess) were set out. And graphophone was ready with many kinds of familiar songs. There were also five hundred Magazines new or old, and News papers printed in different parts of Japan. There were also pocket Bibles and tracts on Purity of Life.” In the Rest Home, “hundreds of boys came in and out, and tasted rest and comfort, and they remembered their home folks. (PR-W I(3), p. 3)

The person in charge of the Rest Cottage was Yasuzo Shimizu, founder and head of what is presently Chen Jing Lun High School in Beijing in 1921, and of J. F. Oberlin University in Tokyo in 1946. The Rest Cottage in Beijing was housed in a British building, funded by Japanese donations and Chinese volunteers, and reported to have “cultivated such an international good will and friendship in the midst of inland China” (PR-W I(3), p. 4).

In 1938, Kubushiro was again in China, with plans to build a WCTU building in Shinkyo (新京). The September 1939 issue discusses the Seikatsu Gakko in Peiking, a training school for Chinese girls organized by Mrs. Motoko Hani, founder of Jiyu Gakuen in Tokyo which still exists today.

The Healing and Rescue Band of 1938 was followed up by the “Company of ten” who left Kobe on May 20, 1939 “to attend the Dedication of the Airin Kan in Peiking” (PR-W II(6/7), p. 1). The Airin Kan was also set up by Yasuzo Shimizu as a medical station for poor Chinese, and the work was “done by both the Chinese and the Japanese hands... and now the current expences are met by both the committees at home and at Peiking on the rate of fifty-fifty.” (ibid.) Ogawa (2007, p. 172), however, writes of the Airinkan that “at its opening ceremony in 1939, not only the women who were involved in the project, but also high-ranking officers of the Japanese military, representatives of the Japanese embassy, and Chinese officials of a puppet Japan-oriented provisional government attended and/or delivered congratulatory addresses. The Airinkan thus began with the deep involvement of Japanese imperialism”. She adds that the Airinkan and other “new WCTU enterprises aimed to alleviate distress, not to eliminate the cause of the suffering— i.e., Japan’s imperialist thrust into Manchuria and China.” (ibid.)

3.2. PR-W II content (1940-1941)

The Prewar II period (1940-1941) shows little change in social and

prohibition/WCTU reporting, but the percentage of international issues falls dramatically, from 20% to 7%, whereas the Japan reportage rises only slightly from 22% to 25%. The slack is taken up by the biographies, which reach their high point during this period. Several reasons can be cited for this change: first, the Manchuria work had been completed and the “Rescue Band” was back in Japan. Secondly, preoccupation with the increasingly militarizing Japanese government may have put Kubushiro in a quandary as to how to best promote Japan in a positive light. Finally, military government control had most likely progressed to the point that the content was undergoing severe censorship.

Indeed, many of the Japan articles during this period show a limitation of freedom with respect to religion and the press, and a concern with promoting the image of a progressive Asian Japan “enlightening” the Chinese and Korean colonies. The final Sept. 1940 issue (PR-W III-8) carries two articles back to back emphasizing growing ultra-nationalism and seclusion. The first discusses the “reconstruction” of the Salvation Army “to keep the national integrity” by declining foreign dictatorship, financial help and workers, and by changing the name. The second reports on the “Church Union” with the “task of uniting all the denominations, social works, and educational organs under the name of Japan Christian body” and to “express the determination of declining the financial help from abroad”. In the same issue are articles carrying the slogans “Day of Service to the Orient” and “One Mind for One Hundred Million” which assert that “these two peoples are carried up in one bundle in this short phrase, and they are becoming one consciously or unconsciously.” Assumedly, the “two peoples” referred to Chinese and Japanese, with Koreans already included in the latter. This final prewar issue also hints at government control as the reason of the magazine’s discontinuation: “Out of 160 Women’s periodicals two third must be combined or discontinued, and this little paper decided to stop its regular publishing for a while until the better time dawns.” (PR-W 4(7), p. 1)

3.3. PO-W I content (1947-1950)

During the postwar reconstruction era, the energies of the country were turned inward, and the renewed *JTW* reflects this tendency. Japan-related articles peak at 35% in this period, accounting for as much as all of the other content types combined (besides biographies and announcements). WCTU news is at an all-time low, with only 1%, Christianity is played down with only 6% and social issues focus on suffrage,

children's welfare and education, and on Kubushiro's pet project, anti-prostitution. The first few issues seem to have been released only within Japan, as PO-W 2, p. 1 announces that "we must wait until the world intercourse is legally reestablished ... by the fifteenth of August 1947...that we can have the full intercourse with the world."

