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# 'The history of the Ouinkai' – the alumni association of the Tokyo higher normal school for women: a milestone in Japan's education for women

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## ABSTRACT

The book, *The History of the Ouinkai*, was published in 1940 as a commemorative project for the 60th anniversary of the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women (THNSW). The purpose of this article is to illustrate the type of data collected in the surveys and their findings, to explore some of the activities of the association, and to discuss how the Ouinkai alumni association, in collaboration with THNSW, worked with female teachers nationwide. The paper traces some of the multi-norms and multi-roles for female teachers that THNSW promoted and their relation to norms thought to characterise 'ideal' Japanese women. The publication of *The History of the Ouinkai* was a milestone in Japanese women's education because it demonstrated the Ouinkai's successes in respect of Japanese educational policy for women as well as the leadership that the Ouinkai provided to female graduate teachers, whom it organised with skill.

## ARTICLE HISTORY

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## Introduction

**AQ4** Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women (THNSW), a government-run teacher training college, held its 60th anniversary ceremony on 29 October 1934, with the Empress of Japan in attendance. She gave a speech that moved the THNSW students, teachers, and particularly the members of the Ouinkai,<sup>1</sup> the alumni<sup>2</sup> association of THNSW. To commemorate her thoughtful speech, the Ouinkai decided to publish a memorial book called *The History of the Ouinkai (Ouinkai shi)*.<sup>3</sup> The association asked 4000 graduates

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<sup>1</sup>'Ouin' refers to the shade of cherry trees, popular in Japanese school gardens, which is a symbol of education; 'kai' means an association or group. The word 'Ouinkai' is not Roman characterised following the Hepburn system, because Ouinkai itself uses this notation.

<sup>2</sup>This article draws on Maria Gallo's distinction between the terms 'alumni' and 'graduates'. Gallo's data suggests that the word 'graduates' pertains to the work of the university as an enabler for the graduate to prepare for employment, and to acquire key skills. In Gallo's data alumni feature in relation to the success of alumni/alumnae and their roles as key enablers in contributing to the university's mission and vision through giving both time and philanthropic donations. See Maria L.Gallo, 'How are Graduates and Alumni Featured in University Strategic Plans? Lessons from Ireland', *Perspectives: Policy and Practice in Higher Education* 22, no. 3 (2018): 92–7. For research on the activities of women's educational associations see: Judith Harford, 'Women's Education Associations: The Role of the Central Association of Irish Schoolmistresses and the Woman's Education Association, Boston in Advancing the Cause for Women's Admission to Trinity College Dublin and Harvard University', *Paedagogica Historica*, 54, no. 5 (2018): 626–42.

<sup>3</sup>The Ouinkai ed., *Ouinkai shi (The History of the Ouinkai)* (Tokyo: Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women, 1940).

all over the country and abroad to cooperate in the project. The book was completed in 1940 and was presented to the Empress, whose presence was regarded as an honour for the Ouinkai. The memorial book consists of 1110 pages and includes articles and transcripts of speeches by successive principals, articles by THNSW professors and famous educators, accounts of remarkable achievements by the graduates, and noteworthy reports of responses from surveys of graduates belonging to the association. Showing the bonds between the Ouinkai members and their alma mater and tracing the lives of THNSW's female secondary-school teachers in the 60 years after the school's establishment, it is regarded as a milestone in the history of THNSW.

The commemorative book was edited and published by Ouinkai. The association functioned much like a large corporation, and its activities widely influenced not only THNSW graduates but also female teachers across Japan as the Ouinkai collaborated with THNSW and its activities. Memorial books of alumni associations like the Ouinkai are found in Japan and in other countries. For example, in 1941, a committee of the alumni of the State Teachers College at Towson edited *Seventy-Five Years of Teacher Education*.<sup>4</sup> This contained the college's educational programmes and information on student life and its organisation, reminiscences from the faculty and alumni, and information regarding their activities. Commemorative books of this type provide rich sources for the historian of education because they include important information not only concerning the practical learning or the school lives of the former students but also the ideals, hopes, ethos, morals, values or norms of the students or alumni in those days.

Alumni reminiscences also form a rich source of information for histories of higher education being written today. In my accounts of women's higher education in Japan, I have used reminiscences from alumni of women's universities and colleges in Japan, along with the material that alumni associations accumulated concerning graduates and which educational institutions have conserved in their archives.<sup>5</sup> For the UK, Andrea Jacobs and Camilla Leach used interviews with alumni to illustrate the important insights into institutional life that oral history interviews with alumni can offer.<sup>6</sup> Both boys' and girls' schools, too, use alumni as a source of information on their past and present activities. Soon-Hee Whang used the alumni association of an elite Japanese high school for boys in a case study that explored assimilation to the school culture and how the pupils accumulated social capital.<sup>7</sup> Yōko Tsuchida discusses the image that was expected for girls who attended as the elite of the Wakayama public girls' high school in Wakayama prefecture.<sup>8</sup>

This article draws on data and findings from the surveys the Ouinkai organised in order to look at the lives of THNSW graduates. It focuses on graduates who worked as teachers in girls' high schools or in girls' normal schools (teacher training institutions).

<sup>4</sup>Committee of the Alumni of the State Teachers College at Towson, *Seventy-Five Years of Teacher Education* (Maryland: Alumni Association, 1941).

<sup>5</sup>Sasaki Keiko, *Joshi kōtō kyōiku no ryōteki kakudai katei:seifu seito gakkō no dainamikusu (The Process of Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Pre-war Japan: A Dynamic Interaction among Institution, Students and Government)* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2002), 87–94.

<sup>6</sup>Andrea Jacobs and Camilla Leach, 'Teacher Training and the Public Good: The University of Winchester Alumni Project', *History of Education* 40, no. 2 (2011): 213–28; Andrea Jacobs, Camilla Leach and Stephanie Spencer, 'Learning Lives and Alumni Voices', *Oxford Review of Education* 36, no. 2 (2010): 219–32.

<sup>7</sup>Soon-Hee Whang, *Nihon no elito kōkō(Japanese Elite High School)* (Kyoto: Sekaishisōsha, 1998).

<sup>8</sup>Tsuchida Yōko, *Kōritsu kōtō jogakkō ni miru jender chitsujo to kaisō kōzō (The Gender Discipline and Social Stratification in Public Girls' High Schools)* (Tokyo: Minerva, 2014).



**AQ7** **Figure 1.** Gengetsu Yazawa, 'The Empress at a School for Girls'. Source: Meiji Jingū Outer Precinct Memorial Picture Gallery.<sup>9</sup> Reproduced by permission of the gallery.

It outlines the activities the Ouinkai organised for THNSW graduates, which it uses to trace how the Ouinkai members themselves contributed to the milestones in their learning at THNSW. In focusing on profiles of ordinary THNSW graduates, the article examines the norms and values that were shared among the female students, the male and female teachers, and the THNSW graduates. The article begins by tracing the history of THNSW from its establishment in 1875, seven years after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. That year, 1875, is also when the commemorative book, *The History of the Ouinkai*, begins its descriptions of THNSW graduates. The commemorative book includes a large amount of information on the graduates' lives as female teachers and also illustrates how the Ouinkai collaborated with THNSW. The article ends by discussing the role and the position of THNSW in the development of Japanese women's education before the Second World War.

