

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: CONSTRUCTING HOME ECONOMICS IN
 IMPERIAL JAPAN

 Yukako Tatsumi, Doctor of Philosophy, 2011

Directed By: Professor Barbara Finkelstein
 Department of Education Policy Studies

This dissertation explores the life and work of two Japanese women, Miyakawa Sumi (1875-1948) and Inoue Hide (1875-1963), who became pioneers of domestic education in Japan in the first half of the twentieth century. They discovered home economics as a field of study, went to the Western nations in an attempt to explore its contours and possibilities, and returned to Japan where they introduced and institutionalized a distinctly Japanese variant of domestic education. Their life stories reveal two distinctive constructions of home economics specifically due to the distinct purposes of domestic education. Miyakawa, who borrowed the British model of practice-oriented domestic training, aspired to modernize women's technical competence in an attempt to advance women's self-sufficiency in household management. She believed that the individual household was a fundamental unit of state and essential to national economic development. Accordingly, she sought to mobilize women for serving the state through self-sufficient household management. By contrast, Inoue adopted scientific and sociological paradigms for home management that she had discovered at elite educational institutions in the United States. She sought to elevate the scholarly position of home economics in an attempt to legitimize a gender-specific university education for women.

Additionally, she promoted social activism in the hope of demonstrating women's civic leadership.

Their life stories illuminate the key roles of home economics in expanding and advancing higher education for women. The emergence of advanced educational opportunities for women with marriage aspirations suggests a shift in public demand for programs that could credential and train ideal bridal candidates and expand their education to include post-secondary educational opportunities. Additionally, the emergence of an interdisciplinary framework for home management, the alternative to scientifically-based curricula, suggests a shift in a focus of domestic education from environmental solutions to social problems to the comprehensive pursuit of familial and social wellbeing.

Using biography as a methodology, this study illuminates women's agency in refining the meaning of ideal womanhood, *Ryōsai Kenbo* (Good Wife, Wise Mother), uncovers the models with a high potential of acceptance specifically by urban middle-class women and suggests an expanded view of the mainstream discourse of ideal Japanese womanhood.

CONSTRUCTING HOME ECONOMICS IN IMPERIAL JAPAN

By

Yukako Tatsumi

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Advisory Committee:

Professor Barbara Finkelstein, Chair
Professor Francine Hultgren
Associate Professor Seung-kyung Kim
Associate Professor Jordan Sand, Georgetown University
Professor Nelly Stromquist

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the life and work of two Japanese women, Miyakawa Sumi (1875-1948) and Inoue Hide (1875-1963), who became pioneers of domestic education in Japan in the first half of the twentieth century. They discovered home economics as a field of study and practice that could transform women's lives at the turn of the century. They went to the Western nations in an attempt to explore its contours and possibilities and returned to Japan where they introduced and institutionalized a distinctly Japanese variant of domestic education. Their life stories have much to reveal about modern domesticity, the evolving roles of women and higher education for women, which are much understudied features of women's lives in Japan.

The Ministry of Education revolutionized women's education at the turn of the twentieth century. The Act of Women's Higher School in 1899 signified a policy shift from laissez-faire to institutionalization of women's secondary education.¹ The Act defined the goal of women's secondary education in an attempt to specify gender roles relevant to Japanese imperial expansionism. It ideologized an ideal womanhood, *Ryōsai Kenbo* (Good Wife, Wise Mother), as a cornerstone of women's education.²

¹ Japan won a victory in its first modern conflict, the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, which urged policy makers to mobilize women to play modern gender roles in pursuit of imperial aspirations in Asia. Kathleen Uno, "Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations Of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Before 1931," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, ed. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005). 496.

² Ibid. 496.

Accordingly, it required inclusion of a new curriculum, *kaji* (domestic affairs), as a means to pursuing the educational goal.³

The institutionalization of women's secondary education simultaneously reformed and promoted women's post-secondary education. The Women's Higher Normal School, which was the sole post-secondary educational institution for women with state sponsorship, launched the Department of Arts and Crafts (*gigei-ka*) coincidentally with the Act of the Women's Higher School. In addition, an array of education reformers privately embarked on a systematic effort to advance the forming of education institutions that could enhance women's social progress. For example, Naruse Jinzō founded the Japan Women's Institute in 1901. He launched the Department of Home Economics, a first in Japanese academia. The Japan Women's Institute and three other private institutions were later accredited as post-secondary educational institutions⁴ and served as key suppliers of women's secondary school teachers.⁵

The presence of women educators necessitated an alternative knowledge system for household management. Urban landscapes of everyday life and family living had started to change through a web of economic, material and social transformations. The mass market of modern commodities emerged in print and visuals, and so too did the

³ Sharon H. Nolte and Sally A. Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women, 1890-1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). 158. Additionally, the Act of Women's Higher School mandated local government to found at least one women's higher school in each prefecture.

⁴ Three other institutions are Women's English Academy, Tokyo Women's Medical Institute, and Women's Institute of Fine Arts, all of which were founded in 1900. Noriko Kawamura-Ishii, *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873-1909 New Dimensions in Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004). 12.

⁵ For example, Women's English Academy was accredited for certifying English language teachers in 1905. Keiko Sasaki, *The Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Prewar Japan: A Dynamic Interaction among Institutions, Students, and Government* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2002). 136.

production and dissemination of modern commodities available in the mass market.⁶ Thus, transformed, the material conditions of everyday life demanded new technical expertise and new and expanded duties for women inside Japanese households. As it happened, labor market conditions also created occupations that drew husbands out of the household and disjoined work and family life. Women, for their part, acquired unprecedented authority over household management, childrearing, and the organization of education life for a rising generation.⁷ Not surprisingly, the curriculum of women's post-secondary educational institutions required new models that could align with new social and economic needs.

In this historical context, Miyakawa and Inoue took advantage of study-abroad opportunities that were designed to create leaders, who could redefine and advance a new institutional mission: the advancement of domestic education at their alma maters, the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School and the Japan Women's Institute respectively, by adopting Western models of home economics.

Literature Review

There is an expansive scholarly literature revealing important features of the history of Japanese women's higher education and domestic studies. Several works in the Japanese language illuminate the advancement of women's higher education opportunities in the

⁶ Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003). 14.

⁷ Kathleen Uno, *Passages to Modernity: Motherhood, Childhood, and Social Reform in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999). 15.

context of male-oriented and state-monopolized higher educational institution.⁸ Other works in the English language focus on the evolution of domesticity in relation to women's secondary school curricula.⁹ Yet another work reveals secondary school teachers' roles in defining the goals of modern domestic practices.¹⁰ In addition, several biographers explore women education pioneers, who ideologized the concept of ideal womanhood, namely, the Good Wife, Wise Mother.¹¹

This dissertation contributes to the literature by exploring the evolving contours of post-secondary domestic education and the expansion and advancement of higher education for women. It also reveals the ways in which post-secondary domestic education shaped secondary school curricula and supplied secondary school teachers, who were dedicated to the goals of household management. In addition, this dissertation uncovers pioneering home economists' scholarly attempts to define and promote a concept of ideal womanhood by constructing and professionalizing a gender-specific academic discipline.

Yukawa Tsugiyoshi investigates the expansion of university education opportunities for women in the context of the evolution of university education in the first half of

⁸ Tsugiyoshi Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2003). Sasaki, *The Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Prewar Japan: A Dynamic Interaction among Institutions, Students, and Government*.

⁹ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*.

¹⁰ Elise K. Tipton, "How to Manage a Household: Creating Middle Class Housewives in Modern Japan," *Japanese Studies* 29, no. 1 (2009).

¹¹ Sally A. Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko: Ambitious Woman," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall (DE: A Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2002). Paula Harrell, "The Meiji "New Woman" And China," in *Late Qing China and Meiji Japan: Political and Cultural Aspects*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2004).

twentieth-century Japan.¹² He examines a shift in institutional admission policies at traditional men's universities. He also investigates philosophical approaches in order to legitimize coeducation at higher education institutions. In addition, he explores women's organizational strategies designed to attain their educational ambitions. Nonetheless, he pays little attention to women educators' scholarly approach to legitimizing and attaining a gender-specific university education.

Another historian, Sasaki Keiko, also investigates the expansion of women's higher education opportunities.¹³ She situates the expansion mechanism of women's post-secondary education opportunities in the context of state monopolization of higher education system. She focuses on institutionalization of professional training at non-state post-secondary schools. She argues that institutional legitimacy, namely, the state accreditation system for certifying secondary school teachers played a key role in systematizing an advanced teaching career path, and subsequently attracting women with professional aspirations. Sasaki, however, pays little attention to academic subjects that non-state post-secondary educational institutions had selected in an attempt to gain the institutional privilege of state accreditation. Accordingly, she fails to illuminate a specific role of home economics in legitimizing non-state post-secondary educational institutions and promoting women's advanced educational and professional opportunities.

There are other historical works that focus on the evolution of domestic education. For example, Jordan Sand explores the evolution of domestic affairs study in the context

¹² Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]*.

¹³ Sasaki, *The Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Prewar Japan: A Dynamic Interaction among Institutions, Students, and Government*.

of the invention of modern domesticity in women's secondary education.¹⁴ He defines women's secondary schools as "hatcheries for professional housewives,"¹⁵ and explores the ways in which the curriculum legitimizes housewifery as a profession of urban middle-class women. In a similar mode, Eliza Tipton examines secondary school teachers' roles in defining household management as a means to becoming ideal housewives.¹⁶ She theorizes secondary school teachers as mediators of modern and traditional values in household management and promoters of homemaking as a public mission of the middle-class housewife. Since neither Sand nor Tipton extends their analysis to post-secondary domestic education, there is a need for a study that focuses on secondary school teacher training programs offered by post-secondary educational institutions, which served as a major supplier of secondary school teachers and played a key role in defining the secondary school curriculum.

In addition, there are several biographers of Japanese female education pioneers, who shaped a notion of ideal Japanese womanhood, *Ryōsai Kenbo* (Good Wife, Wise Mother). For example, Sally A. Hastings investigates the life and work of a major opinion leader of Good Wife, Wise Mother, Hatoyama Haruko.¹⁷ She illuminates the ways in which Hatoyama epitomized modern ideal womanhood by her marriage to a high-profile state official. She reveals Hatoyama's self-referential strategy, namely, a willingness to go to public in order to demonstrate what it meant to be dedicated wifedom and educated

¹⁴ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*. Please see chapter 2, "The Housewife's Laboratory."

¹⁵ Ibid. 56.

¹⁶ Tipton, "How to Manage a Household: Creating Middle Class Housewives in Modern Japan."

¹⁷ Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko: Ambitious Woman."

motherhood in an attempt to present her identity of ideal womanhood. Another historian, Paula Harrell focuses on another major spokeswoman of Good Wife, Wise Mother, Shimoda Utako.¹⁸ Harrell argues that Shimoda explored definitions of ideal womanhood from the historical and cultural perspectives. She emphasizes that Shimoda analyzed the meaning of “good” and “wise” within the given historical and cultural contexts, and specified proper role and conduct of women in Meiji Japan. Since biographers’ exploration of women pioneers’ standpoints of the notion is limited to self-referential, cultural, or historical outlook, there is a need for a study that focuses on academic strategies to define and promote the modern ideal Japanese womanhood.

Significance

This study tells the story of two pioneering home economists that goes beyond the study of state policies and focuses on the extent that Japanese women accepted *Ryōsai Kenbo*.¹⁹ This dissertation answers this question from a different angle, namely, what model of Good Wife, Wise Mother was considered most likely to be accepted by Japanese women. Both Miyakawa’s and Inoue’s invention of ideal womanhood proposes the models with a high potential of acceptance specifically by urban middle-class women. Miyakawa and Inoue were responsible for creating a marketable model of ideal womanhood that would attract students and their parents to their institutions. They also amplified the importance of academic accomplishment as a vehicle of upward mobility of

¹⁸ Harrell, "The Meiji "New Woman" And China."

¹⁹ Kathleen Uno, who is the most notable scholar on this notion, poses this question as one of the significant ones that remains unanswered. Uno, "Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations Of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Before 1931." 494. 512.

women. For their own part, they were advantaged not only by the first-hand knowledge of Western domesticity but also by roles as newly-formed institutional leaders. They attached the meaning of Good Wife, Wise Mother to educational attainment. Thus, the story of their lives suggests an expanded view of mainstream discourse of Good Wife, Wise Mother.

Methodology

This dissertation investigates two Japanese women educators' initiatives in inventing and advancing a gender-specific academic discipline in the first half of the twentieth century. Using biography as a methodology, this dissertation illuminates the intersections of their agency and social structures in an attempt to reveal their strategies and struggles for pursuing their professional aspirations. Exploring the dynamics of their educational reform initiatives provides unique lenses through which to deepen historical understanding of modern domesticity, the evolving roles of women and higher education for women, which are much understudied features of women's lives in Japan.

Historical biography constitutes a unique lens through which to disclose the origin of new ideas.²⁰ It can reveal the processes by which human agency created, incorporated, reproduced or transformed the force of economic, political or philosophical circumstances into new educational purposes, practices, and arrangements.²¹

Biographical studies of the two women educators can, then, reveal profound social

²⁰ Barbara Finkelstein, "Revealing Human Agency: The Uses of Biography in the Study of Educational History," in *Writing Educational Biography: Explorations in Qualitative Research*, ed. Craig Kridel (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998). 47.

²¹ _____, "Perfecting Childhood: Horace Mann and the Origins of Public Education in the United States," *Biography* 13, no. 1 (1990). 6.

changes in Imperial Japan through which they crafted alternative models of home economics. Exploring the new homemaking approaches depicts modern domesticity and gender roles as the sources of alternative visions of home economics, which emerged through structural changes in family relations, material transformation of daily practices, evolution of a mass market society and technical and scientific development. Visualizing the origin of their creativity also reveals the ways in which these women were inspired and equipped to invent alternative forms of home economics programs. Biographical studies have capacities of restoring motives, qualities of intellect, or creative sensibilities that educators brought to their tasks to the history of education.²²

Historical biography can provide another unique lens through which to disclose social possibilities and constraints that individuals perceive.²³ Revealing social possibilities and constraints that these women discovered in pursuit of their professional aspirations can illuminate a reformation of the Japanese higher education institution. Highlighting the intersections of their agency and institutional structures can disclose the ways in which these women managed and navigated the male-oriented and state-monopolized higher education institution in an attempt to advance higher education opportunities for women. Investigating their struggles and strategies for pursuing their professional endeavors, then, uncovers the processes by which the state evolved its commitment to restructuring the higher education system in pursuit of imperial expansion, which was the ultimate goal of the national higher education institution in Imperial Japan.

²² Ibid. 6.

²³ Finkelstein, "Revealing Human Agency: The Uses of Biography in the Study of Educational History."

Traditional historical research centers upon available documents that can constitute and reveal a story over time. In the case of Miyakawa's and Inoue's lives, there are no unpublished personal writings, such as diaries, journals, letters, articles or autobiographies. Thus, this study focuses on published documents on their lives and careers. For Miyakawa, there is one comprehensive biography²⁴ in addition to several sketchy biographical works.²⁵ Institutional history of Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School²⁶ and *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin* (Tokyo Domestic Science Institute)²⁷ as well as a photo collection book of *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin*²⁸ are also available. In addition, the Alumnae Association journals, *Kōen* (Light and Salt) from the time of its foundation is available. They are housed in *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin* (Tokyo Domestic Science Institute) Library. For Inoue, there are several occasional biographical works.²⁹ Institutional

²⁴ Tetsuya Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Kasei Gakuen Kōenkai, 1978).

²⁵ Several biographical studies include Ikuo Tsunemi, "Meiji Ki Sanmei No Kaseigaku Kenkyū No Ryūgakusei Ni Kanren Shite (2) [Three Overseas Students for Home Economics Studies in Meiji Period (2)]," *Katei Kagaku [Home Science]* 89 (1982). Toshimi Sekiguchi, "Development of Domestic Education in Sumi Ōe's Thought," *Bulletin of Nara Women's University* 3 (1999). Akiko Shibamura, "The Formation of Educational Thought for Women by Studying Abroad in England: A Comparative Study of Tetsu Yasui and Sumi Ōe," *Bulletin of Keiwa College* 8 (1999). ———, "Sumi Ōe and the Battersea Polytechnic," *Bulletin of Keiwa College* 13 (2004).

²⁶ Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Inikai, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Inikai, 1984).

²⁷ This institution was founded by Miyakawa in 1925. Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, 1975).

²⁸ ———, *Tokyo Kasei Senmon Gakkō Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gaikyō [Tokyo Domestic Science College Outlook]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, 1936).

²⁹ Ikuo Tsunemi, "Meiji Ki Sanmei No Kaseigaku Kenkyū No Ryūgakusei Ni Kanren Shite (4) [Three Overseas Students for Home Economics Studies in Meiji Period (4)]," *Katei Kagaku [Home Science]* 93 (1983), Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inikai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]* (Tokyo: Nihon Joshi Daigaku, 1973). Yoko Kobayashi, "Nihon Ni Okeru Kindai Kaseigaku Seiritsu Katei No Kenkyū - Inoue Hide No Shisō to Jissen O Chūshin Ni Shite [the Formation Process of Modern Home Economics in Japan - Inoue Hide's Principles and Practices]" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Kōnan Women's University, 2003).

history on the Japan Women's Institute and the Alumnae Association are also available.³⁰ In addition, an institutional newsletter, "*Katei Shūhō* (Weekly Home)," is available for the duration of over four decades of Inoue's tenure. They are housed at the Japan Women's University Library.

This study also focuses on Miyakawa's and Inoue's publications. For Miyakawa, her yearly reports to the Ministry of Education on her study-abroad from 1902 to 1906 are available. They are located in the Ochanomizu University Library.³¹ In addition, there are three textbooks designed for women's higher and normal school teachers and professional housewives as well as around fifty articles published in a wide range of magazines and journals. These publications are located at the National Diet Library. In addition, Miyakawa's twenty articles written for the Alumnae Association journals are available. They are housed in *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin* (Tokyo Domestic Science Institute) Library. For Inoue, an extensive amount of her publications in "*Katei Shūhō* (Weekly Home)," are available. They are housed at the Japan Women's University Library. In addition, there are nearly five-hundred articles that Inoue published in a wide range of

³⁰ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]* (Tokyo: Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, 1942). Nihon Joshi Daigaku [Japan Women's University], *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Gakuen Shi 2 [Japan Women's University History 2]* (Tokyo: Nihon Joshi Daigaku [Japan Women's University], 1968). Ōfūkai, *Ōfūkai Hachijūnen Shi [Ōfūkai Eighty-Year History]* (Tokyo: Ōfūka hachijūnen shi shuppan iinkai, 1984).

³¹ Ochanomizu University is the former Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School. The school changed its name to *Ochanomizu joshi daigaku*, literally Ochanomizu Women's University, after the World War II. The university has chosen to drop the gender designation from its English name and is now referred to as Ochanomizu University. Please see Martha Caroline Tocco, "School Bound: Women's Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1994). 139.

magazines, commercial and academic journals.³² They are available at the National Diet Library.

In addition to two women's publications and secondary sources on their lives and institutions, this study includes a wide range of documents, which include both primary and secondary sources. They were located in both Japan and the United States and written both in Japanese and English. These sources include official documents, such as government reports from the United States, Great Britain and Japan, and nineteenth- to twentieth-century institutional records publications including textbooks, newspapers, magazines, and academic journals.

Chapter Outline

This dissertation consists of four parts, each of which is framed by the themes that connect two women's lives. Each part consists of two chapters, which compare their lives.

Part One, titled "Home and School," explores the early stages of Miyakawa's and Inoue's lives: socio-economic status of their families, their educational experiences and evolving aspirations, and their professional experiences.

Part Two, titled "Studying Abroad," explores the ways in which Miyakawa and Inoue encountered and interpreted Western models of domestic education. They studied in different nations and gained models of domestic education distinct from each other. They situated each model in the broader social context of each nation and shaped their specific

³² Kobayashi, "*Nihon Ni Okeru Kindai Kaseigaku Seiritsu Katei No Kenkyū - Inoue Hide No Shisō to Jissen O Chūshin Ni Shite* [the Formation Process of Modern Home Economics in Japan - Inoue Hide's Principles and Practices]". 5

outlook on women's roles in contributing to household finance, family living, social advancement, and national prosperity.

Part Three, titled "Returning Home," explores their strategies to advance domestic education. They adopted different strategies in an attempt to attain distinct goals in different institutional contexts. They faced an array of institutional constraints and failed to implement their ideal domestic education in spite of relentless attempts.

Part Four, titled "Pursuing a Crusade," compares their strategies and accomplishment as leaders of specific higher educational initiatives. They constructed a new institutional context in an attempt to facilitate their ambitions. They identified education opportunities in the context of wartime mobilization and imperial expansion and relentlessly pursued their institutional goals.

The conclusion analyzes differences between Miyakawa's and Inoue's professional endeavors and suggests possibilities for further studies.

Terminology

This dissertation primarily adopts the term "home economics"³³ due to its familiarity as a Japanese translation of the field, "*kasei-gaku*."³⁴ This dissertation also adopts "domestic science" interchangeably when Miyakawa and Inoue used this term in their

³³ The names used to discuss this field are controversial. In the United States, the most common term used until the 1920s was "domestic science" or variations of that although prominent scholars in the field adopted the name of "home economics" to the name of the professional organization of the field. Sarah Stage, "Home Economics, What's in a Name?," in *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession*, ed. Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). 1-13. In Great Britain, "domestic science" or "domestic economy" was the common term. H. Reynard, "Home Economics in Great Britain," *Journal of Home Economics* 20, no. 11 (1928).

³⁴ Other scholarly works demonstrate a use of "home economics" to address the field. Please see Harrell, "The Meiji "New Woman" And China.", Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko: Ambitious Woman."

English writings. In addition, it adopts a term of “domestic affairs (*kaji*)” for a discussion of the secondary school curriculum.

Transliteration

Japanese surnames precede given names, following Japanese practice. Exceptions to this order are names of the authors in citations. Macrons have been omitted from common names, such as Tokyo.

PART ONE: HOME AND SCHOOL

CHAPTER 1: A PATH TO GREAT BRITAIN

Introduction

This chapter looks at the first quarter-century of Miyakawa Sumi's life. First, it investigates her parents' strategy to rise in a Japanese social hierarchy through the modernization process of the Meiji era. Her parents, who originally came from the peasant family class, keenly identified a possibility of advancement in the modernization policies and decisively took advantage of the transformative society. They were successful in advancing better social, financial, and geographical positions. Their relentless ambition culminated in an equal support of their sons' and daughters' schooling in an attempt to maximize their potential social mobility.

This chapter also demonstrates an array of new educational opportunities that enabled Miyakawa to obtain a study-abroad opportunity. A total of sixteen years of schooling experiences equipped her academically, dignified her spiritually, and qualified her professionally. Consequently, she gained a career opportunity in Okinawa prefecture, the southernmost island with crucial militaristic roles in Japanese expansionism. Her professional career subsequently prepared her for a prestigious position as a governmental scholar with a three-year mission to explore British domestic education.

The Miyakawa Family: Pursuing Alternatives

Miyakawa Sumi was born on September 7, 1875 in Nagasaki City,¹ the westernmost reaches of the Kyushu Island, which faced towards the East China Sea. She was the third

¹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 6.

child of Moritarō and Kane. Her brother Hyōichi, the eldest sibling, was eight years old while her sister Toku was four years of age.

Unlike the first two children, Miyakawa's birth upset her parents, especially her mother, Kane. She had a birthmark over her left cheek to the ear. Kane blamed herself for Miyakawa's facial flaw. Moritarō and Kane were worried about her future life, specifically, the lack of her marriage prospects. They even wished that Miyakawa had been a baby boy, whose life was less likely bothered by physical appearance. They were convinced of the necessity of an alternative life choice to marriage for their second daughter.²

Moritarō and Kane excelled in imagining and pursuing possibilities of alternative life choices. Moritarō had selected an alternative life option to his peasant background when he was fifteen years of age. The option was specifically offered by the historical moment of 1859 in Nagasaki city: an opening of the port after a two-hundred-years' seclusion.³ The opening of the port brought a Scottish trader, Thomas Blake Glover, who started the arms business, importing battle ships, guns, and gunpowder for rebellious Satsuma, Tosa, and Chōshū clans.⁴ Moritarō started to work for Glover's trading company, which flourished well enough to hire local staff to run the business.⁵ In ten years, Moritarō married a peasant woman, Kane, who was sixteen years old. In contrast to a typical three-generational agrarian household, Kane enjoyed an alternative household model,

² Ibid. 7.

³ The Tokugawa government opened a port in Nagasaki, Yokohama, and Hakodate because of the U.S.-Japan Friendship and Commerce Treaty of 1858.

⁴ Takeo Shigefuji, *Nagasaki Kyoryūchi [Nagasaki Concession]* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1968). 146.

⁵ Kunio Kamura, *Gurabā En Monogatari [the Glover Garden Story]* (Nagasaki: Nagasaki bunkensha, 1988). 189.

which was exempted from both in-laws and farming practices. She took advantage of a gendered division of work of a modern household due to her husband's secure financial income.⁶

Moritarō and Kane attained an alternative social position in addition to an alternative household model. The Imperial Charter Oath of Five Articles, which was promulgated in 1868 when they got married, dismantled the four-class system of samurai, peasant, artisan, and merchant and redefined them as “commoner (*heimin*)” with equal legal status in a modern society.

Moritarō was convinced of meritocracy, a new public principle of the Meiji state. He observed role models of high achievers, who used to be former Thomas Glover & Co. clients. Regardless of the previous social status, they became elite bureaucrats or successful entrepreneurs. The former included Ōkuma Shigenobu, a well-educated ex-*samurai* while the latter was represented by Iwasaki Yatarō, who used to be a lesser *samurai* and launched the Mitsubishi ship company.⁷

Moritarō and Kane pursued financial aspirations due to their faith in alternative possibilities offered by the Meiji state. They took advantage of a new policy that legalized private ownership of land in pursuit of promoting capitalist economy.⁸ They attained their goal of homeownership in several years. Their immediate success was mainly due to Kane's competence in financial and household management. She saved every penny to generate capital from Moritarō's monthly salary, which was no more than

⁶ Ōhama, Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]. 4.

⁷ Ibid. 9.

⁸ E. H. Norman, "The Restoration," in *Origins of the Modern Japanese State Selected Writings of E. H. Norman*, ed. John W. Dower (New York: Random House, 1975). 204.

five yen. In addition, Kane solely managed housework without hiring domestic maids (*jochū*), in an attempt to save their wages.⁹ Their new second-story house in *Jūnin-machi*, the northwest of Nagasaki, subsequently promoted their household savings. They rented out a room on the second floor and added a stable cash income into the shoestring household budget.¹⁰

After starting a family, Moritarō and Kane centered the hard work ethics in their moral disciplines for the children. They were convinced of the significance of individual efforts in attaining success in the meritocratic society. They emphasized their life motto in an attempt to enhance their children's potential social advancement: "all you have to do is to work diligently. If others work four hours, make it double; you should work eight hours to advance yourself."¹¹

Moritarō and Kane decisively took advantage of the source of success in the meritocratic society: the universal education system. The 1872 Fundamental Code of Education marked the beginning of universal education system, which mandated both boys and girls aged from six to fourteen to attend an eight-year primary school.¹² They sent the first son, Hyōichi, to a local elementary school in the following year when he

⁹ Sumi Ōe, "Dokuritsu Dokkō Hitoni Tayoru Na [Be Independent. Do Not Count on Others]," *Katei [Home]* 2, no. 4 (1932).

¹⁰ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 5.

¹¹ Sumi Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]* (Tokyo: Jitsubunkan, 1911). 127.

¹² The Preamble to the Fundamental Code of Education stated an ideal of equal educational opportunity regardless of gender. The first sentence of the Preamble claimed "From among our general population of nobles, former samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants, including the women and children of these classes, henceforth, it is expected that there shall be no community with an uneducated household and no family with an uneducated member." Girls' inclusion in public elementary school resulted from a matching ideal of educated motherhood between Confucian belief and American values. The Code drafting committee found the fundamental compatibility between the long-held Confucian belief that a mother's character influences the children she bears and the American value of "republican motherhood," which supported American women's education so that they could, in turn, properly begin the early education of their children. Tocco, "School Bound: Women's Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan". 92-93.

turned six years old. They were unusual parents since boys' elementary school enrollment rate was merely 39.9% nationwide.¹³ They were even extraordinary parents for sending their daughter, Toku, three years later when girls' enrollment rate was merely 21%.¹⁴ Though Moritarō and Kane were likely to struggle along with a registration fee of 25-sen and monthly tuition fee of 50-sen for each child,¹⁵ they evidently took advantage of equal educational opportunity between their son and daughter.

Moritarō's search for alternative life opportunity transcended the regional boundaries. He solely moved to a new capital, Tokyo, in pursuit of a position in the Ministry of Navy. Thomas Glover closed his corporation in Nagasaki in August 1871¹⁶ and arranged employment in Tokyo for Moritarō through his network with the state bureaucrats.¹⁷ Shortly after his migration to Tokyo, Moritarō switched his job due to another occupational opportunity at the *Daizen-ka* of the Imperial Household Agency, which was in charge of meals for the Imperial family.¹⁸ This new position was likely due to his personal acquaintance with Ōkuma Shigenobu, the Minister of Finance, which he had

¹³ Ibid. 109.

¹⁴ The Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Hyakunenshi Shiryō Hen [One Hundred Year History of the Fundamental Code of Education the Statistical Edition]* (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1972).497.

¹⁵ Tocco, "School Bound: Women's Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan". 97. Toku might have received some discount since the Fundamental Code provided that school district officials could reduce a monthly tuition for the second child in a family enrolled in elementary school.

¹⁶ Thomas Glover moved to Kobe, which opened a port in 1868.

¹⁷ This position was likely to be arranged through Glover's network with Iwasaki Yatarō, who launched Mitsubishi Mail Steam Ship Company by patronage of Ōkubo Toshimichi, the Minister of Interior, and Ōkuma Shigenobu, the Minister of Finance. Iwasaki Yatarō Iwasaki Yanosuke Denki Hensankai [The Association of Writing a Biography of Iwasaki Yatarō and Iwasaki Yanosuke], *Iwasaki Yatarō Den [Biography of Iwasaki Yatarō]* (Tokyo: Mitsubishi honkan, 1967). 92-114.

¹⁸ Kaneko Ken's Letter to Ōkuma Shigenobu. While identification of Kaneko Ken is unclear, it is likely that he was Ōkuma's subordinate. A copy of this letter is stored at the Library of the Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute, which Miyakawa founded in 1925. The year he wrote this letter is unknown.

earned through his work at the Glover's corporation.¹⁹ Moritarō was excited with an increase of his salary from two-yen to fifteen-yen, which enabled him to afford to relocate his family in Tokyo.²⁰

Kane's and the three children's migration from Nagasaki to Tokyo did not merely mean a family reunion. Moritarō and Kane sought to provide the best available secondary education for Hyōichi upon his graduation from a local elementary school in Nagasaki. They apparently distrusted the local middle schools' capability of channeling Hyōichi to potential modern professions offered by the new Meiji society.²¹ Local middle schools were less privileged both academically and institutionally due to lack of financial resources in contrast to the governmental educational institutions financed by the Ministry of Education.²²

Moritarō and Kane chose the prestigious *Keiō Gijuku Yōchisha*, which was an affiliated academy with *Keiō Gijuku* (forerunner to Keio University) for young pupils. They might have chosen this institution because of the large enrollment by students from notable and wealthy families.²³ *Keiō Gijuku* was founded by Fukuzawa Yukichi, a prominent Meiji educator. He published “*Gakumon no Susume* [An Encouragement of Learning],”²⁴ which advocated academic studies as the source of modern civilization and

¹⁹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 9.

²⁰ Kiyoshi Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]* (Tokyo: Chuo koron sha, 1940). 194.

²¹ There were several private educational institutions in Nagasaki city that offered secondary education for boys.

²² Donald Roden, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980). 32-33.

²³ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 11.

²⁴ This publication consisted of a total of seventeen editions, which were published over five years, from December 1871 to November 1876. They accomplished an outstanding sale, and Fukuzawa himself

national progress. Fukuzawa emphasized the significance of academic learning rather than hereditary privilege in attaining both individual and social progress, wealth and honor. Moritarō and Kane might have gained their confidence in their belief in individual efforts due to its compatibility with his statement.

As did her elder brother, Miyakawa benefitted from an array of modern education opportunities in the new capital. The first one was compulsory elementary education in her neighborhood. Her attendance to primary school was still exceptional. Girls' enrollment rate remained low and was much lower than the boys' rate even nearly ten years after the foundation of the modern schooling system.²⁵

Primary Education: Acquiring Academic Traditions

Miyakawa entered Tomoe Elementary School in 1881,²⁶ which was one of the oldest elementary schools in Tokyo. It was founded at one of the *Zōjōji* temples, which was the grandest temple in *Shiba-Park*,²⁷ an old city in the western Tokyo.²⁸ As they did in Nagasaki, Moritarō and Kane tactfully managed their household savings and purchased a

estimated that 1 out of every 160 Japanese had read it. Earl Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japan Thought* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981). 45.

²⁵ Girls enrollment remained nearly 20 % while the boys' rate rose closer to 60%. The Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Hyakunenshi Shiryō Hen [One Hundred Year History of the Fundamental Code of Education the Statistical Edition]*. 214.

²⁶ Several Miyakawa's classmates later became prominent public figures, such as Minami Jirō, who was the eighth Korean Governor-General, and Sekiguchi Yaekichi, who was a professor of mechanical engineering of the Tokyo Institute of Technology. Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 196.

²⁷ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 19.

²⁸ Edward Seidensticker, *Low City, High City Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1983). 225.

house in the *Shiba*-Park neighborhood. Moritarō had been familiar with this local area due to his past residence at the official Navy boarding house in the vicinity.²⁹

Miyakawa's primary education experiences were filled with academic legacies of the Tokugawa period. She remembered that "my primary education originated from the traditional educational practices,"³⁰ in spite of relentless endeavor of the Ministry of Education to adopt the Western academic standards. She used standard textbooks of Chinese Studies in pre-Meiji Japanese society, such as *Jūhachi Shiriyaku* (An Outline of Chinese History) and *Bunshō Kihan* (The Standard Composition). The curriculum was constructed around specific textbooks, which was the common structure in the older schools in Tokugawa era. It was inconsistent with the curriculum organization defined by the Code of Fundamental Education, which divided the curriculum into subjects, such as handwriting, vocabulary, grammar, geography, physical science, and arithmetic, among others.³¹ Miyakawa highly valued the Chinese Studies in her later life since "I found the usefulness of high academic standards of Chinese history and geography. Especially when I took the entrance exam at the Women's Higher Normal School, I found it quite easy because of my studies of Chinese Learning in primary school."³²

In addition to the curriculum, Miyakawa's teachers inherited instructional approaches from the pre-Meiji educational institutions. She was required "to recite all passages

²⁹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 11.

³⁰ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 196.

³¹ Brian Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004). 178.

³² Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 197. Miyakawa passed the entrance exam of the Women's Higher Normal School in 1895, which consisted of Chinese classics, national language, national history, and mathematics. Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Iinkai, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]*. 135.

mechanically,” which was considered as *sodoku* (recitation), orthodox methods of Confucian education.³³ She applied rote learning style even to Western scientific knowledge, which was introduced by *Shōgaku doku-hon*, the first textbook that translated the American Wilson Readers.³⁴ She was grateful for the oratorical styles that she gained through rote learning since “it facilitated me to construct a formal speech for my presentations.” She became a high-profile conference speaker in her later life, especially after she assumed professorship at the Women’s Higher Normal School.

Acquisition of academic legacy led Miyakawa to an advanced educational opportunity of Western learning. Miyakawa entered *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō* (Toyo Eiwa Women’s Academy), which was the first missionary girls’ school established in 1884.³⁵ Moritarō and Kane chose a missionary school because of a high potential of English language education for offering women professional opportunities that secured financial independence.³⁶ Especially, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō* was the most prestigious and largest missionary school for girls in the metropolitan area, which taught 235 students,³⁷ among at least eleven secondary schools for girls that were privately founded.³⁸

³³ Mark E. Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1995). 6.

³⁴ They were translated and published by the Ministry of Education in 1874. Patricia Tsurumi, “Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks: Old Values for a New Society?,” *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 2 (1974).

³⁵ Female missionaries dominated the work of girls’ education in Japan during the two decades of the 1870s and 1880s due to the lack of governmental policy of women’s education.

³⁶ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 24.

³⁷ *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakunenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin]* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984). 30.

³⁸ Tokyo Prefectural Archives, *Tokyo No Joshi Kyōiku [Women's Education in Tokyo]* (Tokyo: Tokyo jōhō renrakushitsu, 1961). The Ministry of Education took a laissez-faire policy for women’s post-elementary education. Accordingly, private schools for girls’ post-elementary education existed outside the national education institutions and were not standardized.

Miyakawa had shaped her academic aspirations for secondary education in parallel to her parental expectation. She was well aware that her destiny was different from other girls, who took marriage for granted in their post-elementary school lives. Due to her facial flaw and lack of marital prospects, she accepted the necessity of advanced education in pursuit an alternative life with financial independence.

I did not need to think of my choice after graduation. I was already aware that I am different from ordinary young women by the time I became a teenager. While they could think of the possibility of either staying home to prepare for their marriage or advancing to a secondary school, I had only the latter choice. I gave up a chance of marriage due to my facial fault and had to prepare myself for financial independence. Therefore, I was determined to enter a secondary school.³⁹

Miyakawa completed her eight-year elementary school in July 1889 and advanced to *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō* in January 1899, which was located in Azabu,⁴⁰ the home of the highly affluent and international set.⁴¹

Secondary Education: Relieving a Mind

The most significant experience at Tōyō Eiwa was to know of the Lord. Religious education that I received at this school touched my inner spirits and shaped my value systems...Gospels that missionary educators gave to me remain in my heart eternally. They are my life-long treasures and twinkle like stars in the night sky.⁴²

Miyakawa was saved from a sense of inferiority by the Christian gospels. She was touched by missionary educators' equal treatment of the students, regardless of her distinctive physical appearance or humble family background,⁴³ which made a sharp

³⁹ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 198.

⁴⁰ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 22.

⁴¹ Seidensticker, *Low City, High City Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake*. 240.

⁴² Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 204. 207.

⁴³ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 29.

contrast to a majority of her classmates.⁴⁴ Missionary educators emphasized their faith in human equality before God.⁴⁵

Miyakawa was saved by another gospel, which emphasized the significance of her inner spirits rather than a physical figure. She was heartened by missionary educators' words, which was "the Lord looks at something not visible but invisible; not your appearance but your heart." She came to overcome her handicap and gained prospects of her future life due to the Lord's indifference to her appearance.⁴⁶

*...I came to mind a birthmark less and less since I learned that the Lord cared about our hearts and not our face. I became hopeful about my future for the first time in my life. Whenever I look at myself in the mirror, I remind myself of the Lord.*⁴⁷

Miyakawa was also inspired by moral guidance on inner spirit advancement. She learned the significance of self-discipline in getting rid of her negative emotions and building character. Missionary educators emphasized the significance of her will to change herself.⁴⁸

*I once asked Miss Veazey how people could get rid of sinful emotions, such as envy or jealousy. She asked me back the following question; "Do you think that you could forget i-ro-ha [Japanese syllabary]?" I answered "Of course not." Then, she insightfully told me that "Well, it is the same thing. Nobody was innately granted knowledge or virtue. People could attain both – whether Japanese syllabary or righteousness- only by continuous disciplines. They are the only way to make knowledge and virtues a part of yourself."*⁴⁹

⁴⁴ *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō* functioned as a substitution of the Peeress School until its foundation in 1885. A majority of students and alumnae were daughters and granddaughters of Meiji top officials, such as Ito Hirobumi and Iwakura Tomomi. *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakunenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin]*. 36-37.

⁴⁵ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 199.

⁴⁶ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 33.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 205-206.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 205-206.

Miyakawa also learned the ways to share the Lord's blessing. She engaged in philanthropic activities of the "King's Daughters' Society," a students' volunteer group that organized social welfare projects. Miyakawa and her classmates collectively sought to provide material comforts and education for the needy in the vicinity.⁵⁰ She was touched by their spiritual dedication to the Lord, who embraced the least privileged.⁵¹

Most of all, Miyakawa was inspired by the missionary educators' dedication to the Lord. All of them embodied human virtue through their educational practices. They were serene, pious, and humble women, who bravely crossed the national borders in pursuit of their dedication to women's education.⁵² They became Miyakawa's life-long role models of educators. When she was assigned to teach in the Okinawa prefecture, a remote southernmost island, she was excited for an opportunity to pursue her role models, who traveled far away to serve local girls with modern education.⁵³

Miyakawa attained not only spiritual gains but also high command of English as her parents had expected. Miyakawa "completely owed [her] language competence to English training at *Tōyō Eiwa*.⁵⁴ She highly valued a unique approach to language instruction, which emphasized the understanding of the meaning of the original text and its translation with literally authentic Japanese language. It made a sharp contrast to the

⁵⁰ Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakunenshi Hensan Jikkō Iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin]*. 76

⁵¹ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 207.

⁵² Ibid. 206.

⁵³ Ibid. 212.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 204.

typical instructional style by Japanese teachers of English language, which merely replaced English words with Japanese equivalents.⁵⁵

After completing her five-year secondary education, twenty-year-old Miyakawa experienced a turning point to define her professional path. Her temporary teaching experience at her alma mater urged her to reconsider her career choice. She became skeptical about her competence in teaching due to her struggles against students of the same age group with her. She thought of a possibility of switching her professional career from teacher to medical doctor. She asked her elder brother, Hyōichi, who became a naval doctor, for advice on a potential career change. He was well aware of the hardship for women, who became medical doctors in the mid-1890s.⁵⁶ Accordingly, he suggested that she apply to the Women's Higher Normal School in pursuit of a teaching career, which was far more easily attainable by women.⁵⁷ Miyakawa eventually followed Hyōichi's advice, took the entrance exam in September 1895,⁵⁸ and was admitted as one of eighty successful applicants⁵⁹ with prospective status.⁶⁰ In April 1897, she was fully

⁵⁵ Ibid. 203.

⁵⁶ For example, the founder of the first medical school for women in 1900, Yoshioka Yayoi, who later became Miyakawa's close friend, exemplified endless struggles to find a medical school that admitted female students, obtain a permission of practical training, and be licensed by the government. Nobuhiko Murakami, *Meiji Josei Shi [Meiji Women's History]* (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1972). 282-286.

⁵⁷ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 209.

⁵⁸ Applicants' qualifications were "those who were unmarried and between seventeen and twenty-two years old with physical fitness, completing a public women's secondary school or equivalent institutions." Additionally, applicants were required to submit a Governor's recommendation letter. Miyakawa competed against 199 applicants. Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Inkaï, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]*. 135.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 95.

⁶⁰ Applicants with prospective status were examined by their competence in teaching during a four-month training period. This admission policy was based on the Normal School Ordinance in 1886, which was promulgated by the Minister of Education, Mori Arinori. Mori explicitly redefined the goal of public education as a fundamental tool in state building, and thus, attempted to prioritize character guidance in the normal school training. His policy goal was to create patriotic public servants. It was not uncommon, therefore, that applicants with their prospectus status were turned down for their full admission because of

admitted to the Women's Higher Normal School after a four-month training and clearance of admission process.⁶¹

Post-Secondary Education: Preparing for Service to the State

Miyakawa learned how to become a patriotic public servant at the Women's Higher Normal School. She struggled to survive the stern and authoritative institutional environment, which made a sharp contrast to the generous and embracing *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō*.⁶²

Miyakawa gained a strict sense of order through a rigid boarding house regulation.⁶³ She was required to follow the timetable that thoroughly structured students' lives. Boarders were required to wake up at five and assemble for a morning meeting by lining up in the hallway; after breakfast, they attended classes from eight to three; supper started at five followed by a two-hour study session at the assembly hall; and lights-out were at ten. When they needed to go outside the dorm, students were required to get the superintendent's permission and meet the curfew.⁶⁴

Miyakawa acquired standard characters specific to public school teachers: frugality, humbleness, respect for authority, and commitment to public duties.⁶⁵ They were embodied by boarding house superintendents, who were role models of dignity and

“their incompetence to meet the moral standard of the state institution.” Please see Ivan Parker Hall, *Mori Arinori* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973). 412. Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Iinkai, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]*. 116. 135.

⁶¹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 50.

⁶² Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 210.

⁶³ Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Iinkai, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]*. 44.

⁶⁴ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 59-60.

⁶⁵ Hall, *Mori Arinori*. 412.

deportment.⁶⁶ She had to learn respectful etiquette and mannerly conduct, such as “how to bow respectfully to superiors.”⁶⁷

Miyakawa gained professional training for a wide range of academic disciplines. Women’s secondary school teachers, which were alumnae’s professional destiny, were required to be certified for eleven subjects for the women’s secondary school curriculum.⁶⁸ Accordingly, Miyakawa had a hectic academic life, which disappointed her since “we did not have any time for extra-curricular activities, as I did through the King’s Daughters’ Society.”⁶⁹

Miyakawa gained confidence in her academic competence due to her high command of English. She was allowed to take the upper-level English course, which was likely to result in a study-abroad opportunity afterwards.⁷⁰ It was taught by principal, Takamine Hideo, a key figure of normal school training in Japan.⁷¹ Takamine recommended Miyakawa to the Ministry of Education as a government scholar.⁷²

⁶⁶ The superintendents were responsible for the announcements of school orders and notices, such as probation and dismissal. Accordingly, they were equally authoritative figures to both principal and teachers. Nao Aoyama, *Yasui Tetsu Den [Biography of Yasui Tetsu]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1949). 112

⁶⁷ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 220.

⁶⁸ The curriculum consisted of eleven subjects, which included moral education, pedagogy, national language and Chinese classics, English, arithmetic, geography and history, science, domestic affairs, calligraphy and arts, music, and physical education. Ayako Kuramoto, "The Curriculum of Women's Higher Education for Home Economics in Pre-World War Two," *Bulletin of Minatogawa Women's Junior College* 25 (1992).

⁶⁹ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 210.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 220.

⁷¹ Dorothy Rogers, *Oswego: Fountainhead of Teacher Education* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961). 89. Takamine Hideo took a three-year training at the Oswego State Normal and Training School in New York as a governmental scholar in the mid-1870s. After coming back to Japan, he served at the Tokyo Normal School as an assistant principal and principal for fifteen years and then transferred to the Women’s Higher Normal School in 1897, the year when Miyakawa entered the institution. Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Iinkai, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]*. 72.

⁷² Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 220.

Miyakawa had to learn how to distance herself from her classmates. Christians encountered public hostility in the late 1890s when the Ministry of Education banned the teaching of religion at private schools in an attempt to enforce unconditional loyalty to the Emperor.⁷³ Nationalistic spirits increased at the Women's Higher Normal School as well, which upset Miyakawa.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, she positively took the anti-Christian environment as an opportunity to test her Christian faith. She spent the entire four school years "as if a bud buried under the snow." Upon her graduation, she was "grateful for the anti-Christianity environment that trained and reinforced my devotion to God."⁷⁵

Miyakawa's self-training in the Christian faith strengthened her spiritually. She bravely took an alternative life opportunity independent from her school, home, and hometown. She willingly accepted a teaching appointment at Okinawa Women's High School⁷⁶ along the state regulation for the alumnae.⁷⁷ The transfer to Okinawa prefecture, which was more than seven hundred miles away from Tokyo, was typically considered as a relegation and demotion for public officials.

Miyakawa was thrilled with an opportunity to pursue her role models of missionary educators. She remembered their excitement when they heard that a mailman came to school for delivery.

⁷³ Kawamura-Ishii, *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873-1909 New Dimensions in Gender*. 130.

⁷⁴ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 211.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 211. Yasui Tetsu, an alumna of this institution and Miyakawa's predecessor of a governmental scholar studying in the Great Britain from 1897 to 1900, confessed, "When I came back to this institution in 1900 to resume my teaching career, I honestly told principal Mr. Takamine that I had converted to Christianity while I was in England. Then, he warned me and made me swear that I would never preach Christianity at the school." Aoyama, *Yasui Tetsu Den [Biography of Yasui Tetsu]*. 96.

⁷⁶ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*.

⁷⁷ Alumnae of the Women's Higher Normal School were mandated to serve a public school for the first two years immediately after their graduation as repayment of the tuition remission and stipend for four years. Tocco, "School Bound: Women's Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan". 172.

*My teachers were so thrilled that they dashed into the hallway at the highest speed to receive the letters from Canada. At the beginning, we were wondering what their extraordinary behaviors were for, and worried that it might be a fire somewhere. They were so excited that they completely forgot that they usually told us not to run in the hallway. Seeing my teachers' reactions to mail delivery, I imagined that living abroad might be interesting if you could experience excitement and pleasure this much.*⁷⁸

Her parents had a mixed but supportive reaction to the professional opportunity far away from home. Moritarō was in great anxiety about her transfer while Kane completely supported this opportunity as her mission, telling her that “God always stays with you wherever you go.”⁷⁹

Twenty-seven-year old Miyakawa headed for Okinawa in April 1901 with her excitement, parental moral support, and a newly-obtained teaching license.

Teaching Career: Becoming an Education Leader

Miyakawa was excited about an Okinawan life. Everything was new to her – moving to a new place, living alone, and educating local students professionally. Especially, teaching Okinawan girls was “the most rewarding experience I have ever had as a teacher. I was enthusiastically dedicated to my profession and students because of my excitement for a new adventure immediately after graduation.”⁸⁰

Miyakawa became familiar with the depth of prejudice against Okinawans in her classroom. The majority of students of *Okinawa Kōtō Jogakkō* (Okinawa Women’s High School) were daughters of Japanese elite officials and businesspersons residing in Okinawa. They came over to the Okinawa prefecture, originally known as the Ryukyu

⁷⁸ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 212

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 213

Kingdom, after its territorial integration into the Meiji Japan state system in 1879.

Miyakawa encountered arrogant students who believed in Japanese colonialism and cultural hegemony. She confessed that “the most challenging experience for me was the Japanese students’ colonial attitude towards Okinawan students.”⁸¹ The Okinawa Women’s High School served as a model school to disseminate Japanese womanhood by transforming the distinctive Ryukyuan hairstyle and costume into Japanese ones. The Japanese modern schooling system served as a vehicle to Japanize the Okinawans socially and culturally.⁸²

In this institutional context, Miyakawa treated all of her students equally regardless of their class or ethnic background. She adopted humanitarian approaches in pursuit of her missionary teachers of *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō*.⁸³ Miyakawa’s students, especially Okinawans, appreciated her dedication to them and her fair treatment of all the students.⁸⁴ They were impressed with Miyakawa’s unique approach to them:

Most of the teachers from Yamato (mainland Japan) were reluctant to come over to Okinawa. Around that time, Okinawa was a place for exile from Yamato. But

⁸¹ Ibid. 213.

⁸² For example, the Okinawa Women’s High School formalized its school uniform, the Japanese *kimono*, when it was established in 1900. Ken'ichirō Kondō, *Kindai Okinawa Ni Okeru Kyōiku to Kokumin Tōgō [Education and Assimilation in Modern Okinawa]* (Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2006). 33.

⁸³ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 213.

⁸⁴ Miyakawa’s dedication to her students inspired some of them to pursue a post-secondary educational opportunity and choose the same profession with her. For example, Komesu Toshiko aspired to advance to the same school with Miyakawa, and became the first Okinawan student at the Women’s Higher Normal School in 1907. Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Iinkai, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]*. 106. Another student, Tomihara Hatsuko, who later became the first president of the alumnae association of the Okinawa Women’s High School, served as a local elementary school teacher for the first two years after graduation, and then, entered the Japan Women’s Institute to pursue her academic interest. Tomihara wanted to enter the Women’s Higher Normal School, which was Miyakawa’s alma mater. However, she had to give up her aspiration due to her father’s disapproval. When she eventually gained his approval, she was overaged for the application eligibility. Accordingly, she chose the Japan Women’s Institute. Yoneko Hokama, “Tomihara Hatsuko,” in *Jidai O Irodotta Onna Tachi: Kindai Okinawa Josei Shi [Pioneer Women: Modern Okinawa Women's History]*, ed. Ryūkyū Shimpō sha (Naha: Nirai sha, 1996). 80.

*Miyakawa-sensei (Miss. Miyakawa) was totally different from other Yamato teachers, who explicitly looked down us. She always told us that it was her calling to come all the way to Okinawa, as did her teachers at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō all the way from Canada to teach them, Oriental children.*⁸⁵

Miyakawa enjoyed her prestige as a transferred teacher with governmental credentials from mainland Japan. She took a leadership role in receiving an Imperial Family member, Princess Tomiko, when she stopped by Okinawa in October 1901 on the way to Taiwan to commemorate her late husband, Kitashirakawanomiya Yoshihisa.⁸⁶ To host Prince Tomiko, Miyakawa was responsible for dressing up her students in Japanese *kimonos* and hairstyles and instructing them in Japanese etiquette. She was proud of herself since “my students perfectly fulfilled their honorable mission in the presence of Princess Tomiko.”⁸⁷

Miyakawa also enjoyed a privilege of publication opportunity. She wrote an article titled “About the development of individualism” for “*Ryūkyū Kyōiku*, (Ryukyuan Education),” a major periodical issued by the Okinawan Teachers’ Association.⁸⁸ In her article, she discussed her belief in the significant role of education in developing full personhood.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Hokama, "Tomihara Hatsuko." 78-80.

⁸⁶ Kitashirakawanomiya Yoshihisa served as the General of the Imperial Guard of Japan (*konoe shidan*). Yoshihisa died from malaria on November 5, 1895 while engaged in settling the anti-colonization movement in Taiwan after Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War. Yasuaki Nakayama, ed., *Shimbun Shusei Meiji Hennenshi [Meiji History through Newspapers]*, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Zaisei keizai gakkai, 1934).316.

⁸⁷ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*.213.

⁸⁸ *The Ryūkyū Kyōiku* served as a literary space for local teachers to discuss educational issues in the Okinawa prefecture in the post Sino-Japanese War contexts.

⁸⁹ Sumi Miyakawa, "Kojin Sei No Hattatsu Ni Tsukite [About the Development of Individualism]," *Ryūkyū Kyōiku [Ryukyuan Education]*, no. 69 (1901).

Miyakawa extended her leadership role to the local community. She taught a Bible class at the Okinawan Methodist Church every Sunday. Her Bible class was filled with baptized young Okinawan men, the majority of whom were the normal school and the middle school alumni. She enjoyed the company of young educated Okinawans, who started to learn Christianity as a way into modern civilization.⁹⁰

Miyakawa was faced with a turning point of her professional career when the first year was nearly over in 1902. She was notified of an appointment to governmental overseas scholarship shortly after she had sent her English curriculum vitae upon the Ministry of Education's request.⁹¹ While the reason of her selection was unknown, it was likely due to a high reputation for her professional contribution to the Okinawan women's school, which was the last school where the Women's Higher Normal School alumnae were willing to teach. Additionally, her high command of English earned her a recommendation from the principal of her alma mater, Takamine Hideo.⁹²

Miyakawa was thrilled with this opportunity since "my aspiration for a study-abroad came true."⁹³ She might have shaped an ambition for an overseas scholar in pursuit of her brother, Hyōichi. He had just come back from Great Britain after finishing his medical degree.⁹⁴ Miyakawa was unlikely to be overanxious about her life in London due to his social network. The British Consulate General, Mr. Arakawa Minoji and his

⁹⁰ Okinawans' conversion to Christianity rapidly increased especially after the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 while Chinese classics and philosophy firmly remained major social principles. Masahide Ishikawa, *Okinawa Kirisutokyō Shi [Okinawa Christianity History]* (Tokyo: Inochi no kotoba sha, 1994). 162.

⁹¹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 78.

⁹² Ibid. 79.

⁹³ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 215.

⁹⁴ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 82.

wife, who once in a while invited him for a dinner of *sashimi* (sliced raw fish), a typical Japanese cuisine, during his stay.⁹⁵

Miyakawa was awarded generous amounts of scholarship⁹⁶ to fulfill a specific mission. She was responsible for importing British domestic education to the Department of Arts and Crafts (*Gigei-ka*) at her alma mater, which was founded in 1899.⁹⁷ This institutional reform was a response to the Act of Women's High School (*Kōtō Jogakkō Rei*) issued in the same year, which mandated women's secondary schools to include a new academic discipline, household affairs (*kaji*), in the curriculum.⁹⁸ The Women's Higher Normal School, as the primary supplier of women's secondary school teachers, urgently needed a specialist capable of undertaking a model curriculum of the Department of Arts and Crafts. Miyakawa was selected to fulfill this goal and was awarded a three-year governmental scholarship to study in Great Britain.⁹⁹

Miyakawa shaped a vision of her study-abroad mission on the way to Great Britain. She aspired to obtain scholarly strategies for mobilizing women for service to state in pursuit of national advancement. After taking the steamship “*Shinano-maru*” at the Kobe port in October 1902, she enjoyed sightseeing at stopovers in Asian nations. She was overwhelmed by the British affluence throughout a two-month voyage to London: a huge foreign settlement in Shanghai, a mansion with the latest electric system in Singapore,

⁹⁵ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 271.

⁹⁶ Her scholarship included eighteen hundred yen annually in addition to a two-hundred yen traveling allowance Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 80.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 78.

⁹⁸ Machiko Noda, *Nihon Kindai Gakkō Kyōiku Ni Okeru Kaji Kyōiku Seiritsu Shi Kenkyū [Research on Household Affairs Formation History in Japanese Modern Education]* (Tokyo: Domesu shuppan, 1999). 134.

⁹⁹ Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Inkaï, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]*. 82-83.

and an array of resort hotels in luxury in Colombo. At the same time, she was appalled by the degraded status of Japan in the international world order. Specifically, she was disgusted by the position of Japanese women in the Asian nations, who were unconditionally identified as prostitutes. She and other Japanese women were recommended to wear Western clothes instead of Japanese *kimonos* to disguise their national identity.¹⁰⁰ She was, then, convinced of the necessity of elevating Japan's international status and endeavored her aspirations to learn British strategies of attaining national prosperity.¹⁰¹

Miyakawa arrived in London at the end of December 1902. Her life started with a search for an institution that provided a curriculum of home economics.

Summary

Miyakawa's early stages of life revealed the ways in which she was inspired to mobilize women for service to state. First, she discovered and believed that Meiji Japan was an agent in providing life opportunities for individual nationals. As a daughter of successful dream-achievers, Miyakawa was most likely to value the emergence of alternative life options in a modern nation-state. Her parents were liberated from peasant status and qualified as commoners with legal rights. They were allowed to pursue financial aspirations and possess personal properties in parallel to the state goal of promoting capitalist economy. In addition, her father obtained gainful employment opportunities in a new capital, Tokyo, due to formation of modern state institutions, such

¹⁰⁰ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 84-85

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 83-84.

as the Ministry of Navy and the Imperial Household Agency. Accordingly, he afforded to relocate his family and pursued advanced education opportunities for his son. Above all, Miyakawa's parents owed all of their children's potential of upward social mobility to the national universal education system.

Miyakawa then came to believe in life opportunities specific to women with state sponsorship. She gained advanced professional training at a state educational institution and obtained governmental credentials of women's secondary school teacher, which was one of the few prestigious professions accessible by women. She was privileged to transcend the traditional borders of family, community and gender in pursuit of an advanced teaching career opportunity at a local women's secondary school. In addition, she gained the privilege of crossing the national borders, a study-abroad opportunity, in pursuit of state commitment to standardizing home economics, a gender-specific academic discipline.

Miyakawa then believed in nationals' responsibilities for serving state in pursuit of national prosperity. She discovered that the Japanese state lagged far behind its alliance nation, British Empire.¹⁰² She was appalled by the degraded status of Japan in the international world order, which was symbolized by unconditional identification of Japanese women as prostitutes. In contrast, she was overwhelmed by the British affluence in colonial Asia throughout her voyage to London. It was not surprising, then, that she came to evolve her aspiration to elevate Japan's international status and power in

¹⁰² The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed on January 29, 1902, the year when Miyakawa left Japan for London. Ibid. 81.

the wake of Great Britain. If the Japanese state was the agent in providing life opportunities for national subjects, including women, Japanese prosperity was a determinant of their welfare. Accordingly, she was likely to define her mission of study-abroad in pursuit of her aspiration: discovering scholarly strategies of promoting women's capabilities of contributing to national progress and prosperity.

CHAPTER 2: A PATH TO THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

This chapter looks at Inoue Hide's first three- decades of life. First, it investigates her family environment and identity. Unlike Miyakawa, who was an ex-peasants' daughter, Inoue was a born elite, whose family had been a prestigious rural entrepreneur for generations. Accordingly, she inherited ideology and traditions that sustained the family prestige. Specifically, she observed strong female leadership in community administration and kinship management.

This chapter also examines the roles of modern schooling in shaping Inoue's ambitions for higher education opportunities. Unlike Miyakawa, who lived in the new capital with an array of modern educational institutions, Inoue needed to attend a boarding school as early as her primary education. Living away from home enabled her to meet alternative female role models outside her familial network. They inspired Inoue to pursue advanced educational opportunities and led her to an encounter with a prominent women's education reformist, Naruse Jinzō, who changed her life irrevocably. Inoue was inspired to attend the Japan Women's Institute, which was launched by Naruse, and specialized in an unknown scholarship, "home economics," upon his request. She served as a "founding daughter" of the institution and with a scholarship and aspired to a study-abroad opportunity for professionalizing home economics. She gained Naruse's support for her professional pursuit and left for the United States with an institutional mission: to gain the U.S. model of domestic education and launch a model curriculum upon her return to Japan.

The Inoue Family: Sustaining the Family Prestige

Inoue Hide was born on January 6, 1875, in a hamlet called *Funaki* in Hyogo Prefecture, in western Japan. She was born in the same year as Miyakawa but in a completely different home environment. The Inoue household was a prestigious rural entrepreneur (*shōya*) with a hereditary land and a ruling position.¹

In contrast to Miyakawa's upsetting one, Inoue's birth excited all of her seven family members, namely, her parents, grandmother, three aunts and an uncle. She was the first child as well as the first grandchild. Her sex did not disappoint them since the Inoue household had sustained female headship for two successive generations. Her mother, who was the eldest daughter of five children, adopted a groom while her grandmother replaced her husband due to his untimely death from typhoid.²

Inoue's mother and grandmother were communal leaders because of their prestigious family entrepreneurship. They were responsible for hamlet finance, politics, and welfare. They administrated a variety of public issues, such as communal ceremonies, renovation of infrastructure, or selection of donors to temples.³ Since they needed to organize public documents, report to local officials, and contact other notable households,⁴ it was likely

¹ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Iinkai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 710.

² Ibid. 710.

³ Ibid. 6.

⁴ Many entrepreneur women in rural areas were likely to be educated far beyond the simple rudiments of writing and accounting. Their family prestige required them to play crucial roles in managing the household enterprises, which essentially were of a public nature. Anne Walthall, "The Family Ideology of the Rural Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth Century Japan," *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 3 (1990).

that both of them had advanced levels of literacy and accounting skills though neither of them was formally educated.⁵

Both women were also responsible for private household issues, especially kinship management and marriage arrangements. Family networking was a key issue for sustaining familial prosperity and continuity.⁶ Specifically, they sustained a close relationship with the Sano household, which was her grandmother's and great grandfather's natal family. It was a successful *sake* brewer in the village next to Inoue's, who attained far more prestige than Inoue's. Inoue assumed that their family's leadership skills originated from public spirit of the Sano bloodline.⁷ The Sano household once supported the most celebrated feminist activist, Nakajima Toshiko, who claimed an equal educational opportunity for women,⁸ when she toured for the Popular Rights movement in the vicinity in April 1883.⁹

In addition to her mother and grandmother, Inoue had another female role model in her household. Her three young aunts demonstrated female virtues and family traditions. They respected the hierarchy of kinship relations and demonstrated frugality and diligence, which served as the work ethic for their household employees. Additionally, Inoue learned spinning and weaving, which were her aunts' major production tasks.¹⁰ In her later life, Inoue was grateful for her three aunts since they nurtured her interpersonal

⁵ Hide Inoue, "*Musume No Kyōiku Ga Taisetsu* [Education for Daughters Is Important]," *Katei [Home]* 4, no. 3 (1934).

⁶ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 710.

⁷ Ibid. 710.

⁸ Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983). 37-38.

⁹ Kokkō Sōma, *Meiji Shoki No San Josei [Three Women in Early Meiji]* (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 1985). 47.

¹⁰ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 7-10.

skills. She concluded that “without moral disciplines by my aunts, I might have ended up with a narrow-minded, self-centered snob since I might have been spoiled as the first child of the privileged family.”¹¹

As she grew up, Inoue became aware of her family’s prestige. Her residence was larger and looked different from her playmates’ dwellings, whose parents were tenant farmers of the Inoue household’s lands. Her residential space consisted of six rooms, a kitchen, and a large garden with a storehouse, which was the hallmark of financial prestige.¹² In addition, she found plenty of antiques, such as swords, paintings, and calligraphic works. She loved touching them and inhaling their old smells. She learned that they were very valuable since her parents told her “to be very careful when you handle great grandfather’s treasures.”¹³

When Inoue turned six years old, Inoue’s parents sent her to a local elementary school like Miyakawa’s parents did. However, their reason must have been completely different from Miyakawa’s. Far from individualistic motives for financial gains or social prestige, Inoue’s parents sought to prepare their daughter for potential leadership roles in household entrepreneurship and community. Inoue was a bridal candidate for a household equally privileged to hers.¹⁴ Modern education was likely to be considered as a proper qualification for a future wife in a noble family, like her mother and grandmother.

¹¹ Ibid. 8.

¹² Walthall, "The Family Ideology of the Rural Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth Century Japan."

¹³ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 5.

¹⁴ Inoue had a brother three years her junior, who was considered the most eligible heir prospect.

Inoue's primary education was the start of her long academic journey away from home thereafter. Her privileged family background and the geographical disadvantage in local elementary education allowed her to leave her residence and meet alternative female role models outside her familial network.

Primary Education: Shaping Academic Aspiration

Inoue entered a local elementary school in 1881, which was located a half *ri* (a mile and half) away from her hamlet. She loved her school so much that she “did not mind walking over to the school at all, even on snowy and rainy days.”¹⁵

Inoue needed to transfer to an advanced elementary school in *Kaibara* town, however. The village elementary school covered merely a half of the elementary school curriculum. The 1872 Fundamental Code of Education divided elementary education into two levels, primary and advanced of four years each.¹⁶ The completion of the first four-year curriculum was the end of elementary education for a majority of Inoue's classmates. Only Inoue and several pupils from local nobles' families could afford to proceed to the advanced level.¹⁷ She had to reside in a boarding house since it was too far to commute from her hamlet.¹⁸

At a new school, Inoue met a role model distinct from any of her family members. Miss Imai Maki was a sewing teacher and boarding house superintendent. She was a

¹⁵ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaikai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 9.

¹⁶ Tocco, "School Bound: Women's Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan". 95-96.

¹⁷ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaikai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 9.

professional woman with formal modern education living independently from her home.¹⁹

Inoue learned about a possibility of a secondary education opportunity in Kyoto, which was an ancient capital, a center of cultural traditions. Miss Imai vividly and excitedly shared her learning experiences in the Kyoto Women's School, which achieved high academic reputation as the second oldest public girls' school in Japan.²⁰ She was very close to her pupils since there were only three female boarders, including Inoue, in contrast to more than fifty male boarders.²¹ She was proud of her alma mater, especially its high academic standards.²² By the time Inoue graduated from the advanced elementary school in 1890, she had aspired to pursue secondary education at the Kyoto Women's School.

*Since there were only three boarders, we always surrounded her and asked for her stories. Since she willingly told us the details of her classes, such as Japanese classics and English courses, we came to understand the high academic standard of this school. The more she told us about her exciting and rewarding academic experiences, the more I became eager to go to this school.*²³

Unlike Miyakawa, secondary education opportunity was not a given for Inoue. She had to earn it by herself. Fortunately, she succeeded in gaining family support for her academic pursuit but not from her father. Family members from the Sano bloodline, such as her mother, grandmother, her maternal uncle, and her grand-uncle, were convinced

¹⁹ The 1872 Fundamental Code of Education regularized gender-neutral eligibility and normal school training for public school teaching qualification. The Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Hyakunen Shi [One Hundred Year History of the Fundamental Code of Education]* (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1972). 244.

²⁰ Kyoto Prefecture, *Kyotofu Hyakunen No Shiryō Kyōiku Hen [a Hundred History Materials for Kyoto Prefecture: Education]* (Kyoto: Kyoto furitsu sōgō shiryōkan, 1972).

²¹ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 711.

²² Ibid. 711.

²³ Ibid. 10.

that “women should be educated as equally as men so that they could contribute to social advancement.”²⁴ On the other hand, her father insisted that a daughter of age fifteen should start to prepare for marriage.²⁵ Nonetheless, her father eventually compromised to a reluctant approval due to his wife’s support for Inoue’s persistent negotiation. Once he approved, he voluntarily took care of the application process and made an arrangement for her move to Kyoto. He asked Miss Imai’s father for her reference, which was a requirement of Kyoto Women’s School admission.²⁶ He accompanied Inoue to Kyoto for a two-day trip of over 20-*ri* (60 miles) in straw sandals with gaiters and a futon on the front and a trunk in back.²⁷

Inoue was excited to pursue her academic aspirations at Miss Imai’s alma mater. Her relocation to the ancient capital enabled her to develop a patronage network, which led her to post-secondary education in the metropolis of Tokyo.

Secondary Education: Evolving a Patronage Network

Inoue achieved high academic competence at the Kyoto Women’s High School. This school was structurally upgraded from *Jogakkō* (Women’s School) to *Kōtō Jogakkō* (Women’s High School) after Miss Imai’s graduation, and the curriculum standards were paralleled to Tokyo *Kōtō Jogakkō*, which was a governmental model of women’s secondary school.²⁸ Inoue specifically struggled with the high standards of arts and

²⁴ Ibid. 11.

²⁵ Ibid. 9.