There is new emphasis on the issue of suffrage, granted to women "by the decree of General MacArthur" in 1946. The first postwar issue (PO-W 1, p.1) discusses the history of the Suffrage movement in Japan and in the WCTU, where it flourished in the 1920s, but "after the beginning of the Manchurian affairs in 1931, all movements of this kind were suppressed and for nearly fifteen years the WCTU held the National Christian Women Suffrage Association and kept it alive, though not very active." The women of Japan now had both the right to vote and to run for office, and (PO-W 1, p. 3) reported that 15 women were elected to the Lower House and 10 to the Upper House in the 23rd national election.

The empowering effect of the vote on women is featured in the story (PO-W 9, p. 2) of the election of "Mrs. K. Yuasa, the president of the Kyoto Y.W.C.A, who is the wife of the president of Doshisha" to the Kyoto Educational Committee Board. Kubushiro writes proudly that "the women are learning to work". April 10th, the anniversary of the first women's vote was called "Day of Women's Rights" and was celebrated in 1949 in Hibiya Central Hall (PO-W 10/11 p. 2-3). The women who gathered there supported work and housing for the "1,800,000 widows and their children" across the country "for the protection of our future citizens". The article mentioned that there were over 3000 homeless young mothers in Tokyo alone.

Kubushiro herself would also run unsuccessfully for the Diet office several times. In PO-W 17 p. 2, Kubushiro reports on her fourth try, after having "started with 34,000 votes and in the second she got 61,000, and in the present campaign she got 96,500" which was still short of success. She asserts that she was "running for the election correctly, never spending any money beyond the fixed amount and she advocates no unworkable propaganda. She believes in 'clean election', and she sticks to this principle and gains an increasing number of supporter every time, as well as funds from every corner of the land."

The issue of peace is also dominant. PO-W 3, p. 1 carries a report on a "national festival of International Peace" held in Tokyo featuring a speech entitled "Five Minutes on World Peace" by Toyohiko Kagawa, a central Christian figure of the time. This same article reassesses former Japanese nationalism and expresses anxiety for

the future of the country:

Four hundred million years ago, when the northern corner of China was under the sea, there was a monstrous creature which was a devil-fish. The devil-fish was all armed with hard shells. But this armor was harmful for the growth of the fish, so the devil-fish disarmed himself, and became a soft armorless one. The disarmed devil-fish has lived all these 400,000,000 years. Japan has disarmed in sea and land, but why shouldn't Japan live? (PO-W 3, p. 1)

The atmosphere in 1948 is hopeful, as the “new constitution granted to the Japanese women the freedom and right quite undreamed of” and “opened the atmosphere for women to breathe.” (PO-W 5, p. 1). Moreover, “the bombs, the fires destroyed 120 main cities, and yet, thank God, the land is surviving. Green, the gorgeous green, is returning to the fields and cities” (PO-W 6, p. 1). PO-W 8, p. 1 holds the optimistic news that “food rations are to be increased for the third time”, “buses and trains are getting better” and “most of all people are recovering their courtesy and smile a little.”

Attitudes towards the US occupation can be read in this story in PO-W 7, p. 1:

...there is frequent trouble with the electric current, and one day the current failed in this cinema hall and the manager announced that the audience would have to wait about half an hour before the exhibition could proceed. Murmurs of discontent were heard here and there...then somebody in the place began to sing “The Star Spangled Banner,” in which the whole company present joined. When this was finished another one started “Kimigayo.” In a moment everyone was on his feet joining in the anthem. The otherwise tiresome half-hour was quite forgotten—everyone had joined in the two national songs.

Although the majority of news in PO-W I is about Japan, international issues of communism and the cold war began to appear, “the whole of Manchuria, and Northern Korea is under the communist rule. China, notwithstanding unceasing help from U.S.A. has nearly fallen under the red flag...what is the world going to do?” (PO-W 12-13 p. 1)

The beginning of the United Nations is also covered, and Kubushiro writes, “We Japanese women stand for absolute peace. We hope and desire that the United Nations will be made into a World State and the World police be made responsible for the protection of the world peace. Japan, when returned to international place, will not hesitate to cooperate in keeping peace in the world.” (PO-W 18 p. 2)

By 1950, Japan’s recovery progressed to the point where Kubushiro could write “God be praised for leading this ruined country out of destruction, both materially and spiritually. We are thankful for the gracious hand of help bestowed by the government and people of America” (PO-W 19, p. 1). She continues to show concern for China and Korea, embroiled in their own bitter wars. PO-W 19, p. 3 reports that the Women’s Department of the Church of Christ in Japan collected a Relief fund for Chinese famine sufferers of over ¥90,000. In PO-W 20, p. 3, a collection of ¥14,000 is reported to be earmarked for restoration of destroyed churches in Korea.