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<sup>9</sup>The mural painting depicting the Empress's visit was offered by the Ouinkai. When the gallery contacted the THNSW about the mural painting in 1925, the Ouinkai raised contributions from graduates. It approached Gengetsu Yazawa, a professor at THNSW for the painting, which took 10 years, and was completed in May 1934, just six months before THNSW's 60th anniversary ceremony. See: Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women, *Tokyo joshi kōtō shihan gakkō rokujūnenshi (Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women 60 Years Chronicle)* (Tokyo: THNSW, 1934), 382.

## The history of THNSW and the girl students: from normal school for girls to Tokyo higher normal school for women<sup>10</sup>

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 changed Japanese lives and values,<sup>11</sup> although it did not do so overnight. The first National Plan for Education took several years to become reality and female education beyond elementary level was slow to develop because it was not a government priority at first. But, soon after the Restoration, the Government permitted girls' schools run by missionaries, such as Yokohama's Ferris Girls' School (founded in 1870)<sup>12</sup> and Tsukiji's A-6 Girls' School (founded in 1870),<sup>13</sup> which were established in places like Yokohama, Kanagawa or Tsukiji, Tokyo, and were located within areas of foreign settlement. The Japanese government also established Tokyo Girls' School in 1872 to offer a liberal western-style education, although this school was closed in February 1877,<sup>14</sup> and some of the students were moved to Tokyo Normal School for Girls, which was established in 1875. It has often been said that the commemoration day for women's higher education in Japan is 29 November 1875. This is the date when Tokyo Normal School for Girls was established, and the Empress visited on the occasion of the opening ceremony (Figure 1). The Minister of Education, Fujimaro Tanaka, and the first principal, Masanao Nakamura, led the Empress into the school, where she celebrated and encouraged the girl students. She also shared a poem she had written entitled 'Migakazuba', which means 'As you would polish the gemstone or mirror, so, apply yourself to learning'. This was used as the text for the THNSW school song and was also sung at the present Ochanomizu University in Tokyo. The Empress's visit was seen as a great honour for the school. The young Empress, then in her twenties, was said to be very glad to see a modern girls' school for the first time in her life.<sup>15</sup> Chiyo Aoyama, one of the first students at the school, delivered a speech in

<sup>10</sup> In 1885, Tokyo Normal School for Girls, established in 1875, was joined to the Tokyo Normal School and became the Girls' Department of Tokyo Normal School. In 1886, Tokyo Normal School was upgraded to a Higher Normal School. So, the Girls' Department of Tokyo Normal School became the Women's Department of the Higher Normal School. In 1890, the Women's Department became independent of the Higher Normal School and became the Higher Normal School for Women. In 1908, as the second higher normal school for women was established in Nara, the Higher Normal School for Women was renamed as the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women. The title of the first part of this article uses both the first name of the school, the Tokyo Normal School for Girls, and its last name, the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women. After the Educational Reform post-Second World War, Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women was upgraded to become the (present) Ochanomizu University. In this article, THNSW is used as shorthand that includes the Higher Normal School for Women and the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women.

<sup>11</sup> For the Meiji Restoration and the institutionalisation of Japanese education, see: Herbert Passin, *Society and Education in Japan* (New York: Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, Columbia University/East Asian Institute, Columbia University Press, 1965), 205–26; Masashi Tsujimoto and Yoko Yamasaki eds., *The History of Education In Japan (1600–2000)* (London: Routledge, 2017), 34–60; and Benjamin Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education: Constructing the National School System, 1872–1890* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Yamamoto Hideteru, *Ferisu Waei jogakkō rokujūnenshi (Ferris Waei Girls' School 60 Years Chronicle)* (Yokohama: Ferris Waei Girls' School and Ferris Waei Girls' School Alumni, 1931), and the chronological record at the end of the book.

<sup>13</sup> This school was named 'A-6' as the school was built at the A-6 area in Tsukiji settlement, Tokyo. It became the Joshigakuin Junior and Senior High School when it amalgamated with another girls' school afterwards. Ōhama Tetsuya and Joshigakuin, *Joshigakuin no rekishi (The History of Joshigakuin Junior and Senior High School)* (Tokyo: Joshigakuin, 1985), 23–4, 756–64.

<sup>14</sup> Kyōikushi Hensankai ed., *Meiji ikō kyōiku seido hattatsushi (The History of the Development of the Education from the Meiji Era)*, vol.1 (Tokyo: Ryūginsha, 1938), 269. The reason for the closure of the Tokyo Girls' School was not mentioned in the book. It was said to have been the result of financial difficulties from the Southwestern Rebellion of 1877. However, before that time, many of the girl students had been moved to the Girls' Normal School because of its higher level of education. So, there might be no strong reason for the existence of Tokyo Girls' School.

<sup>15</sup> Yamakawa Kikue, *Onna nidai no ki (The Document of the Two Female Generations in Our Family)* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), 37.

front of the Empress.<sup>16</sup> During her reign, the Empress visited the school 14 times, which was an uncommon occurrence.

The Meiji Restoration (1868)<sup>17</sup> had far-reaching consequences for women's lives. Girls could not easily leave their home towns before the Restoration, but now they travelled to study in Tokyo from other provinces. A hundred girls were permitted to enter Tokyo Normal School for Girls.<sup>18</sup> Most were daughters of *samurai*,<sup>19</sup> the hereditary warrior class who administered public life and cultivated the art of war and peace<sup>20</sup> but who lost their status and economic bases with the Meiji Restoration. However, these girls possessed some degree of literacy in traditional Japanese and Chinese literature. They had also received the type of moral education espoused by the *samurai* and had high aspirations. Not only were the tuition fees waived at the Tokyo Normal School for Girls, but the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter were provided and the textbooks were lent by the government.<sup>21</sup> School life for these girls was an encounter with the western world. The schoolhouse was a two-storey western-style building (Figure 2) with a dormitory on the second floor.<sup>22</sup>

The first principal, Masanao Nakamura, was said to be the first man to emphasise the idea of 'good wife and wise mother'<sup>23</sup> in girls' schooling. 'Good wife, wise mother' was the official, nationally sanctioned principle for women's education in pre-war Japan. The concept meant different things to different educators at different historical junctures, as Shizuko Koyama's study and the views of THNSW principals discussed later in this article both illustrate. As Shizuko makes clear, for some educators the emphasis in 'good wife, wise mother' was on Confucian views of women, for others the ideal linked with Japanese

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 38. Chiyo Aoyama is the mother of Kikue Yamakawa (née Aoyama) who is the author of the book.

<sup>17</sup>The Meiji government declared the Imperial Oath of Five Articles (Gokajō no goseimon). The fifth Article was 'Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world' and was aimed at a modern state based on the concept of Civilisation and Enlightenment: Research and Statistics Division, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Government of Japan, *Japan's Modern Educational System: A History of the First Hundred Years* (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, Science and Culture), 1980, 14–15. See also: Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*; Byron Marshall, *Learning to be Modern: Japanese Political Discourse on Education* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).

<sup>18</sup>Ochanomizu University, *Ochanomizu Josidaigaku hyakunen shi (Ochanomizu University 100 Years Chronicle)* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu University, 1984), 11–12.

<sup>19</sup>Yamakawa Kikue, *Buke no josei (The Women of Samurai)* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983). The percentage of the students of samurai origin was 40–50% in the 1900s. However, in those days the percentage of samurai in the whole population of Japan was about 5%. Somoda Hidehiro, Hamana Atsushi and Hirota Teruyuki, *Shizoku no rekishi shakaigakuteki kenkyū (Studies on the Historical Sociology of Samurai)* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 1995), 54.