²⁶ Ibid. 10.

²⁷ Ibid. 12.

²⁸ Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Inkaï, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]*. 721.

humanities, which were taught by distinguished faculty with high credentials, such as Inokuma Natsuki, an imperial scholar of National Learning (*kokugaku*).²⁹ In spite of the high academic standards, Inoue attained the honor of top student in every academic subject throughout her four schooling years among the competitive classmates from all over the western Japan.³⁰

Upon graduation, Inoue's life was unexpectedly channeled the opposite direction of her aspirations for advanced academic opportunities. She went back to her hometown due to the urgent necessity of undertaking the next headship position. The most eligible heirship prospect, her younger brother, abruptly passed away at the age of sixteen. Twenty-year old Inoue was required to adopt a groom, and accordingly, got married to Adachi Masaji, two years her junior, in February 1895. He was apparently compatible with Inoue both familiarly and personally. He was an extended family member of the Sano household with advanced academic aspirations. Masaji sought to switch his career path from the military to politics in pursuit of his dedication to imperial expansion in Asia.³¹ Inoue's parents considered him a good son-in-law candidate, and accordingly, agreed to provide him with financial sponsorship for his advanced education.³²

Inoue paradoxically gained an opportunity for exploring alternative life options. She was liberated from both wifhood and heirship duties. Masaji left his hometown in

²⁹ Inokuma Natsuki was a Shinto priest, who lectured the Chronicle of Japan (*Nihon Shoki*) for the Imperial Family from 1906 to 1912.

³⁰ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 712.

³¹ After completing his secondary education at a local private institution, Masaji was admitted to the Navy in 1892 as one of the best of thirty-seven applicants among thirteen hundred. Nonetheless, he quit the Navy after the Sino-Japanese War break out in August 1894 since his request for joining the front was turned down. Masaji Inoue, *Shina Ron [Issues on China]* (Tokyo: Tōa dōbunkai, 1930). 1-11.

³² Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 754-755.

pursuit of his professional aspirations³³ while her parents did not ask her for immediate inheritance of headship position.³⁴ Inoue had freedom to leave the hamlet in pursuit of her personal aspirations.

Inoue chose a life of autonomy with personal sponsorship. She had the privilege of staying at Hirooka Asako's residence. Hirooka was a prominent businesswoman, who successfully ran a banking enterprise, "*Kashima-ya*," in Osaka, a historical commercial center of Japan. Inoue earned her patronage through Hirooka's daughter, Kameko, who was Inoue's ex-roommate at the Kyoto Women's High School. Inoue knew Hirooka long enough. Kameko regularly took Inoue to her home over the weekend while they were boarders. Hirooka always welcomed Inoue and enjoyed her company. Inoue appreciated that "Mrs. Hirooka treated me as if I were another daughter of hers. Mrs. Hirooka, Kameko, and I slept in the same room together; Mrs. Hirooka was in the middle and Kameko and I were at each side of her."³⁵

Inoue enhanced her autonomy under Hirooka's patronage. Inoue once confessed her aspirations to Hirooka for attaining spiritual awakening of the Buddhist discipline at a *zen* temple. Inoue felt compelled to seek a life goal and new ways to live because of the loss of her brother. Without any further inquiry, Hirooka allowed her to follow her soul and spend nearly half a year at a barren temple in secret from her parents. Inoue attributed Hirooka's patronage to their good chemistry. Both of them were active, outgoing, and

³³ After their marriage, Masaji left for Kyoto to study under Arao Kiyoshi, a China expert, who promoted Sino-Japanese trade. Masaji was employed as a governmental translator in Taiwan half a year later. He then had an opportunity to visit his colleagues in China from April to August in 1896. After returning to Japan, he entered the department of political science of *Tokyo Senmon Gakkō* (the forerunner to the Waseda University) in September 1896 with financial sponsorship from the Inoue household. Ibid. 755-756.

³⁴ Ibid. 714.

³⁵ Ibid. 713.

adventurous. Inoue even wondered if “Mrs. Hirooka might prefer me to Kameko since I am much more like her than Kameko, who was rather prudent and reserved.”³⁶

In contrast to Inoue’s reasoning, Hirooka supported Inoue’s self-determinism because of her principles of women’s education. She was convinced of the necessity of nurturing women’s autonomy³⁷ due to her bitter girlhood experience. Born out of wedlock, she was adopted to her father’s wealthy merchant family and destined to be married off to the Hirooka household at the age of two. She was forbidden to read books at the age of thirteen since “women do not need to study.” She desperately aspired for self-determinism for her life and came to dedicate herself to educating women of the next generation as independent human beings.³⁸

Inoue met Naruse Jinzō, who changed her life irrevocably, due to Hirooka’s advocacy of women’s autonomy. Naruse, who was a celebrated women’s education reformist, advocated advancement of women’s full personhood prior to preparing them for female inner duties or citizenly obligations.³⁹ Hirooka was convinced of an identical educational philosophy between them. Accordingly, she offered him financial

³⁶ As an example of their compatibility, Inoue discussed Hirooka’s business trip to a mine, to which she accompanied Inoue and not Kameko. Ibid. 751.

³⁷ Atsumi Takahashi, "Jitsugyōka Hirooka Asako [Business Woman Hirooka Asako]," in *Taishōki No Josei Zasshi [Women's Journals in Taisho Period]*, ed. Kindai Josei Bunka Kenkyū Kai (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1996). 274.

³⁸ Asako Hirooka, "Yo Ga Furō No Genki Wa Nani Ni Yorite Yashinawaruruka [the Causes That Remain Me Youthful]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 171 (1909).

³⁹ Kuni Nakajima, "Naruse Jinzo," in *Ten Great Educators of Modern Japan*, ed. Benjamin C. Duke (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1989). 73.

sponsorship for the public embodiment of his personal endeavor: a founding movement of a higher educational institution for women.⁴⁰

Inoue was inspired to follow Naruse's endeavor to pursue women's higher education. She was impressed by his dedication to women's social advancement, which she learned through his fundraising campaign. Upon Hirooka's request, Inoue accompanied Naruse when he visited elite officials and top business leaders in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe.⁴¹ They were the Meiji oligarchy, who was originally from the same home country of Chōshū with Naruse.⁴² He enthusiastically sought to convince them of women's social advancement in pursuit of national prosperity. Inoue was excited about her status of prospective student when Kameko secretly told her that "Mr. Naruse and my mother will plan to let both of us study at his post-secondary educational institution."⁴³

Inoue had the privilege of pursuing her academic aspiration even after she became a mother. When Inoue gave birth to the first daughter in 1899, Inoue's parents were willing to take care of their granddaughter. Inoue's parents appreciated Hirooka's continuous and firm patronage for their daughter and entirely supported her advanced educational opportunity.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Reiko Kageyama, *Naruse Jinzō No Kyōiku Shisō [Naruse Jinzō's Educational Thought]* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1994). 167.

⁴¹ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 21.

⁴² Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 29-30. Kageyama, *Naruse Jinzō No Kyōiku Shisō [Naruse Jinzō's Educational Thought]*. 164. First, Naruse visited Utsumi Tadakatsu, who was Naruse's old friend and Osaka Governor. Utsumi connected him to Prime Minister, Ito Hirobumi. Both Utsumi and Ito were from Chōshū domain. Then, Ito facilitated Naruse to connect with other elite officials, such as Saionji Kinmochi, and business leaders.

⁴³ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 719.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 714.

Inoue entered the Japan Women's Institute (*Nihon Joshi Daigakkō*),” which opened on April 20, 1901.⁴⁵ The opening of the Japan Women's Institute attracted public attention due to an entrance of 222 students, which was unparalleled to any other post-secondary schools.⁴⁶ Specifically, the Department of Home Economics (*kaseigaku-bu*) was a subject of scholarly attention. A majority of scholars despised it as “scholarship for domestic maids” with little value of the post-secondary curriculum.⁴⁷ Naruse embarked on this department for the first time in Japanese academia. Inoue and the other eighty-three students of this pioneering department were responsible for shaping a new academic discipline in pursuit of Naruse's disciplinary vision.

Post-Secondary Education: Becoming an Institutional Leader

Inoue was selected as a student leader of the Department of Home Economics by Naruse. Inoue reluctantly switched her initial preference to English Literature and accepted Naruse's request to enroll in the pioneering department. He persuaded Inoue to challenge a new discipline due to its significant role in attaining social reform, which was the women's heavenly calling.⁴⁸ Naruse launched this department with his dedication to social reform through modern household management.⁴⁹ He reconceived an individual

⁴⁵ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenishi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 74.

⁴⁶ For example, Women's English Academy started with 10 students in 1900 while Women's Medical School started with 4 students in the same year. Sasaki, *The Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Prewar Japan: A Dynamic Interaction among Institutions, Students, and Government*. 141. 208.

⁴⁷ Hide Inoue, "Sensei to Kaseigaku [Professor Naruse and Home Economics]," *Izumi* 2, no. 10 (1957).

⁴⁸ Kageyama, *Naruse Jinzō No Kyōiku Shisō [Naruse Jinzō's Educational Thought]*. 175.

⁴⁹ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 736.

household as the agency through which social reform and national progress would be accomplished.⁵⁰

*...I aspired to study English literature since it was my first favorite. Nonetheless, Professor Naruse encouraged me to challenge a completely new academic field. He persistently emphasized the necessity of home economics for Japanese society and its potential role in advancing the Japan Women's Institute. He recommended me to study home economics so enthusiastically that I decided to follow his words.*⁵¹

Inoue learned that home economics consisted of a wide range of academic disciplines. She was required to take an array of academic subjects in natural science, social science and liberal arts.⁵² The curriculum reflected Naruse's definition of home economics as "a multidisciplinary subject."⁵³ He theorized that home economics was a comprehensive science like education, which hybridized a wide range of academic subjects.⁵⁴ A majority of these classes, especially natural sciences, were taught by the Tokyo Imperial University faculty members; chemistry by Dr. Nagai Nagayoshi,⁵⁵ hygiene by Dr. Miyake Hiizu, and physiology by Dr. Ōsawa Kenji.⁵⁶ While Inoue enjoyed the high academic standards of these classes, she was convinced of the necessity of systematizing

⁵⁰ Naruse was inspired by the Western model of home life, which he experienced during his study-abroad in North Andover, a Boston suburb, from 1891 to 1894. Ibid. 723.

⁵¹ Ibid. 736.

⁵² The curriculum consisted of a total of eighteen-hours, which was divided into eight hours of household and art (*katei oyobi geijutsu*), four hours of applied science (*ōyō rika*), two hours of physiology and hygiene (*seiri oyobi eisei*), two hours of psychology and pedagogy (*shinri oyobi kyōiku*), and two hours of ethics and society (*rinri oyobi shakai*). Kuramoto, "The Curriculum of Women's Higher Education for Home Economics in Pre-World War Two."

⁵³ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenishi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 76.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 76.

⁵⁵ Nagai Nagayoshi was the first doctor of pharmacy in Japan. He studied organic chemistry in Berlin as a governmental scholar from 1870 to 1875, and continued his study until 1884. Upon his return to Japan, he taught chemistry and pharmacy at the Tokyo Imperial University. Minoru Watanabe, *Kindai Nihon Kaigai Ryūgakusei Shi [History of Modern Japanese Study-Aboard Students]* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977). 238.

⁵⁶ Inoue, "Sensei to Kaseigaku [Professor Naruse and Home Economics]."

the curriculum. Learning multiple disciplines separately was not helpful for household management since it needed total coordination of a variety of domestic tasks.⁵⁷

Inoue and her classmates had the opportunity of adopting their classroom learning to everyday life context. Boarders organized a quasi-family unit of twenty members and collaboratively ran their boarding life with assigned duties, such as sanitary inspectors, food servers, and accountants. In addition to these tasks, the family unit was also responsible for planning cultural events and health management.⁵⁸ As a “housewife” of the family unit, Inoue supervised other boarders. Inoue appreciated her housewife experiences since “I had little experience running a family as wife and mother in my real life. I did not have a chance to do so even after my marriage.”⁵⁹

Inoue and her classmates sought to systematize a boarding life. They embarked on a research project of shaping model dietaries in the summer of 1903. They adopted a cost-benefit analysis on both Western and Japanese dishes, such as croquettes and *gobō* (burdock) salad or beefsteak and rice, and suggested daily menus with ideal balance of nutrition within their budget for ingredients. They analyzed culinary practices from the perspectives on nutrition, hygiene, accounting, and market system. Inoue documented their research in a school newsletter and addressed the necessity of improving a budgeting system and efficiency by better assignment of duties.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 19.

⁵⁸ Nakajima, "Naruse Jinzo." 80.

⁵⁹ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 20.

⁶⁰ Hide Inoue, "Kaki Kyūgyō Chū Warera Ga Tameshitaru Katei No Seikatsu [Our Experimental Home Life During the Summer Break]," *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Gakuhō*, no. 2 (1903).

Inoue gained leadership experiences beyond the department and boarding houses. Naruse emphasized the significance of students' autonomy for character building, and therefore, provided an array of self-governance opportunities both inside and outside the classroom.⁶¹ Accordingly, Inoue was in charge of planning and implementing a wide range of campus activities. For example, she organized an annual athletic meeting, which was one of the major cultural events of the Japan Women's Institute. She selected committee members, arranged a regular committee meeting, and made a final decision on sports activities and athletes. Inoue and the committee were proud of themselves when the athletic meeting successfully attracted more than three thousand people annually. She was especially positive that "adopting a bicycle parade must be a cause of success in our meeting."⁶²

Inoue developed a leadership community with her colleagues. Especially, she enjoyed a partnership with her fellow colleague, Hirano Hamako. Like Inoue, she was one of Naruse's protégés. Upon Naruse's request, she transferred from the Ferris Seminary to the Japan Women's Institute, and taught English and served as a boarding house superintendent.⁶³ "We always worked together to plan activities, solve problems, and organize other students. We were so close and compatible that we were as if a married couple, who respected and helped each other all the time. Since she was feminine and gentle, totally opposite from me, she took the role of wife."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*.723.

⁶² Ibid. 25.

⁶³ Kageyama, *Naruse Jinzō No Kyōiku Shisō [Naruse Jinzō's Educational Thought]*. 198.

⁶⁴ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 737.

In addition to leadership skills, Inoue developed problem-solving skills through discussions with Naruse. Whenever she and her colleagues visited Naruse for his advice on campus activities or students' organization management, she was expected to find a solution by herself. "Professor Naruse never ordered us or gave us his words immediately. Instead, he persistently asked us questions to elicit answers from us. It was quite common that we spent more than three or four hours in front of him before we reached a solution. He always talked to us in a serious manner no matter how tired he was at the end of the day."⁶⁵

Inoue and other rising juniors created a chance to demonstrate their autonomy. They initiated a committee to launch an alumnae association a year before their graduation. They decided the name of the alumnae association, *Ōfū-kai*, which combined two terms of school symbols: cherry blossoms and maple leaves.⁶⁶ They also defined the goal of the association, which was parallel to the educational goal of the Japan Women's Institute: to organize voluntary civic activism to meet their duties as human being, as women, and as citizens of the nation.

Inoue gained industrial management skills at the Alumnae Association. After attaining a total donation of 6,660-yen at their commencement,⁶⁷ the alumnae founded the Department of Business (*jitsugyō-bu*) and launched six on-campus industries: banking, a stationery shop, a bookstore, a cookery department, horticulture, and animal husbandry. They sought to attain both financial and professional goals: to provide needy students

⁶⁵ Ibid. 23.

⁶⁶ *Ōfūkai, Ōfūkai Hachijūnen Shi [Ōfūkai Eighty-Year History]*. 50.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 54.

with assistantships as well as occupational opportunities to prepare them for potential gainful employment.⁶⁸ Inoue proved her competence in business management. They successfully supplied seventeen assistantships in the first year and twenty-two in the second year. Furthermore, the Department of Business made a donation of 250- yen to the *Ōfū-kai*, which served as the funding of the association.⁶⁹

In addition to industrial management skills, Inoue gained organizational administration skills. She was appointed to chief secretary of *Ōfū-kai* in September 1905,⁷⁰ and shortly launched a fundraising campaign for a new campus project, which was an open-public library for women.⁷¹ The new library was yet to be equipped with a new collection. Accordingly, Inoue planned a three-day fundraising bazaar. She evidenced her competent secretaryship since a bazaar from April 13 to 15 in 1907 successfully attained sales of six thousand yen. The *Ōfū-kai* donated a total of eight thousand yen to the Japan Women's Institute as a fund for a library collection.⁷²

In addition to business and organizational management skills, she gained a teaching career opportunity. She served as an ethics and science teacher for the affiliated high school.⁷³ She vigorously took a leadership role among twenty-one teaching staff members. One of the major practices during her tenure was a roll bandage donation to

⁶⁸ Ibid. 56-60.

⁶⁹ Reiko Kageyama, "A Study of the Educational Thought of Naruse Jinzō" (Ph.D. Dissertation, International Christian University, 1991). 153.

⁷⁰ *Ōfūkai, Ōfūkai Hachijūnen Shi [Ōfūkai Eighty-Year History]*. 47.

⁷¹ This on-campus library was established in April 1906 by a donation of a leading international trader, Morimura Ichizaemon. Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 111.

⁷² *Ōfūkai, Ōfūkai Hachijūnen Shi [Ōfūkai Eighty-Year History]*. 74-78.

⁷³ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, "Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Kisoku [Japan Women's Institute Regulations]," (Tokyo: Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, 1905). 30. 37.

the Japanese Red Cross Society.⁷⁴ Inoue organized a donation of five thousand rolls of bandages upon the breakout of the Russo-Japanese War in February 1904, which later earned a letter of appreciation from Matsukata Masayoshi, president of the Japanese Red Cross Society, who was a former Minister of Finance and Prime Minister.⁷⁵

Inoue came to aspire to advance her teaching and administrative capacity after a four-year hectic life with triple leadership positions: teaching at the high school, serving as chief secretary for the alumnae association, and supervising the boarding house as a superintendent. When she addressed her interest in a study-abroad opportunity to Naruse, he immediately supported her aspiration for professional advancement. He recommended that she study at Teachers College, Columbia University, which achieved a high reputation of home economics. He urged her to study the U.S. model of home economics in an attempt to systematize and advance domestic education in Japan.⁷⁶

Inoue accepted Naruse's recommendation in pursuit of the dual institutional goals: to advance the curriculum of the Department of Home Economics and civic activism of the Alumnae Association. Since her study-abroad was an institutional asset, Naruse emphasized that she should not aspire towards a degree for her personal achievement.⁷⁷

Inoue aspired for a study-abroad opportunity not only professionally but also personally. She confessed that "I wanted to go abroad to better understand my husband

⁷⁴ The Japanese Red Cross Society originated from a philanthropic organization, *Hakuaisha*, initiated by a former Hizen clansman, Sano Tsunetami. Sano was appointed to participate in the Exposition tour to Paris in 1867 as a researcher of Science, Chemistry and Technological institute of Hizen clan, and inspired by the Red Cross Exhibition. Ryuko Yoshikawa, *Nisseki No Sōshisha Sano Tsunetami [Sano Tsunetami: The Founding Father of the Japan Red Cross Society]* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2001).

⁷⁵ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 108.

⁷⁶ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 48.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 48.

since he traveled abroad frequently.” After marriage, Masaji successfully attained his professional goal as originally planned. Since graduating from the department of political science of *Tokyo Senmon Gakkō* in 1899, Masaji traveled extensively. Starting with Shanghai in 1899, he lived in the European nations from 1900 to 1904, mainly staying in Vienna as an auditor of the University of Vienna. He then served as a financial commissioner for the Department of Financial Affairs in a protectorate in Korea,⁷⁸ which was founded after the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War. When Inoue told him of her decision to study abroad, he completely supported her opportunity, telling her that “it will surely advance you personally and professionally.”⁷⁹

Inoue boarded the Steamship USS Minnesota on May 1, 1908, and spent two weeks sailing over the Pacific Ocean. She compared herself to the missionary women on board, and contrasted Japanese women’s physical inferiority to Western women’s strength. Inoue experienced a hard time adjusting herself to meals, conversations, and leisure time. On the other hand, Western missionary women were apparently healthy and active and fully enjoyed a long trip.⁸⁰

Arrival at Seattle after a one-month voyage was only a half of the total journey. Inoue launched another long travel of 2,400 miles to New York City. She was overwhelmed by the abundance of natural resources during the one-week train ride. She was astonished to see nothing but vast lands and forests through four states of Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Dakota. Getting closer to St. Paul, Minnesota, she was relieved to find some human

⁷⁸ Inoue, *Shina Ron [Issues on China]*. 19-30.

⁷⁹ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 728.

⁸⁰ Hide Inoue, "Beikoku Dayori Dai Isshin [a Letter from the United States No. 1]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 147 (1908).

residents and Indian tents. From Chicago to New York City, she was surprised to see a vast number of livestock, which evidently outnumbered the total number of human beings. She confessed that “I could not help being concerned about the national strength of Japan and the ways in which Japan could compete against such nations with extensive natural resources.”⁸¹

Inoue arrived in New York City in June 1908 after a two-month journey across the Pacific Ocean and the U.S. Continent. She was ready to pursue an academic journey at Teachers College, Columbia University.⁸²

Summary

Inoue’s early stages of life revealed the ways in which she came to dedicate herself to pursuing women’s social advancement. First, Inoue discovered and believed in social advancement opportunities for women. She met a role model, Miss Imai Maki, a young superintendent of her boarding school. Miss Imai embodied a possibility of modern education and professional opportunities, which emerged through the formation of national universal education system in Meiji Japan. She transcended the traditional boundaries of family, community and gender, and achieved her academic and professional ambitions. She was distinct from any of female members of the Inoue household, who dedicated themselves to sustaining family traditions and community life. Inoue was inspired to emulate Miss Imai and attained a secondary education opportunity in pursuit of her academic aspiration.

⁸¹ ———, “Beikoku Dayori Dai Ni Shin [a Letter from the United States No. 2],” *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 150 (1908).

⁸² *Ibid.*

Inoue then aspired to follow Naruse Jinzō, a celebrated women's education reformer, in pursuit of the possibilities of women's social advancement. She was impressed by his philosophy of women's education, which was distinct from the mainstream gender ideology that valued female virtues and domestic competence. Naruse conceived women as independent human beings, and therefore, advocated their character-building. He believed in the necessity of enhancing women's autonomy in pursuit of their social advancement. Inoue was inspired by his distinctive approach to women's education, and accordingly, supported his professional endeavor to found a women's higher educational institution, the Japan Women's Institute.

Inoue then came to dedicate herself to the studies of home economics. She evolved a notion of home economics as a new knowledge system that privileged women as modernizers of family living and social reformers in pursuit of national progress. She accepted Naruse's belief in the potential roles of home economics in achieving his educational goals: advancing female domestic roles in pursuit of social reform and national progress. Naruse launched the Department of Home Economics in an attempt to provide new models of household management that could align with new social and economic needs. Material transformations of daily practices and emergence of urban family living demanded new technical expertise and expanded duties for women inside Japanese households.

In addition to studies of home economics, Inoue dedicated herself to leadership roles at the Japan Women's Institute. She was appointed to headship positions in an array of institutional projects, which sought to promote women's autonomy and self-governance.

As her leadership duties increased, Inoue constructed her identity as a leading educator, scholar, and administrator. Accordingly, she aspired to enhance her professional competence in attaining the institutional goal, namely, to promote social advancement of Japanese women. She consequently obtained a study-abroad opportunity in an attempt to gain scholarly strategies of expanding possibilities for women's social advancement.

PART TWO: STUDYING ABROAD

CHAPTER 3: STUDYING IN GREAT BRITAIN

Evolving a Concept

Miyakawa had started her overseas journey several years prior to Inoue. She arrived in London on December 17, 1902.¹ One of her first actions was to investigate the British higher education system. She had an enormous agenda in pursuit of her study-abroad mission, which was “to explore home economics (*kaseigaku*) for three years in Great Britain.”² She needed to locate an educational institution in pursuit of her academic goal. The Ministry of Education did not provide her scholarly support or professional assistance.³

Miyakawa became aware of the impossibility of learning home economics at universities. She initially imagined that universities offered domestic education since “British universities admit women”⁴ in contrast to the Japanese Imperial University. However, she became aware that British women did not study home economics at universities since “they do not have the department of home economics.”⁵ British universities, which rapidly increased in the late nineteenth century, modeled on Oxbridge, which focused on a liberal education dedicated to an elite group of men. Their

¹ Miyakawa was likely to be welcomed by the British Consulate General, Mr. Arakawa Minoji, when she arrived. Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 90.

² Ibid. 78.

³ Ibid. 80.

⁴ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 215.

⁵ Ibid.

curriculum remained unchanged even after they started to admit female students in the late 1870s.⁶

Miyakawa discovered the degraded status of home economics in British academia. Miyakawa's mentor, Miss Elizabeth Phillips Hughes, the first principal of the Cambridge Training College for Women,⁷ recommended that Miyakawa switch her discipline. Domestic subjects were predominantly adopted as the elementary school curriculum, which exclusively targeted working class female pupils.⁸ Accordingly, Miss Phillips emphasized that domestic education did not deserve the time and efforts of Miyakawa, who was a privileged governmental scholar.⁹ In spite of Miss Hughes' advice, however, Miyakawa was committed to her original mission.¹⁰

When I asked my mentor for any institutions with domestic education, she recommended me that I study other subjects. She told me that I should choose academic subjects worth studying. In her view, learning useless subjects, such as cookery or laundry, would not pay my time and efforts since I came to Britain all the way from Japan. She told me that domestic subjects were for lower-class girls and recommended me to explore an academic discipline with scholarly legitimacy, such as pedagogy or psychology.¹¹

⁶ Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939* (London: UCL Press Limited, 1995). 12.

⁷ Miyakawa had met Miss Hughes in Japan just before she had left for London. Hughes stayed in Japan for fifteen months from August 1901 to November 1902, during which time she was invited to give lectures on British higher education to an array of privileged institutions, including the Women's Higher Normal School. Pam Hirsch and McBeth Mark, *Teacher Training at Cambridge: The Initiatives of Oscar Browning and Elizabeth Hughes* (London: Woburn Press, 2004). 200-201. In addition, Hughes was a mentor of Yasui Tetsu, who was Miyakawa's predecessor of governmental scholarship in London. Yasui studied at Cambridge Training College from 1897 to 1900. Shibanuma, "The Formation of Educational Thought for Women by Studying Abroad in England: A Comparative Study of Tetsu Yasui and Sumi Ōe."

⁸ Carol Dyhouse, "Good Wives and Little Mothers: Social Anxieties and the Schoolgirl's Curriculum, 1890-1920," *Oxford Review of Education* 3, no. 1 (1977). 21.

⁹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 87.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 87.

¹¹ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 215.

Miyakawa enrolled in the Battersea Polytechnic Training School of Domestic Economy,¹² which was located in the industrial southeast area of London.¹³ It was one of the technical educational institutions that had been founded by local industrialists. They initiated the technical education movement to advance industrial knowledge and practices to sustain British industrial supremacy in competition with France and Germany.¹⁴ Accordingly, the Battersea Polytechnics focused on art and science applicable to industry¹⁵ in contrast to liberal education at universities.

Miyakawa discovered that domestic education was a practical discipline rather than theoretical one. “Three-fourths of the curriculum consisted of manual training on cookery, laundry, and needlework.”¹⁶ Theoretical learning was supplementary. “Lectures occupied only one-fourth of the curriculum and were associated with practical skills training.”¹⁷

Miyakawa also learned about the structure of the discipline. It consisted of an array of domestic practices relevant to urban family living. Accordingly, she was required to take a wide range of technical competencies, such as cookery, laundry, cleaning, polishing, and nursing.¹⁸ In addition, she was required to attain a professional level in each expertise. She found that the pedagogical approach was effective to meet this requirement.

¹² Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 87.

¹³ The Battersea Polytechnic, "The Battersea Polytechnic. A Record of Ten Years Work 1894-1904," (London: The Battersea Polytechnic, 1904). 6.

¹⁴ Anthony David Edwards, *The Role of International Exhibitions in Britain, 1850-1910* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008). 2.

¹⁵ Penny Summerfield and Eric J. Evans, "Introduction: Technical Education, the State and the Labour Market," in *Technical Education and the State since 1850: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Penny Summerfield and Eric J. Evans (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990). 2. 9.

¹⁶ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 98.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*.

Instead of learning domestic practices simultaneously in segmented sessions, the curriculum focused on one specific expertise at a time. For example, she spent an entire month with experiments on a variety of textiles and detergents for laundry training.¹⁹

*...The laundry work class, for example, focuses on practical skills training from morning to evening everyday throughout a month. Accordingly, students gain a professional level of laundry techniques. Teachers adopt the same instructional approach to any other subject, such as cooking or nursing. On the other hand, lectures on theoretical knowledge took only a couple of hours.*²⁰

Additionally, Miyakawa found out the significance of instructional facilities for attaining technical expertise. The Battersea Polytechnic was equipped with sixteen facility rooms, which met the specific needs of each specialty.²¹ Each room was equipped by sufficient members of utensils for each individual student's use.²²

Miyakawa also learned a distinctive evaluation approach to technical expertise. Unlike written exams familiar to her, she was required to demonstrate her practical skills in front of representative examiners of the Board of Education. Students were required to achieve professional levels of skills in each discipline to gain a "Teacher's Diploma."²³

*...At the end of the semester, superintendents come up to our school to examine our practical skills of laundry or cookery. They make a decision that we are qualified to pass the course or not. Accordingly, we need to develop advanced skills to pass the exam before they come.*²⁴

¹⁹ Sumi Miyakawa, "Eikoku No Kaji Kyōju Hō [British Pedagogical Approach to Domestic Affairs]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 161 (1908).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The Battersea Polytechnic, "The Battersea Polytechnic. A Record of Ten Years Work 1894-1904." 23.

²² Sumi Miyakawa, "Shimpō Sho [Report to the Ministry of Education]," (London: 1905).

²³ The teacher's diploma examination was a strategy of the Board of Education to standardize the competence of domestic subjects in the public school teachers. Since the Education Department mandated domestic subjects as elementary school curriculum in the 1880s, a number of domestic subjects training schools rapidly increased. Nonetheless, these schools were far from homogeneous due to privately-developed curriculum and teacher qualification regulations. Accordingly, Education Department institutionalized the curriculum of these schools by means of its certificate examinations. Ailsa Yoxall, *A History of the Teaching of Domestic Economy* (Bath: Cedric Chivers, Ltd., 1965). 44.

²⁴ Miyakawa, "Eikoku No Kaji Kyōju Hō [British Pedagogical Approach to Domestic Affairs]."

Miyakawa also learned about credentialing system for female leadership role in British domestic education.²⁵ All of her teachers were professionally qualified by the London Board of Education.²⁶ They were certified with a First Class Diploma, which evidenced their excellent pedagogical skills in addition to skills and knowledge of their specialty.²⁷ Additionally, the headship was assumed by an alumna of this department, who had gained professional experiences at several girls' secondary schools.²⁸

Miyakawa aspired to legitimate the value of practical skills training, especially in the context of the middle-class household economy. She was convinced of the utility of practical skills training for advancing British middle-class women's self-reliance in household management.²⁹ She disapproved the use of domestic maids or professional services since their wages increased the household budget.³⁰

...British women are incompetent in domestic affairs in contrast to Japanese women. They lack practical skills of sewing, cookery, laundry, and cleaning. Accordingly, they employ cooks for their daily meals. They have to depend on tailors and dressmakers for their clothing. They spend a large amount of money for these services. If they were competent in domestic skills like Japanese women, they could save the costs of professional service.³¹

²⁵ ———, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 98.

²⁶ The Battersea Polytechnic, "The Battersea Polytechnic. A Record of Ten Years Work 1894-1904." 98.

²⁷ Teacher Certificates consisted of three classes; First, Second, and Third, from the most advanced to the fundamental stage. While Second and Third Class were granted to those who passed the examination, First Class was awarded only to second class teachers with excellent pedagogical skills. Please refer to George K. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, "New Code of Regulations," ed. Board of Education (London: 1873).12.

²⁸ H. Arrowsmith, *Pioneering in Education for the Technologies: The Story of Battersea College of Technology 1891-1962* (Devon: A. Wheaton & Co., Ltd., 1966). 13.

²⁹ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 84.

³⁰ Domestic servants became affordable for British middle-class family due to a plentiful supply, which consisted of urban migration from the local villages with declining agricultural fortunes. The number of middle-class families that could afford domestic servants doubled in the second half of the nineteenth century far in advance of the overall rate of population growth. Shani D'Cruze, "Women and the Family," in *Women's History Britain, 1850-1945*, ed. June Purvis (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995). 54.

³¹ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 83-84.

Miyakawa emphasized the financial value of middle-class women's autonomy in household management in the context of the British household institution. The British conjugal household system did not allow young married couples to reside with their natal families and caused them to have to pay for a separate household.³² British housewives were responsible for running a financially independent household. Women with self-reliance in housework, then, were likely to gain marital prospects specifically by attracting financially-disadvantaged groom candidates.³³

...In Great Britain, married couples reside independently from their parents. A separate household costs more than co-residential household, and consequently, it makes it hard for young people to get married...They need autonomy in housework in order to get married.

Rethinking Women's Social Position

Miyakawa highly evaluated the central roles of British middle-class women in their family living. While they were incompetent at housework manually, they demonstrated the high standards of intelligence in household administration.³⁴ They were capable of scheduling daily timetables tactfully to coordinate and supervise housework duties of their domestic maids.³⁵

³² The conjugal household model was not exclusively British. Ironically, Miyakawa was born into and grew up in a conjugal family environment. Additionally, this model was adopted to Japan and conceptualized by an invented rhetoric, "*hōmu* (home)," in the late nineteenth century. The new familial model was contrasted with the lineal extended household institution, *ie*, which was defined as a Japanese traditional familial system. Jordan Sand, "At Home in the Meiji Period, Inventing Japanese Domesticity," in *Mirror of Modernity*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). 192.

³³ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 24.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 74.

³⁵ Joan N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal Womanhood* (London: Croom Helm, 1980). 14. While the more prosperous middle-class family afforded two or three servants with segregated duties, such as cook, housemaid and nursemaid, a majority could afford only a single servant, who served as a maid-of-all-work. Judith Flanders, *Inside the Victorian Home: A Portrait of Domestic Life in Victorian England* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003). 139.

*British women are very intelligent. They are competent in organizing timetables and maximizing productivity of domestic maids. They are good at planning daily, weekly, and yearly tasks and completing them accordingly.*³⁶

Miyakawa discovered that they were also competent overseers of their children's academic education.³⁷ They were well-informed about educational philosophy, principal and staff teacher, and curriculum from a variety of educational institutions, which were unsystematic in contrast to Japanese public education. Accordingly, they were capable of selecting the best school for their children.³⁸

*...In Japan, the government-sponsored schools are unconditionally considered the best choice since private institutions are underdeveloped and illegitimated. However, British parents prefer private institutions, which emphasize principal's leadership with specific educational goals and philosophy. They are likely to assume that governmental supervision would result in mechanical practices. Therefore, mothers are well-informed about the education policies and practices and form a close relationship with staff teachers.*³⁹

Miyakawa gained opportunities to expand her scope of gender ideology outside Great Britain. She traveled to Germany, Belgium, Holland and France in September 1905 and visited a variety of educational institutions in each nation.