3.4. PO-W II content (1951-1956)

The PO-W II period continues the trend of internationalization seen at the end of PO-W I. Although Japan-based reportage still ranks highest with 24%, international and social issues are close behind at 20% each. Kubushiro writes that “Our limited Nationalism will give way to Internationalism, and so our patriotism must be world-wide!” (PO-W 23, p. 3). This period marks the end of the US occupation, and begins with an article bidding farewell to MacArthur (PO-W 21, p.2). The key words are peace and disarmament, and the connection between the ending of the Occupation, recent events in East Asia and national desire for peace merge in this poignant excerpt:

The world situation is daily growing worse. Every day fresh blood is shed in the Korean field, and we Japanese, 83,000,000 of us, sit around and look on...we can see our path clearly. We still have 1,900,000 widows and fatherless children abound. To us war is a curse. When we say “Peace” and “No rearmament” we mean it. (PO-W 21 p. 2).

Similarly, PO-W 22, p. 4 reports on “Kyoto and its unique peace program” where “all the representatives of the different religions are heartily united in the task. Here we can get a glimpse of the future World Peace.” PO-W 23 p. 3 asserts that

We can work, too, under the United Nations, for Peace. We Japanese women are strongly opposed to rearmament because (1) it goes against our honoured Constitution, (2) it arouses suspicion in other countries, and (3) it will lead to a revival of militarism. Let us rather be re-born as a member of the international Patriotic Family of nations. In feeding and clothing the people, and in keeping universal peace we are determined to do our part as members of the United Nations.

PO-W 26, p. 2 carries an “Open Letter to Mr. Dulles” (John Foster Dulles, who supervised the 1951 Treaty of San Francisco) on the subject of rearmament:

One point ... remains to which we should like to call your attention, and that is our declaration to do without armament, a declaration which we are anxious to uphold to the best of our ability. At the same time we desire to take our part in providing our quota in the World’s Police Force, but beyond this, we should like to adhere strictly to the spirit of our new Constitution.

The end of the Occupation allows Kubushiro new freedom to resurrect her pet goal of “purity”, and she begins by confronting the problem of GI babies born between US occupation soldiers and Japanese women. PO-W 26 carries several pictures of the babies (Fig. 8) and a letter to Mrs. Roosevelt, first lady at the time, dated May 5th 1952 (coincidentally or possibly intentionally, Children’s Day in Japan). The letter introduces the GI babies as “the most pressing [problem] to our mind.” (PO-W 28, p.1)



Our G.I. babies. People say 200,000. We have 4000 in the institutions. The picture is Mrs Sawada, the Head of E. Sandars Home of Oiso Japan.

Fig.8. Picture of GI babies (PO-W 26, p.2)

In PO-W 28, p. 2, the author admits that “we Japanese mothers have done nothing for the soldier boys, but we have come to understand that they are all decent citizens of America and they mean to spend a clean life even during their sojourn in a foreign land.” However, in PO-W 30, p. 2-3, she goes on to tell of “sad stories” where girls “met some G.I.’s outrageous conduct” and “step out of their homes and wander in the streets” where they “spoil their soul and body and many exhaust their young lives in a few years.” She admonishes that “Japanese people were stricken by defeat, and it was a forbidden act to say anything against the occupation forces” and concludes that “we ought not to repeat this action anymore.” She suggests solutions to the problem, including a nationwide anti-prostitution law (which passed in 1956), and continuation of a law allowing marriages between the soldiers and their ladies. PO-W 33 and 34 discuss the “eighty years history of the fight against public prostitution [which]...is only half told when it finishes, for it may take another 80 years to see it is actually gone.” (PO-W 34, p. 1).

3.5. PO-W III content (1957-1960)

The sole 1956 issue is a groundbreaking one which heralds Kubushiro’s second wind, and a dramatic shift in content and tone of the entire paper. In this final period, the percentage of international articles rises to over 35%, over 10% higher than Japanese content (24%) and dwarfing Christian, social, and prohibition content at less than 10% each.