<sup>20</sup>Janice P. Nimura, *Daughters of the Samurai: A Journey From East to West and Back* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015), 21.

<sup>21</sup>Ochanomizu University, *Ochanomizu University 100 Years Chronicle* (1980), 42–4; Yamakawa, *The Document of the Two Female Generations in Our Family*, 47. Regardless of the free tuition in the early days of the school, the graduates were under no obligation to work as teachers. In 1886, according to the 'Imperial Ordinance Relating to Normal Schools', the graduates of the normal schools were obliged to work as teachers for 10 years, including five years in designated schools. However, in 1889 this obligation for women was shorted to five years, including two years in designated schools.

<sup>22</sup>Ochanomizu University, *Ochanomizu University 100 Years Chronicle* (1983), 39–43. The Quinkai, ed., *The History of the Quinkai*, 20.

<sup>23</sup>In her book concerning 'Good Wife, Wise Mother (*Ryōsai kenbo*)', *Ryōsai Kenbo: Ideal of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' in Modern Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), Koyama Shizuko treats this concept as a case of the modernisation and enlightenment of Japanese women. I follow her idea and apply it to the education of the higher normal school. However, in respect of the conservative and feudal view of 'good wife, wise mother', it is also important to take into account the argument of Fukaya that before the Second World War the Confucian view of womanhood that included a woman's obedience to her father or her husband was the mainstream view in women's education. Fukaya Masashi, *Ryōsai kenbo shugi no kyōiku (The Education of Good Wife, Wise Mother)* (Tokyo: Reimei shobo, 1966).



**Figure 2.** The girl students and teachers of Tokyo Normal School for Girls in 1878, in front of their western-style schoolhouse and dormitory. Source: Ochanomizu University Archives. Reproduced by permission of Ochanomizu University.

notions of ‘civilisation and enlightenment’, while at other times ‘good wife, wise mother’ took on a nationalist hue, as at the time of the Sino-Japanese war (1894–1895).<sup>24</sup> 125

Nakamura did not intend to regulate Japanese women but rather to secure their position in the family. Prior to the Meiji Restoration, Nakamura had studied abroad in England and returned to Japan in 1869.<sup>25</sup> His translation of *Self Help* by Samuel Smiles into Japanese as *Saigoku risshi hen*<sup>26</sup> became a bestseller during the Meiji era because the book strongly suggested to the Japanese that every man could achieve a higher position by his own efforts, irrespective of his social class or rank.<sup>27</sup> Also, Nakamura thought that children in England gained a great deal of knowledge from their highly cultured mothers, which informed his view of the need to educate girls and women. His contemporaries described him as a liberalist, a feminist,<sup>28</sup> a democrat and a Christian.<sup>29</sup> The western style of education he introduced for girls covered many western subjects, including music or 130 135

<sup>24</sup>Koyama, *Ryōsai Kenbo*, 1, 36.

<sup>25</sup>Before the Meiji Restoration, in spite of the policy of Japanese seclusion from other countries, 152 men went to the USA or Europe for study or inspection purposes. See: Ishizuki Minoru, *Kindai nihon no kaigai ryūgaku shi (The History of Studying Abroad in Japanese Modernization)* (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1992), appendices.

<sup>26</sup>Nakamura Masanao, *Saigoku risshihen* (Shizuoka: Suruga han, 1871), a translation of Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help, with Illustrations of Character, Conduct, and Perseverance* (London: J. Murray, 1859).

<sup>27</sup>See: Earl H. Kinmoth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought – from Samurai to Salary Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c.1981).

<sup>28</sup>Ochanomizu University, *Ochanomizu University 100 Years Chronicle*, 16–17.

<sup>29</sup>*Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten (A Great Encyclopedia of Christian History of Japan)* (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan Publishers, 1988), 998.



**AQ5** **Figure 3.** The first graduates of Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women under the first principal in 1890. Source: Ochanomizu University Archives. Reproduced by permission of Ochanomizu University.

dancing along with western manners.<sup>30</sup> The most brilliant girls applied to the Tokyo Normal School for Girls from all over Japan, as they did when the school became THNSW in 1890. They were expected to build the foundation for an education for women that would facilitate Japanese modernisation. Until the Second World War, the graduates from both the original Tokyo Normal School for Girls and from THNSW were pioneers and well-educated female teachers in Japanese society. They not only became teachers and founders of schools, but also pioneers in other areas such as medicine.

Among the distinguished 1890 graduates (Figure 3) was Tetsu Yasui.<sup>31</sup> Born in 1870,<sup>32</sup> she was the daughter of a Tokyo samurai. After graduation, she was employed as an assistant teacher at THNSW. In 1896, she travelled abroad as a government student to the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, where she studied domestic science, education, history of education and psychology. Returning to Japan, she took a post as a professor at THNSW. She became a Christian and after the foundation of Tokyo Women's Christian University, she was inaugurated in 1923 as the second president.

As Benjamin Duke outlines, *The Imperial Rescript on Education* promulgated in 1890 balanced three elements: an academic curriculum biased towards western science and

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 42–3.

<sup>31</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 289–90. Aoyama Nao, *Yasui Tetsu den (The Story of Tetsu Yasui)* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1949). See also: Yoko Yamasaki, 'Tetsu Yasui and Transcultural Influences in Educational Reforms for Women', *Bulletin of the Research Institute for Linguistic Cultural Studies* (Kobe: Mukogawa Women's University, 2015): 101–21.

<sup>32</sup>Aoyama, *Yasui Tetsu den*, 403 (a chronological record).





**AQ6** **Figure 4.** Students in the conservative days of Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women under the second principal in 1896. Source: Ochanomizu University Archives. Reproduced by permission of Ochanomizu University.

mathematics, a moral basis for the school located in Confucianism, together with imperial ideology at the core.<sup>33</sup> Between 1891 and 1896, the THNSW principals adopted an archaic educational style, which included Confucianism or Japanese classical thought. The curricula were changed. Time spent on natural science subjects decreased, while the time spent on studying ethics, manners and Japanese and Chinese literature was increased. Nonetheless, students could study foreign languages, such as English, as optional subjects. The uniform was also changed from western dresses to the Japanese *kimono* (Figure 4).<sup>34</sup>

The fourth THNSW principal, Hideo Takamine (1897–1910), reformed the THNSW curriculum further. He had been sent to America to study western teacher training at Oswego Normal School and he also studied natural sciences, including zoology, biology and natural history.<sup>35</sup> He established a Literature Course and a Science Course at THNSW, as well as a Domestic Science Course. Takamine, perhaps, intended to enhance sewing and household management skills by the inclusion of scientific subjects along the lines that were being developed in the USA. He also sent Kikuno Gokan to the Medical School of Tokyo Imperial University to learn nursing, and Sumi Ōe (née Miyakawa) to England to study domestic science and hygiene. Moreover, Takamine

<sup>33</sup>Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*, 366–9. Indeed, the education policy of the Higher Normal School for Women shifted to Confucianism in the days of the second and third principals; however, the fourth principal introduced western natural science in the curriculum and the fifth principal followed a liberal policy. These processes are discussed elsewhere in the article.

<sup>34</sup>Ochanomizu University, *Ochanomizu University 100 Years Chronicle*, 75–7.