She discovered the distinctive feature of German childcare institutions. They accommodated preschool children of working mothers in contrast to the Japanese kindergarten, which only served children from privileged families.⁴⁰ The Pestalozzi-

³⁶ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 75.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 71.

³⁸ Sumi Miyakawa, "Eikoku No Katei Oyobi Fujin Ni Tsuite (1) [British Home and Women (1)]," *Nadeshiko* 7, no. 12 (1907).

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ The first private kindergarten in Japan was established in 1875, attached to an elementary school in Kyoto. The first national kindergarten was established in 1876, attached to the Tokyo Women's Normal School. Roberta Wollons, "The Missionary Kindergarten in Japan," in *Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea*, ed. Roberta Wollons (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). 116. Since both private and public kindergartens charged tuitions, enrollment was limited to wealthy families.

Froebel House in Berlin, for example, provided daily services for hours during which their mothers worked at factories. In addition, the advanced sanitary facilities provided children with custodial care instead of their mothers.⁴¹

*....The Pestalozzi-Froebel House in Berlin takes care of infants during the time while their mothers are working at factories. The duration was from six-thirty or seven in the morning to six-thirty to eight in the evening. The rooms in the institution are equipped with rows of clean cradles. Children are bathed in the bathrooms with thermostat equipment.....*⁴²

Miyakawa disapproved of mothers working outside the household. She problematized that German women failed to implement female inner duties, namely, maternal and domestic roles.⁴³ In contrast to German female laborers, who were likely to be factory workers, a majority of Japanese urban working-class mothers engaged in piecework at home.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the female factory labor forces grew in parallel to the expansion of the modern industrial sector of the Japanese economy.⁴⁵ Accordingly, Miyakawa was apprehensive of a potential for Japanese excessive industrial development, which was likely to expand female employment.⁴⁶

Women's wages employment might be necessary for technological and manufacturing development. However, their paid work outside the household might simultaneously cause problems for their family since nobody could take care of both children and household affairs. They are responsible for family

Additionally, the Ministry of Education limited kindergarten classroom time to five hours per day, which was too limited for working parents. Uno, *Passages to Modernity: Motherhood, Childhood, and Social Reform in Early Twentieth Century Japan*. 41-42.

⁴¹ Sumi Miyakawa, "Ōshū Ryokō Hōkoku Sho [Report on Travel in Europe]," (London: 1905).

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Kathleen Uno, "One Day at a Time: Work and Domestic Activities of Urban Lower-Class Women in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," in *Japanese Women Working*, ed. Janet Hunter (London: Routledge, 1993). 42.

⁴⁵ Uno, *Passages to Modernity: Motherhood, Childhood, and Social Reform in Early Twentieth Century Japan*. 14.

⁴⁶ Miyakawa, "Ōshū Ryokō Hōkoku Sho [Report on Travel in Europe]."

welfare and social stability.... From this viewpoint, the Japanese society should cautiously import the Western practices.⁴⁷

Miyakawa embarked on the pursuit of an alternative academic interest upon her return to Great Britain. She transferred to the Bedford College for Women to explore public health.⁴⁸ She aspired “to take the Sanitary Inspector certificate in order to gain a firsthand experience of the metropolitan poor.”⁴⁹ Sanitary Inspectors were professional health visitors, who were responsible for investigating the sanitary conditions and providing instructions necessary for domestic hygiene.⁵⁰ The Bedford College was a pioneering institution that launched the Department of Hygiene in 1895 and provided preparatory courses for the Sanitary Inspector certificate.⁵¹

Miyakawa discovered the high academic standards of the Bedford College for Women.⁵² In contrast to occupation-oriented students of a technical college, one-third of the Bedford College students were matriculated for Bachelor’s degrees in Arts or

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Miyakawa took advantage of the Russo-Japanese War for an extension of her educational opportunity. Her contract of the three-year governmental scholarship was going to expire in December 1905, but the aftermath of Russo-Japanese War jeopardized a trip back to Japan. Accordingly, she requested a six-month extension with her private funds to the Ministry of Education, which was approved in September 1905. Sumi Miyakawa, "Shimpō Sho [Report to the Ministry of Education]," (Tokyo: 1906).

⁴⁹ ———, "Eikoku Katei No Shinsō Rōjin Bekkyo No Rigai [Reality of British Household and Elders' Interests]," *Jogaku Segai [Women's Academic World]* 7, no. 3 (1907).

⁵⁰ Peter Brimblecombe, "Historical Perspectives on Health: The Emergence of the Sanitary Inspector in Victorian Britain," *The Journal of The Royal Society for the Promotion of Health* 123, no. 2 (2003). 129. The development of sanitary service was a response to the national crisis of high infant mortality. It commanded particular attention in early twentieth century Britain since it would affect survival of the superior British race in the competitive imperial rivals, especially very recent new imperial powers, Japan and Germany. Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop Journal* 5 (1978). 17.

⁵¹ Brimblecombe, "Historical Perspectives on Health: The Emergence of the Sanitary Inspector in Victorian Britain." 127.

⁵² The Bedford College was privileged to degree examinations of the University of London since 1878. Linna Bentley, *Educating Women: A Pictorial History of Bedford College University of London 1849-1985* (Surrey: Alma Publishers, 1985).16.

Science.⁵³ They were professionally ambitious women, who were likely to be certified for specialist positions offered by the Department of Public Health,⁵⁴ such as Sanitary Inspector, Inspector of Factories, or Assistant Bacteriologist on Sewage Disposal.⁵⁵

Miyakawa gained theoretical training in an array of scientific subjects, such as Chemistry, Physics, Bacteriology, and Physiology.⁵⁶ In contrast to the practical skills training, the curriculum focused on scientific management of domestic hygiene, natural environment and the social infrastructural system.⁵⁷

Miyakawa took advantage of the advanced laboratories at this institution.⁵⁸ She was impressed that “there is sufficient equipment for all the students, and we are able to experiment for our projects independently.”⁵⁹ The curriculum consisted of lectures and lab work to enhance the theoretical training,⁶⁰ and accordingly, was equipped by advanced facilities,⁶¹ such as hot water pipes for heating.⁶²

Miyakawa gained opportunities of observing the living conditions of London slums after a one-year study. She passed the examination and obtained a certificate of Sanitary Inspector in May 1906. Miyakawa’s duties were to investigate the household

⁵³ Margaret J. Tuke, *A History of Bedford College for Women 1849-1937* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939). 158.

⁵⁴ Brimblecombe, "Historical Perspectives on Health: The Emergence of the Sanitary Inspector in Victorian Britain.", Tuke, *A History of Bedford College for Women 1849-1937*. 159.

⁵⁵ Bentley, *Educating Women: A Pictorial History of Bedford College University of London 1849-1985*. 27.

⁵⁶ Miyakawa, "Eikoku Katei No Shinsō Rōjin Bekkyo No Rigai [Reality of British Household and Elders' Interests]."

⁵⁷ Bentley, *Educating Women: A Pictorial History of Bedford College University of London 1849-1985*. 27.

⁵⁸ Miyakawa, "Shimpō Sho [Report to the Ministry of Education]."

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Brimblecombe, "Historical Perspectives on Health: The Emergence of the Sanitary Inspector in Victorian Britain." 129.

⁶¹ While the Bedford College was privately founded and funded at the early stage, it came to gain annual grants from both the state and local authorities, especially from the Technical Education Board of the London County Council. Tuke, *A History of Bedford College for Women 1849-1937*. 156-157.

⁶² Bentley, *Educating Women: A Pictorial History of Bedford College University of London 1849-1985*. 14.

environment and give instructions to improve domestic hygiene.⁶³ Over a quarter of the population in urban areas were living at a standard ‘insufficient to maintain mere physical efficiency.’ These poorest families were likely to be overcrowded due to high rents and low wages, experience poor nutrition due to inadequate budget, and generally suffer from a poor level of health. Medical care was unaffordable except in the case of emergency.⁶⁴

Miyakawa was appalled by the reality of the working-class family life. It contradicted with her notion of the British household, which consisted of breadwinner, household manager, and dependent children. Unlike the middle-class family model, working-class fathers were likely to be absent, dead, ill, or out-of-work. Accordingly, mothers engaged in wage earning activities outside the household and older children stayed home from school to take care of younger siblings.⁶⁵

Miyakawa was concerned about the lack of maternal care for children. As Sanitary Inspector, she was responsible for instructing working mothers on ideal childcare approaches. Public health administrators focused on instruction on motherhood rather than reforming their impoverished living conditions.⁶⁶ In parallel to this approach, she gave scientific instruction at a family with tuberculosis in an attempt to improve the domestic hygiene, specifically for children.⁶⁷

..When I visited a family with tuberculosis, I used hot water to wash the dishes and explained the significance of sterilization. I also emphasized the necessity of doing dishes for a tubercular and children separately. Additionally, I gave the

⁶³ Miyakawa, "Eikoku Katei No Shinsō Rōjin Bekkyō No Rigai [Reality of British Household and Elders' Interests]."

⁶⁴ Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood." 14. 32-33.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 33.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 24. 36.

⁶⁷ Miyakawa, "Eikoku Katei No Shinsō Rōjin Bekkyō No Rigai [Reality of British Household and Elders' Interests]."

*instruction of cookery so that mother could prepare nutritious meals for the patient and children.*⁶⁸

Miyakawa was also horrified by working-class women's mismanagement of household economy. In her view, they were incapable of projecting the household budget to sustain family members' health.⁶⁹

*When a husband receives a check from the factory on Saturday, for example, the family just lived expensively for the first couple of days, buying beef steak and other costly foods. Then, they tried to survive the rest of the week with merely water and bread until the next check. They repeat the same thing for another week. They have no idea of saving and planning a household economy. If a housewife had a notion of household management, she would buy affordable meat and cook soups so that they could have meals with balanced nutrition every day.*⁷⁰

Miyakawa was convinced of the necessity of advancing domestic education specific to working-class women. Working-class women were unlikely to gain knowledge of household economy by their elementary education. While domestic subjects were a requirement of public elementary school curriculum, they were limited to development of practical skills in cookery, laundry work, or needlework.⁷¹

Miyakawa finished her studies after three-and-a-half years in London, and left for Japan on July 18, 1906. A trip back to the home country was full of new experiences due to a different route from which she came to Britain three years ago. Boarding the Baltic at Liverpool, she traveled over the Atlantic Ocean for a week. After arriving in New York on July 26, she enjoyed sightseeing in New York City for six days. She then traveled over 2,400 miles from New York City to Seattle from July 31 to August 4.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ ———, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 97.

⁷¹ Yoxall, *A History of the Teaching of Domestic Economy*. 21.

Spending two weeks on the *Shinano-maru* steamship, Miyakawa arrived in Yokohama on August 23.⁷²

Half a year after her return to Japan, Miyakawa started to serve the Women's Higher Normal School as a faculty of the Department of Arts and Crafts (*gigei-ka*).⁷³

Summary

Miyakawa's study-abroad experiences revealed the ways in which she came to shape her vision of women's education reform initiatives. Miyakawa believed in the importance of sustaining superiority of Japanese women over the British counterparts. She became aware that Japanese women were in possession of technical capacities of household management, which British middle-class women lacked. She praised Japanese women's self-sufficiency in household management and their financial contribution to household economies. In her view, self-sufficient household economy was essential to national economic development. She assumed that the individual household was a fundamental unit that constituted the state.

Miyakawa also became convinced of the necessity of adopting practical skills training to Japanese domestic education. She came to believe in the utility of practical skills training for modernizing women's technical competence in domestic practices. Material transformation of daily practices and the emergence of urban family living at the turn of the twentieth century demanded a new set of skills and knowledge of domestic life.

⁷² Sumi Miyakawa, "Ryokō Nikki [Logbook]," (Tokyo: 1906).

⁷³ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 99.

Accordingly, she dedicated herself to obtaining technical expertise in an array of domestic practices in view of adopting it to the Japanese home economics curriculum.

In addition, Miyakawa became convinced of the necessity of centering domestic roles in women's lives. She believed that women's domestic roles constructed the cornerstone of the state, and thus, became apprehensive of a potential for Japanese excessive industrial development, which was likely to expand female employment. She was critical about working-class women due to their negligence of female inner duties.

Miyakawa returned to Japan with a specific vision of women's education reform initiatives. She aspired to focus on practical skills training in an attempt to modernize women's technical capacities and promote their financial contribution to national economic development.

CHAPTER 4: STUDYING IN THE UNITED STATES

Studying a Scientific Application Model

Inoue took a route to New York City, through which Miyakawa came back to Japan. She crossed over the Pacific Ocean, the U.S. Continent, and arrived in New York City in June 1908. Unlike Miyakawa, who needed to locate a relevant school by herself, Inoue was ready to start her study upon her arrival. She headed for Teachers College, Columbia University, which was selected by her mentor and principal of the Japan Women's Institute, Naruse Jinzō. Naruse chose Teachers College due to its institutional reputation for domestic education.¹ Teachers College became a world-class professional school due to its scholarly commitment to attaining the academic legitimacy of home economics.²

Inoue gained the scientific paradigm for domestic practices. She investigated chemical changes of foodstuffs and examined nutritious values of daily meals in "Dietaries" course. In addition, she explored chemical application to household system, such as soil drainage systems, in the "Household Chemistry" course.³ She was impressed by the advanced level of scientific application to an array of domestic practices.⁴

¹ Inoue, "*Sensei to Kaseigaku* [Professor Naruse and Home Economics]."

² Teachers College attracted students from all over the nation, including the South and the Midwest, and seventeen foreign countries. Dean James Russell believed in the potential of home economics for actualizing women's leadership positions in educational affairs and hired an array of female faculty. Elisa Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2004). 134.

³ Kobayashi, "*Nihon Ni Okeru Kindai Kaseigaku Seiritsu Katei No Kenkyū - Inoue Hide No Shisō to Jissen O Chūshin Ni Shite* [the Formation Process of Modern Home Economics in Japan - Inoue Hide's Principles and Practices]". 56. 64.

⁴ Leading scholars of the more prestigious units of the Columbia University system taught these courses. Henry C. Sherman, a chemist of Columbia University, taught the Dietaries course while Hermann T. Vulté,

.... For example, researchers scientifically investigate an array of ingredients of daily meals, such as wheat, rice, and corn. They identified twenty different kinds of starches, sugars, fat, and proteins in corn, and analyze these nutritive elements in a variety of cooked food. Researchers' thorough application of science to their studies is unimaginable in Japan...It is imperative for us to adopt scientific application to our curriculum.⁵

Inoue also came to respect empirical studies as an important feature of the study of domestic practices. Professors did not simply lecture on scientific theories but relentlessly included laboratory work.⁶ Integration of theories into experiments was the faculty members' strategy to attain their scholarly goal: to achieve the academic credibility of home economics and invalidate a stereotype of the field in U.S. academia, namely, a nonacademic manual training for the women of the working class and of color.⁷

... Theories are always applied to practice in this nation. The research outcome is always compared with experiences in every-day practices. Researchers focus on observation and experiments. They emphasize inductive reasoning rather than deductive method for their research.⁸

Inoue discovered that scientific application to domestic practices was popularized in the U.S. education system. She was impressed that public school children learned scientific theories⁹ when she conducted her classroom observation, which was one of her course requirements of "Theory and Practice of Teaching Domestic Science." This

a chemist of Barnard College, taught the Household Chemistry course. Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930". 147. 150.

⁵ Hide Inoue, "Beikoku Dayori Dai Go Shin [a Letter from the United States No. 5]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 155 (1908).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930". 129. 138. 140. 126. 141. 147.

⁸ Inoue, "Beikoku Dayori Dai Go Shin [a Letter from the United States No. 5]."

⁹ Hide Inoue, "Ōbei Ni Okeru Kaseigaku No Genjō [Home Economics in Europe and the United States]," *Katei [Home]* 2, no. 5 (1910).

course was taught by Helen Kinne, Director and Professor of the Domestic Science Department and a leading figure in the development of domestic science pedagogy nationwide.¹⁰

...Cookery lessons do not exclusively focus on manual tasks even in elementary school. Pupils learn physiology and chemistry to understand nutritious values of ingredients and the digestive system. For example, they are required to calculate the protein of egg and how much calories it would provide once it is taken into the human body. They also learn the best ways to cook an egg to maximize its nutritious values. Accordingly, each pupil is equipped with a test tube, a measuring cup, and a thermometer in the school kitchen.¹¹

Inoue also came to be aware of the rising position of home economics in the U.S. educational institution.¹² Home economics was adopted to the curriculum of elementary schools to collegiate institutions, and consequently accelerated teaching opportunities nationwide.¹³

...In the United States, more and more educational institutions, from elementary to high school, even colleges and universities, started to include domestic science in the curriculum. Accordingly, teaching positions rapidly increased all over the nation. Since the demand highly exceeds the number of graduates, some institutions welcome even current college students in the department of domestic science as teachers and professors.¹⁴

Inoue also became familiar with the evolution of home economics, which convinced her of its high potential for a fully-fledged academic discipline. She participated in the

¹⁰ Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930". 139.

¹¹ Inoue, "Ōbei Ni Okeru Kaseigaku No Genjō [Home Economics in Europe and the United States]."

¹² Hide Inoue, "Beikoku Dayori Dai Kyū Shin [a Letter from the United States No. 9]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 179 (1909).

¹³ The appointment office at Teachers College, which helped refer students to employers after graduation, was overflowing with requests for graduates for teaching positions all over the nation. Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930". 131.

¹⁴ Inoue, "Beikoku Dayori Dai Kyū Shin [a Letter from the United States No. 9]."

initial meeting of the American Home Economics Association (AHEA),¹⁵ the first professional organization of home economics teachers.¹⁶ In contrast to the nine participants at a meeting of its forerunner organization a decade ago,¹⁷ she saw one hundred and forty-three attendees.¹⁸ They included not only schoolteachers of all levels but also prominent home economists, such as Ellen S. Richards, the founding mother of home economics, and Helen Kinne, Inoue's advisor.

*...The conference was filled with a number of leading home economists and governmental officials in addition to school teachers and administrators all over the nation....During the three-day conference, these women were involved in a wide range of activities, such as presentations, discussions, meetings, committee members' election, and parties. They were fully dedicated to their mission to advance women's education. The conference was so international, collaborative, professional, and forward-thinking. I was convinced of the potential of home economics in academia.*¹⁹

Additionally, Inoue discovered that home economics offered other professional opportunities than a teaching career. A number of Teachers College alumnae became settlement workers by taking advantage of their college degrees in home economics.²⁰

Settlement work began in New York City in 1886 and nearly a hundred settlement houses

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ The initial meeting was held at the end of the year 1908 at the McKinley Manual Training High School in Washington, D.C. The American Home Economics Association, "The Washington Convention," *The Journal of Home Economics* 1, no. 1 (1909). 22.

¹⁷ The AHEA originated from the Lake Placid Conference in September 1899. Sarah Stage, "Ellen Richards and the Social Significance of the Home Economics Movement," in *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession*, ed. Sarah Stage and Virginia. B. Vincenti (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). 19-20. 26.

¹⁸ The American Home Economics Association, "The Washington Convention." The AHEA attained eight hundred memberships.

¹⁹ Inoue, "Beikoku Dayori Dai Kyū Shin [a Letter from the United States No. 9]."

²⁰ Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930". 132-133. The settlement movement created a new respectable profession for college-educated women, who had few other professional options beyond teaching and medicine. Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the Subject* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). 98.

were founded by 1911.²¹ The settlement movement mission, which was social reform in urban slums,²² fit the goal of Teachers College's domestic science program, which emphasized environmental solutions to social problems. The students responsively took advantage of the institutional mission and dominated the settlement movement within and beyond New York City.²³

*...Home economics prospers in the United States not only at schools but also in settlement work for the urban poor. A number of women reside at the settlement houses and provide them with knowledge of hygiene and childrearing. They also hold cookery lessons and give them instructions of nutrition. In this way, home economics is well adopted to social work under female leadership.*²⁴

Inoue did not only observe settlement workers' residential practices, however. She also gained a theoretical paradigm for settlement work. She took a Sociology course "Industrial Family," which was taught by Mary Kingbury Simkhovitch at the Barnard College.²⁵ She was one of the rising settlement spokespersons²⁶ with extensive research experiences on unemployment, racism, housing, and the assimilation of immigrant groups.²⁷ Inoue also explored public health in "Household Economics," which was

²¹ Rosenberg, *Changing the Subject*. 98.

²² Judith Ann Trolander, *Professionalism and Social Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987). 10.

²³ Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930". 131. 133.

²⁴ Inoue, "Ōbei Ni Okeru Kaseigaku No Genjō [Home Economics in Europe and the United States]."

²⁵ Mary Simkhovitch received a BA from Boston University and transferred to the University of Berlin in 1895 after one-year of graduate study at Radcliff. She met and became engaged to a Russian student of economics, Vladimir Simkhovitch, there. Upon their return to the United States in 1897, Mary Simkhovitch actively engaged in the women's suffrage movement in New York City while Vladimir spent one final year of his graduate work at Columbia University. Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood: My Story of Greenwich House* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1938).

²⁶ Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990). 133.

²⁷ Rosenberg, *Changing the Subject*. 102.

taught by Mary Adelaide Nutting. She was a pioneer of nursing education,²⁸ who collaboratively worked with settlement leaders to develop public-health initiatives.²⁹ In her class, Inoue examined systematic methods of household-keeping within institutional household contexts, such as hospitals, asylums, and dormitories.³⁰

Inoue came to be aware of the necessity of theoretical paradigm other than natural sciences as the first year was nearly over. An overemphasis on scientific application to domestic practices prevented her from gaining other scholarly frameworks for household management.³¹ Inoue had internalized Naruse's scholarly definition of home economics, which was a hybridization of natural science, social science and liberal arts. Accordingly, she aspired to explore what she had missed at Teachers College, such as childrearing, family relations, and household economy.³²

*...The Teachers College curriculum lacks research on childrearing, family household economy, and family relations, and fails to investigate household management from philosophical and sociological perspectives...I need to gain viewpoints on children and family issues as well as household economy.*³³

Complementing the Paradigm

Inoue complemented a scope of women's higher education and home economics courses at the University of Chicago. Institutionally speaking, she identified a possibility

²⁸ Linda Arlene Somerhalder Gilbert, "Passion and Persistence: A Biography of Mary Adelaide Nutting (1858-1948)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1997).

²⁹ Rosenberg, *Changing the Subject*. 102.

³⁰ Kobayashi, "Nihon Ni Okeru Kindai Kaseigaku Seiritsu Katei No Kenkyū - Inoue Hide No Shisō to Jissen O Chūshin Ni Shite [the Formation Process of Modern Home Economics in Japan - Inoue Hide's Principles and Practices]", Hide Inoue, "Kaji Kyōju No Gendai Ka [Modernization of Domestic Affairs Teaching]," *Kaji oyobi Saihō [Domestic Affairs and Sewing]* 1, no. 7 (1927). 64.

³¹ Inoue, "Sensei to Kaseigaku [Professor Naruse and Home Economics]."

³² Hide Inoue, "Kaseigaku No Ima Mukashi Sono Ichi [the Present and Past of Home Economics No. 1]," *Izumi* 7, no. 2 (1955).

³³ Inoue, "Sensei to Kaseigaku [Professor Naruse and Home Economics]."

of coeducational environment for attaining women's equal educational opportunities.³⁴

The University of Chicago Charter adopted gender-neutral admission due to lack of the institutional resources in contrast to Eastern educational institutions.³⁵ Inoue was aware of the utilitarian cause of the coeducational campus and positively valued the grudging admission of women, which created equal educational opportunities for women.³⁶

*...While the eastern universities are unlikely to adopt coeducation, Midwestern and Western universities are more likely to be coeducational campuses. Coeducational campuses are usually a consequence of insufficient financial resources of the institutions. While insufficient resources might be controversial, it constructed equal college education opportunities for women, and consequently, led women to chances to prove their equal intellectual competence.*³⁷

Academically speaking, Inoue gained sociological paradigm for home economics due to her enrollment in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. She took a course of "Social Origins" and explored the origin and evolution of women's social roles from the primitive ages to the modern industrial world.³⁸ This course was taught by William I. Thomas, who was the first eminent white male sociologist dedicated to racial and gender equality. He theoretically argued gender equality³⁹ and advocated the expansion of women's civil rights.⁴⁰

³⁴ Hide Inoue, "Beikoku Dayori [a Letter from the United States]," *Ōfūkai Tsūshin [Ōfūkai Newsletter]*, no. 25 (1909).

³⁵ Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven Yale University Press, 1990). 85. 87.

³⁶ Inoue, "Beikoku Dayori [a Letter from the United States]."

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Kobayashi, "Nihon Ni Okeru Kindai Kaseigaku Seiritsu Katei No Kenkyū - Inoue Hide No Shisō to Jissen O Chūshin Ni Shite [the Formation Process of Modern Home Economics in Japan - Inoue Hide's Principles and Practices]". 67-68.

³⁹ Thomas discussed gender difference and equality in his publication. Please see William I. Thomas, *Sex and Society: Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex* (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1907).

⁴⁰ Mary Jo Deegan, *Race, Hull-House, and the University of Chicago: A New Conscience against Ancient Evils* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2002). 25.

*...I studied sociology at the University of Chicago. I explored women's historical contribution to culture, women's roles in forming civilization, and their functions in the consumption life. Sociological exploration of women's roles enabled me to develop my own educational philosophy of home economics.*⁴¹

Additionally, Inoue explored a wide range of family issues from the sociological viewpoint. She took a general survey course, "Contemporary Society in the United States" and investigated problems of housing, food supply, and education of children in the industrial context.⁴² This course was taught by a pioneering sociologist, George E. Vincent, who contextualized home economics from the perspectives on family life and home environment.⁴³

Inoue became able to theorize the goal of domestic education due to her gain of the sociological paradigm. In her view, the goal of domestic education was to reconstruct the social standards of domestic practice and family life in the industrial context. She attributed the emergence of home economics to industrialization, which deprived production function of individual households.⁴⁴

*...Home economics emerged as industrialization evolved. The U.S. household lost its original function of production, and consequently, failed to practice traditional family life or moral training for children...Home economics emerged as a response to this social problem and developed as an attempt to reconstruct a model of domestic practices and family life relevant to industrial society.*⁴⁵

⁴¹ Inoue, "Sensei to Kaseigaku [Professor Naruse and Home Economics]." 14.

⁴² Kobayashi, "Nihon Ni Okeru Kindai Kaseigaku Seiritsu Katei No Kenkyū - Inoue Hide No Shisō to Jissen O Chūshin Ni Shite [the Formation Process of Modern Home Economics in Japan - Inoue Hide's Principles and Practices]". 68. Virginia Bramble Vincenti, "A History of the Philosophy of Home Economics" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University, 1981). 105.

⁴³ Vincent discussed the relationship between family issues and industrialization in the 1908 Lake Placid Conference on Home Economics, which was the forerunner to the American Association of Home Economics. Vincenti, "A History of the Philosophy of Home Economics". 104-105.

⁴⁴ Inoue, "Ōbei Ni Okeru Kaseigaku No Genjō [Home Economics in Europe and the United States]."

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Expanding the Scope

Inoue developed a broader notion of home economics after she completed three-month summer courses. She visited the Eastern elite women's colleges,⁴⁶ which were dismissive of home economics and excluded it from their curricula.⁴⁷ She was disappointed by the attitude of administrators' and faculty members, who could not imagine that home economics could be an academically robust subject.⁴⁸

While administrators and faculty members welcomed me, they disrespectfully ridiculed me when I told them the goal of my study-abroad: to explore domestic education at higher educational institutions. It was unthinkable for them to include domestic science in their curriculum since they assumed that it would irrevocably degrade the institutional prestige.⁴⁹

Inoue's disappointment was not limited to exclusion of domestic subjects from the curriculum. She was dissatisfied with the British model of home economics. While Miyakawa highly valued the British domestic education, Inoue was critical of the practical skills training, pedagogical approaches and facilities at the technical institutions. In her view, the British approach had less to offer than the U.S. model of domestic education.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Inoue's trip to elite women's colleges was a compromise between the urgent termination of her study in the United States and her persistent aspiration for further pursuit of the Western model of women's higher education. In the midst of her study at Chicago, she received Naruse's request for her immediate return to the Japan Women's Institute. The reason for Naruse's request was unclear. However, it was likely that Naruse wanted Inoue to assist him in increasing students' enrollment at the Japan Women's Institute. After Inoue left for the United States in 1908, a total number of entering students continued to drastically decreased: 380 in 1908, 263 in 1909, and 215 in 1910. Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenishi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 156.

⁴⁷ Elite women's colleges exclusively offered the same scholarships as the Ivy Leagues, which offered traditional classical curriculum. Barbara M. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). 79-80.

⁴⁸ Inoue, "Kaseigaku No Ima Mukashi Sono Ichi [the Present and Past of Home Economics No. 1]."

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ ———, "Ōbei Ni Okeru Kaseigaku No Genjō [Home Economics in Europe and the United States]."

Inoue was critical about the excessive focus on manual training and lack of scientific theorization. As Miyakawa experienced, “three-fourths of the curriculum consisted of manual training on cookery, laundry, and needlework.”⁵¹ Inoue was dissatisfied with an emphasis on manual skills training since separation of practice from theory degraded the scholarly position of domestic education.⁵²

*...The practices of household tasks are completely separated from contents of natural science, and the curriculum exclusively focuses on domestic competence. Cookery courses, for example, merely take care of technical skills, such as making a recipe and how to cook it, and include no scientific analysis on nutritious values.*⁵³

In contrast to the disappointment with British domestic education, Inoue was impressed by British women’s social advancement equal to American women. She was impressed by the positions of female professorship at the highest level of educational institutions.⁵⁴ The appointment of British women teachers slowly caught up as female students were admitted to universities in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁵

*...While British women are more reserved than American women personally, they are as far advanced as American women socially. They serve as principals at women’s higher educational institutions, even as professors.*⁵⁶

Inoue discovered that some women in the West were as backward as Japanese ones. In contrast to the advancement of Anglo-American women, the social position of French,

⁵¹ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 98.

⁵² Inoue, "Ōbei Ni Okeru Kaseigaku No Genjō [Home Economics in Europe and the United States]."

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Hide Inoue, "Ōbei No Fujin Wa Ikani Seikatsu Shi Ikani Shimpo Shitsutsu Aruka [How the Western Women Construct Their Daily Life and Advance Themselves]," *Hanamomiji* no. 8 (1910).

⁵⁵ Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939*. 134. 140.

⁵⁶ Inoue, "Ōbei No Fujin Wa Ikani Seikatsu Shi Ikani Shimpo Shitsutsu Aruka [How the Western Women Construct Their Daily Life and Advance Themselves]."

German and Russia women were no better than the Japanese. They were constrained socially as much as Japanese women.⁵⁷

*...I must confess that I feel relieved when I discover that French, German, and Russian women lag far behind the Anglo-American women. I am relieved because they are more likely to be the counterpart of Japanese women than the Anglo-American women...I am pessimistic about the Japanese women's position since they extremely lag behind the Anglo-American women.*⁵⁸

Inoue was not optimistic about the similarity between the European and Japanese women, however. Unlike Japanese women, European women were privileged by access to university education.⁵⁹ Russian women were allowed to be enrolled in universities as early as 1860s⁶⁰ as were French women at the turn of twentieth century.⁶¹ Inoue emphasized that Japanese women were less privileged for elevating their social position than European women due to inaccessibility to university education.

*...While French, Germany, and Russian women are far behind British and American women, they are more privileged than Japanese women. They are admitted to universities. At this point, they are far more privileged than Japanese women.*⁶²

Specifically, Inoue was impressed by Russian university education for women, which was far more advanced than France or Germany. When the Russian Revolution broke out in 1905, nearly five thousand women were enrolled in "higher courses for women," which were gender-segregated equivalent courses to the university curriculum outside

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd., 1987). 204.

⁶¹ Fritz K. Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979). 147.

⁶² Inoue, "Ōbei No Fujin Wa Ikani Seikatsu Shi Ikani Shimpo Shitsutsu Aruka [How the Western Women Construct Their Daily Life and Advance Themselves]."

universities.⁶³ The 1905 Revolution brought changes of women's higher education quantitatively and qualitatively. The number of female college students skyrocketed and two important coeducational institutions were founded.⁶⁴ Inoue was impressed by men's and women's equal participation in the medical classes at a coeducational university in Moscow.⁶⁵

*...I was astonished to see an equal number of male and female students in the medical school. Furthermore, female students equally engaged in dissecting a body in the same room with male students. Amazingly, female students with scalpels in their hands looked calm in front of a dead body.*⁶⁶

Inoue learned about common scholarship at higher educational institutions regardless of gender. For example, the Moscow Higher Courses for Women provided courses in literature, medicine, natural science and law, which were identically offered at male's institutions. Inclusion of male-dominated disciplines was a response to increased women's professional opportunities in the post-1905 revolution years. Adoption of a wide range of scholarships consequently elevated the academic standards of the Moscow Higher Courses for Women.⁶⁷

*...I was impressed that the school offered the same scholarships of the same academic standards with the men's institutions. Moreover, they had the most-advanced facilities for chemistry, physiology, and physics.*⁶⁸

⁶³ This number had already exceeded the total figure of either French or German female college students a decade later. James C. Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women: Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). 299.

⁶⁴ Ruth Arlene Fluck Dudgeon, "Women and Higher Education in Russia, 1855-1905" (Ph. D. Dissertation, George Washington University, 1975). 296-303.

⁶⁵ Inoue, "Kaseigaku No Ima Mukashi Sono Ichi [the Present and Past of Home Economics No. 1]." 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ While women's higher education courses traditionally consisted of historic-philological and physic-mathematical disciplines, they were allowed to add new faculties offered by universities, such as law, medicine, natural science and economics. Dudgeon, "Women and Higher Education in Russia, 1855-1905". 302. 396.

⁶⁸ Inoue, "Ōbei No Fujin Wa Ikani Seikatsu Shi Ikani Shimpo Shitsutsu Aruka [How the Western Women Construct Their Daily Life and Advance Themselves]."

Inoue discovered a strategy of advancing Japanese women's status after a three-month travel to the Europe. Women's admission to college education could be the foundation of social advancement of Japanese women.

...Japanese higher education for women is atypical in contrast to Western models. It is even inhumanitarian. Western women are equipped with access to advance themselves socially. We are unable to promote national progress unless we reform this peculiar education system for women. The current system never enables Japanese women to advance themselves and catch up with our Western counterpart.⁶⁹

Upon her return to Japan in April 1910, Inoue reassumed her leadership position as the Dean of the Home Economics and President of the Alumnae Association. She specified a new mission of the Japan Women's Institute: women's academic and social advancement in pursuit of national progress.⁷⁰ It fortified Naruse's educational policy, which was to enhance female character and intellectual competence in pursuit of their civic duties.⁷¹ In her opening address at the seventh annual conference of the Alumnae Association, she emphasized educated women's responsibility for reforming women's higher education. She also addressed their dedication to Japanese women's advancement in an attempt to catch up with Western women, who gained autonomy and advanced their social positions by themselves.⁷²

...I am very frustrated by the women's position in our country in comparison with the Western counterparts. We need to advance Japanese women. It is the mission of the Japan Women's Institute community. We, female educators, need to start with ourselves first. We need to develop our professional competence and

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Nakajima, "Naruse Jinzo." 79.