One reason for this second wind was undoubtedly her “Fifty Years Walk and Fifty Days Tour” (PO-W 39-40, p. 2-3) of Europe and the US in June-July 1956 at the age of 74. Coincidentally, or perhaps planned with poetic justice, this journey echoes her trip 50 years earlier in 1906 with her great aunt and mentor Yajima Kajiko (age 75) to Boston and Washington DC, when the two met with President Roosevelt, and when the original idea for the newspaper was born. That beginning of her “walk” towards Christian social work clearly made a great impression on Kubushiro. Moreover, a similar purpose of both the 1906 and 1956 trips was to raise funds for the anniversary of the Japan WCTU, which Kubushiro did quite successfully by selling subscriptions to *JTW*, bringing in over 1500 dollars (PO-W 39-40, p. 2-3). With 1500 new subscriptions, then, she was obliged to deliver.

Another reason was Kubushiro’s realization that English as an International Language (EIL) could be a vehicle for dialogue within Asia as well as with the West. In the PO-W III period, international content soars to 35%, reflecting Kubushiro’s

“new inspiration” to make the magazine a message of peace and understanding throughout the world. In PO-W 39-40, p. 1, Kubushiro writes “in the Orient we have no means of communication, except English, which is the only common language in the Orient at present.” A similar article in 1958 (PO-W 36 p. 2) reiterates the renewed position of the paper as an international journal of peace.

...so far we tried to speak to the friends of Europe and America through this English edition but now we have 29 more countries in the Orient. To these countries we can make contacts only through English at least for some years to come. ...

This little paper, therefore though very tiny, is the only channel through which we can trust our Message of goodwill and friendship. So to me the value of the paper has doubled and redoubled.

Another important development at this stage was a change in attitude towards China. If America can be considered Kubushiro's second home, then China was undoubtedly her third. Her change in attitude comes about as a result of her visit to the country in 1957 “as one of the thirty who were invited from China's Women's organization. She went there because she had news that China had got rid of licenced-vice which was outlawed in May 1956 in Japan, and she and her companions all desired to know how things were conducted in China” (PO-W 42, p. 1). The next page carries a detailed account of what she saw there, and how impressed she was by it:

In the 2nd People's Assembly, which was held in November 1949, the resolution was passed that they do away with licenced vice. They say there were 237 brothels with 1300 inmates. When the law was proclaimed, they first built the Women's Labour Institute, where they set machines to manufacture towels, stockings and gloves. In the same building they built homes for the girls to stay in, also a nursery where babies and children could be accommodated. (PO-W 42 p. 2)

Thus, history found China as a *senpai* (leader) for Kubushiro's pet issue of anti-prostitution, and she found herself learning from this country about how to deal with the problem in her own.

The following issue (PO-W 43 p. 4) includes another article on “young China”, focusing on the relationship between new China and its historical Classics and Christianity. It ends with the following reassessment of the renewed country:

We have travelled forty days and nights with wide open eyes and ears, and of course with open hearts and came home with the conclusion and conviction, “Whatever be the force and reason, it is true that we have a new courageous neighbour whom we can admire and trust as our brothers and sisters in the coming century!”

Also in 1957 (PO-W 43, p. 1) was a story on Japan’s admission to United Nations. Kubushiro writes how she felt “something was missing” when she looked at the row of flags at the United Nations office in New York in July 1956, but that “when Japan was elected one of the six trustees of the United Nations all the people began to feel that Japan also was regaining the ground she had lost twelve years ago.” She adds this poignant anti-nuclear reminder:

Our first message to the United Nations is the prohibition of A and H Bombs, for they not only destroy human lives in a mass, but they also are harmful to the blood and bones of each individual, not only of this generation but of succeeding ones.

An article in 1958 (PO-W 46, p. 3) entitled “How to avoid the Cold War” discusses the non-violent tactics used by Mahatma Gandhi in his fight against the British government: “He never fled nor yielded; he simply worked on and fought on until he succeeded.” The point of this story is echoed in a 1959 article (PO-W 47 p. 2-3) entitled “Let Both Grow Together until the Harvest”, which begins with three quotes attributed to great warriors at the beginning of the Edo Era:

Toyotomi Hideyoshi: “If a nightingale does not sing, Look, I will make him sing.”

Oda Nobunaga: “If a nightingale does not sing, Let him be killed.”