<sup>35</sup>Takamine Hideo Sensei Kinen Jigyōkai, *Takamine Hideo sensei den (The Biography of Takamine Hideo)* (Tokyo: Baifūkan, 1921), 32–59.

introduced an academic research section in the higher normal school curriculum and in 170  
 1898 founded an Advanced Post-Graduate Science Course. As a consequence, THNSW  
 produced some women with doctorates in science before the Second World War.

Women like Sumi Ōe, Kono Yasui and Chika Kuroda became educational pioneers  
 in Japan. Sumi Ōe (née Miyakawa), who graduated from THNSW in 1901,<sup>36</sup> took  
 further the Domestic Science Education started by Principal Hideo Takamine. Born in 175  
 Nagasaki in 1875, Ōe was the daughter of a foreign merchant clerk and was baptised as  
 a Christian while she was a student at a girls' missionary high school, Tōyō Eiwa Girls'  
 School. Graduating from THNSW in 1901, she became a teacher at the Okinawa  
 Prefectural Normal School, and later at Kanda Kyōritsu Girls' High School in Tokyo.  
 In 1905 she took a position as a researcher at THNSW. When in England as a 180  
 government student (from 1902 to 1906) she studied domestic science at Battersea  
 Polytechnic and hygiene at Bedford College, both in London. On her return to Japan  
 she was appointed professor at THNSW.<sup>37</sup> However, in 1925, she left THNSW to found  
 Tokyo Kasei Gakuin College, where she became the first president.

Kono Yasui (born in 1880) was one of the first students in THNSW's Department of 185  
 Natural Science. She entered THNSW from Kagawa Prefecture Normal School for  
 Girls. After graduating in 1902,<sup>38</sup> she became a teacher at Gifu Prefectural Girls'  
 High School. She was then appointed assistant professor at THNSW and later in  
 1919 was promoted to full professor. Yasui studied cytology and fossil botany. From  
 1914 to 1916, she went to Harvard University as a government student. Returning to 190  
 Japan, she completed a doctoral degree at Tokyo Imperial University and became the  
 first female doctor in Japan.

Chika Kuroda, the daughter of a *samurai*, was born in Saga Prefecture in 1884. She  
 became a pioneer female scientist in Japan. Having completed the course at Saga  
 Prefecture Normal School for Girls she entered THNSW's Department of Natural 195  
 Science. After graduating in 1906,<sup>39</sup> she taught at Fukui Normal School, and then  
 took a post as assistant professor at THNSW. In 1913, she entered Tohoku Imperial  
 University as one of the first female university students, and was the first woman to  
 complete a Bachelor of Science degree in Japan. In 1920, she studied Chemistry at the  
 University of Oxford as a Japanese-government-funded researcher. Returning to 200  
 Japan, she took a position at the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research (*RIKEN*) and  
 completed a doctorate at Tohoku Imperial University.

The idea that all the women's higher education in Japan should be concentrated at  
 THNSW was clearly established at the Temporary Educational Council held from 1917  
 to 1919.<sup>40</sup> Jigorō Kanō (Principal of Tokyo Higher Normal School) announced the 205  
 principles for maintaining the present condition, stating that 'women's educational  
 policy should be based on today's policy, and we will let it pervade throughout every  
 school'. But he recognised the existence of women's universities and that women were

<sup>36</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 304.

<sup>37</sup>For Japanese women studying abroad in the UK, see Akiko Shibamura, 'The Formation of Educational Thought for Women by Study Abroad in England: A Comparative Study of the Cases of Testu Yasui and Sumi Ōe', *Keiwa University Bulletin* 8 (1999): 243–66; and Yamasaki, 'Tetsu Yasui and Transcultural Influences', 101–21.

<sup>38</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 285–6; The Ouinkai, ed., *Zoku Ouinkai shi (Sequel to the History of the Ouinkai)* (Tokyo: Ouinkai, 1975), 58, 160–71.

<sup>39</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 286–7; The Ouinkai, ed., *Sequel to The History of the Ouinkai*, 160–71.

<sup>40</sup>Keiko, *The Process of Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Pre-war Japan*, 54–5.

capable of studying at universities for men, citing the example of Tohoku Imperial University, which had admitted only a few women at this point. However, he argued that what was most important in women's education was the emphasis on mental education, which he thought should be taught in depth, preferably at THNSW, or at similar schools. Basically, he insisted that it was important to teach women to be 'delightful' in carrying out 'their duties' because it could cause women 'mental pain' to 'expand women's knowledge', which 'would not be practical'. By 'letting them pursue their ideals in vain', he argued, 'society may not be able to match their ideals'.<sup>41</sup>

### The Ouinkai, alma mater, teachers and principals

The association for former students called 'the Ouinkai' was organised by THNSW graduates themselves. The members were former students from Tokyo Normal School for Girls, the Women's Division of the Higher Normal School, Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women, Ochanomizu University (post-Second World War), and other like-minded persons. At first, female graduates were included as members of *Meikeikai*, the alumni association of the Higher Normal School for Men. However, an alumni association just for females became necessary in order to extend the opportunity for membership to women who had resigned their posts as teachers.<sup>42</sup> On 1 January 1904, the new alumni association, *Ouinkai* for women, was formed and collaborated very actively with the organisations from which the women had graduated. Particularly during the pre-Second World War period, the alumni association provided strong support to THNSW and to the teachers in the girls' high schools, the girls' normal schools, and to children's nurses at kindergartens. Ouinkai provided its members with information on education through the seminars or meetings that the association offered. In addition to the meetings and seminars Ouinkai also published bulletins (three per year), followed up postgraduates, promoted friendship, and researched problems facing female teachers, including problems experienced by married female teachers.

One of the key activities of the Ouinkai was the important and large volume edited by the graduates as a commemorative project for the 60th anniversary of the THNSW. The editor of *The History of the Ouinkai*, Yasu Shiba, noted in the preface:

The Ouinkai was a group of women who received the best education for women in our country, and is said to be the oldest alumni association. Since we graduated from our alma maters, we have been eager to become the best teachers in accordance with the order of our schools. As members, we hoped to collaborate with the association and to continue being a model of educational associations in Japan. Our predecessors have been engaged in girls' education in our country since 1879. Over the past 60 years, more than 5000 graduates have taken part in pioneering female education since the early days of the Meiji Restoration. Additionally, we have been responsible as individuals and members of society. It is a pleasure if the history of this association will be useful in some ways to the history of girls' education in Japan. It would be even more pleasing if the present members will reflect on their own history and contribute to forming an even better life in the future.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup>Ministry of Education, *Shiryō rinji kyōikukaigi (Documents — the Temporary Educational Council)*, vol. 5, 52 (Tokyo, 1979) (a report on the stenographic record of the general assembly).

<sup>42</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 35–52.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 3–5.

Ouinkai called all graduates to collaborate in this commemorative project. Distinguished graduates like Tetsu Yasui, Sumi Ōe, Kono Yasui and Chika Kuroda, the Ouinkai and famous male principals, like Masanao Nakamura (1890–1891), Hideo Takamine (1897–1910) and Kenjirō Nakagawa (1910–1917), Gen'ichi Yuhara (1917–1921), and lecturers like Dr Eizo Yahagi were featured in the book. The principals often spoke at meetings or were invited to speak at Ouinkai seminars, or wrote articles in the Ouinkai bulletins that demonstrated their views on women's education.