⁷² Inoue, "Obei No Fujin Wa Ikani Seikatsu Shi Ikani Shimpo Shitsutsu Aruka [How the Western Women Construct Their Daily Life and Advance Themselves]."

*autonomy to advance Japanese women. We are far behind women in the civilized nations. We need to work collectively to achieve our institutional goal.*⁷³

Summary

Inoue's study-abroad experiences revealed the ways in which she came to shape her vision of women's education reform initiatives. Inoue became convinced of the necessity of providing university education for Japanese women. She aspired to mobilize Japanese women for their new mission, which emerged in the post-Russo-Japanese War international context. Japan achieved great power status by defeating Russia, one of the Western powers, and increased opportunities for imperial expansion. Accordingly, all of the nationals, including women, were required to contribute to national progress in pursuit of further imperial aspirations.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, Inoue was frustrated that Japanese women were unprepared for their imperial mission. They were socially degraded and incapable of pursuing their civic responsibilities unlike Anglo-American women, who were advanced socially and professionally. Japanese women were also more disadvantaged than European women, who were as backward as Japanese women and yet privileged by university education access. Inoue came to believe that university education was a vehicle of women's social advancement, and thus, became convinced of the urgent necessity of providing university education for Japanese women in meeting their national duties.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Uno, "Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations Of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Before 1931." 503. 505.

Inoue became convinced of the utility of home economics in attaining her professional aspiration, namely, providing university education for women. In her view, home economics demonstrated an array of possibilities for promoting women's social advancement. It offered not only teaching career opportunities from elementary schools to collegiate institutions but also social reform professions. Settlement workers in urban slums embodied a potential of home economics for promoting civic activism. They adopted home economics as a vehicle of solving the environmental problems and advancing moral and social welfare of settlement dwellers. Inoue was convinced of the potential roles of home economics in advancing women's public involvement in the industrial context.

Inoue was also convinced of the necessity of adopting theoretical paradigms to household management. She had been frustrated by the degraded status of home economics in Japan, which resulted in a scholarly critique of the offerings of domestic education at higher education institutions. Accordingly, she dedicated herself to gaining theoretical frameworks in view of earning academic credibility of home economics in Japan. She was aware that pioneering U.S. home economists succeeded in elevating scholarly status of home economics by adopting theoretical paradigms to domestic practices.

Inoue returned to Japan with a specific vision of women's education reform initiatives. Her focus was on the home economics reform agenda in an attempt to achieve her professional aspiration, namely, promoting social advancement of Japanese women.

PART THREE: RETURNING HOME

CHAPTER 5: THE TOKYO WOMEN'S HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOL

Challenging Constraints

Miyakawa had launched a professional journey several years prior to Inoue's return to Japan. Miyakawa came back to Japan in August 1906 and started to fulfill her duty to the state as a governmental overseas scholar. She was appointed as a chief professor of domestic affairs (*kaji shunin kyōju*), at the Department of Art and Craft (*gigei-ka*) of her alma mater, the Women's Higher Normal School.¹ She was excited with this prestigious position,² which allowed her to serve her alma mater.³

Miyakawa identified an array of institutional problems in domestic education. First, Miyakawa was critical about the curriculum, which focused on lectures on domestic affairs with few practical training classes. She was critical about the pedagogical traditions, which involved teachers who simply read outdated textbooks of domestic affairs.⁴

...When I came back to Japan, domestic education was unbelievably underdeveloped. Teachers merely lectured on what was written in the old textbooks. For example, they just read such sentences as "clothing and furniture should be selected in accordance with people's social status and professions..." They never linked their lectures to daily skills.⁵

Second, Miyakawa was dissatisfied with a factory-style conveyor-belt approach to a practical skills training. Her colleagues adopted a group work approach, *kumishiki kyōju*,

¹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 99.

² Chief professorship was a high status teaching position, which was exclusively permitted to professors with ten to fifteen years of teaching experience. Sasaki, *The Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Prewar Japan: A Dynamic Interaction among Institutions, Students, and Government*. 47.

³ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 218.

⁴ Ibid. 218

⁵ Ibid.

which was made up of a group of five students and a set of cooking utensils with each group. The entire process of cooking was divided into each step and assigned to each individual student. Miyakawa was unsupportive of this collective work approach since students failed to develop all culinary skills necessary for the entire cooking process. She was aware of unequal responsibility among five members depending on their competence or enthusiasm.⁶

*...A group work approach might appear to be efficient to develop an individual's domestic skills. However, it is not at all. Engaging only in several tasks prevents students from acquiring other skills necessary for the entire cooking process. While enthusiastic students take challenging jobs, such as boiling or grilling, indifferent students only take care of trivial jobs, such as peeling or doing the dishes. Teachers should not adopt this pedagogical approach since each individual student needs to improve each skill necessary for the whole process of cookery.*⁷

Third, Miyakawa was disappointed by the insufficient instructional facilities.⁸ In contrast to the sixteen practice rooms at the Battersea Polytechnic, there were only four laboratories,⁹ which were two practice rooms of domestic affairs, a laundry room and a cooking room. These rooms were not sufficiently equipped with utensils for the total of twenty students in each grade level.¹⁰

⁶ Ibid. 219.

⁷ Ibid. 219-220.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi Kankō Inkaï, *Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Hyakunenshi [a Hundred Years of Ochanomizu University]*. Appendix.

¹⁰ Though the reasons of deficient facilities were unclear, it could be the disproportionate financial investment in higher education between men and women. The total expenditures for governmental educational institutions for women, which included two higher normal schools and the Tokyo Music Institution, the only coeducational school, occupied merely 1.8% of the entire expenditures for the governmental educational institutions. Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]*. 270. Motoichi Yuhara, "Joshi Kyōiku Mondai [Women's Educational Issues]," in *Shin Fujin Mondai [New Women's Issues]*, ed. Rokurō Ishikawa (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1921). 245.

...The cooking room, for example, was very small and there were only several sinks and worktables. There was no way to develop students' domestic competence in this level of facilities.¹¹

Miyakawa embarked on an effort to upgrade and modernize the school facilities. To persuade school administrators, she emphasized the institutional mission of the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School: to provide the model instructional environment as a primary supplier of women's secondary school teachers. The alumnae were most likely to launch an original model curriculum at brand-new women's secondary schools. They were founded one after another due to the 1899 Act of Women's High School, which mandated each prefectural government to find at least one women's secondary school.¹²

...I requested the facilities with sufficient equipment, which would enable individual students to acquire and improve domestic skills. I emphasized the individual students' future leadership duty at women's secondary schools. Our students will be responsible for teaching a majority of women's secondary school students nationwide. In order to meet this institutional mission, I emphasized the necessity of investing the facilities for practical skills training.¹³

Miyakawa undertook the reform of curriculum contents as well as facility. She gained and adopted technical expertise relevant to Japanese daily lives to her classroom teaching.¹⁴ She was aware of the irrelevance of importing the British models due to the distinctive Japanese daily practices. For clothing, for example, laundry of *kimonos* was different from the Western approach since *kimonos* were taken apart for washing and then had to be re-sewn for wearing.¹⁵ For culinary practices, Western cuisine had been

¹¹ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 99.

¹² While there were only 61 women's secondary schools in 1901, the school numbers nearly doubled to 107 in 1907. Kōtō Jogakkō Kenkyūkai [Research Association of Women's High School], *Kōtō Jogakkō No Kenkyū [Research of Women's High School]* (Tokyo: Ōzora sha, 1994). 89.

¹³ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Tipton, "How to Manage a Household: Creating Middle Class Housewives in Modern Japan." 100.

already domesticated by Western-style restaurants, which mushroomed in late nineteenth-century Japan.¹⁶ For shelter, traditional dwellings consisted of *tatami*-floored rooms with paper *shōji* and *fusuma* doors in contrast to Western housing with carpeted rooms and wooden doors.

...I am aware that importing the British practices did not work out. While Westerners only need to know how to polish the glass windows and wooden doors, Japanese students need to know how to repaper the shōji and fusuma doors. Accordingly, I realized that I needed to acquire domestic skills relevant to the Japanese lifestyle. After school, I visited a number of shops to gain professional skills. I went to well-known restaurants and worked with the chefs in the kitchen. At a laundry shop, I learned how to launder kimonos.¹⁷

Miyakawa faced an array of institutional constraints. She failed to gain administrators' support. They turned down her requests for equipment, e.g., pans or a portable coals-burning *shichirin*,¹⁸ due to a variety of reasons: financial shortage, luxury of sufficient equipment, and purposelessness.¹⁹ She disagreed with the financial shortage since the Department of Science, for example, was allowed to purchase the latest version of microscopes regardless of their high price.²⁰ In contrast, Miyakawa's request to purchase a sufficient number of metal basins for laundry instruction was denied. She was irritated by administrators' ignorance of her instructional goal and irrelevant justification.²¹ While she emphasized the necessity of metal basins for each student to teach sterilization by boiling, administrators disapproved her request since "the school

¹⁶ Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine. Food, Power and National Identity* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2006). 48.

¹⁷ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 219.

¹⁸ Sumi Miyakawa, "Ikka No Zatsumu O Torisabaku Kokoroe [How to Deal with Household Chores]," *Jogaku Sekai [Women's Academic World]* 14, no. 1 (1914).

¹⁹ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 220.

²⁰ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 102

²¹ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 220.

did not necessitate an array of basins since individual households were typically equipped with only a few basins.”²² Miyakawa’s other request for founding a drying room was also ignored since some administrators assumed a practice room for domestic affairs was multi-purposeful. Others argued that outside drying, which was a common cultural practice, should be sufficient. She was frustrated that the hygienic and academic purpose of a drying room was never understood.²³

*...the administrators never understood the significance of facilities. They underestimate the importance of facilities. They assumed that over-equipped school facilities might result in troubles at students’ homes when they would apply the skills that they acquired at school to their home environment. Thus, they just let it go by telling that we do not need twenty washtubs since no household had that many.*²⁴

Defining Technical Expertise

A frustrated Miyakawa adopted an alternative strategy to pursue a model domestic education program. She published a technical-practice-oriented secondary school textbook, *Kaji jisshū kyōkasho* (Domestic Affairs Practice Textbook) in July 1910. She presented detailed, step-by-step technical instructions on laundry and cleaning, which made a sharp contrast to the standard textbooks that adopted theoretical and ideological approaches to domestic practices.²⁵ This textbook was consistent to the 1911 reform

²² Ibid. 220.

²³ Sumi Ōe, *Ōyō Kaji Seigi [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs]* (Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1916). 42-43.

²⁴ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*.100.

²⁵ Sachiko Shigeno, "Kaseigaku Seiritsu No Kisoteki Kenkyū (3) [a Basic Study on Home Economics Formation]," *Bulletin of Kōka College* 10 (1972). 145.

policy of domestic affairs of women's secondary schools,²⁶ which added laundry and cleaning to the curriculum of a practical skills training.²⁷

Miyakawa made use of her knowledge of Western materials to shape a model of technical expertise in modern domestic practices. For example, she included cleaning techniques of carpeted rooms in response to emergence of an invented domestic space called "combined Japanese-Western house (*wayō-setchū jūka*)."²⁸ This household architecture integrated Western rooms into a Japanese architectural space of one structure in an attempt to take advantage of the social prestige of Western domesticity and realistic affordability of *tatami*-floored rooms.²⁸

Miyakawa also included a unit on how to clean Western domestic interiors. She provided cleaning techniques for bookcases, desks, tables, chairs, dressers, and mantels,²⁹ which had just become available as mass-market commodities at the Mitsukoshi Department Store in 1909,³⁰ the first department store in Japan founded in 1904.³¹ While

²⁶ This textbook was authorized by the Ministry of Education in 1911. Chitako Tanaka and Hatsuo Tanaka, *Kaseigaku Bunken Shūsei Zokuhen: Meijiki Viii [a Sequel of the Complication of Home Economics References: Meiji Period Viii]* (Tokyo: Watanabe shoten, 1970). 23.

²⁷ In the 1899 policy, cooking was included in a practical skills curriculum. Noda, *Nihon Kindai Gakkō Kyōiku Ni Okeru Kaji Kyōiku Seiritsu Shi Kenkyū [Research on Household Affairs Formation History in Japanese Modern Education]*. 148.

²⁸ Domestic reformers at the turn of the twentieth century problematized traditional Japanese dwellings due to the lack of partitions and unhygienic *tatami* mats. These reformers advocated the advantages of Western rooms, such as protection of privacy by fixed walls, efficiency of rooms by specific functions, and sanitation of carpeted floors. By adopting benefits from the Western household model, they attempted to construct domestic space with social prestige for middle-class families. Nonetheless, they were well aware that it was unaffordable for middle-class households to completely transform the original Japanese dwelling or found a separate Western household. Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*. 39-41.

²⁹ Sumi Miyakawa, *Kaji Jisshū Kyōkasho [Domestic Affairs Practice Textbook]* (Tokyo: Gengendō Shobō, 1910). 33.

³⁰ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*. 118. Sand addressed that hand-crafted Western furniture was available before Mitsukoshi's sales of furniture in 1909. However, Mitsukoshi offered ready-made furniture, which constructed a craft tradition with mass production and marketing.

Miyakawa addressed the emergence of modern consumerism, she also included cleaning instructions of traditional Japanese furniture, such as a chest of drawers (*tansu*) and a lidded oblong chest (*nagamochi*) containing *kimonos* and bedding.³² *Kimonos* and bedding were usually the most valuable assets that a family possessed and were inherited as a dowry for generations.³³

The dwelling was not alone in providing a possibility of adopting British domesticity. Miyakawa took advantage of her laundry knowledge of Western clothing. It shifted from an official costume exclusively for governmental elites to a white-collar professionals' uniform by the early twentieth century.³⁴ She prescribed a washing order, applicable solution, and ironing techniques of a shirt, cuffs, and collars.³⁵ Additionally, she provided laundry and ironing techniques for the boys' middle-school uniforms of Western-style jackets and trousers.³⁶ Readership of Miyakawa's textbook consisted of prospective mothers of middle-school students, who were a privileged and yet rapidly increasing minority.³⁷

³¹ Ibid. 96.

³² Miyakawa, *Kaji Jisshū Kyōkasho [Domestic Affairs Practice Textbook]*. 33.

³³ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*. 118-119.

³⁴ Western dress indicated a yearning for international respect for Japan's modernity and was adopted as an official costume exclusively for governmental elites in the 1870s. When Japan had largely achieved diplomatic equality with the West, however, Western dress had come to be taken for granted by "modern" Japanese men. Barbara Molony, "Gender, Citizenship and Dress in Modernizing Japan," in *The Politics of Dress in Asia and the Americas*, ed. Mina Roces and Louise Edwards (London Sussex Academic Press, 2007). 81. 86.

³⁵ Miyakawa, *Kaji Jisshū Kyōkasho [Domestic Affairs Practice Textbook]*. 193-200

³⁶ Ibid. 157-160.

³⁷ Middle school students were a privileged minority. In 1910, the enrollment of male pupils in primary schools was 3,861,791 while enrollment of male students in middle school was 122,345. The enrollment in middle school was 3% of the enrollment of primary school. Nonetheless, middle-school student numbers grew into 122,345 in 1910 as compared to 78,315 a decade before due to growing aspiration for higher educational opportunities. The Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Hyakunenshi Shiryō Hen [One Hundred*

Additionally, Miyakawa took advantage of her knowledge of Western industrial textiles. She provided laundry techniques of woolen fabrics, which came to be common clothing materials due to an increase of domestic production.³⁸ Western industrial textiles, such as muslin and flannels,³⁹ were initially the second major imported goods in late nineteenth-century Japan. They served as model manufactured goods for the Meiji government since the state attempted to launch the modern textile industry, promote its domestic productivity, and eventually export them to resolve its huge import deficit.⁴⁰ When the Meiji government successfully attained its goal by the turn of the twentieth century, Japanese homemade woolen textiles, which gained Japanized terms, such as *mosurin* (muslin) and *neru* (flannel), diversified the materials for the *kimono* in addition to traditional fabrics, such as silk and cotton.⁴¹ Accordingly, Miyakawa reconciled her washing knowledge of these fabrics with a traditional technique of washing the Japanese *kimono*. Unlike Western garments, the *kimono* required specific washing techniques, called *Arai-bari*. It necessitated taking the seams apart, washing, drying, and ironing each panel, and then sewing the panels back together.⁴² By combining her knowledge of

Year History of the Fundamental Code of Education the Statistical Edition]. 497. Roden, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan*. 40. for middle school enrollment number.

³⁸ Miyakawa, *Kaji Jisshū Kyōkasho [Domestic Affairs Practice Textbook]*. 166-168.

³⁹ These woolen textiles consisted of chemically-based dyes, which were invented in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Since the Japanese dyeing industry was still based on plant materials, chemical dyes had not yet been developed. Naoko Sakikawa, "Wasō [Japanese-Style Clothes]," in *Seikatsugaku jiten [Encyclopedia of Everyday Life Studies]*, ed. Noboru Kawazoe and Yasuko Ichibangase (Tokyo: Nihon Seikatsu Gakkai [Japanese Life Study Society], 1999). 416.

⁴⁰ Masao Baba and Masahiro Tatemoto, "Foreign Trade and Economic Growth in Japan: 1858-1937," in *Japanese Economic History 1600-1960*, ed. Michael Smitka (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998). 169-172.

⁴¹ Annie Van Assche, "Interweavings: Kimono Past and Present," in *Fashioning Kimono*, ed. Annie Van Assche (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2005). 9-10.

⁴² *Ibid.* 23-24.

Western fabrics with a traditional Japanese washing method, Miyakawa constructed a new version of *Arai-bari* in her textbook.

Defining the Ideals

If Miyakawa made use of knowledge of Western domestic materials in the first textbook, she became self-referential in the second textbook, *Sanbō Shugi* [Triple Principles Ideology], which she published in 1911.⁴³ She comparatively analyzed features of women and household institutions between Great Britain and Japan from the financial and moral perspectives. Her educational and living experiences in Great Britain sensitized her to the potential meaning of domestic competence in the household economy and organizational functions of household institution.

First, Miyakawa praised Japanese women's domestic competence. They were capable of contributing to household economies due to their autonomy in household management. They contrasted with the British middle-class women, who needed to use domestic maids in order to complete housework.⁴⁴

*...Japanese women excel in sewing skills. Due to their competence, they do not need to employ professional services to take care of them. Also, they are competent chefs and do not need extra hands. They are capable of cooking economically...British women are incapable of handling domestic work independently and need to use domestic maids, which cost a fortune.*⁴⁵

In addition to Japanese women, Miyakawa admired the Japanese lineal-extended family system. First, she emphasized its financial benefit. In contrast to the British conjugal households, the Japanese model did not cause young couples and kinship

⁴³ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi* [Triple Principles Ideology].

⁴⁴ Ibid. 25. 41.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

members to have to pay for a separate household from their natal households.

Accordingly, it could make financial contribution to the state due to its institutional capacity of exempting the state from the social relief expenditure.⁴⁶

*In Japan, young couples do not need to purchase extra material goods since they share the residential space and daily necessities. Marriage in Great Britain is much more costly than in Japan.*⁴⁷

Second, Miyakawa emphasized moral benefit from the Japanese household institutions. Patrilineal household environments nurtured women's patience and perseverance. In contrast to British women free from obligation to in-laws, Japanese women gained a sense of self-sacrifice through her services to household masters. She was convinced that Japanese women's distinctive natures resulted in the Japanese successive victories over Russia⁴⁸ in the Russo-Japanese War, which broke out during her stay in Great Britain.⁴⁹ She triumphantly associated Japanese soldiers' spiritual strength with their mothers' self-sacrifice spirits.⁵⁰

*.... While a British household consists of a husband-wife relationship, the Japanese household is based on an intergenerational relationship between parents and children. As a daughter-in-law, women were required to respect senior household members unconditionally. The hierarchical household structure enhances women's self-control to prioritize family welfare over self-benefit. Accordingly, their children observe moral discipline, learn to prioritize group profits than individual gain, and dedicatedly sacrifice themselves to the Imperial army.*⁵¹

⁴⁶ Ibid. 24. 41.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 24.

⁴⁸ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 217.

⁴⁹ The Russo-Japanese War, which broke out in February 1904, became a British diplomatic concern because of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and British support for Japan through shared intelligence. Chiharu Inaba, "Military Co-Operation under the First Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-1905," in *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902-1922*, ed. Phillips Payson O'Brien (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004). 69-72.

⁵⁰ Miyakawa, "Shimpō Sho [Report to the Ministry of Education]."

⁵¹ ———, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 43-44.

In addition to financial and moral gains, Miyakawa identified the educational value of Japanese households. Extended family members, especially grandparents, could transmit the notion of filial piety, respect for ancestors and seniors, and loyalty to the Emperor. All of them were an axis of family-state ideology, which was the principle of the Imperial Japan.⁵²

*...It is far better to have kindred caregivers for our children at home rather than to provide them with institutional educational services, such as the nursery. Home education is crucial to enhance an intimate relationship between parent and children. Even if mothers were occupied by household affairs, extended family members, especially grandparents, could take care of children and provide moral disciplines necessary for them. They could nurture grandchildren's respect for the family ancestors, parents, and the Emperor.*⁵³

Miyakawa published the third book, *Ōyō Kaji Seigi* [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs] in November 1917. As she did in the second book, she became self-referential again due to a specific cause. In opposition to her predication of hopeless marriage prospects, she got married in July 1915 to a Christian widower fifteen years older than her, who was the Lieutenant General of the *Konoe Shidan* (Imperial Guard of Japan).⁵⁴ Her marriage at the age of forty shaped her identity as a professional housewife, authenticated her specialty,⁵⁵ and motivated her to publish the second book.⁵⁶ She ideologized household management on the basis of her married life experiences and

⁵² Yoshiko Miyake, "Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1045*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). 270.

⁵³ Sumi Miyakawa, "Nihon Katei to Eikoku Katei [Japanese Home and British Home]," *Fujin to kodomo* [Women and Children] 6, no. 11 (1906).

⁵⁴ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei* [Professor Sumi Ōe]. 155.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 149.

⁵⁶ Ōe, *Ōyō Kaji Seigi* [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs]. 2. 10.

defined this book as “a reference book for secondary and post-secondary teachers as well as for housewives.”⁵⁷

*...I was asked to publish manuals of housework a long time ago, but did not have a chance. However, my recent marriage enables me to explore and experiment with domestic practices in the context of real home life and encourages me to systematize them. I learned a lot from my everyday life experiences as a housewife and discovered many things.*⁵⁸

Miyakawa⁵⁹ ideologized household management from the state perspective. She defined the individual household as a fundamental unit that constituted the state. The state was a complex organization that consisted of millions of individual households. Accordingly, national progress and prosperity resulted from efficient management of each household unit.⁶⁰

*... The household is a fundamental component of the state. Accordingly, national expansion, strength, and prosperity totally depend on efficient management of every single household.*⁶¹

Miyakawa defined the structure of household management. She compartmentalized four components, which were (1) hygiene of clothing, food, and shelter, (2) finance, (3) education, and (4) social relationships.

Miyakawa aligned household management with state governance. She adopted a metaphor of the Cabinet to each component of household management and defined the housewife’s leadership role as the Home Minister, the Finance Minister, the Education Minister, and Exterior Minister for each component respectively. Most of all, a

⁵⁷ Ibid. 1.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 3.

⁵⁹ Miyakawa switched her family name to her husband’s one, Ōe, in accordance with the 1898 Civil Code, which legalized that a wife switch her family name from her father’s to her husband’s upon her marriage. In this dissertation, the author continues to use her maiden name due to consistency.

⁶⁰ Ōe, *Ōyō Kaji Seigi [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs]*. 2.

⁶¹ Ibid. 1-2.

housewife served as the Prime Minister, who was responsible for coordinating all of her administrative duties.⁶²

*...Since household management is in parallel to state administration, the housewife assumes the Minister positions in the Cabinet. These positions include Ministry of Interior, Finance, Education, and Exterior. Housework is a job responsibility for the Ministry of Interior. Household finance is a job for the Ministry of Finance. The housewife also supervises her children as the Ministry of Education. Additionally, she is responsible for communal and kinship networks as the Ministry of Exterior.*⁶³

Miyakawa defined the goal of women's education in pursuit of the best possible household management. She focused on both intellectual and technical advancement. She emphasized the importance of total coordination of knowledge and skills due to both managerial and mechanical components of household management.⁶⁴

*... We need to provide two distinctive types of training to enhance knowledge and skills. Academic disciplines are significant to develop intellectual minds. At the same time, domestic education needs to complement the qualification as housewife both intellectually and technically.*⁶⁵

Miyakawa specifically emphasized the significance of technical expertise. Domestic competence was essential for economizing household expenditure due to its financial value. Housewives should be capable of cutting daily expenditures and wages spent on domestic maids.⁶⁶

*...If a housewife can manage all housework independently, she can save wages of domestic maids and increase the household savings. If a housewife can fix her husband's lunch every day, she can also save the cost of bought meals.....*⁶⁷

⁶² Ibid. 6.

⁶³ Ibid. 6.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 16-17.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 112.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 112.

In addition to promoting practical skills, Miyakawa emphasized the importance of selecting residential space carefully. She knew that suburban living⁶⁸ was financially beneficial due to the high rent of urban housing. Indeed, rents in Tokyo rose two-and-a-half times between 1914 and 1922 due to a housing shortage. An unprecedented number of workers migrated to Tokyo in pursuit of a vast increase of employment opportunities due to World War I.⁶⁹

*...While suburban housing costs more in transportation fees than urban living, the former is still advantageous financially due to a less costly rent. Accordingly, it is worth taking advantage of transportation system and living in the suburbs.*⁷⁰

Miyakawa also suggested another strategy for cutting household expenditures. She advocated homeownership due to its lifetime financial benefit in contrast to permanent payments on rental housing. While a majority of people resided in rental houses in Tokyo,⁷¹ a possibility of homeownership emerged due to suburban development.⁷² In response to a possibility of attaining homeownership, Miyakawa comparatively analyzed the total cost between loans and rent and concluded the financial advantage of homeownership.

...Rental dwellings are uneconomical due to everlasting rent. In addition, you need to prepay rents for several months as an initial deposit, which would earn no interest... If a monthly rent was five-yen, you assume that your annual payment was sixty-yen and a decade payment was six-hundred yen. This is untrue. It

⁶⁸ The residential suburb emerged in the early twentieth century as private railroad companies' endeavors. Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*. 132-135.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 171. 257.

⁷⁰ Ōe, *Ōyō Kaji Seigi [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs]*. 73.

⁷¹ The Social Bureau survey of 1922, for example, found that more than 93 % of the total population in Tokyo was renting dwellings. Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*. 256.

⁷² Private rail companies formed the housing market and offered ready-built houses for sale with an installment plan. Ibid. 135.

*would be seven hundred and fifty yen including interest. This amount of money could allow you to purchase a house ...In general, a total rent for five to six years is equivalent to the price of house.*⁷³

Miyakawa adopted her mother as a role model of housewife, who successfully attained homeownership. Her mother embodied her principles of household management. She succeeded in attaining homeownership due to her self-dependence in household management. She was capable of economizing the household budget by managing housework independently, recycling old clothes without purchasing new ones, and fixing every meal for each family member. Her diligence and thrift enabled her to manage housework on a shoestring budget and accumulate a sufficient amount of funds to purchase a house. Once she purchased a house, she accelerated her diligence and thrift to pay back the housing loan as quickly as possible.⁷⁴

Founding an Alternative Space

Miyakawa started a private academy, *Kasei Kenkyūsho* (Institute of Domestic Science) at her residence in pursuit of her ideal of domestic education. This new endeavor was her resolution for dedicating the rest of her life to educating model Japanese women. In January 1921, she was devastated by her husband's death from pneumonia and urged to seek meaning in her loss. She was convinced of the Lord's guidance by misfortunes, which would eventually reward her with unimaginable opportunities.⁷⁵

⁷³ Ōe, *Ōyō Kaji Seigi [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs]*. 106.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 118-123.

⁷⁵ She believed that no marital prospects due to a birthmark made her a hard worker in pursuit of financial independence. She was confident that her hard work consequently brought a study-abroad opportunity.

...I was completely devastated by my husband's death. We spent only six years together...After a while, however, I started to ask the Lord for a way to accept his death and live the rest of my life without him. When I looked back on my life so far, I realized that my misfortunes eventually turned into great fortune. Hopelessness of marriage due to a birthmark on my cheek led me to study hard to fulfill financial independence in the future. Consequently, I gained a governmental scholarship opportunity for study-abroad. I spent many years lonesome as an unmarried woman. However, I was eventually married to such a wonderful husband. Reflecting on my past life and praying to God enabled me to revitalize myself with new hope and gratitude. I was determined to devote myself to my mission more than I used to.⁷⁶

Miyakawa needed to found an alternative educational space in order to pursue her resolution. She concluded the impossibility of attaining her professional aspirations at the Tokyo Women's Normal Higher School. School facilities remained unchanged for more than a decade after she started to serve the school. By this time, she realized the cause of unacceptability of her requests for advancing the facilities: domination of administrative positions by male staff. Trustees and deans were exclusively occupied by male professors,⁷⁷ who were, in Miyakawa's view, completely incapable of evaluating the significance of facilities in enhancing domestic competence. Male dominance at her institution made a sharp contrast with the administrative structure in British institutions of domestic education, which consisted of both teaching and administrative positions for women.⁷⁸

She also believed that her long spinsterhood resulted in her marriage to an ideal husband. Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 158-159.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Tokyo Joshi Kōtō Shihan Gakkō [Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School], "Tokyo Joshi Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Ichiran [Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School Reference]," (Tokyo: Tokyo Joshi Kōtō Shihan Gakkō [Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School], 1919).

⁷⁸ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 100. The Battersea Polytechnics included several female trustees. The Battersea Polytechnic, "The Battersea Polytechnic. A Record of Ten Years Work 1894-1904." 93.

*...Shortage of facilities of domestic affairs is attributed not only to insufficient financial resources but also to a lack of administrative support for them. Since school administrators are all men, they are unable to understand the significance of facilities in developing practical skills training. Consequently, they never support facility reform. I am confident this is the very reason for lack of facilities because they support advancement of natural science facilities because they understand the value of laboratories.*⁷⁹

Miyakawa's private academy, which started with twenty-five young housewives and domestic maids in the vicinity households,⁸⁰ was a beachhead for pursuing her ideal domestic education for the rest of her life. In 1925, two years after its founding, she advanced this academy to a post-secondary educational institution, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin* (Tokyo Domestic Science Institute), which flourished with a model curriculum of domestic science in Japanese post-secondary education for women.⁸¹

Summary

Miyakawa's women's education reform initiatives revealed the ways in which she dedicated herself to advancing practical skills training and sustaining superior features of Japanese womanhood and household institution in support of state progress.

Miyakawa dedicated herself to transforming home economics into a practical discipline. She believed in financial value of women's domestic competence in the context of middle-class household economy. Accordingly, she pursued a comprehensive reform agenda, including curriculum, pedagogical approach and instructional facilities, in the wake of the British model of domestic education. In addition, she sought to disseminate the standards of practical skills training by publishing instructional manuals

⁷⁹ Miyakawa, *Sanbō Shugi [Triple Principles Ideology]*. 101.

⁸⁰ Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 21.

⁸¹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 213.

for women's secondary school students and teachers. She dedicated herself to modernizing technical expertise in response to emergence of the new commodities, which were invented as a result of hybridization of Japanese and Western artifacts.

Miyakawa also dedicated herself to sustaining Japanese womanhood and the lineal-extended household model. She believed in Japanese women's capability of fostering the next generations' commitment to serving the state. She was convinced that Japanese women's self-sacrificing spirits were the source of national strength, which was exemplified by the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905. In her view, Japanese women were trained to prioritize family welfare over self-benefit unlike British women, who were exempted from familial obligation to their in-laws. She believed in the institutional capacity of the Japanese household model, the lineal-extended family institution, of nurturing women's patience and perseverance. In addition, Miyakawa valued inclusiveness of the Japanese lineal-extended household institution that the British conjugal family failed to offer. The lineal-extended household institution provided the needy family members with financial and material resources and exempted them from paying for a separate household. The lineal-extended family institution could make financial contribution to the state due to its institutional capacity of exempting the state from the social relief expenditures.

Miyakawa came to dedicate herself to constructing an alternative education space in pursuit of an independent leadership opportunity. She was frustrated with the impossibility of achieving her reform agenda at the state educational institution, which was administrated predominantly by male faculty staff members. In her view, male

administrators were incapable of evaluating the importance of her reform agenda in advancing women's potential capacities of contributing to national progress. In addition to her disappointment with the institution, her personal tragedy, a loss of her husband, encouraged her to dedicate the rest of her life to her mission of educating model Japanese women. Accordingly, she came to aspire for an alternative education space in an attempt to advance women's technical and financial capacities of serving the state.

Miyakawa constructed an alternative education space, *Tokyo Kasei Kenkyūsho* (Institute of Domestic Science) as a public embodiment of her dedication to advancing technical expertise and female virtues in an attempt to promote women's service to the state.

CHAPTER 6: THE JAPAN WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

Pursuing the Institutional Goals

As Miyakawa embarked on an alternative professional endeavor, Inoue launched an array of new projects upon her return to the Japan Women's Institution in March 1910. First, she undertook to found a teacher training program of domestic affairs. This program was Naruse's strategy to obtain the governmental accreditation of certifying secondary school teachers. He sought to attract professionally-ambitious applicants by opening up an advanced teaching career path.¹ Accordingly, Inoue shaped a curriculum of *kaji* (domestic affairs) by applying the natural science contents to clothing, cookery, and shelter.² She adopted theoretical learning to domestic tasks in parallel to a model curriculum of the Women's Higher Normal School.³ Inoue's new program was successfully accredited in the following year,⁴ and the Japan Women's Institute became the first private post-secondary institution with this privilege.⁵

¹ The student number of the Japan Women's Institute declined seriously after Inoue had left for the United States. While 518 students attended in 1906, it shrank continually in the second half of the 1900s: 380 in 1908, 263 in 1909, and 215 in 1910. Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenishi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*.156. Unlike the governmental educational institutions, private educational institutions were not subsidized by the state, and therefore, tuition fees were a predominant financial resource. A decrease of students would consequently drop the school budget and lead to an issue of the survival of the institution. Ikuo Amano, "Continuity and Change in the Structure of Japanese Higher Education," in *Changes in the Japanese University a Comparative Perspective*, ed. William K. Cummings, Ikuo Amano, and Kazuyuki Kitamura (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1979). 16.

² Inoue's curriculum contents of domestic affairs were unknown. However, it was likely that she focused on scientific approaches to management of clothing, cookery, and shelter in parallel to her publications in the 1910s. Kobayashi, "*Nihon Ni Okeru Kindai Kaseigaku Seiritsu Katei No Kenkyū - Inoue Hide No Shisō to Jissen O Chūshin Ni Shite* [the Formation Process of Modern Home Economics in Japan - Inoue Hide's Principles and Practices]". 212-213.