Tokugawa Ieyasu: “If a nightingale does not sing, I will wait until he sings.”

The article explains the wisdom of the final attitude with respect to the world political

situation and the Cold War between communism and capitalism:

Looking over the two great phases of the world, we, the little servants of farm may ask “Lord shall I pick up the weeds?” But the Lord might answer and say, “Wait, Let both grow together until the Harvest.” We shall know then what is good: right, left and middle, too. May not God make good use of each. Is it not wise to wait until the nightingale sings?

The change in focus from “the West” to “the World” can be seen especially in her writings in 1959-60, which branch out to include Egypt (viz. Miss Bahia Karam, a visitor to Japan and organizer of an Oriental Conference to be held in Egypt) and Soviet Russia, visited by a younger group of WCTU women. An article entitled “Teenagers of the Orient” refers to “reborn” Japan, India, China, and Egypt respectively:

Now 15, 12, 10, 8 all of us are lowteens or under. Ages may be left behind but now, here we are the youngest child of the age. The teenagers of the Orient. We shall grow in faith, hope, and in charity. (PO-W No.49-50, p. 2)

The visit to Soviet Russia reported in “Sisters beyond the Curtains” (PO-W 51, p. 1) reiterates the need for international understanding:

“I say, and am convinced that there is no curtain neither bamboo nor iron. Women all suffered, mothers specially, and more they suffered the more they desire peace. The World Peace, is the very prayer for those women day and night Peace is the World’s hope and human united prayer. We the women of east and west shall join in this great world wide united prayer.”

“Peace on earth and
Good will toward men”

4. Conclusion

In the final era of Kubushiro’s writings, we see patient wisdom that comes with

age and experience. Kubushiro, who had learned the horrors of war and good and bad points of both communism and capitalism, tried in the end to reach out to all nations with her message of faith and understanding.

The journey of the focus of *Japan Through Women* starts from a prewar nationalistic missive trying to portray Japanese Christian social work in a positive light in the wake of imperialistic rhetoric, through an early-postwar period of painful introspection and US-dominated hope for the future. It crystallized in a final synthesis of Kubushiro's life knowledge and message of peace, which echoed that of her aunt and mentor Yajima Kajiko, who crossed the US at age 89 to bring a petition for peace signed by 10,000 Japanese women to President Harding at the 1921 Washington Arms Limitation convention.

The initial focus on Japanese Christian work in PR-W I shifts to Japanese propaganda in PR-W II, with greater focus on social work within the country in PO-W I and II, but turning back to international issues with a special focus on world peace in PO-W III. WCTU/prohibition news formed only a small part of the paper over its life; generally less than 10%, even though Kubushiro was heavily involved with publishing for that organization in Japanese. More dramatically, the initial focus on Christianity and the doings of the Christian Church in Japan fell from 20% in PR-W I to only 1% in PO-W II, rising again to 10% in PO-W III.

Reading between the lines, PO-W II can be considered the most reflective of a personal soul-search. Following the trauma of the early post-war years, the WCTU "confessed" that Kubushiro's writings, especially those in Japanese, had contributed to the war responsibility (Hayashi 2001, p. 4). The realization by the GHQ of some of Kubushiro's most cherished dreams (anti-prostitution laws, women's suffrage, among others) may have led her to be thankful to the US, but the immorality manifested in the faces of unwanted GI babies may have led her to again question the Christian ideals of the West. Moreover, what she witnessed in China seems to have made her realize that the new communist government there had been more effective in implementing social change than the prewar Japanese government, and possibly more effective than the postwar US occupation government as well. During the lull in publication of this period, Kubushiro tried out her new political freedoms, but found it difficult to actually get into office. However, she came out of this incubation period to face PO-W III with renewed vigor and balance.

In 1958, Kubushiro looks back on her work, asking "Did it pay? Time, toil, money and all Did it pay?" (PO-W 46, p. 1). She answers this question with both

“yes and no”, which may be interpreted to mean that her initial goal of representing Japan to the West had been a failure, but the paper was a success as a chronicle of Kubushiro’s own life transformation. Kubushiro goes on, writing “whatever the answer is, I will keep on until I can run, walk, climb to make it a token of my existence to the friends of East and West, yes the world over as long as I live and continue to do so.” In a May 1941 editorial (PR-W 4(4), p.1), Kubushiro has this answer to the same question: “it was worth while to have tried. God bless this little messenger Japan Through Women.”

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