Masanao Nakamura, the first principal of the THNSW, also served as the first principal of the Tokyo Normal School for Girls and as a professor at Tokyo Imperial University. Although he died one year after the foundation of THNSW, as noted earlier, he was important in organising the school as an institution of higher education for women and for introducing a western-style education.<sup>44</sup> However, the second and third principals who followed Nakamura were conservative and changed the curriculum to centre on Japanese classics, ancient Chinese, and Japanese moral education (*shūshin*).<sup>45</sup>

The long term in office of the fourth principal Hideo Takamine (1897–1910) enabled him to reform THNSW and build up the foundation of the school as a key centre for women's higher education. His view of the need to provide teachers of home management for girls' high schools led him to establish the domestic course at THNSW alongside the literature and science courses. The fifth principal, Kenjirō Nakagawa (1910–1917) was a strong supporter of the Ouinkai, which often asked his advice.<sup>46</sup> He knew both the former students of Tokyo Normal School for Girls and those graduating from THNSW. He argued that the meaning of 'A Woman is the Mother of Education' was central for female teachers because of the relation between the school and the home:

The meaning of 'A Woman is the Mother of Education' is very significant for women, particularly female teachers. Today, the direction of the Ministry of Education is 'to make a good wife and a good mother' during the secondary education term for girls. A school should be an extension of home. In this viewpoint, the role of a mother is necessary in school. Young unmarried female teachers should be instructed by married female teachers. On the other hand, married female teachers may have some problems balancing their work and family life. So, I will say that married female teachers are good for educating girls, but so are young unmarried female teachers because of their efficiency due to their ability to focus solely on education. They should collaborate in teaching our girls.<sup>47</sup>

An article that THNSW's sixth principal, Gen'ichi Yuhara (1917–1921), wrote in a bulletin from 1918 entitled *Women's Education and the Concept of Nationalism* appeared in *The History of the Ouinkai*. This stated:

According to 'The Imperial Rescript on Education' (in 1890), people should enlist loyally and courageously for military service in a national emergency. Military service is not only for men but also for women. The concept of 'a good wife and a wise mother' is certainly important, so women should do their duties in their families as mothers. Of course, women might go to battlefields if necessary. On this problem, I have once questioned the students of the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women and the attached Girls' High

<sup>44</sup>Ochanomizu University, *Ochanomizu University 100 Years Chronicle*, 64–5.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 71–7.

<sup>46</sup>The Ouinkai ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 51, 249–5.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, 162–4, citing *Ouinkai kaihō (Ouinkai Bulletin)* vol. 47, (Tokyo: 1917), 1–3.

School. One student answered, ‘We can do almost all the work that the Western women did in the World War in Europe’. I greatly value ‘The Imperial Rescript on Education’.<sup>48</sup>

Despite Gen’ichi Yuhara being principal during the so-called *Taisho Democracy* period, his bulletin article mentioned militaristic recommendations in ‘The Imperial Rescript on Education’, and illustrated some of the signs that characterised the militarism of the first half of the Showa Era (1926–1945).<sup>49</sup> Moreover, some members of the Ouinkai became involved in the women’s voluntary associations for the military in the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>50</sup>

Dr Eizo Yahagi, a professor at the Tokyo Imperial University, who lectured to the Ouinkai on the position of a woman in the family, also stressed the important role of women in the home. The account of his lecture noted:

We are at a stage where the housewife is central, the position of a housewife has become important. As a manager in her family, she holds her family’s purse strings, keeps the house clean and sanitary, offers her husband comfort and educates her children. I think the family education is important in bringing up a good person. ... In Japan, women have not been given chances in business, nor as office-holders, but they may only be medical doctors or practice in a few specialties. If housewives lost their position in their families, they did not receive any legal protection in Japan. So, I think that they should be covered by social protection and be able to devote themselves to bringing up their children. ... As women take on duties to care and educate their children in their families, we should persuade all men to respect housewives, as their work could not convert into money.<sup>51</sup>

### Addressing the problems of female teachers

The commemorative book *The History of the Ouinkai* continued the type of research that the Ouinkai had begun 30 years before and which continued to be important for graduates and for THNSW students. In 1910, the Ouinkai Council approved the Ouinkai Women’s Education Research Group. Ten graduates were selected from members living in Tokyo and research meetings began.<sup>52</sup> The next section of *The History of the Ouinkai* includes research papers that resulted from the enquiries conducted by members of the association.<sup>53</sup> These papers included prominent contributions from famous graduates such as Tetsu Yasui, who played an important part as director of the Ouinkai in addition to her roles as professor at THNSW and at Tokyo Women’s Christian College. As a key figure investigating female teachers, as well as the problems that schoolmistresses faced, and as a researcher on women’s higher education, Tetsu Yasui made important contributions to *The History of the Ouinkai* book.

In a context in which the number of female teachers increased, topics that emerged in discussions in Japanese educational societies and journals were related to female

<sup>48</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 165–70, citing *The Ouinkai kaihō* (*Ouinkai Bulletin*) 53 (1918): 1–7.

<sup>49</sup>At the beginning of the Showa era (1926–1989), and particularly in the 1930s, Japan became nationalistic and militaristic, culminating in its involvement in the Second World War.

<sup>50</sup>In the profiles in *The History of the Ouinkai*, we find that some graduates were branch managers in the Women’s Association for National Defence (*dai nihon kokubō fujinkai*), founded in 1932. *The History of the Ouinkai*, 893, 896, 898, 903, etc.

<sup>51</sup>The Ouinkai, ed. *The History of the Ouinkai*, 136–48, citing *The Ouinkai kaihō* (*Ouinkai Bulletin*) 36 (1913): 1–17.

<sup>52</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 446–50.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, 439–55.

teachers' frequent absence due to caring for their babies, children or husbands. There was also discussion regarding female teachers' inferiority in comparison with male teachers when it came to physical and mental strength, and regarding their unsuitability for the upper grades of higher elementary schools. These discussions concluded that schoolmistresses should be employed only when a male teacher could not be obtained. Indeed, the All Japan Education Society (*Dai-nihon kyōiku dan*) declared these standards to be the basis on which to integrate female teachers into the teaching service.<sup>54</sup>

Against a background of these discussions, the Ouinkai research group investigated gender-segregated attendance rates for the year 1908. It entrusted a member of THNSW alumni association in each prefecture to investigate three elementary schools (a total of 133 elementary schools). An examination of the 10-year working period between 1898 and 1907 (differentiating between male and female teachers) showed that the annual attendance rate was 96.98% for males, while for female teachers it was 96.26%. Furthermore, the investigation of the length of service over the 10-year period showed that female teachers served for 3 years and 2 months as against 3 years and 11 months for male teachers.<sup>55</sup> These investigations made it clear that there was no significant difference in the percentage attendance or in the length of service for men and women.

On the other hand, Tetsu Yasui, who had studied education abroad in England,<sup>56</sup> presented a report in *The History of the Ouinkai* entitled *A Comparative Report on Japanese and British Female Teachers*.<sup>57</sup> She argued that the independent female life was treated as unnatural in Japan. She illustrated her argument by pointing out that women could not buy books or pay tuition fees for their training. It was clear, she argued, that such short-term work did not instil in women an eagerness for education. In Japan, she argued, female teachers suffered from various demands made on them by society and from two main demands in particular. The first was that a female teacher was expected to fulfil her duties as an ordinary woman, i.e. she should make a home. The second was a requirement for women to study more than men because the academic ability of female teachers was thought to be insufficient and their knowledge was thought to be narrow, which meant that they were seen as unsuitable for teaching older students.<sup>58</sup> However, said Tetsu Yasui, these two demands were difficult for young female teachers. It took several years for a woman to become a teacher, by which time she had reached a suitable age for matrimony. Furthermore, when a woman married, she had to arrange her house and educate her children, so she did not have time to prepare for her classes. As a result, concluded Tetsu Yasui, female teachers in Japan were inferior to female teachers in Britain.<sup>59</sup> Yasui proposed that the Ouinkai groups to which female teachers belonged should offer workshops; and she thought the Ouinkai could make lecturers or books for the workshops available relatively inexpensively.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 441–2.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 445–6.