³ Kuramoto, "The Curriculum of Women's Higher Education for Home Economics in Pre-World War Two." 23.

⁴ Accordingly, the Japan Women's Institute succeeded in attracting students back to their school. While they started with 88 students in 1910, they gained 119 and 158 students in the new program in 1911 and

In addition to a teacher training program, Inoue embarked on a new social reform project in pursuit of the Alumnae Association's mission: promoting civic activism. She launched a daycare center, *Ōfū-kai Takujisho* (*Ōfū-kai* daycare center) in response to a social need for institutional childcare.⁶ Urban working-class women, who rapidly increased due to accelerated industrialization in the post-Russo-Japanese War years, struggled with a dilemma between financial necessity and childcare.⁷ Inoue sought to liberate them from their childcare responsibilities and make them access gainful employment outside the household.

*I assume that our project should be of an immediate benefit to working-class women. Working-class mothers desperately need to earn but are not allowed to leave their home due to lack of childcare services. Then, I am inspired by the daycare facilities that I saw in the United States. When I talked about my idea to my colleagues, they excitedly approved it...*⁸

In addition to a daycare center, Inoue launched a commercial project in response to the inflation during World War I.⁹ She adopted a retail practice and opened a "Bazaar of daily necessities at bargain prices (*Kakuyasu jitsuyō hin bazā*)" in December 1917.¹⁰ She brought an array of producers of daily necessities and minimized the commodity prices by deleting middlemen's charges between producers and final buyers. She

1912 respectively. *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. Appendix 1. 157.

⁵ Sasaki, *The Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Prewar Japan: A Dynamic Interaction among Institutions, Students, and Government*. 192.

⁶ Inoue, "Ōbei Ni Okeru Kaseigaku No Genjō [Home Economics in Europe and the United States]."

⁷ Ōfūkai, *Ōfūkai Hachijūnen Shi [Ōfūkai Eighty-Year History]*. 93.

⁸ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Iinkai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 742.

⁹ The nationwide Rice Riots, which broke out in Toyama Prefecture in August 1918 and expanded into other 33 cities and 201 towns and villages, demonstrated the social unrest among the needy due to the stagnation of real wage and rising prices. Kozo Yamamura, "The Japanese Economy, 1911-1930: Concentration, Conflicts, and Crises," in *The Interwar Economy of Japan: Colonialism, Depression, and Recovery, 1910-1940*, ed. Michael Smitka (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998). 221.

¹⁰ Yoko Kobayashi, "Social Activities Related to Home Economics of Ōfū-Kai: One Instance of Social Contributions to Prewar Home Economics," *The Japan Society of Home Economics*, no. 43 (2009). 3.

emphasized the necessity of reforming the wholesale system, which was the dominant practice in the Japanese domestic market.¹¹

*Housewives in Tokyo depend on pushcart vendors. This system is absolutely uneconomical due to the costs of middlemen between producers and vendors.... In order to minimize the final price, we need to open a public market. It minimizes the price since final consumers purchase directly from producers and do not need to pay for the middlemen's charges. In America, you can find a number of public markets and housewives from upper to lower-classes go there for grocery shopping.*¹²

Inoue launched another project in response to a possibility of attaining the ultimate institutional goal: to provide a collegiate education for women.¹³ The Education Minister, Takada Sanae, issued the Guidelines of University Ordinance (*Daigaku rei yōkō*) in September 1915, which sought to institutionalize university education for women by elevating the existing post-secondary educational institutions.¹⁴ Inoue immediately organized a fundraising campaign and started “an upgrading movement.” Providing a college education for women was Naruse’s dedication since the foundation of the Japan Women’s Institute in 1901.

Inoue steadily promoted the upgrading movement. First, she met one of the state requirements for institutional advancement, namely, research institute ownership.¹⁵ She completed a project of founding the Home Economics Research Institute (*Kasei-kan*), a two-story building of brick with an array of laboratories for cooking, laundry, and sewing

¹¹ Yoshihiro Tajima, *Rekishi Ni Manabu Ryūtsū No Shinka [the Evolution of Distribution in History]* (Tokyo: Nikkei shuppan, 2004). 253. The first market with official sponsorship opened in Osaka in April 1918, a year after *Ōfū-kai*'s first bazaar. Tajima, *Rekishi Ni Manabu Ryūtsū No Shinka [the Evolution of Distribution in History]*. 254.

¹² Hide Inoue, "Seikatsu Nan to Fujin No Kakugo (2) [Difficulties in Life and Women's Readiness (2)]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 445 (1917).

¹³ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 169.

¹⁴ Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]*. 79.

¹⁵ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 169.

with advanced facilities.¹⁶ She gave an opening address at the ceremony on April 5, 1917, honored by the presence of the Empress.¹⁷

Inoue accepted her destiny to lead the prospective first women's college in Japan. Naruse officially nominated Inoue as the first college dean. Inoue was honored by his appointment and determined to pursue the duty "until the moment that my life is over."¹⁸ Her appointment was last will of Naruse, who was dying of liver cancer.¹⁹ In addition to the prospective dean, he addressed a model strategy for attaining university status. He suggested founding a single-faculty college, "home economics college," in response to increasing public demand for women's leadership roles, and then adding other relevant faculties.²⁰

Inoue, however, suspended her strategy to promote the upgrading movement. She hesitated to pursue her aspiration for exploring post-Great War Western womanhood and civic activism because of her increased administrative responsibilities.²¹

... I thought it was essential to learn Western models to advance our school to university status. When the five-year Great War was over and finalized by the Paris Peace Treaty, I was one of the citizens, who was excited to welcome the new world in peace. I wanted to visit the Western nations to see the new world and feel their excitement. I felt urged to know about women's education, women's movement, and social conditions in the new world...However, we faced to the greatest crisis. Our founding father, Professor Naruse caught a fatal disease and

¹⁶ Ibid. 170.

¹⁷ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaikai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 432.

¹⁸ Nihon Joshi Daigaku [Japan Women's University], *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Gakuen Shi 2 [Japan Women's University History 2]*. 40.

¹⁹ A total of 1,250 students, faculty members and trustees attended the farewell meeting, which was held on January 29, 1919. Hiro Ōhashi, *Naruse Sensei No Oshie [Professor Naruse's Teachings]* (Tokyo: Nihon Joshi Daigaku, 1951). 9.

²⁰ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 190. 195.

²¹ Hide Inoue, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]* (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1992). 1-2.

*passed away. Consequently, I gained responsibilities for the school and I had to put off my plan without knowing until when.*²²

Fortunately, Inoue's hesitation did not last long. She unexpectedly gained an opportunity of executing her travel plan in October 1921. She was invited to an international conference for women in Washington D.C, by Dr. Emma Wold, an American activist and chairperson of the Women's Committee for World Disarmament (WCWD).²³ This conference sought to "keep a very watchful eye upon the Washington Naval Conference,"²⁴ whose agenda was to build a new regime in the Pacific among the United States, Great Britain and Japan in the post-Great-War contexts. President Harding sought to diplomatically balance the naval powers instead of initiating the naval race against each other.²⁵ Inoue was selected for the WCWD conference due to her presidency of the Women's Peace Association in Japan (*Fujin heiwa kyōkai*), which was the pioneering peace organization in Japan.²⁶

Inoue was excited by the opportunity to fulfill her postponed plan, which was to explore women's higher education and social activism in the post-war context.²⁷ She took the steamship, the Empress of Russia, at the Yokohama Port on October 22, 1921,

²² Ibid.

²³ Women's Committee for World Disarmament, "Collection," (Washington D.C.: 1921).

²⁴ Inoue, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]*. 7.

²⁵ Karen A. J. Miller, *Populist Nationalism Republican Insurgency and American Foreign Policy Making, 1918-1925* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999). 120.

²⁶ Nagako Sugimori, "Fujin Heiwa Kyōkai No Kessei to Katsudō No Tenkai [the Formation and Evolution of Women's Peace Society]," in *Nijusseiki Ni Okeru Josei No Heiwa Undō [Women's Peace Movement in the Twentieth Century]*, ed. Kuni Nakajima and Nagako Sugimori (Tokyo: Domesu shuppan, 2006). 65. Naruse initiated this organization with Nitobe Inazō's sponsorship, who was a prominent international pacifist. Rumi Yasutake, "The First Wave of International Women's Movements from a Japanese Perspective: Western Outreach and Japanese Women Activists During the Interwar Years," *Women's Studies International Forum*, no. 32 (2009).

²⁷ Hide Inoue, "Nihon O Shuppatsu Suru Ni Saishi Waga Ōfū Kaiin E [a Note to the Alumnae Upon My Departure]," *Katei Shūhō [The Home Weekly]*, no. 635 (1921).

and headed for Vancouver to fulfill her two missions in the United States and European nations.²⁸

Discovering Postwar Womanhood

*... The goal of my trip this time was to investigate women's higher education in the post-World War I context, especially from the viewpoints on home economics and women's organization... Additionally, I am going to attend an international women's conference to attain its goal, which is to bring meaningful outcomes at the Washington Naval Conference... Actually, I first hesitated to accept this responsibility since I was personally unconfident in my knowledge on and experiences of peacemaking... However, I decided to take this mission to be of help to Women's Peace Association and the nation.*²⁹

Inoue discovered women's robust transnational activism in Washington, D.C., which was overwhelmingly excited by the momentous international event. More than 3,000 women³⁰ from 47 nations were united in supporting an international disarmament plan.³¹ Inoue was busy in socializing with these delegates, who were representatives of transnational and national women's organizations, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the National League of Women Voters, and the National Women's Trade Union League.³²

Inoue advocated maternalism in pursuit of disarmament, which emerged as pacifist feminists' strategy to expand the peace movement during the Great War. They constructed a gendered discourse of peacemaking in an attempt to support their antiwar

²⁸ Inoue, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū* [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]. 3-4

²⁹ ———, "Nihon O Shuppatsu Suru Ni Saishi Waga Ōfū Kaiin E [a Note to the Alumnae Upon My Departure]."

³⁰ ———, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū* [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]. 10.

³¹ "Photo Standalone 13," *The Washington Post* November 16, 1921.

³² Ibid.

positions vis-à-vis men, whom they accused of responsibility for the horrific conflict.³³

In her address, Inoue similarly emphasized the role of women's maternal nature in peacemaking efforts and transcending the national boundaries to collectively attain the common goal.³⁴

*...First and foremost, we claim disarmament from the standpoint that we are women and mothers. Women, as the mothers of the human race, share one mission, which is the creation and preservation of human life. In contrast, war is the destruction of the human race and civilization. Arms are means to conduct this vicious action. Therefore, women all over the nation deny the arms and aspire for disarmament.*³⁵

Inoue discovered that motherhood also became a focus of home economics curricula. To her surprise, elite women's colleges adopted domestic subjects,³⁶ including childrearing, in contrast to thirteen years ago.³⁷ Specifically, Vassar developed a new academic discipline, "Euthenics," which emphasized "the study of racial improvement through controllable environment."³⁸ Inoue was impressed by the policy shift at elite women's colleges,³⁹ which reflected an increase of national concerns about the health and fate of the United States.⁴⁰

³³ David S. Patterson, *The Search for Negotiated Peace: Women's Activism and Citizen Diplomacy in World War I* (New York: Routledge, 2008). 42-44.

³⁴ Inoue, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū* [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]. 12.

³⁵ Ibid. 12.

³⁶ Wellesley offered a course in Food Conservation, for example. Florence Converse, *Wellesley College a Chronicle of the Years 1875-1938* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939). 192.

³⁷ Stage, "Home Economics, What's in a Name?" 7.

³⁸ This term was invented by Ellen Richards, who was a Vassar alumna, a MIT professor, and a founding mother of home economics. Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930". 227.

³⁹ Inoue, "Kaseigaku No Ima Mukashi Sono Ichi [the Present and Past of Home Economics No. 1]."

⁴⁰ As exemplified by the first White House Conference on Children held in 1909 and the establishment of the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912, physical and psychological childrearing was defined as the key solution to raise uniformly healthy, well-adjusted, and law-abiding citizens of the next generation. Home economists took advantage of connection between domesticity and childrearing and launched a curriculum to prepare women for modern motherhood. Julia Grant, "Modernizing Mothers: Home Economics and the

*...It was quite different from my first visit to prestigious women's colleges thirteen years ago. Vassar College reformed a curriculum and adopted domestic education. They focused on childrearing program, which was one of the fields of home economics, under the name of "Euthenics."*⁴¹

Inoue identified advancement of home economics at Teachers College. It became a graduate discipline, which offered both Master's and Doctorate degrees.⁴² Teachers College successfully reorganized and expanded the institutional structure upon a completion of Dodge Hall in 1909, which provided a vast space for expansion.⁴³

...I remember that I just left [the Teachers College] when I heard about news that a millionaire, Miss Grace Dodge, was going to donate a huge amount of her fortune to build new laboratories.⁴⁴ I saw Dodge Hall this time and was impressed by its advanced facilities for scientific research. No wonder that Teacher College is qualified to offer even Ph.D. in home economics, let alone Master's degree.⁴⁵

Inoue also discovered the shift of college alumnae's postgraduate life.⁴⁶ Gainful employment became the norm due to a rapid increase of professional opportunities.⁴⁷ Inoue was impressed by an increase of professional women when she participated in an annual meeting of the National Association of Women's Deans and Counselors in

Parent Education Movement 1920-1945," in *Rethinking Home Economics Women and the History of a Profession*, ed. Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). 57-58.

⁴¹ Inoue, "Kaseigaku No Ima Mukashi Sono Ichi [the Present and Past of Home Economics No. 1]." 6.

⁴² The graduate courses of the School of Household Arts attracted growing numbers of Master's and Doctoral students to its program- nearly 100 in the year of 1921-22. Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930". 152.

⁴³ Lawrence Cremin, David Shannon, and Mary Evelyn Townsend, *A History of Teachers College Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954). 64. Miller, "In the Name of the Home: Women, Domestic Science, and American Higher Education, 1865-1930". 142.

⁴⁴ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 739.

⁴⁵ Inoue, "Kaseigaku No Ima Mukashi Sono Ichi [the Present and Past of Home Economics No. 1]."

⁴⁶ ———, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]*. 44.

⁴⁷ Unlike the previous generations, which regarded middle- and upper-class families' employment outside the home as a repudiation of the domestic role, the generations of the 1920s were aware of expanding options in post-war, post-suffrage America. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*. 117. 173.

Chicago in February 1922, where she oversaw the attendance of 250 female college administrators.⁴⁸

*... I saw a total of 250 women deans gathering at one place. It might be hard to imagine the enthusiasm of this meeting. It demonstrates a fortune of American women. They have opportunities for college education and professional opportunities. It is a completely different landscape from Japan and Japanese women.*⁴⁹

Inoue discovered that professional women expanded a scope of civic activism.⁵⁰ After gaining suffrage, they diversified social reform goals, such as political equality, social justice, and consumerism.⁵¹ They became aware of their political inexperience and emphasized the necessity of promoting civic responsibilities for acquiring knowledge of political process through which to link their activities to social progress.⁵²

*...In the United States, women's social activism is well advanced and diverse. I am impressed by a number of organizations with specific goals... There is an organization that claims for women's equal political rights with men. The Women's Trade Union demands for the same economic right as the male employees. The National Consumers League attempts to improve working conditions for women. Another one calls for motherhood protection.... Women's professional organizations are incredibly ahead.*⁵³

If Inoue observed advancement of women's leadership in post-war America, she found deficiency of male's leadership in post-war Europe. She was convinced that the Versailles Treaty, which was a product of the men's gathering, did not settle the

⁴⁸ Inoue, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū* [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]. 41.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 39-40.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 45.

⁵¹ Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). 8.

⁵² Louise M. Young, *In the Public Interest: The League of Women Voters, 1920-1970* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989). 3.

⁵³ Inoue, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū* [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]. 45.

aftermath of the Great War, namely, international unrest and economic hardship.⁵⁴ In France, for example, she found that people remained resentful toward Germany due to the wartime relentless physical destruction by the German Army.⁵⁵ In Germany, on the other hand, she observed very severe depression, which affected the everyday life of the German people.⁵⁶ Inoue accused the leaders of Great Britain, France, and the United States of prioritization of their national politics and a failure to fulfill their roles as decisive peacemakers.⁵⁷

The victors individually pursue their national interests and make no collective efforts to construct the sustainable international peace order...⁵⁸ I assume that anyone agrees that the Versailles Treaty would never attain international security...I am skeptical about when and how the European nations could restore social stability and international peace...⁵⁹

Inoue was convinced of the potential of women's transnational pacifism for compensating for men's diplomatic failure. She had two good reasons for her belief. First, women in seventeen European nations were enfranchised during and after the Great War.⁶⁰ Consequently, women in these nations were allowed to both participate in and represent the national politics equally to men.⁶¹ In Germany, Inoue met with

⁵⁴ Ibid. 432. Hide Inoue, "Ōbei O Ichijun Shite (1) [Making a Tour in the United States and Europe (1)]," *Katei Shūhō [The Home Weekly]*, no. 680 (1922).

⁵⁵ Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989). 143. 157.158. 214.

⁵⁶ Hide Inoue, "Shōhi Setsuyaku Ni Tsuite [Consumption and Thrift]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 688 (1922).

⁵⁷ Inoue, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]*. 433.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 433.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 425.

⁶⁰ Gisela Bock, *Women in European History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002). 128

⁶¹ In the new Polish state, for example, 66.9% of the female electorate voted and six women were elected as deputies in the first election in January 1919. Anna Zarnowska, "Women's Political Participation in Interwar Poland: Opportunities and Limitations," *Women's History Review* 13, no. 1 (2004).

assemblywomen who assumed high administrative positions, such as counselor or secretary, in the state organizations.⁶²

*...Women obtained the suffrage in the majority of European nations except the ones with Latin backgrounds. The women in Germany, Poland, Austria, and Hungary proudly engage in national politics as voters and representatives.*⁶³

Second, Inoue discovered European women's access to university education equal to men. She found that university lecture halls in Paris, Berlin, and Warsaw were filled with both male and female students. Regardless of their distinctive history of women's higher education,⁶⁴ female students in these nations equally attained university education opportunities and access to academic disciplines equal to men. Inoue was confident that women's university education had become the norm of postwar Europe.

*...What amazed me most throughout my journey was advancement of women's higher education on the Continent...They attained equal educational opportunities, studied in the same classrooms with men, and obtained a Bachelor's degree in Economics, Science, Philosophy, Law, and Chemistry...Equal educational opportunities between men and women became common in postwar Europe regardless of their past education system for women.*⁶⁵

Inoue experienced nothing but humiliation when she was asked about the Japanese university education system for women. She was frustrated by a discrepancy of college

⁶² Inoue, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]*. 459-460

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ While France admitted female students as early as 1901, so did German universities just on the eve of the Great War. On the other hand, Polish women attained equal educational opportunities at all levels upon the establishment of the independent state. Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe*. 42. 147. Zarnowska, "Women's Political Participation in Interwar Poland: Opportunities and Limitations." 63.

⁶⁵ Inoue, *Fujin No Me Ni Eijitaru Sekai No Shin Chōryū [New World Trends as Seen by a Woman]*. 457-459.

education between European and Japanese women, which would result in further behindness of Japanese women's advancement in the future.⁶⁶

...I felt humiliated whenever answering the questions about college education for women. Female students innocently asked me about academic degrees available to Japanese women. I reluctantly answered that women had no access to even Bachelor's degree at Japanese higher educational institutions. When I was asked about women's enfranchisement, I hesitantly answered that even universal suffrage was not attained in Japan. I am depressed not only by current discrepancy between European and Japanese women but also potential behindness of Japanese women in the future...⁶⁷

Inoue reconfirmed her mission with her confidence in the universal norm of women's higher education: attaining university education opportunities for Japanese women. She was convinced that equal higher educational opportunities between men and women were essential for the national progress of Japan, which attained world power status in the postwar international world order. Women, who occupied half of the total population, were equally responsible for sustaining Japanese leadership roles in the postwar world, and therefore, deserved higher education opportunities equal to that of men.⁶⁸

...Higher education institution for women in Japan is far behind the European ones...Japanese higher education systems gave an impression that Japan consists of men exclusively. It should be reformed since Japan became a world leader in the post Great War world. Both men and women are responsible for Japan's leadership role equally. Then, women deserve equal educational opportunities to meet their responsibilities.⁶⁹

She returned to Kobe, Japan on August 24, 1922, after a total of a nine-month stay in the United States and Europe, followed by a one-month voyage from Suez via Singapore,

⁶⁶ Ibid. 460-461.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 491-492.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Hong Kong, and Shanghai.⁷⁰ Upon her return, she launched an endeavor to actualize what she discovered in the postwar Western world.

Planning to Remodel the Institution

Inoue immediately undertook to draft an application for university status. She and Asō Shōzō, second president and Naruse's life-long comrade, sought to define an institutional model consistent with the requirements of the 1918 University Order, which standardized the regulations that would advance a post-secondary educational institution to a university.⁷¹ Their application-making was a process through which to remodel the Japan Women's Institute on the male-oriented Imperial University in terms of institutional structure, academic disciplines, curriculum content, and college-preparatory courses. The University Order model contradicted Naruse's educational philosophy that sought to promote gender-specific collegiate education in pursuit of female inner duties of social reform and national progress.

First, Inoue and Asō proposed to found two faculties, Literature and Science, instead of Naruse's original plan to launch a home economics college.⁷² His suggestion of founding a single-faculty college was inconsistent with the University Order requirement of founding multiple faculties.⁷³

Second, Inoue and Asō proposed to restructure the Department of Home Economics as the Faculty of Science. They were not allowed to found the Faculty of Home Economics

⁷⁰ Ibid. 5-6.

⁷¹ Amano, "Continuity and Change in the Structure of Japanese Higher Education." 23.

⁷² Founding a home economics college was Naruse's last will.

⁷³ Kuniko Tanioka, "The Formation of Women's Higher Education in Modern Japan: The Institutional Designs Towards Liberal Arts College" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Kobe Institute of Technology, 1997). 581.

since the discipline of home economics was not entitled to found a faculty at university institutions.⁷⁴ They proposed two specific programs for the Faculty of Science, food science and child development, which were most likely to be identified as equivalents to scientific disciplines at men's universities, in contrast to household architecture or administration. Inoue emphasized the distinctive goal of the Faculty of Science at the Japan Women's Institute but with equal academic standards. Additionally, she assumed these programs could rationalize the necessity of college education specific to women.⁷⁵

*...The Department of Science at Japan Women's University is based on home economics, unlike a male's university. The goal of this department is to research national needs of clothing, food, and household management. While the curriculum is naturally distinguished from the ones at men's universities, ours sustains the academic standards equal to a men's university.*⁷⁶

Third, Inoue and Asō added a proposal of founding an affiliated women's higher school (*joshi kōtō gakkō*). It was a three-year college-preparatory course, which was an equivalent to the men's higher school.⁷⁷ They needed to provide high school education due to its requirement for university admission and exclusion of women from the existing high schools.⁷⁸ Inoue and Asō faithfully emulated the male's higher school curricula by

⁷⁴ The University Order regulated eight academic disciplines that were entitled to found the university faculty: law, medicine, engineering, literature, science, agriculture, economics, and commerce. The Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Hyakunen Shi [One Hundred Year History of the Fundamental Code of Education]*. 487.

⁷⁵ Tanioka, "The Formation of Women's Higher Education in Modern Japan: The Institutional Designs Towards Liberal Arts College". 587.

⁷⁶ Hide Inoue, "Konnichi No Nihon Ni Joshi Sōgō Daigaku O Yōsuru Futatsu No Riyū [Two Reasons Why Today's Japan Needs a Comprehensive Women's University]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 715 (1923).

⁷⁷ Ikuo Amano, *Kindai Nihon Kōtō Kyōiku Kenkyū [Research on Modern Japanese Higher Education]* (Tokyo: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1989). 33.

⁷⁸ The Act of Higher School (*Kōtō gakkō rei*) legitimized exclusive admission of male middle-school graduates. Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]*. 369.

excluding domestic subjects and adding the second foreign language classes, which was a requirement of men's higher schools.⁷⁹

In addition to an institutional remodeling, Inoue sought to demonstrate institutional dedication to the university education goal consistent with the University Order. She launched a "buy national products campaign (*kokusan aiyō undō*)," which would meet a university education purpose, namely, "in accordance to the needs of the state."⁸⁰ Inoue identified the needs to settle the national economic crisis, namely, the trade deficit, which persistently increased in the postwar years.⁸¹ She discouraged women from purchasing cotton or woolen garments⁸² since both of them were completely supplied by imported materials.⁸³ In addition, she invented recipes of substitute staple foods for rice⁸⁴ in response to intensified dependency on imports from colonial Taiwan and Korea.⁸⁵ Inoue's "buy national products campaign" successfully earned acknowledgement from the Finance Ministry, Hamaguchi Osachi,⁸⁶ who proclaimed an economic policy of

⁷⁹ Ibid. 368-369.

⁸⁰ The Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Hyakunen Shi [One Hundred Year History of the Fundamental Code of Education]*. 487.

⁸¹ Takafusa Nakamura, "Depression, Recovery, and War, 1920-1945," in *The Interwar Economy of Japan: Colonialism, Depression, and Recovery, 1910-1940*, ed. Michael Smitka (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998). 104.

⁸² Hide Inoue, "Shōhisha to Shite No Fujin [Women as Consumers]," *Fujo Shinbun [Women's Newspaper]*, no. 1273 (1924). 5.

⁸³ William W. Lockwood, *The Economic Development of Japan: Growth and Structural Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968). 393.

⁸⁴ Reiko Endō, "Inoue Hide to Daigaku Kakuchō Undō [Inoue Hide and University Expansion Movement]," in *Shōwa Zenki No Joshi Kyōiku [Women's Education in the First Half of Shōwa Period]*, ed. Nihon Joshi Daigaku Joshi Kyōiku Kenkyūsho [Japan Women's University Women's Education Research Institute] (Tokyo: Kokudo sha, 1984). 134.

⁸⁵ Kym Anderson and Rod Tyers, "Japanese Rice Policy in the Interwar Period: Some Consequences of Imperial Self Sufficiency," in *Agricultural Growth and Japanese Economic Development*, ed. Michael Smitka (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998). 104-106.

⁸⁶ In addition to him, several other Katō Cabinet members visited the National Products Promotion Expo (*Kokusanhin shōrei tenrankai*) in October 1924, in which Inoue presented their movement activities and

“Tightening and Readjustment,” to reduce the governmental budget and bring down the price level.⁸⁷

Inoue and Asō decided to modify an application strategy after they found that their application, which was submitted in October 1926, was not approved but not even received by the Ministry of Education.⁸⁸ Instead of seeking an immediate achievement of university status, they attempted to produce potential college applicants internally. They opened a three-year college-preparatory higher school program (*kōtō gakubu*) in May 1927. They planned to revise and resubmit an application for university status in three years when the class of 1930 would complete the higher school curriculum and become qualified to gain university education.⁸⁹

Inoue relentlessly sought to elevate home economics to a university discipline in an attempt to validate a prospective gender-specific university education. To advance the disciplinary status, she started with articulating a scholarly definition. She defined home economics as “an interdisciplinary science of human living activities”⁹⁰ in her publication in 1928. This publication, “Household Administration (*Katei Kanri hō*),” was regarded as the “first attempt in the history of Japanese domestic education to overarch

research findings. Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 218.

⁸⁷ Kozo Yamamura, “Then Came the Great Depression Japan's Interwar Years,” in *The Interwar Economy of Japan: Colonialism, Depression, and Recovery, 1910-1940*, ed. Michael Smitka (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998). 189.

⁸⁸ A leading newspaper attributed the state denial of application to the Act of Higher School (*Kōtō gakkō rei*), which regulated an exclusion of women from a college-preparatory higher school education. Since higher school education was a prerequisite for university education, the Ministry of Education was likely to have concluded that women were not qualified to access university education. Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]*. 369-370.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 376.

⁹⁰ Hide Inoue, *Katei Kanri Hō [Household Administration]* (Tokyo: Daiichi shobō, 1928). Preface.

subcategorized domestic affairs and theoretically systematize household management.”⁹¹

Inoue emphasized the inclusiveness of household management in pursuit of familial and social wellbeing.

*...This book attempts to systematize and rationalize the household institution to attain the best possible household welfare...People did not pay much attention to definition or contents of household management. Home economics is defined as an interdisciplinary science that includes household economy and administration. Accordingly, I explore a total coordination of not only clothing, food, and shelter, but also family members' labors and social lives.*⁹²

Inoue made use of U.S. home economists' theoretical framework in an attempt to legitimize the discipline. For example, she adopted the concepts of a Teachers College professor Benjamin Andrews of “real household income” and “income producer”⁹³ to theorize household financial resources and housewife's administrative roles. In addition, she adopted the research method of Ellen Richard, a founding mother of U.S. home economics, to explore and theorize the standard of living of Japanese households with a wide range of annual incomes.⁹⁴

In addition to household administration, Inoue also sought to theorize child studies. She founded the Research Institution for Child Studies (*Jidō kenkyūsho*) in December 1928 with the philanthropy of Yasuda Zenjirō, the founder of the Yasuda Conglomerate,

⁹¹ Ikuo Tsunemi, *Kaseigaku Seiritsushi [History of Home Economics Formation]* (Tokyo: Koseikan, 1971). 284.

⁹² Inoue, *Katei Kanri Hō [Household Administration]*.

⁹³ Benjamin R. Andrews, *Economic of the Household Its Administration and Finance* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1937). This book served as a standard college textbook for many years since its publication in 1923. Marjorie East, *Home Economics Past, Present, and Future* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1980). 98.

⁹⁴ Hide Inoue, "Katei Ni Okeru Yoson Seikatsu No Hitsuyō [the Need of Budgeting Life for Household]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 822 (1926).

who supported the upgrading movement of the Japan Women's Institute.⁹⁵ The Research Institute for Child Studies was considered the model research institute for child development due to its most advanced facilities for psychological and physical experiments at that time.⁹⁶

*...I aspired to found a research institution to explore child development holistically in order to identify efficient approaches to childrearing... I met with several philanthropists to ask for their donations... It was great that I gained financial sponsorship with the support of director of the Yasuda Conglomerate.*⁹⁷

Inoue's relentless efforts to advance home economics to a university discipline seemed to bear fruit. In April 1930, the Japan Women's Institute launched the first collegiate courses (*daigaku honka*) as originally planned. Fifty alumnae were admitted to the collegiate courses upon their accomplishment of the three-year college-preparatory curriculum. Inoue launched and taught a new class, "Introduction to home economics (*kaseigaku gairon*)," which was a requirement for the Faculty of Science students.⁹⁸

Inoue had to make an announcement, however, which evidently contradicted their relentless pursuit of the institutional mission. In October 1930, just a half a year after the opening of the collegiate courses, the school administration made a decision to discontinue pursuing governmental approval of university status. The school would remain focused on the existing post-secondary curriculum while both higher school programs and collegiate courses would be terminated after current enrolling students'

⁹⁵ Nihon Joshi Daigaku Jidō Kenkyūsho [Japan Women's University Research Institute for Child Studies], "Heisho Kinenshi [the Issue of Closure Celebration]," (Tokyo: Nihon Joshi Daigaku Jidō Kenkyūsho [Japan Women's University Research Institute for Child Studies], 1995). 7.

⁹⁶ Matatarō Matsumoto, *Shinrigaku Shi [History of Psychology]* (Tokyo: Kaizō sha, 1937). 472.

⁹⁷ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkai, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 743.

⁹⁸ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 231. 238.

graduation.⁹⁹ The school administration addressed two specific reasons for the policy shift. The first one was financial. In contrast to the post-secondary courses, which attracted more than 200 students annually, collegiate courses accommodated a small student body, merely fifty students, a total amount of whose tuition fees did not cover the operation expenditures, including advanced research facilities or tenured-faculty members as required by the University Order.¹⁰⁰

Another reason for the policy shift was organizational. Several school trustees became skeptical about remodeling efforts to meet the University Order requirements. A majority of them, who had served Naruse since the beginning of the founding movement, were committed to his dedication to “gender-specific collegiate education to enhance female inborn nature and prepare women for their calling.”¹⁰¹ They argued that remodeling efforts, which was an institutional pursuit of male-oriented Imperial University model, were contradictory to Naruse’s philosophy, and opposed reapplication for university status.¹⁰²

*...Several trustees came to oppose reapplication since an attempt to achieve university status obliges us to transform our institution in the wake of the man’s institutional model regulated by the University Order. It is inconsistent to the goal that Professor Naruse aspired to attain.*¹⁰³

Like these trustees, Inoue was likely to have struggled with a dilemma of Naruse’s educational dedication and their aspiration for status advancement. She was ambivalent

⁹⁹ Ibid. 247.

¹⁰⁰ The running costs of collegiate courses would exceed the financial capacity of the institution. The Council estimated the shortage of 30,000 yen to 40,000 yen annually, which consisted of 10% of a total operation budget, if they continued to offer collegiate courses. Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]*. 377. Appendix.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 95.

¹⁰² Ibid. 420.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

not only as Naruse's protégé or a school administrator but also as a home economist. She faced inconsistency between the necessity of adopting a scientific framework for home economics and the disciplinary identity of home economics that she had constructed. A focus on scientific application was a requirement for the university status application due to its location in the Faculty of Science.¹⁰⁴ It contradicted Inoue's scholarly definition of home economics, which was "an interdisciplinary science of human living activities." Inoue also might have been concerned about insufficiency of scientific programs for pursuing Naruse's dedication to social reforms. It was likely, therefore, that Inoue took the position in parallel to several trustees, who opposed to the reapplication.¹⁰⁵

In contrast to Inoue's interdisciplinary framework for home economics, president Asō was likely to prioritize scientific subjects for the curriculum of the Faculty of Science. He sought to demonstrate that home economics was an equivalent to scientific disciplines at male universities and deserved a university curriculum.¹⁰⁶

Inoue and Asō's inconsistency regarding the notion of home economics, as the two most significant leaders of the Japan Women's Institute,¹⁰⁷ resulted in reorganization of administrative staff. Asō resigned the presidency at the beginning of the following academic year, in April, 1931. His successor was Baron Shibusawa Eiichi, who was a

¹⁰⁴ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenishi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 233-234.

¹⁰⁵ Unknown, "Mejiro Joshidai Funjō No Shinsō [a True Story of Dispute at the Japan Women's Institute]," *Fujo Shinbun [Women's Newspaper]*, no. 1585 (1930).

¹⁰⁶ Tanioka, "The Formation of Women's Higher Education in Modern Japan: The Institutional Designs Towards Liberal Arts College". 587.

¹⁰⁷ Tomi Kōra, *Ahinsā O Ikiru: Kōra Tomi Jiden [Life of Nonviolence: Autobiography of Kōra Tomi]* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1983). 105. Kōra Tomi confessed confrontational relationship between Asō and Inoue over the pursuit of the upgrading movement. She was an alumna of the Japan Women's Institute and assumed professorship since 1926 after obtaining a doctoral degree in psychology from Johns Hopkins University. She supported Asō's reform policy and resigned from the school after Inoue assumed presidency.

top Japanese businessman and a major trustee since the foundation of the Japan Women's Institute. However, his tenure was terminated in six months due to his death in November 1931.

Inoue was elected as a successor immediately after Shibusawa's death. She was fully supported by the trustees and the Board of Directors of the Alumnae Association. Her presidency was the honor of the Japan Women's Institute community since she became the first president created by the Japan Women's Institute. Her presidency also reflected Naruse's will, who aspired for alumnae's leadership in school administration. Inoue decided to accept the position to respect Naruse's will and a request of the Japan Women's Institute community.¹⁰⁸

Summary

Inoue's women's education reform initiatives revealed the ways in which she dedicated herself to civic activism and elevation of institutional status in pursuit of women's social advancement.

Inoue dedicated herself to demonstrating the utility of home economics and women's public involvement. She believed that women's leadership roles in social reform projects could convince the public of the necessity of advanced education for women. Accordingly, she launched an array of institutional projects in response to social issues, which emerged in the post-Russo-Japanese War years. She sought to highlight the

¹⁰⁸ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 256-257.

academic capacity of home economics for dealing with postwar economic recession or trade deficits and contributing to national economic prosperity.

Inoue also dedicated herself to aligning Japanese women's higher education with the world standards. She was frustrated with the impossibility of mobilizing Japanese women for increased civic mission, which emerged in the post-Great War world context. Japan attained world power status and necessitated civilians' full support for public endeavors to accelerate national strength and sustain the leadership roles in the new world order. Nonetheless, Japanese women remained disadvantaged socially due to inaccessibility to university education. Inoue enviously contrasted them with European women, who were privileged by university education access equal to what men received. Accordingly, she relentlessly pursued state authorization for university status in an attempt to institutionalize women's university education in Japan.

In addition, Inoue dedicated herself to pursuing a gender-specific university education for women. She believed in women's distinctive roles for promoting social reform and specific roles of home economics in fostering female duties for advancing national progress. Accordingly, she dedicated herself to sustaining the gender-specific institutional structure and curriculum when she faced a dilemma of remodeling the Japan Women Institute on the male-oriented Imperial University. Specifically, she sustained the interdisciplinary identity of home economics, which contradicted the curriculum requirements for the Faculty of Science. In her view, scientific forms of home economics were limited to a focus on environmental solutions to social problems. She had faith in an alternative vision of social reform, namely, comprehensive advancement of human

living activities. Accordingly, she was convinced of the necessity of sustaining sociological perspectives on household management.

Inoue gained the privilege of pursuing her ideals of women's higher education and home economics after the administrative reorganization. Accordingly, she relentlessly dedicated herself to her ultimate goals of women's higher education, namely, to advance women's social advancement through their engagement in gender-specific civic responsibilities.

PART FOUR: PURSUING A CRUSADE

Chapter 7: PURSUING THE IDEALS

Launching a Model Education Program

Miyakawa had assumed a top leadership position prior to Inoue's presidency. She launched a private academy, *Kasei Kenkyūsho* (Institute of Domestic Science) at her residence in February 1923. She gained an opportunity for relocating her academy within seven months. The Kanto Greater Earthquake of September 1923 destroyed three-quarters of Tokyo¹ and provided a vast amount of vacant ground. Miyakawa identified a possibility for formalizing her entrepreneurship and purchased the 400-*tsubo* site for sale² in *Kōji-machi*, in central Tokyo.³ She mortgaged her residence⁴ for forty thousand yen to attain her ambition.⁵

Miyakawa planned to found model facilities at a new school site. She became aware of the insufficient instructional environment at her residence. Accordingly, she launched a fundraising campaign to secure sufficient expenditures.⁶ She took advantage of her membership in and network with *Fujimi* and *Hongō* church, both of which consisted of

¹ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*. 206.

² 1-*tsubo* is 36 square feet. The ground of 400-*tsubo* was around 14,400 square feet.

³ Nobuko Nakahara, "Ōe Sumi No Sumai [Ōe Sumi's Residence]," *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin University* 31 (1991).

⁴ She was legally authorized to inherit the residence from her deceased husband due to a shift of her household membership status. She founded a branch household (*bunke*) separate from the main household (*honke*) of Miyakawa family and became a branch household head. The Civil Code legalized an exclusively patrilineal extended family system and did not entitle widows to inherit either household property or headship. At the same time, it allowed branch household heads to succeed to the property upon approval of the main household head. Accordingly, her stepson, who was her husband's first son by his first marriage, succeeded to the main household headship and approved Miyakawa's branch household headship and succession to her husband's residence.

Minoru Mori, "Senzen Kazoku Hō Hanrei No Ippan [General Household Precedent in Pre-War Japan]," in *Kazoku Seisaku to Hō [Family: Policy and Law]*, ed. Masao Fukushima (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 1984). 244.

⁵ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 210.

⁶ *Ibid.* 210.

an array of celebrated intellectuals. She shortly succeeded in gaining financial sponsorship from Ishikawa Takeyoshi. He was a president of a publishing company, which issued one of the major housewives' magazines, *Shufu no tomo* (The Housewife's Companion).⁷ Ishikawa was likely to support Miyakawa's education philosophy due to its consistency with a focus on technical expertise in his publications.⁸

Miyakawa finally achieved her long-term unattainable aspiration at the new site. She founded a model school kitchen with sufficient numbers of cooking units.⁹ She modified a British style of cooking units, which consisted of only a cooking stove and a worktable. She added a standing sink¹⁰ due to two practical purposes. First, she identified the necessity of a sink due to the Japanese dietary practice distinct from the British one. A sink was necessary for fish dishes, which was a typical choice for Japanese daily meals in contrast to meat dishes, the standard British cuisine.¹¹

...I realized that importing a British model was useless. The British school kitchen was equipped with a worktable for each individual student. A sink was located at the corner in the room. I came to realize that British meat dishes scarcely need a sink, and therefore, a sink is not needed for each individual student. On the other hand, Japanese cooking frequently needs a sink to take care of fish, which is the main ingredient. Accordingly, I modified the British model and made a work unit of both a stove and a sink for each individual student's use.¹²

⁷ Ishikawa later served as a trustee of Miyakawa's institution. For a detail of Ishikawa Takeyoshi's life, please refer to Koichi Yoshida, *Hitosuji No Michi Shufu No Tomo Sha Sōgyōsha Ishikawa Takeyoshi No Shōgai [a Straight Road: A Biography of Ishikawa Takeyoshi the Founder of Shufu No Tomo Sha]* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2001).

⁸ Barbara Hamill Sato, "An Alternate Informant Middle-Class Women and Mass Magazines in 1920s Japan," in *Being Modern in Japan Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, ed. Elise K. Tipton and John Clark (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000). 143.

⁹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 211.

¹⁰ Ōe, *Ōyō Kaji Seigi [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs]*. Appendix.

¹¹ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 224.

¹² *Ibid.* 224.

The second reason for adopting a sink was to transform the Japanese traditional kitchen work style,¹³ namely, sitting, kneeling or squatting,¹⁴ into standing-up style, which became the standard by 1930.¹⁵ Miyakawa had been frustrated by the inefficiency and unhygienic condition of the sitting position for kitchen work.¹⁶

Miyakawa launched *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin* (Tokyo Domestic Science Institute) in April 1925 after her resignation from her alma mater a month before. She defined her concept of ideal womanhood as the educational goal of the institution. She adopted three alphabetical letters: K, V, and A, which symbolized the distinctive features of British and Japanese women. K stood for British women's high standards of Knowledge, V stood for Virtue of Japanese women's self-sacrifice sprits, and A stood for Arts of Japanese women's domestic competence.¹⁷

*... I founded Tokyo Domestic Science Institute to attain an ideal Japanese womanhood. In my view, ideal womanhood consists of distinctive features of British and Japanese women. I aspire to hybridize British women's intelligence and Japanese women's high integrity and domestic competence.*¹⁸

Miyakawa adopted a unique pedagogical approach to domestic training. She hybridized two major methods, *tōitsu-shiki* (integrating approach) and *bunretsu-shiki* (dividing approach), in an attempt to benefit from advantages of both pedagogies. While

¹³ Sumi Miyakawa, "Kairyō Shitaki Sentaku No Shikata [Laundry Method That I Want to Reform]," *Fujin Kurabu [Women's Club]* 2, no. 3 (1909).

¹⁴ Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*. 84. Kitchen work in a sitting position was common in eastern Japan, where Tokyo was located. In western Japan, a standing style was common due to a distinctive architectural kitchen structure from eastern Japan.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 87.

¹⁶ Sumi Miyakawa, "Kairyō Shitai to Omou Ten [Matters That I Want to Reform]," *Fujin Shimpō* no. 156 (1910).

¹⁷ ———, "Watashi No Risō No Fujin [My Ideal Womanhood]," *Yamato nadeshiko* 10, no. 10 (1910).

¹⁸ Sumi Ōe, "Kaji No Kyōiku [Domestic Education]," *Kyōiku Kagaku [Educational Science]*, no. 11 (1932). 19-20.

the dividing approach, which was scientific professionalization in each specialty, advanced the academic standards, she was convinced of the necessity of coordinating each domestic task and contextualizing all of them from the housewife's perspective. Accordingly, she adopted both approaches¹⁹ by hiring faculty staff with two distinctive professional backgrounds.²⁰ She invited professors of nutrition chemistry, architecture, and psychology from the Tokyo Imperial University while she employed instructors with professional housewife experiences for systematizing all of expertise.²¹

*...I adopted both dividing and integrating approaches to my school curriculum. By so doing, I take advantage of both approaches. The former enables students to explore each relevant field deeply and the latter enables them to apply each field to everyday life contexts as a housewife. After gaining expertise in specific fields, students learn how to apply it to household management.*²²

In addition to enhancing domestic skills, Miyakawa sought to advance the “Knowledge” of students, which was one of her educational principles. She launched a required course, “current issues (*jiji mondai*),” which sought to promote students’ intellectual understanding of social, national, and international issues. She invited an array of prominent scholars for the class of “current issues” in the hope of inspiring students academically.²³

Miyakawa constructed dual institutional structure to accommodate two distinctive types of students, women with aspirations for an advanced teaching career and women with marriage aspirations upon secondary school graduation. She provided a three-year

¹⁹ Ibid. 11-16.

²⁰ Ibid. 16.

²¹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 217-218.

²² Ōe, “Kaji No Kyōiku [Domestic Education].” 15.

²³ Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 32.

secondary school teacher training program for the former²⁴ and courses that specialized in advanced levels of technical expertise with shorter attendance periods for the latter.²⁵ The latter courses flourished²⁶ due to an increase of parental concerns about their daughters' preparedness for marriage. Miyakawa successfully complemented the secondary school curriculum, which disappointed the parents due to its incapability of preparing their daughters for their future profession.²⁷

Expanding Practical Skills Training

*...As soon as I started the school, the school building came to be full of students. It is probably because my former students teaching all over Japan recommended their students to choose my institution. Additionally, I assume that my institution exactly meets the demands of the time.*²⁸

Miyakawa launched a new specialty for a practical skills training: Western dressmaking (*yōsai*).²⁹ It became a popular expertise as Western clothing became the uniforms of the female modern profession,³⁰ such as telephone operators, bus ticket takers, secretaries, department store clerks, and especially teachers and nurses.³¹ In

²⁴ Her school obtained the state accreditation of certifying secondary school teachers of domestic affairs in 1927, two years after the school opening. Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 213.

²⁵ They included a two-year regular course (*hon-ka*) to a six-month to one-year non-regular course (*sen-ka*). Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 60.

²⁶ Around six hundred students graduated from the latter courses in contrast to the ninety students from the teacher training course. Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 231.

²⁷ Mikiko Suzuki, "Taishō Shōwa Shoki Ni Okeru Josei Bunka to Shiten Keikogoto [Cultural Lessons as Women's Privilege in Taisho and Early Showa Period]," in *Onna No Bunka [Women's Culture]*, ed. Tamotsu Aoki, et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000). 55-56.

²⁸ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 225.

²⁹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 230.

³⁰ Women's secondary schools also adopted Western clothes as a school uniform and added dressmaking classes to the *kimono*-sewing curriculum in the mid-1920s. Tatsuko Handa, "Taishō-Ki No Kateika Kyōiku [Domestic Education in Taisho Period]," in *Taishō No Joshi Kyōiku [Women's Education in Taisho Period]*, ed. Nihon Joshi Daigaku Joshi Kyōiku Kenkyūsho [Japan Women's University Women's Education Research Institute] (Tokyo: Kokudoshā, 1975). 92.

³¹ Molony, "Gender, Citizenship and Dress in Modernizing Japan." 86. 89.

addition, Western clothing was considered ideal for children since it allowed them to be more active in their body movements in contrast to the *kimono* that needed to be tied with an *obi* belt.³² In addition to pragmatic reasons, Miyakawa addressed financial advantages of Western clothing. She estimated that making Western clothes for children would cost one-sixth of a total expenditure for a *kimono* in the case of Sunday clothes.³³

Miyakawa adopted high technological devices to practical skills training. She imported an electric washing machine from the United States³⁴ when she visited there in 1928.³⁵ She was fascinated by the technology that simplified housework. American women evidently benefited from an array of electric appliances: irons, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, toasters, and refrigerators.³⁶ She was also fascinated by automobiles, which promoted American women's mobility. She was amazed that American women drove to go anywhere independently.³⁷

³² A shift from *kimonos* to Western clothes was recommended by the Everyday Life Reform Movement. It was a thrift and diligence campaign initiated by the Home Ministry, which sought to reform clothing, food, and shelter through increased hard work and production. Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*.181. Seikatsu Kaizen Dōmei Kai [Everyday Life Reform League], *Seikatsu Kaizen No Shiori [a Guide to Everyday Life Reform]* (Tokyo: Seikatsu Kaizen Dōmei Kai [Everyday Life Reform League], 1924). 42-43. 59.

³³ Sumi Ōe, "Shichi-Go-San Iwai No Oshitaku Wa Wa-Yōfuku Izure Ga Yoika [Which Is Better between Japanese and Western Costume on the Gala Day for Children?]," *Fujin Sekai [Women's World]* 20, no. 11 (1925).

³⁴ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 229.

³⁵ Miyakawa participated in a Pan-Pacific Conference held in Honolulu in August 1928 as one of twenty-four Japanese delegates, including Inoue Hide. Other delegates included Ichikawa Fusae, the most prominent suffragist, and Yoshioka Yayoi, a pioneering medical doctor, who founded the Tokyo Women's Medical Institute. Yasutake, "The First Wave of International Women's Movements from a Japanese Perspective: Western Outreach and Japanese Women Activists During the Interwar Years."

³⁶ In contrast to the United States, the market for these electric appliances in Japan was small in spite of propaganda in a number of media. Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880-1930*. 89-91.

³⁷ Ford Motor Company produced the Model T while General Motors produced the Buick. Between 1921 and 1929, passenger car production in the United States tripled reaching 4.8 million vehicles a year, and the number of cars registered nearly tripled from 9 million to 26.5 million. Pauline Maier et al., *Inventing*

*...In foreign countries, women at any age, from nine-year old girls to sixty to seventy year old women, know how to drive. I would like to provide driving instruction to my students since they need to know how to handle machines.*³⁸

When she came back to Japan in January 1929, she purchased a used Datsun of the Nissan Motor Company, which was one of a total of less than 500 domestic productions,³⁹ and provided driving lessons to her students.⁴⁰

In addition to high technology, Miyakawa adopted agricultural work among the extra-curricular activities. She purchased an 820-*tsubo* site land in the western suburb of Tokyo, *Chitose-mura* village, and launched agricultural, horticultural, and husbandry training in April 1931.⁴¹ She was inspired to adopt agricultural instruction by Katō Kanji, who was a pioneering agrarianist educator.⁴² Miyakawa was impressed by his educational philosophy, which defined practical skills training as the embodiment of spiritual dedication to Imperial Japan.⁴³ She was convinced of compatibility between their educational principles when she and her twenty students participated in a ten-day intensive program at Katō's farm school in the summer of 1927.⁴⁴

America a History of the United States Volume 2: From 1865 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003). 734-735.

³⁸ Sumi Ōe, "Waga Kō No Ninmu [Duty of Our Institution]," *Kaishi* no. 4 (1933).

³⁹ This number was for the year of 1930. John B. Rae, *Nissan/Datsun a History of Nissan Motor Corporation in U.S.A 1960-1980* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1982). 7.

⁴⁰ Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 50

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 48.

⁴² Thomas R. H. Havens, *Farm and Nation in Modern Japan: Agrarian Nationalism, 1870-1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974). 282.

⁴³ Katō sought to shape owner-farmers' spiritual dedication to farm work as the essence of the Imperial Japan and focused on practical experiences and physical disciplines as a way to form their commitment to the Emperor. Accordingly, Katō adopted a practice-oriented curriculum that hybridized Shinto religion, military, and agricultural components. *Ibid.* 282.

⁴⁴ Japanese farm villages had been devastated in the 1920s by an absolute decline in prices for agricultural goods due to the competition in rice imports from Korea and Taiwan. In response to the farm crisis, Katō launched an agricultural training center, the Japan National Higher Level School (*Nihon Kokumin Kōtō Gakkō*) in Tomobe, Ibaraki Prefecture in May 1926. This private academy later served as a model training institution for farmer emigrants, which was founded by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry nationwide.

Miyakawa relentlessly modernized instructional facilities for a practical skills training. She installed the latest appliances, sewing machines⁴⁵ and electric refrigerators,⁴⁶ in the new practice rooms,⁴⁷ which were placed in a new six-story reinforced concrete building. She took advantage of affordability of both of them due to an increase of domestic production. In addition, Miyakawa founded a lecture theater, which was equipped with a blackboard, sink, and a stove in front of an array of students' seats.⁴⁸ A lecture theater had been her aspiration for the last twenty years.⁴⁹ It enabled instructors to adopt her ideal pedagogical approach, which was to demonstrate a model of practical skills to a large number of students at once prior to their experiments.⁵⁰

...A lecture theater is necessary for instructors to demonstrate a model of practical skills. It is ideal that schools were equipped with a lecture theater since it is helpful for students to watch model practices prior to their experiments.

Sandra Wilson, "Securing Prosperity and Serving the Nation: Japanese Farmers and Manchuria, 1931-33," in *Farmers and Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan*, ed. Ann Waswo and Yoshiaki Nishida (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). 157. Takemaro Mori, "Colonies and Countryside in Wartime Japan," in *Farmers and Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan*, ed. Ann Waswo and Yoshiaki Nishida (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). 177.

⁴⁵ Domestic entrepreneurs succeeded in manufacturing sewing machines because of the state restriction on imports in the late 1930s, which were produced to keep competition with domestic products. Susumu Hondai, "Organizational Innovation and the Development of the Sewing-Machine Industry," in *Acquiring, Adapting and Developing Technologies Lessons from the Japanese Experience*, ed. Ryōshin Minami, et al. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995). 193. In 1926, the total number of sewing machines that were domestically manufactured was 200. In 1936, this number increased to 41,074. Nihon Mishin Yushutsu Kumiai [The Japanese Association of Exporting Sewing Machine], "Mishin Sangyō No Ayumi [History of Sewing Machine Industry]," (1981).

⁴⁶ Electric refrigerators came to be affordable when all of three Japanese major electric industrial companies succeeded in production at the cost of one-fourth of the first product manufactured in 1926. Keiko Murase, *Tsumetai Oishisa No Tanjō Nihon Reizōko Hyakunen [Birth of Chilly Deliciousness One Hundred Years of Japanese Refrigerator]* (Tokyo: Ronsō sha, 2005). 112-128.

⁴⁷ Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Senmon Gakkō Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gaikyō [Tokyo Domestic Science College Outlook]*.

⁴⁸ Ōe, *Ōyō Kaji Seigi [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs]*. 34.

⁴⁹ Miyakawa emphasized necessity of a lecture theater in an article, which was published in 1913. Since then, she reiterated its necessity in her publications. Sumi Miyakawa, "Kijō No Kaseigaku Wa Yaku Ni Tatanu [Armchair Domestic Science Is Useless]," *Taishō Fujin* 1, no. 1 (1913).

⁵⁰ Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 50.

*Additionally, a lecture theater is beneficial to all students regardless of their seat location in the classroom.*⁵¹

Miyakawa expanded her school not only physically but also institutionally. She launched an affiliated women's secondary school in April 1939. She aspired to enhance coherence of secondary and post-secondary education, which she believed would maximize the pedagogical effectiveness of practice-oriented domestic education. Tokyo Kasei Women's High School attracted more than five hundred applicants,⁵² which far exceeded a school capacity.⁵³

*...I have been unsatisfied with educating secondary school graduates since they are unlikely to be ready for a practical skills training at my school due to lack of training at their secondary schools. Accordingly, I founded a women's high school to start the training in an earlier stage of their lives.*⁵⁴

Seeking Educational Possibilities

Miyakawa identified possibilities of promoting practical skills in wartime frugality policies, which were intensified after the breakout of a full-scale war with China in July 1937.⁵⁵ For example, she required secondary school students to make a Western-style school uniform. A tailor-made uniform became unavailable since 1938 due to the state

⁵¹ Ōe, *Ōyō Kaji Seigi [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs]*. 34.

⁵² In response to growing demand for women's secondary education in the Post-World War I years, the number of both public and private secondary schools continued to increase in the 1920s. Nonetheless, their endeavors were unable to catch up with an increasing demand. In Tokyo, the number of public women's higher school students in 1936 was thirty-six times that of 1900 while total school numbers increased only a half of that. In response to a chronic shortage of secondary educational institutions, well-established post-secondary educational institutions, like Miyakawa's, founded an affiliated women's high school in the 1930s to provide secondary education. Kōtō Jogakkō Kenkyūkai [Research Association of Women's High School], *Kōtō Jogakkō No Kenkyū [Research of Women's High School]*. 187. For example, Kyōritsu Joshi Senmon Gakkō started secondary educational institution in 1936 and so did Tokyo Women's Senmon Gakkō in 1931.

⁵³ Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 75.

⁵⁴ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*.

⁵⁵ Thomas R. H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness the Japanese People and World War Two* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1978). 16.

prohibition from ordering a new one.⁵⁶ Miyakawa's students were excited with an alternative strategy to gain their uniforms and they exceeded her expectations. They made not only sailor suits with skirts but also a hat and an overcoat. Additionally, parents supported this assignment since it cost them less than a tailor-made outfit.⁵⁷

*...I let the secondary school students make their own uniforms. It was very successful since all of them were eager to complete this assignment. They were excited to make their own uniform and parents were pleased at the lower cost of their daughters' uniform.*⁵⁸

Miyakawa also considered student mobilization as an opportunity to enhance their practical skills. She took advantage of food preparation at agricultural cookhouses for adopting alternative cooking methods.⁵⁹ Her students operated communal cookhouses at the harvest seasons in farm villages⁶⁰ in response to the state regulation on student mobilization for work (*gakuto dōin*).⁶¹ As instructions for their labor services, Miyakawa emphasized the different approaches to food preparation between individual families and the cookhouse in farm villages.⁶²

...I emphasize the difference in cooking between the school kitchen and cookhouses in farm villages. While the former is like a play house, the latter is much more challenging due to a huge amount of food preparation for hundreds of farm villagers. In addition, facilities are not what the students are accustomed to

⁵⁶ Kuni Nakajima, "Shōwa Zenki Ni Okeru Joshi Kyōiku Seisaku No Tenkai [Evolution of Women's Education Policy in the First Half of Showa Era]," in *Shōwa Zenki No Joshi Kyōiku [Women's Education in the First Half of Showa Era]*, ed. Nihon Joshi Daigaku Joshi Kyōiku Kenkyūsho [Japan Women's University Women's Education Research Institute] (Tokyo: Kokudo sha, 1984). 21.

⁵⁷ Kanzaki, *Gendai Fujin Den [Life of Contemporary Women]*. 228.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 253.

⁶⁰ Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 91-92.

⁶¹ The state regulation mandated secondary and post-secondary female students to engage in agricultural work, childcare, and communal cookhouses in farm villages for thirty consecutive days. Isao Nagahama, *Shiryō Kokka to Kyōiku Kin Gendai Nihon Kyōiku Seisaku Shi [Historical Documents State and Education the History of Modern and Contemporary Japanese Education Policy]* (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 1994). 169.

⁶² Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 253-254.

*and farm villagers are likely to have their tastes for food. Accordingly, I urge students to take advantage of cooking opportunities at cookhouse to learn new approaches to food preparation. I tell them that they need to be humble to ask them and learn from them.*⁶³

In addition to practical skills, Miyakawa sought to enhance students' self-sacrifice spirits, which was one of the essential components of Miyakawa's ideal womanhood. When the conscription of both men and women started in November 1941,⁶⁴ she emphasized the necessity of her students' involvement in munitions work.

*...Japanese women's education traditionally aimed at self-sacrifice discipline...Because of selfless women who served in-laws, husbands, and children, Japan gained imperial subjects who were willing to devote their lives to the nation...Now, we officially gain the opportunities to devote ourselves to the nation because of military conscription that allows unmarried women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five to engage in military work. When you receive the conscription, I request you to take advantages of the opportunity to devote yourself to the nation.*⁶⁵

Miyakawa persistently sought to provide classes⁶⁶ even after all of her students were called for munitions work.⁶⁷ She implemented her class on Sundays⁶⁸ due to the full-time war work requirement for weekdays.⁶⁹ She attempted to gain some ingredients and practiced cooking classes to treat the fatigued students with chronic malnutrition and

⁶³ Ibid. 253-254.

⁶⁴ Havens, *Valley of Darkness the Japanese People and World War Two*. 92.

⁶⁵ Sumi Ōe, "Messhi Hōkō [Selfless Devotion to Your Nation]," *Kōen*, no. 13 (1941). 1-3.

⁶⁶ Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 101.

⁶⁷ The government mobilized students for work through a series of ordinances after 1939. The service period was initially limited to one week, and then, extended to one month in February 1941. In a year, the government again renewed the student mobilization policy. In addition to the work period, the state expanded the initial limitation of student work from farm activity to work in factories and mines regardless of gender. Ben-Ami Shillony, "Universities and Students in Wartime Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 45, no. 4 (1986). 780.

⁶⁸ The Ministry of Education approved that students took Sundays off from their munitions work and attended the classes. Nagahama, *Shiryō Kokka to Kyōiku Kin Gendai Nihon Kyōiku Seisaku Shi [Historical Documents State and Education the History of Modern and Contemporary Japanese Education Policy]* 905.

⁶⁹ The Ministry of Education, *Gakusei Hyakunen Shi [One Hundred Year History of the Fundamental Code of Education]*. 565.

sleepless nights.⁷⁰ Despite her efforts to hold a class, Miyakawa was forced to stop her Sunday classes three months later. Most of boarding students of her school returned to their home towns⁷¹ due to the threat of air raids, which intensified from November 1944.⁷²

Miyakawa sought to remain hopeful about pursuing her ideal domestic education. Her school building was completely destroyed by the massive Tokyo raid in the early morning on March 10, 1945.⁷³ While staff members and twenty boarding students burst into tears at the sight of a pile of ashes, Miyakawa told them about the possibility of rebuilding a school since they survived.

*... I would like you to stop crying. I am grateful for the fact that all of you survived the last night. I could not be happier since I can send you back to your parents safe. Remember that we can rebuild a school while we cannot restore a life once it is over.*⁷⁴

Miyakawa positively accepted the destruction of her school as her destiny granted by the Lord. She was determined to wait for an opportunity to resume her pursuit of practical skills training by adopting new approaches.

...I assume that my school was destroyed because it did not meet Lord's will. Thus, I am going to rebuild a school that would be blessed by Him... Hopefully, I will gain more lands to raise cattle to have milk and butter. Then, I could instruct

⁷⁰ The night shift for women, which had been restricted by the 1923 Factory Act, was lifted by the War Time Factory Act in 1943. Miyake, "Doubling Expectations: Motherhood and Women's Factory Work under State Management in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s." 285.

⁷¹ Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 93.

⁷² Saburō Ienaga, *The Pacific War World War Two and the Japanese, 1931-1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978). 148.

⁷³ It was the largest conflagration that burned twenty-five square kilometers in Tokyo, an area as large as Manhattan Island from the Battery to Central Park. Havens, *Valley of Darkness the Japanese People and World War Two*. 155. 176. 178.

⁷⁴ Ōhama, *Ōe Sumi Sensei [Professor Sumi Ōe]*. 260-261.

*recipes of Western sweets. We could raise fish as well to cook Japanese dishes at a new school.*⁷⁵

In June 1945, Miyakawa left Tokyo for a farm village in Nagano prefecture with an aspiration for rebuilding a new *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin*.⁷⁶

Summary

Miyakawa's crusade of ideal domestic education programs revealed the ways in which she dedicated herself to promoting technical expertise and mobilizing women to wartime requirements. Miyakawa believed in a comprehensive approach to promoting women's domestic competence. Accordingly, she founded model instructional facilities and adopted a practice-oriented curriculum and pedagogy. She relentlessly advanced the standards of technical expertise in response to an increase of modern appliances, which became accessible due to technological development and the growth of domestic manufacture.

She dedicated herself to expanding advanced education opportunities for women in an attempt to enhance their technical and financial capacities. She constructed the twofold educational tracks, a professional training for an advanced teaching career and a program designed for women with marriage aspirations. She was convinced of the necessity of advancing prospective housewives' technical competence due to their duties of serving the state through efficient household management.

Miyakawa also dedicated herself to mobilizing women to wartime efforts. She came to believe that the act of practice was the embodiment of spiritual dedication to Imperial

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Japan. Accordingly, she persistently sought to promote students' engagement in wartime practices when war mobilization was intensified.

Miyakawa dedicated her four-decade professional life to modernizing and promoting technical expertise. She believed in the importance of the Japanese state's progress and economic expansion in the wake of the British Empire, the greatest world power and Japan's alliance nation. She discovered the utility of practical skills training, the hallmark of British domestic education, for mobilizing women for self-sufficient household economy in pursuit of national economic development. Accordingly, she aspired to adopt practical skills training to Japanese domestic education in pursuit of women's financial contribution to household and national economies. At the same time, she dedicated herself to sustaining specific features of Japanese womanhood and distinctive functions of the lineal-extended family model due to their capacities of contributing to national progress. Her relentless efforts to advance technical expertise evidently expanded advanced education opportunities for women, which privileged urban middle-class housewives as self-sufficient homemaking experts capable of serving the state through the best possible household management.

CHAPTER 8: PURSUING STATUS

Introduction

This chapter explores Inoue's endeavor to expand the scope of home economics in an attempt to advance the academic standards. As a new institutional leader, she announced a policy shift in the upgrading movement. Instead of pursuing state authorization for university status, she sought to provide a de facto college education outside the national university education system. She evolved a plan of curriculum reform in response to an array of new potentials for women's leadership roles. She integrated agrarian household management in response to the rural economic crisis. She also focused on everyday life reform projects for colonial villages in response to a rapid increase of colonial immigration. In addition, she emphasized child studies and maternal education in parallel to the wartime global trend.

This chapter also looks at Inoue's rededication to the original institutional goal for attaining university status. She pursued a wartime and postwar opportunity of elevating the institutional position. She eventually saw accomplishment of her three-decade crusade while she was forced to resign from the Japan Women's Institute due to the postwar purge.

Shaping a Reform Vision

Inoue became fourth president of the Japan Women's Institute in November 1931. As a new institutional leader, she clarified the continuous dedication to providing college-

level education.¹ She emphasized the shift of strategy from obtaining state authorization to offering a de facto college education outside the national university education system:²

*...As we used to before, we aim to attain collegiate education relevant to women's roles. While we do not intend to attain university status under the University Order system, we offer the curriculum equivalent to our original plan for a women's university as post-secondary curriculum. Accordingly, our institution is a de facto women's university.*³

Inoue constructed two agendas in pursuit of a de facto college education: founding the second campus and advancing the academic standards. Inoue embarked on the first agenda by finding an ideal site.⁴ After a two-year careful search, they selected the 995-square hectares land in a rural community called “*Nishi-ikuta* district,” which was surrounded by several agricultural villages with nearly six hundred households. It was located one-hour away by train from their first campus.⁵

Inoue sought to achieve the second agenda by expanding the scope of home economics.⁶ She planned to integrate agricultural household management in an attempt to investigate specific needs of agrarian homemakers. They were regarded as key

¹ Hide Inoue, "Bokō Kyōiku No Shugi Hōshin Ni Tsuite [About the Education Policy and Principle]," *Katei Shūhō* [Home Weekly], no. 1074 (1931).

² ———, "Bokō Joshi Sōgō Daigaku Setsuritsu Kikin Kifusha Kakui Ni Teisu [a Message to Donators for Foundation of Women's Comprehensive University]," *Katei Shūhō* [Home Weekly], no. 1059 (1930).

³ Inoue, "Bokō Kyōiku No Shugi Hōshin Ni Tsuite [About the Education Policy and Principle]."

⁴ Inoue and the Japan Women's Institute Council aspired to expand the campus long before Inoue's presidency due to a constant increase of post-secondary students. More than 500 students studied regularly since the mid-1920s on the same campus, which started with 222 students in 1901. Nonetheless, they assumed impossibility of expanding the original campus due to development of suburban residence in the vicinity. Ōfūkai, *Ōfūkai Hachijūnen Shi* [Ōfūkai Eighty-Year History]. 168.

⁵ Atsumi Takahashi, "Taiheiyō Sensō Ka No Kinrō Hōshi Kinrō Dōin [Volunteer Labor and Workforce Mobilization During the Pacific War]," in *Sensō to Josehi Zasshi 1931-1945* [War and Women's Journals 1931-1945], ed. Kindai Josei Bunkashi Kenkyū Kai [Research Society of Modern Women's Cultural History] (Tokyo: Domestu shuppan, 2001). 167.

⁶ Hide Inoue, "Bokō No Iten Mondai Ni Tsuite [the Campus Relocation Issue]," *Katei Shūhō* [Home Weekly], no. 1267 (1935).

reformers of the rural community, which faced the economic crisis in the early 1930s.⁷

Inoue was convinced of the potential of the second campus environment to provide educational resources for agrarian household management.

*...The new site will give us a great opportunity to revise the current curriculum, which focuses on rationalization of domestic practices in urban contexts. We need to reform the curriculum relevant to any family contexts nationwide. In this sense, Nishi-Ikuta is an ideal environment to remodel the home economics curriculum.*⁸

Inoue sought to revise the curriculum also from the perspective of the redefined regional diplomatic order. Imperial Japan claimed and pursued the leadership position in East Asia after its takeover of China's northeastern provinces in September 1931, which was followed by formation of Manchukuo in March 1932.⁹ Inoue was convinced of the urgent necessity of redefining educational goals, which should be responsive to "Japan's distinctive mission as a regional power of East Asia." In search of the latest model of women's education, she went back to the United States and European nations in May 1937.¹⁰

Inoue discovered the centrality of child studies in the U.S. privileged educational institutions. While Smith and Vassar focused on physical and psychological care of children, Yale University conducted research on children's intellectual development. Inoue was most impressed by the Child Study Program at the Cornell University,¹¹ which

⁷ Mori, "Colonies and Countryside in Wartime Japan." 175.

⁸ Inoue, "Bokō No Iten Mondai Ni Tsuite [the Campus Relocation Issue]."