<sup>56</sup>See: Yamasaki, 'Tetsu Yasui and Transcultural Influences in Educational Reforms for Women'.

<sup>57</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 446–50.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 447.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 448–9.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 449–50.

## AQ9 **Surveying woman graduates: working years, average of marriage, the number of children, average age on marriage<sup>61</sup>**

The Committee of the Ouinkai took on the commemorative large-scale survey of graduates between 1879 and 1937. The graduate surveys conducted by the Ouinkai included questions related to graduates' average number of working years, the average number of married graduates, graduates' age at the time of marriage, graduates' number of children, and details about their husbands, sons and daughters, etc. According to their investigation in October 1938, 1723 graduates from a total of 3995 members were employed as teachers. This is a little less than half of all graduates. The Ouinkai calculated the average length of service for 2584 respondents to be 14 years (see Appendix Figure A1).<sup>62</sup> The percentage of married graduates amongst 2586 respondents was about 88% (see Appendix Table A1). It appears that the marriage rate of the graduates of THNSW (see Appendix Figure A2 and Table A1) was rather low in those days for Japan, where in 1920 the rate of married women in Japan (at 50 years of age) was 98.2%.<sup>63</sup> The average age of marriage for graduates was 27.1 years of age.<sup>64</sup> Appendix Table A2 indicates the number of married graduates per age on marriage. For comparison, in Japan in 1920 the average age of marriage for women was 23.2 years of age.<sup>65</sup> The number of children per graduate is indicated in Appendix Table A3. In addition, 20% of the married graduates were stepmothers.<sup>66</sup> Regarding the age of marriage and number of children (see Appendix Table A3), the editor of *The History of the Ouinkai* noted:

The marriage age of the graduates around 1910 was the highest among all generations. It may be that stepmothers were more numerous, and that the number of their own children was the smallest. That may often be the case with working women. Among former members, there were not just a few who achieved the duty of mother and wife wonderfully. Moreover, many fulfilled their whole life as a splendid educator. Young teachers should follow their predecessors, who were excellent educators and mothers. That was the vocation and mission of females – to reach the ideal, they should develop strong minds and bodies.<sup>67</sup>

In addition to information concerning the number of their own children or stepchildren, information was collected regarding the age at which graduates' children married, their children's or stepchildren's educational level, as well as the occupations of their husbands, sons and daughters. The data demonstrate that the educational backgrounds

<sup>61</sup>Surveys of graduates' marriage rates, their number of children, or the number of years they worked after graduating from universities or colleges were also undertaken in the USA and the UK between 1880 and 1890. See Setsuko Kagawa, 'Health Problem of Women Students in English Universities in the End of the Nineteenth Century in England, with Special Reference to the Health Statistics of Women Students of Cambridge and Oxford University', *Bulletin of the Department of Children's Studies Nishikyushu University* 3 (2012): 39–49; Eleanor Sidgwick, *Health Statistics of Women Students of Cambridge and Oxford and Their Sisters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890); Annie Howes, *Health Statistics of Women College Graduates: Report of a Special Committee of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co. State Printers, 1885).

<sup>62</sup>Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 1039.

<sup>63</sup>Institute of Population Problems, Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Todōfuku betsu mikonritsu to shokun nenrei SMAM no suii (Changes in SMAM and Proportions Never Married by Region in Japan: 1920–1990)* (Tokyo: Institute of Population Problems Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1993), 5.

<sup>64</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 1057.

<sup>65</sup>*Changes in SMAM and Proportions Never Married by Region in Japan: 1920–1990*, 5.

<sup>66</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 1062.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, 1039–40.

of sons of THNSW graduates were higher than those of their husbands. Significantly, the educational levels of graduates' daughters were very high for those days in Japan, where the enrolment rate at university or college was less than 1% for their peers in the wider Japanese population.<sup>68</sup> Some 68% of graduates' working daughters were teachers, while only 9% of sons were teachers. When it came to husbands' occupations, the largest percentage (28.1%) were bankers or office workers, followed by primary or secondary teachers (21.0%), government clerks (18.0%), teachers in higher education (6.3%), workers in commerce (3.8%), medical doctors (3.4%), military personnel (2.9%) and lawyers (1.6%). As one of the editors of the book commented, 70–80% percent of graduates worked in girls' schools as teachers, married an 'appropriate' husband, bore children, and brought them up well.

### How the graduates of THNSW lived as female teachers

By outlining the profiles of four ordinary graduates who were members of the Ouinkai, this section of the article turns to how graduates of THNSW tried to meet the expectations for female teachers in those days. These four graduates were among around 2600 respondents to the questionnaire generated for one of the commemorative events. Their career profiles illustrate how Japanese female teachers combined married life with teaching careers that spanned schools, normal schools and women's colleges in Japan.

After graduating in 1892 from THNSW, Saki Takahashi (birth name Saki) became a teacher and dormitory superintendent at Toyama Prefecture Normal School (1892–1902), Chiba Prefecture Normal School (1903–1904), Kyoto Girls' Normal School (1909–1911), Matsumoto Girl's High School in Nagano Prefecture (1917–1919), and so on with a total of 30 years' service in Japan's normal schools. She also published *Domestic Science Education Questions and Answers* with her co-author Kimiyo Sasaki,<sup>69</sup> as well as *Guide for Modern Manners and Behaviours*.<sup>70</sup> She married S.T. (principal of Tokyo Women's Normal School). They had seven sons (of whom the second and sixth sons died), and one daughter, who was married. Her eldest son was a bank officer, the third was an assistant professor at Tokyo Bunri University, and their fourth and fifth sons were company employees.<sup>71</sup>

M.H. (birth name K.) graduated in 1902 from the THNSW Literature Department, became a teacher and dormitory superintendent at Miyagi Prefecture Public Girls' High School, and at the private Tokyo Jogakukan Girl's High School (1905–1906) before retiring. She returned to teaching later, when she was employed at the private Yamawaki Girl's Higher School (1922–1923), making a total of 11 years' service as a teacher. She also served as a branch director of the Japan Volunteer Women's Association and Association of Military Officers' Wives. M.H. married S.M., a Major who was awarded the Japanese Legion of Honour. They had two sons (of whom one

<sup>68</sup>Ministry of Education, ed., *Nihon no seichō to kyōiku* (Japanese Development and Education) (Tokyo: Teikoku chihō gyōsei gakkai, 1962), 43, cited in Keiko, *The Process of Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Pre-war Japan*, 78.

<sup>69</sup>Sasaki Kimiyo and Takahashi Saki, *Kajika kyōiku mondō* (Domestic Science Education Questions and Answers) (Tokyo: Kōseikaku shoten, 1931).

<sup>70</sup>Homori Kingo, Ōtsuna Kotaka, Takagi Mitsuo, Tsutitori Nobuko, Takahashi Saki and Tazawa Minako, *Gendai sahō no shishin* (Guide for Modern Manners and Behaviours) (Tokyo: Kinkōdō shoseki 1934).

<sup>71</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 706.



died) and two daughters (of whom one died prematurely). Her son was an engineer in the Army and her daughter was married. She also had three stepchildren (one son and two daughters) from her husband's former marriage.<sup>72</sup>

T.O. (married name Y.) graduated in 1919 from the THNSW Literature Department. 440  
She taught at the Kyoto Funai District Public Girls' High School, Hokkaido Prefecture Otaru Public Girl's High School (from 1920), Sapporo City Public Girl's High School (from 1924), Hokkaido Prefecture Ebetsu Public Girl's High School (from 1931), and then retired in 1933, after 11 years' service. She married S.Y., a manager of the T. Steam 445  
Ship Co. and an auditor of the K. Steam Ship Co. They had one adopted son (a student in secondary school) and two daughters.<sup>73</sup>

AQ11 S.Y. (birth name M.) graduated in 1918 from the Second Temporary Domestic Science Department at THNSW. She taught at Kumamoto Kikuchi District Public Domestic Science Girls' High School, the private Nakamura Girl's High School in 450  
Tokyo (1920) and retired the next year. After three years spent teaching, she married K.Y., a medical doctor and director of the M.Z. Hospital. They had one son and two 455  
daughters.<sup>74</sup>

### The All Japan Female Secondary School Teachers' Assembly at Ouinkai Hall

In 1931, the Ouinkai held an *All Japan Female Secondary School Teachers' Assembly* in 455  
Ouinkai Hall, which belonged to Ouin Girls' High School founded by the Ouinkai. The opening address was given by Genzo Ichikawa, principal of the Tokyo First High School for Girls and director of the Association of Girls' High School Principals. An official from the Ministry of Education read a celebratory address from the Minister of Education. There were over 451 attendees, including many of the principals of girls' 460  
high schools from across the country and the presidents of the women's colleges (*semmon gakkō*). Moreover, the director of the All Japan Women's Union (*Dai nihon rengō fujinkai*), representatives of the Association for the Attainment of Woman's Suffrage, and representatives of the Japan Christian Woman's Suffrage Association attended, as well as a leading figure of the Imperial Educational Society. Many journal- 465  
ists from various newspapers covered the meeting. This large meeting was managed by the members of the Ouinkai and chaired by the director of the Ouinkai.

The agenda was concerned with how to improve the quality of female secondary school teachers, how to improve the content of education in girls' secondary schooling, and what constituted appropriate school duties or practices for female teachers. In 470  
addition, a question concerning the need for textbooks on manners and etiquette (*sahō*) was submitted by local Ouinkai members. Members submitted reports and debated these topics. The resolutions from the meeting were as follows:<sup>75</sup>

First Agenda Item: To improve the qualities of female secondary school teachers.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 724.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 885.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 884.

<sup>75</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *Zenkoku chūtō gakkō jokyōin taikai kiroku (Document of the All Japan Female Secondary School Teachers Assembly)* (Tokyo: Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women, 1931).

1. To improve the ability of female teachers: female teachers should constantly study; every university and college should receive women; female teachers should be sent to study abroad. 2. To strive for improvement in character. 3. To strive for improvement in physical strength. 4. To improve the status of female teachers. 475

Second Agenda Item: To improve the content of education in girls' secondary schooling.

1. To improve the content of subjects: increase civic education; increase knowledge about social, political, and economic questions; increase the applicability of scientific knowledge. 480  
 2. Moral discipline: To maintain Japanese female virtue; to respect labour. 3. Physical education: all female teachers should understand physical education; physical education teachers for girls should be female; physical checks should be carried out thoroughly. 4. Method of teaching: instruction to become a good woman; college and career guidance. 5. Extended education. 485

Third Agenda Item: Areas suitable for female teachers to be in charge.

There is no discrimination between men and women in terms of teaching ability. However, female teachers might be more suitable for hygiene education, music, gymnastics (for girls), dance, nursing, and physical checks.

After the assembly, the All Japan Female Secondary School Teachers Assembly submitted a report to the Ministry of Education, which included the demand for women to participate in administrative or government bodies. In this way, by planning the assembly, and by working with the Association of Girls' High School Principals, the Ministry of Education and the Imperial Educational Society, and collaborating with THNSW, the Ouinkai had a strong influence on female secondary education teachers across the whole of Japan. 490 495

### **Collaboration of the Ouinkai and THNSW in the campaign to establish a women's university**

When the Ouinkai Council Committee approved the Women's Education Research Meeting in 1910<sup>76</sup> two important themes were chosen. One theme was how women's education should be practised. The other was how to act in order to open the door to higher education for Japanese women.<sup>77</sup> These topics became a focus for the Ouinkai in the 1930s, when the association undertook an investigation into each female educational field. The agenda for this investigation focused around women's higher education and the subjects included in the girls' secondary school curriculum and their syllabi. 500 505  
 Between September 1930 and July 1931, 15 workshops on female education were held with Sumi Ôe and Kiyô Ochi, in which Tetsu Yasui acted as chairperson. Many workshops on the curriculum for girls' secondary education were also organised, with Kiku Takeda as chair, and the participation of 44 members.<sup>78</sup> The movement within the Ouinkai towards the establishment of the University of Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women grew out of these highly organised and collaborative activities, as did the All Japan Female Secondary Schools' Teachers Conference. 510

<sup>76</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 450.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, 450–1.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, 451–4.

The decision by the Ouinkai in 1927 to work with THNSW to campaign for Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women to be promoted to the status of a women's university was taken in a context in which concern regarding women's education had increased. Tsuda College and Japan Women's College, which were private special schools (*semmon gakkō*), had begun to prepare for the establishment of a women's university in the 1920s. In 1922 the Imperial Education Meeting, which was the largest and most important educational group in Japan, began activities towards the establishment of a women's higher educational institution.<sup>79</sup> In response to these activities, in February 1927 the general assembly of the Ouinkai chose 15 alumnae, all prominent educators in Tokyo, to serve on a preparatory committee for a university promotion campaign. During the following six months, the committee held 13 meetings to plan their activities.<sup>80</sup> It also appealed to local members for their cooperation, to which all members agreed.

To progress this campaign, 131 committee members from across Japan were chosen, with three members from each prefecture.<sup>81</sup> First, they developed their policy through the Ouinkai bulletins, which they used to develop a unified plan. Second, they made contact with their alma maters. The association invited the current principal and 23 professors from THNSW to hear their views. In addition, in a speech at a graduation ceremony, a representative from the Ouinkai emphasised that the establishment of a university was essential because young women would need university education.<sup>82</sup> The Ouinkai decided to request the establishment of the Normal University for Women as an institution to enable women to engage in higher education. For this purpose, members united and petitioned the Ministry of Education. Moreover, the association asked various educational groups to cooperate and it planned mass media events to influence public opinion. These activities to establish a women's university were the result of a concerted collaboration prior to the Second World War between THNSW and the alumni association.

## Conclusion

In the 10 years before THNSW's 60th anniversary ceremony was held in 1934, Japan had undergone some significant changes. The first was the socio-economic change after the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923 and the Great Depression of 1929. Japan had emerged from both difficult situations. The second change was that Japan was becoming more militaristic after the invasion of Manchuria in 1931.<sup>83</sup> The third was the change in education. During 1920–1930, secondary and higher education had been expanding, especially girls' high schools (*kōtō jogakkō*) followed by women's colleges (*semmon gakkō*),<sup>84</sup> which interacted with an increase in the number of female teachers. Women's colleges such as Tsuda College and Japan Women's College also required

<sup>79</sup>Yukawa Tsugiyoshi, *Kindai nihon no josei to daigaku kyōiku: kyōiku kikai kaihō wo meguru rekishi (Women and University Education in Modern Japan: The History of Access to Educational Opportunity for Women)* (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 2003), 240–53.

<sup>80</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 540–1.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, 541–5.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, 545.

<sup>83</sup>Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, 119–42.

<sup>84</sup>See: Keiko, *The Process of Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Pre-war Japan*.

teachers to hold secondary-education teacher licences. However, as a national school THNSW was ranked as the top school for female secondary-education teachers (except in music, fine art and English). 550

On the other hand, problems for married female teachers increased as they needed to negotiate the norm of ‘good wife and wise mother’, which had been the ideal for Japanese women and also for female teachers, while they were also expected to be excellent teachers, having been selected from a large number of candidates with the recommendation of their girls’ high school principals and the prefectural governors. Japanese society also regarded THNSW graduates as exceptionally talented women. The government encouraged THNSW students by sending the Minister of Education or Education Ministry officials to THNSW ceremonies and events, sometimes with the Empress. These honours strengthened the THNSW community’s loyalty to the nation and the Emperor system of Japan. For the female teachers at the top of the hierarchy of the teacher training system this operated as a form of control, with the potential to be linked with nationalism, totalitarianism and militarism later. Certainly, references to the war and to the military are scattered throughout some of the later parts of *The History of the Ouinkai*. However, when the Ouinkai called on THNSW graduates to celebrate the 60th anniversary project and to contribute to the memorial book, teacher training and higher education for women were not taking place in an atmosphere of warfare but rather during the vigorous expansion of higher education for women. This is exemplified by the movement to establish women’s universities and the campaign to promote them<sup>85</sup> developed by Tsuda College, Japan Women’s College, the Ouinkai of THNSW, and so on. 555 560 565 570

The data in the commemorative book illustrate that, as female teachers, graduates of THNSW went above and beyond the restricted male expectations that embodied the multi-norms and multi-roles prescribed for ‘ideal’ Japanese women. The Ouinkai succeeded in improving Japanese educational policy for women and provided leadership for Japanese female teachers through a highly organised association. The Ouinkai was also supported strongly by the government. The Ouinkai alumni association worked to support female teachers nationwide as well as to open higher education to Japanese women. THNSW represented the pinnacle of the development in women’s education, and its influence has been extensive. The 60th anniversary ceremony and the publication of the commemoration book brought together a large majority of graduates. As a result, the history of women’s education portrayed in *The History of the Ouinkai* illustrates a major milestone, if not the foundation, in girls’ education in Japan. 575 580

## Disclosure statement 585

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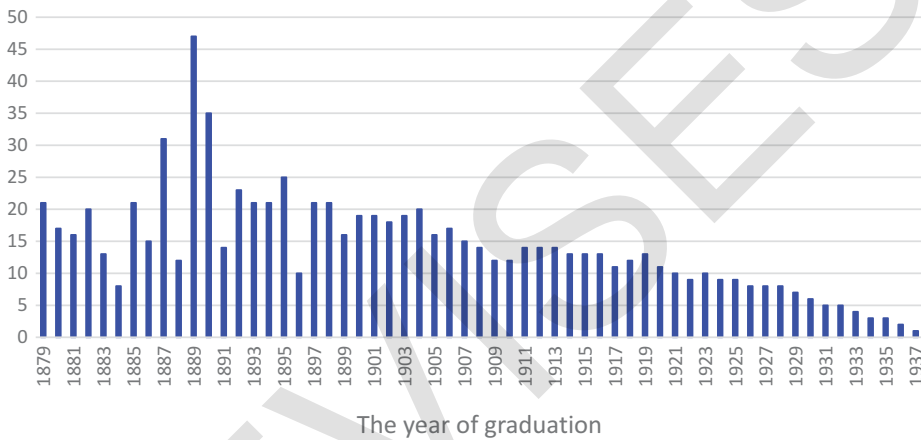
<sup>85</sup>See: Tsugiyoshi, *Kindai nihon no josei to daigaku kyōiku*.

**Notes on contributor**

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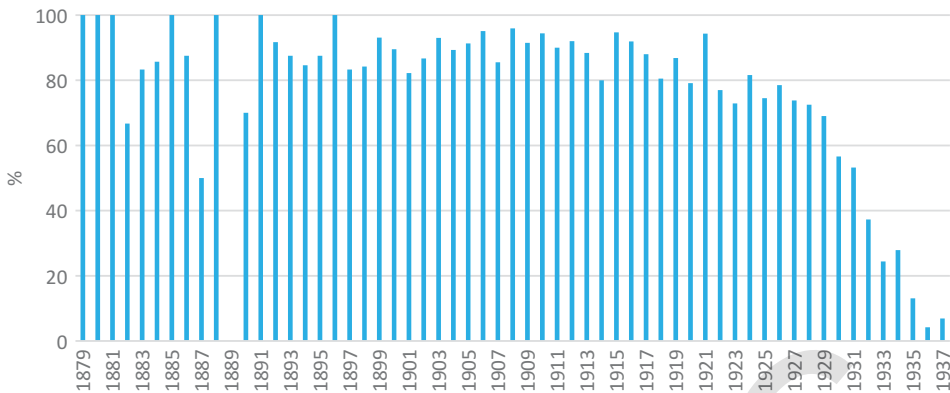
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**Appendices**



**AQ10 Figure A1.** Average number of years graduates from THNSW served as teachers. Ouinkai (March 1939), extracted every year from the survey. Source: Derived from Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 1940, 1039, 1064.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup>There was only one respondent in 1889 and she had worked for 47 years. In 1889, the number of graduates was low because the school was reformed



**Figure A2.** Percentage of married THNSW graduates per graduate year.

Source: Derived from *The History of the Ouinkai*, 1049, 1066.<sup>87</sup>

**AQ13 Table A1.** Marriage rate of THNSW graduates

Year of graduation	Number of married graduates	Number of graduates	Married rate
1890–1899	112	127	88.1%
1900–1909	467	518	90.2%
1910–1919	544	614	88.6%

Source: Derived from *The History of the Ouinkai*, 1048.

**Table A2.** Number of married graduates per age on marriage

Age on marriage	Number of married graduates
22	61
23	111
24	120
25	123
26	107
27	92
28	74
29	52

Source: Derived from data per graduate year: 1879–1932, *The History of the Ouinkai*, 1057–59.

**Table A3.** Number of children per THNSW graduate<sup>88</sup>

Year of graduation	Number of married graduates	Number of children
1898–1902	82	3.8 (2.9)
1903–1907	143	3.4 (2.7)
1908–1912	155	2.8 (2.3)
1913–1917	140	2.8 (2.4)
1918–1922	141	2.8 (2.6)

Source: Derived from data from graduate year 1898–1922. The data in parentheses show the numbers of children who survived infancy.

<sup>87</sup>In 1889, the number of respondents was zero as a result of the school being reformed.

<sup>88</sup>The Ouinkai, ed., *The History of the Ouinkai*, 1060.