⁹ Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). 110.

¹⁰ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenishi [Forty Years of Japan Women's Institute]*. 275.

¹¹ For the details of the program, please see Grant, "Modernizing Mothers: Home Economics and the Parent Education Movement 1920-1945."

housed a nursery school for research and parent education.¹² She identified a complete shift of research focus in domestic education¹³ from material reforms of the domestic environment to social and psychological wellbeing of children and families.¹⁴

*...While home economics used to focus on management of clothing, food, and shelter, the curriculum gradually adopted child studies since the mid-1920s. Now, it focuses not on the physical dimension of the household but human and family life, including child development.*¹⁵

In addition to the U.S. scholarly approach to promoting maternalism, Inoue discovered a German model of organizational leadership in mobilizing women for their prospective duties. The Nazi leadership organized and centralized both young and adult women's groups and sought to prepare them for future motherhood and homemakers. Inoue was impressed that young girls in the Bund Deutscher Mädel (League of German Girls, or BDM) were collectively trained to be physically fit, healthy, and clean for their biological duties.¹⁶ Additionally, they were disciplined for scientific household management, agricultural services, and frugality in pursuit of their national missions.¹⁷

...BDM girls wake up at 5 o'clock in the morning and clean their camp house completely. Then, some help on the farms and in the fields, whether this involved cultivating or harvesting while others engage in housewifery. They prepare food stocks scientifically and organize the camp space neatly...Their food and clothing

¹² Hide Inoue, "Ōbei Ni Okeru Aiiiku Jigyō [Child Welfare Work in the United States and Europe," *Aiiiku [Child Welfare]* 4, no. 2 (1938).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ This shift was a consequence of increasing legitimacy of behavioral sciences. Behavioral sciences were applied to potential solutions to social problems since many of them, such as delinquency and maladjustment, were attributed to improper care and nurture of children at home. Since behavioral sciences discovered that the early years were a pivotal stage, they were more adopted as childcare subjects to the home economics curriculum by reconceiving mothering as professional labors requiring education and expertise. Grant, "Modernizing Mothers: Home Economics and the Parent Education Movement 1920-1945." 56-57. 66.

¹⁵ Inoue, "Ōbei Ni Okeru Aiiiku Jigyō [Child Welfare Work in the United States and Europe."

¹⁶ Lisa Pine, *Nazi Family Policy, 1933-1945* (Oxford: Oxford International Publishers Ltd., 1997). 48.

¹⁷ Hide Inoue, "Sekai Wa Ugoku (8) [the World Is Changing 8]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 1382 (1938).

*are surprisingly frugal. All they had for lunch today with me was merely soup, mashed potato, and a cucumber salad. No bread and butter...They put only on simple cotton uniforms, provided by the National Socialist Party. The BDM girls are competent, organized, and well disciplined.*¹⁸

On the other hand, a national Nazi Women's League (NS-Frauensschaft or NSF) played leadership roles in training future and current mothers at "Mother Schools," which was founded nationwide.¹⁹ She was impressed by NSF instructors' competence in inspiring women to follow the Nazi's ideology on female domestic and familial roles.²⁰

*...NFS women are competent in organizing and training women... In accordance to Hitler's statement of motherhood as women's calling, they efficiently operate Mother Schools and inspire women to learn about how to raise healthy children. They integrated the next generation to construction plan of New Germany.*²¹

Inoue formed a curriculum reform vision during her five-month trip. She was convinced of the necessity of preparing Japanese women for upbringing the next generation as their national duty.²² She learned that "all of the nations focus on nurturing the next generation to pursue national progress."²³

Inoue adopted the U.S. scholarly approach to advancing child studies. She sought to upgrade the child development research at the Research Institution for Child Studies (*Jidō kenkyūsho*).²⁴ She formed four specialties, which were psychology, health,

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ These schools aimed to qualify all German women as physically and emotionally 'fit' mothers by providing motherhood training to meet their duty of national motherhood. Their education policy and practices underpinned the Nazi policy of racial hygiene, which aimed to improve the German race by eliminating the hereditarily ill and socially unfit. Pine, *Nazi Family Policy, 1933-1945*. 14. 76.

²⁰ Ibid. 72.

²¹ Hide Inoue, "Ōbei O Tabishite [Traveling to the United States and Europe]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 1371 (1937).

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ This Research Institute was founded in December 1928 to professionalize and advance the child development curriculum of the Japan Women's Institute. Nihon Joshi Daigaku Jidō Kenkyūsho [Japan

education, and welfare, in an attempt to respond to the national command.²⁵ She emphasized the goal of research projects, which were “to conduct scientific research on physical, psychological, social, and intellectual development of children under school age, to discover their developmental standards, and to inspire our students to promote parent education movement in pursuit of the imperial mission.”²⁶

*...We face the national emergency. It totally depends on the future generation that Imperial Japan could settle the emergency and advance further. Thus, women owed a duty to attain this goal as national mothers.*²⁷

In addition to child studies, Inoue identified a necessity of integrating household management in the colonial villages. She discovered that emigrant women maintained the everyday practices of Japanese origin²⁸ when she visited two Manchurian settlements,²⁹ *Iyasaka* and *Chiburi*,³⁰ in October 1939 as an advisor to the Deliberative Council of Manchuria Colonization Policy.³¹

...I discovered women's essential roles in reforming everyday life in the farm villages. For example, the village settlers in Iyasaka and Chiburi simply practice the lifestyle in their hometown in Nagano or Fukushima prefectures, from which a majority of them migrated. However, settlement villages are located far north at

Women's University Research Institute for Child Studies], "Heisho Kinenshi [the Issue of Closure Celebration]." 10.

²⁵ Ibid. 11.

²⁶ Ibid. 10.

²⁷ Inoue, "Ōbei O Tabishite [Traveling to the United States and Europe]."

²⁸ Hide Inoue, "Manshū Kaitakuchi No Shisatsu O Oete [Completing an Investigation of Manchukuo Colonial Settlements]" *Katei Kagaku [Home Science]*, no. 17 (1939).

²⁹ In 1936, the government announced an immigration campaign, "Millions to Manchuria," to send one million Japanese farm households to Manchuria over a 20-year period. It was a part of governmental strategies of rural revitalization to cope with the rural economic crisis in the early 1930s. Instead of providing public assistance, the government designated self-help efforts by indebted farm households to attain economic recovery. In response to this campaign, Japanese immigrants in Manchukuo rose from 200,000 in 1930 to 1,000,000 in 1940. Mori, "Colonies and Countryside in Wartime Japan." 176. 178.

³⁰ These two villages were pioneering settlements and regarded as "meccas of settlement." Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). 385.

³¹ She was appointed by Katō Kanji, a central figure of the Manchuria emigration movement. He requested Inoue to identify potential women's roles in promoting emigration to colonial settlements. Ibid. 395.

*the higher latitudes than their hometowns in Japan. They cannot survive winter below minus thirty degrees in common Japanese winter clothes. We urgently explore strategies to adopt the living conditions in Manchukuo and reform their daily practices.*³²

Rededicating to the Status Pursuit

Inoue identified an opportunity to rededicate herself to pursuing state authorization for university status. In January 1940, the Deliberative Council of Education (*Kyōiku shingikai*) promulgated the guidelines on institutionalizing college education for women in an attempt to obtain advanced training of wartime domesticity relevant to the state goals.³³ In contrast to the University Order, which excluded home economics from the university faculty disciplines, the guidelines regulated foundation of the department of home economics (*kasei gakka*) in a women's university.³⁴

Inoue rededicated herself to the institutional ambition with great enthusiasm. She drafted a "Women's University Plan," in parallel to the state goals of women's higher education.³⁵ She focused on three specialties, which were child welfare, maternal education, and everyday life reform on the Continent, in pursuit of women's wartime duties.³⁶

...Japan Women's Institute will promote child welfare movement, and nationalize motherhood protection for both mothers' and children's welfare. Additionally,

³² Hide Inoue, "Tairiku No Inshō [My Impression of the Continent]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 1451 (1939).

³³ Another rationale of college education for women was imperial prestige relevant to its leadership position in the New East Asian Order. Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]*. 610. 612.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 610.

³⁵ Hide Inoue, "Joshi Daigaku Rei Ninka No Hō O Mae Ni [Prior to the News of Approval of Women's University Order]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 1458 (1940).

³⁶ ———, "Ōfūkai Kaki Daigaku Ni Okeru Inoue Kōchō No Dan [President Inoue's Talk at the Ōfūkai Summer School]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 1481 (1940).

*the Department of Home Economics will aim to launch a new research project to facilitate an everyday life reform plan for the Continent settlers.*³⁷

Inoue was strategic not only academically but also administratively. In addition to aligning a reform plan with the state goals, she sought to secure the state bureaucrats' support for their prospective application. She officially invited a total of fourteen Deliberative Council members in January 1941 and made a presentation of the new curriculum plan. Additionally, she conducted a school tour to demonstrate the advanced research facilities to them.³⁸ She was personally praised by one of the Council members, Shimomura Juichi, who was Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School president. He advocated Inoue's reform plan and "expected the first application submission to found a distinctive women's university."³⁹

Inoue came to demonstrate the advanced institutional capability of launching a university education. Construction of the second campus was completed and she invited the state bureaucrats to the opening ceremony on May 10, 1942. She emphasized a potential of the second campus for enhancing women's leadership roles relevant to the Imperial Japan's mission to lead the Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.⁴⁰ The Education Minister gave her a supportive remark on the possibility of nominating the Japan Women's Institute as the first women's university.⁴¹

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Nihon Joshi Daigaku [Japan Women's University], *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Gakuen Shi 2 [Japan Women's University History 2]*. 9.

³⁹ Shimomura was supportive of Inoue because he shared the common philosophy of women's college education with her. At the Deliberative Council meetings, he asserted the necessity of founding a women's university to enhance women's specific attributes and functions in response to war requirements. Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]*. 612

⁴⁰ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945*. 185.

⁴¹ Hide Inoue, "Ōfukai Nyūkai [Joining the Ōfukai]," *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 1556 (1942).

... We need to promote our plan of founding a women's university since our school is responsible for nurturing female leaders for the new Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In this sense, ...When I talked with the Ministry of Education Hashida and his group, they were impressed with the ideal educational environment of our new campus and told that the Japan Women's Institute should be the first nominee in case that college education for women were institutionalized.⁴²

Inoue relentlessly demonstrated students' leadership roles in colonial settlement and wartime mobilization. For example, she sent a student team, "Manchurian Development Life Corps Team for Agricultural Villages (*Manshū kaitaku nōka seikatsu kensetsu kyōryokutai*)" in August 1943⁴³ in response to a request of Teruoka Gitō,⁴⁴ the Director of the Manchurian Development Science Research Institute (*Manshū kaitaku kagaku kenkyūsho*).⁴⁵ Thirty-three seniors majoring in home economics instructed local village settlers to reform their domestic practices on a basis of Teruoka's research findings. In addition, in the vicinity of the second campus, Inoue instructed students through workshops on agricultural household management and communal cookhouse,⁴⁶ which became the wartime requirements since the mobilization of students for work (*gakuto dōin*) in 1939.⁴⁷

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ The student team was locally supervised by Inoue's right arm and the Dean of Home Economics Department, Ōhashi Hiro. Takahashi, "Taiheiyō Sensō Ka No Kinrō Hōshi Kinrō Dōin [Volunteer Labor and Workforce Mobilization During the Pacific War]." 170.

⁴⁴ Teruoka's research focused on daily materials and cultural practices of indigenous people in an attempt to apply them to settlements' everyday life. Toyohiko Miura, *Teruoka Gitō* (Tokyo: Riburopōto, 1991). 231-233.

⁴⁵ This institute was founded in September 1942 with sponsorship of the Colonization Bureau (*Kaitaku sōkyoku*). Regarding the functions of the Colonization Bureau, see Young, *Japan's Total Empire Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. 355-356.

⁴⁶ Takahashi, "Taiheiyō Sensō Ka No Kinrō Hōshi Kinrō Dōin [Volunteer Labor and Workforce Mobilization During the Pacific War]." 166-168.

⁴⁷ Shillony, "Universities and Students in Wartime Japan." 780.

Inoue had to take a back seat to wartime requirements. In April 1944, she launched a program, “household management science (*kasei rika*),” in response to the governmental reform policy, which required occupational training in an attempt to substitute conscripted male labor forces.⁴⁸ Accordingly, she founded two courses in the program, one that emphasized physics and chemistry and another that focused on biology and agriculture, to respond to the professional need of the technical and agricultural fields.⁴⁹

Inoue emphasized temporality of the revised curriculum. The school administration emphasized that “this curriculum is an ordered and given one” due to the wartime requirements.⁵⁰ Additionally, Inoue continued to address the necessity of the advanced level of higher education for women due to their additional mission. “We have a high demand for educated women capable of training professional women due to their substitute responsibilities for conscripted men.”⁵¹

Inoue rededicated herself to the institutional ambition once again in response to an opportunity profoundly different from the previous ones. In December 1945, just four months after the Japanese surrender, the U.S. Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) called for the revision of all educational regulations that discriminated against women. The CIE sought to democratize the education system in accordance with the

⁴⁸ “The Transformation of Women’s Professional Schools (*Joshi senmon gakkō kyōiku sasshin*)” redefined the goals of women’s higher education institution as “occupational institution that attempts to increase and enhance wartime human resources, which substitute male labor forces.” Yukawa, *Kindai Nihon Josei to Daigaku Kyōiku [Modern Japanese Women and College Education]*. 663-664.

⁴⁹ Hide Inoue, “Konji No Joshi Senmon Kyōiku Kaikaku No Ganmoku to Honkō No Shin Gakusei Do [the Point of the Women's Professional Education Reform and the New Institutional System at Our School],” *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 1607 (1944).

⁵⁰ Kesazō Ichimura, “Gakusoku Henkō Ni Tsuite [Change of School Regulations],” *Katei Shūhō [Home Weekly]*, no. 1607 (1944).

⁵¹ Hide Inoue, “Joshi Kyōiku No Dōkō [the Trend of Women's Education],” *Kōa Kyōiku [Making-Asia Education]* 3, no. 3 (1944). 23.

core principles of the occupation forces.⁵² Accordingly, Inoue held an Alumnae Association meeting in March 1946 and announced a plan for application submission to the CIE.⁵³

Inoue was not allowed to continue her pursuit, however. She was officially disqualified for public services due to a charge of the appointment to wartime vice presidency of the Greater Japan Youth Association (*Dai nippon seishōnen dan*).⁵⁴ She addressed her regret for disengagement in the institutional mission, which she had pursued for more than three decades.⁵⁵

*...I am completely dedicated myself to advancement of women's higher education throughout my entire professional life. Therefore, I regret to be disqualified for a teaching profession and leave the Japan Women's Institute due to the wartime position, which was not my choice but state imposition...However, I came to conclude that I was responsible for supporting militarism by taking leadership role in the ultranationalistic organization. Accordingly, I deserve a purge and humbly accept it.*⁵⁶

Inoue finally saw the accomplishment after she had left the school. In April 1948, the Japan Women's Institute became the Japan Women's University and founded the Faculty of Home Economics.⁵⁷

⁵² T. J. Pempel, *Patterns of Japanese Policymaking: Experiences from Higher Education* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978). 35-36. 45.

⁵³ Inoue Hide Sensei Kinen Shuppan Inkaï, *Inoue Hide Sensei [Professor Hide Inoue]*. 202-203.

⁵⁴ This organization was placed under the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (*Taisei Yokusan Kai*), which was a subject of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers program of "The Removal and Exclusion of Undesirable Personnel from Public Office." Hans H. Baerwald, *The Purge of Japanese Leaders under the Occupation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959). 17.

⁵⁵ Nihon Joshi Daigaku [Japan Women's University], *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Gakuen Shi 2 [Japan Women's University History 2]*. 113.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 174-175.

Summary

Inoue's crusade of women's university education revealed the ways in which she dedicated herself to mobilizing women for wartime requirements. She believed in female duties of undertaking Japan's new mission, namely, a regional leadership in East Asia. Imperial Japan departed from the post-Great War international liberalism and claimed a self-appointed leadership position in East Asia.⁵⁸ Inoue was convinced of the necessity of reorienting Japanese women to the redefined regional diplomatic order, and accordingly, reshaped her education reform initiatives. She dedicated herself to extending women's leadership roles to alternative spheres, namely, agrarian households in domestic rural villages and colonial settlements. She also dedicated herself to promoting maternal education in pursuit of the imperial mission of national motherhood.

Inoue entirely dedicated her four-decade professional life to legitimatizing a gender-specific university education for women within the national higher education system. She believed in the necessity of women's university education for the sake of their social advancement. She aspired to mobilize Japanese women for their imperial mission, which was constantly redefined in response to the rising position of Imperial Japan in the global competition of the imperial powers. She dedicated herself to aligning Japanese women's higher education with the world standards, and therefore, navigated every opportunity of obtaining state authorization for legitimatizing a university education for women. She was convinced of the possibility of home economics for advancing women's public lives, and therefore, legitimatizing a gender specific university education for women. Her

⁵⁸ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931-1945*. 110. 151.

persistent efforts to provide university education for women evidently founded the cornerstone of a gender-specific university education for women and of home economics as a fully-fledged academic discipline.

CONCLUSION

The life and work of Miyakawa Sumi and Inoue Hide reveal that they became pioneers of home economics in the first half of the twentieth century Japan. They discovered and believed in home economics as a field of study and practice that could revolutionize women's lives, shaped alternative visions of domestic education, and invented distinctive home economics programs. They also became leading reformers of women's higher education. They elevated the academic standards for women's higher education, constructed alternative education spaces and curricula, and expanded the scope of women's higher education. In addition, they championed the advancement of status for Japanese womanhood and the need for new and innovative educational institutions for women. They analyzed Japanese women's capacities for domestic roles, critiqued the national women's education system, and proposed and pursued reform initiatives.

The stories of Miyakawa and Inoue reveal the emergence of two distinctive constructions of home economics. Miyakawa perceived home economics as a practical discipline and elevated the importance of technical expertise in modern domestic practices. By contrast, Inoue emphasized theoretical learning about home management and defined home economics as an interdisciplinary science that integrated features of the natural sciences, social sciences and liberal arts.

Miyakawa's and Inoue's distinct models of home economics reflected their distinct notions of Japanese womanhood. Miyakawa came to believe that Japanese women were

in possession of technical and financial capacities that British middle-class women lacked. She praised Japanese women's self-reliance in household management and their financial contribution to household economies. By contrast, Inoue was more concerned with the social position of Japanese women. She was disappointed that Japanese women were more status-degraded than Anglo-American women and incapable of pursuing their civic duties.

Miyakawa's and Inoue's distinct notions of Japanese women are evident in the way they constructed the purposes of domestic education. Miyakawa aspired to modernize women's technical competence in an attempt to enhance their capacities of contributing to household economies. She believed that the individual household was a fundamental unit of state and essential to national economic development. Accordingly, she sought to mobilize women for serving the state through self-sufficient household management. On the other hand, Inoue dedicated herself to promoting women's civic leadership skills. She believed in the utility of home economics in advancing individual, familial and social wellbeing, and therefore, adopted home economics to the institutional social reform initiatives.

Miyakawa's and Inoue's distinct educational purposes are evident in the way they pursued a reformation of home economics programs. Miyakawa focused on practical skills training for modern household management, which was the hallmark of British domestic education. She believed that technical expertise was more important than theoretical emphases, which was another lesson well learned in Great Britain. She sought to modernize women's technical competence and upgrade the instructional

facilities in response to material transformation of daily practices and the emergence of urban family living. Inoue, by contrast, adopted scientific and sociological paradigms for home management that she had discovered at elite educational institutions in the United States. She sought to elevate the scholarly position of home economics in an attempt to legitimize a gender-specific university education for women, which she believed was a vehicle of women's social advancement. In addition, she promoted civic activism in the hope of demonstrating women's leadership roles in public spheres. She believed that women's communal involvements were likely to convince the public of the necessity of advanced education for women.

Miyakawa's and Inoue's approaches to education reform initiatives also resonated with their distinct family legacy. Miyakawa persistently emphasized the financial value of domestic competence in the management of household economies. Her emphasis on financial gain was legacy that filtered down from the relatively modesty of the social position of her family. Inoue's strategy, on the other hand, was less entrepreneurial than status-driven. Her dedication to pursuing status was not surprising since status management was a family concern for generations in her prestigious entrepreneurial household. Parallel to her family tradition, she relentlessly sought to advance the scholarly status of home economics and the institutional status of the Japan Women's Institute.

Miyakawa and Inoue also brought different personalities into their professional work. Miyakawa was a loner rather than a team player, and pursued her professional agenda as an independent leader. She did not network with other reformer colleagues at her alma

mater. Nor did she favor institutional life. She founded a private academy, the Tokyo Domestic Science Institute, and placed its administration totally under her control.¹ Unlike Miyakawa, Inoue was a networker and a community leader. She navigated her life opportunities by evolving a patronage network. She expanded friendship with her classmate and earned her mother's support for advanced education opportunities. She then became Naruse Jinzō's protégée and assumed headship positions in the Japan Women's Institute community. She took a leadership role in launching and promoting an array of institutional projects and successfully gained the institutional support for her efforts.

Regardless of their distinct educational purposes, family legacy or personal traits, their constructions of home economics reveal a glimpse into alternative features of female domesticity, and thus, expand the scope of historical understanding of ideal Japanese womanhood, *Ryōsai Kenbo* (Good Wife, Wise Mother). Miyakawa's emphasis on practical skills training suggests technical expertise as credentials for urban middle-class professional housewives. Technical and financial capacities as model attributes are overlooked in the scholarship of Good Wife, Wise Mother due to its focus on social and moral duties of women's familial roles.² Miyakawa's scholarly attempts to advance technical competences, therefore, propose additional features of ideal

¹ For example, Miyakawa assumed presidency of her school and did not create a position of vice president. Tokyo Kasei Gakuin, *Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Gojūnen Shi [Fifty Years of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin Institute]*. 61.

² For example, a most notable scholar of "Good Wife, Wise Mother," Kathleen Uno discusses evolution and transmutations of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" by analyzing ethics textbooks for women's secondary schools and policymakers' perspectives on women's moral and familial duties. In addition, she provides a bibliographical overview of Western and Japanese scholarship on "Good Wife, Wise Mother" and summarized that later works emphasized the domestic and social agency that the notion awarded to women as mothers. Uno, "Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations Of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Before 1931."

Japanese womanhood, namely, self-sufficient homemaking experts capable of serving the state through their best possible household management.

Inoue's focus on women's civic responsibilities also provides a glimpse into alternative roles that is likely to remain unexplored. Her efforts to extend domestic roles to public affairs legitimized and advocated women's social participation other than wage-earning activities outside the household. Application of female domesticity to social activism is overlooked in the scholarship of the Good Wife, Wise Mother³ due to its primary focus on domestic roles inside the household.⁴ Inoue's scholarly attempts to promote women's civic duties propose women's domestic responsibilities outside their home, and therefore, expand the view of ideal Japanese womanhood.

Miyakawa's and Inoue's constructions of home economics not only expand the scope of ideal womanhood but also suggest a need for revising historical understanding of

³ In contrast, feminist movement on a basis of domesticity and maternity is well explored. It includes consumer movement, birth control movement, eugenics movement, and claims for state protection for maternity from undesirable social and labor conditions. Please see Ryūichi Narita, "Women in the Motherland: Oku Mumeo through Wartime and Postwar," in *Total War and 'Modernization'*, ed. Yasushi Yamanouchi, Victor Koschmann, and Ryūichi Narita (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1998). Elise K. Tipton, "Birth Control and the Population Problem," in *Society and the State in Interwar Japan*, ed. Elise K. Tipton (London: Routledge, 1997). Sumiko Otsubo, "Engendering Eugenics: Feminists and Marriage Restriction Legislation in the 1920s," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, ed. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005). Barbara Molony, "Equality Versus Difference: The Japanese Debate over 'Motherhood Protection', 1915-50," in *Japanese Women Working*, ed. Janet Hunter (New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁴ For example, Kathleen Uno discusses the evolution of Good Wife, Wise Mother from the perspectives on the ways in which to balance domestic roles inside the household and female wage earning activities outside the household without including women's civil responsibilities. Uno, "Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations Of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Before 1931." In addition, Sally A. Hastings addresses that Hatoyama Haruko, a celebrated spokeswoman of Good Wife, Wise Mother, did not limit domestic roles to the home and advocated women's social participation through social interaction with other women, philanthropy, and patriotic activities. However, Hatoyama championed women's social participation from the perspective on women's domestic roles inside the household, namely, women's engagement in outside activities contributed to the peace and happiness of the home. Her rationale was distinct from Inoue's focus on women's civic responsibilities for social welfare. Hastings, "Hatoyama Haruko: Ambitious Woman." 93. 97.

Japanese women's education. For example, the emergence of advanced educational opportunities for women with marriage aspirations at Miyakawa's institution⁵ might suggest a shift in public demand for programs that could credential and train ideal bridal candidates and expand their education to include post-secondary educational opportunities. Accordingly, scholarly exploration of women's secondary education as a sole or sufficient training for domestic destiny might be worth reconsidering.⁶

Inoue's construction of home economics reflects the emergence of an alternative theoretical framework that challenged the mainstream curriculum with an emphasis on scientific application to daily practices.⁷ She believed in the importance of sociological paradigms in pursuit of familial and social wellbeing, and therefore, advocated interdisciplinary nature of home economics. She called attention to the limitation of scientific explanations for technical rules due to its focus on environmental solutions to domestic life.⁸ Her interdisciplinary framework for home management had undoubtedly impacted on secondary-school teacher training programs due to her reputation of an authority scholar in the field of domestic education. Accordingly, scholarly exploration

⁵ It is well investigated that post-secondary institutions provided professional training programs for secondary school teachers. For example, Yoshiko Furuki, *The White Plum: A Biography of Ume Tsuda* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1991). Sasaki, *The Expansion of Higher Education for Women in Prewar Japan: A Dynamic Interaction among Institutions, Students, and Government*.

⁶ For example, Kathleen Uno exclusively focuses on women's secondary school textbook as a source of moral and social inspiration for female familial roles. Uno, "Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations Of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Before 1931." 496. 507.

⁷ Mainstream discourse of domestic education focused on scientific household management. For example, the two major suppliers of women's secondary school teachers, Tokyo and Nara Women's Higher Normal School, employed a prominent physics and chemistry higher school teacher, Kondō Kōzō and Ishizawa Yoshimaro respectively, to adopt the contents of natural science to the domestic affairs curriculum. Hiroko Ishikawa, "Waga Kuni Ni Okeru Rikakaji No Seiritsu to Tenkai [Origin and Evolution of Science-Domestic Affairs in Japan]," *Kaseigaku Genron Bukai Kaihō [Newsletter of the Principles of Home Economics]*, no. 25 (1991).

⁸ Inoue, *Katei Kanri Hō [Household Administration]*. Preface.

of women's secondary curriculum exclusively as a scientific training program might be worth revisiting.⁹

Miyakawa's and Inoue's accomplishments suggest that a more complete picture of post-secondary domestic education purposes, policies and practices in the first half of the twentieth century is possible and important for historians to consider. Studies of the perspectives that rural women might bring to the public debate might reveal alternative patterns of advocacy of women's advanced education opportunities. Research on home economics curricula at post-secondary educational institutions other than Miyakawa's and Inoue's schools is likely to reveal the standards and variants in policies and practices of post-secondary domestic education. In addition, studies on fate of Miyakawa's and Inoue's ideal womanhood might reveal a shift in social and educational context for women in post-war Japan. So too will studies that investigate contours and meaning of domestic education in coeducational institution.

⁹ For example, a Japanese historian of domestic education, Handa Tatsuko focuses on scientization of domestic education at women's secondary schools. Handa, "Taishō-Ki No Kateika Kyōiku [Domestic Education in Taisho Period]." 83-90. Tipton also argues that women's secondary school teachers emphasized efficiency and linked it with achieving scientific life. At the same time, however, she acknowledges Inoue's scholarly attempt to situate individual household management in the larger social context. Tipton, "How to Manage a Household: Creating Middle Class Housewives in Modern Japan."

List of Tables

Table 1. Chronology: Miyakawa Sumi (1875-1948)

	<i>Age</i>	Pre-Study-Abroad Years
September 7, 1875	1	Born in Nagasaki to Miyakawa Moritarō and Kane
1880-1888	6-14	Attends Tomoe Elementary School
1889-1894	15-20	Attends Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō (Girls' missionary school)
Jan.-Sep. 1895	21	Teaches elementary math at Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō
Sept. 1895	21	Takes an entrance examination of Women's Higher Normal School
1896	22	Gains provisional admission of Women's Higher Normal School
September 1897	23	Attends Women's Higher Normal School
March 1901	27	Graduates from Women's Higher Normal School
April 1901	27	Teaches at Okinawa Women's High School
March 1902	28	Gains a government scholarship for study-abroad and comes back to Tokyo
August 1902	28	Leaves Tokyo for Great Britain
<hr/>		
	<i>Age</i>	Study-Abroad Years
December 1902	28	Arrives in London
Jan. –June 1903	29	Explores several technical educational institutions
July-August 1903	29	Visits Oxford University
September 1903	29	Attends Battersea Polytechnic Training School of Domestic Economy
May-Sep. 1904	30	Visits Scotland and Cambridge
September 1904	30	Starts the second year at the Battersea Polytechnic
May-Sep. 1905	31	Visits Berlin, Brussels, Amsterdam, and Paris
October 1905	31	Transfers to Bedford College for Women
May 1906	32	Obtains a Sanitary Inspector certificate
July 1906	32	Leaves London for New York
July-August 1906	32	Arrives in New York and crosses over the U.S. continent
August 1906	32	Leaves Seattle for Yokohama

Table 1. Chronology: Miyakawa Sumi (cont.)

	<i>Age</i>	Post-Study-Abroad Years at the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School
February 1907	33	Appointed as Chief Professor of the Department of Arts and Crafts at the Women's Higher Normal School
July 1910	36	Publishes <i>Kaji jissū kyōkasho</i> (Domestic Affairs Practice Textbook)
November 1911	37	Publishes <i>Sanbō shugi</i> (Triple Principles Ideology)
July 1915	40	Gets married to Ōe Genju
November 1916	41	Publishes " <i>Ōyō Kaji Seigi</i> " [Applied Interpretation of Domestic Affairs]
January 1921	46	Husband Ōe Genju passes away
February 1923	48	Launches <i>Kasei Kenkyūsho</i> (Institute of Domestic Science) at her residence
September 1923	49	Purchases a school site
March 1925	51	Resigns from the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School
	<i>Age</i>	Post-Study-Abroad Years at Tokyo Domestic Science Institute
April 1925	51	Launches Tokyo Kasei <i>Gakuin</i> (Tokyo Domestic Science Institute)
April 1927	53	Gains the state authorization for secondary teacher certificate with accreditation as <i>senmon gakkō</i> (professional school)
August 1928-Jan. 1929	54	Attends the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference in Honolulu and travels to the U.S. Continent
April 1931	57	Purchases farm land in the western suburb of Tokyo, <i>Chitose-mura</i> village
May 1933	59	Travels to <i>Keijō</i> (Korea) and <i>Dairen</i> (Manchuria)
January 1935	61	Expands a school site and founds new school buildings
June 1938	64	Appointed to a member of the National Savings Promotion Council
April 1939	65	Launches a secondary school
April 1944	69	Reorganizes the institutional structure
March 1945	70	Leaves Tokyo for Nagano Prefecture

Table 2. Chronology: Inoue Hide (1875-1963)

	<i>Age</i>	Pre-Study-Abroad Years
January 6, 1875	1	Born in Nagami village, Hyōgo Prefecture to Inoue Tōbei and Ito
1880-1884	6-10	Attends a local elementary school
1884-1888	10-14	Attends a Kaibara Advanced Elementary School
July 1889-March 1894	15-20	Attends Kyoto Women's High School
Summer 1894	20	Returns to her hometown/A brother of three-year her junior passed away
Early 1895	21	Gets married to Adachi Masaji and succeeds household heirship
1895-1899	21-25	Resides at Hirooka household/meets Naruse Jinzō and assists his fundraising campaign
1899	25	Gives a birth to the first daughter, Shina
April 1900	26	Moves to Tokyo to prepare for the Japan Women's Institute opening
Apr.1901-March 1904	27-30	Attends the Department of Home Economics of the Japan Women's Institute
Apr. 1904-May 1908	30-34	Teaches at a secondary school affiliated to Japan Women's Institute/serves as secretary of the Alumnae Association
May 1908	34	Leaves Yokohama for Seattle
	<i>Age</i>	Study-Abroad Years
June-August 1908	34	Arrives in New York City/Attends the Summer School of Teachers College, Columbia University
Sep. 1908-May 1909	34-35	Attends Teachers College
Dec. 1908	34	Attends the initial meeting of American Home Economics Association in Washington D.C.
June-August 1909	35	Attends the University of Chicago
Sep. 1909-Feb. 1910	35-36	Travels to the New England, Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia and leaves for Yokohama

Table 2. Chronology: Inoue Hide (cont.)

	<i>Age</i>	Post-Study-Abroad Years as Dean of Department of Home Economics
April 1910	36	Launches a secondary school teachers training program for domestic affairs
April 1911	37	JWI gains the state authorization for secondary teacher certificate for domestic affairs
June 1913	39	Launches an a daycare center <i>Ōfū-kai Takujisho</i>
September 1915	41	Launches a fundraising movement in response to Education Ministry's "the Guidelines of University Ordinance"
April 1917	43	Found the Home Economics Research Institute/JWI launches the elective system
December 1917	43	Launches a commercial project, "Bazaar of daily necessities at bargain prices (<i>Kakuyasu jitsuyō hin bazā</i>)"
March 1919	45	Naruse passes away
Nov. 1921	47	Attends a conference sponsored by Women's Committee for World Disarmament in Washington D.C.
Feb. 1922	48	Attends an annual meeting of the National Association of Women's Deans and Counselors in Chicago
March-Aug. 1922	48	Leaves New York for Great Britain/Travels to the European Continent
May 1923	49	Appointed to a member of the Committee of Promoting Women's Education
October 1924	50	Holds National Products Promotion Expo (<i>Kokusanhin shōrei tenrankai</i>)
October 1926	52	Submits an application of university status to the Ministry of Education
May 1927	53	Launches a three-year college-preparatory higher school program (<i>kōtō gakubu</i>)
May 1928	54	Publishes "Household Administration (<i>Katei Kanri hō</i>)"
April 1930	56	Launches the first collegiate courses
October 1930	56	Announces termination of college-preparatory higher school program and collegiate courses
April 1931	57	President Asō resigns and Baron Shibusawa Eiichi replaces him
November 1931	57	Shibusawa passes away

Table 2. Chronology: Inoue Hide (cont.)

	<i>Age</i>	Post-Study-Abroad Years as President
November 1931	57	Elected as president
September 1934	60	Purchases a school site for the second campus
The year of 1935	61	Travels to the local alumnae association for fundraising for the second campus
May-June 1937	63	Leaves Yokohama for Vancouver/travels to the eastern universities in the United States
June-October 1937	63	Travels to Germany
October 1939	65	Travels to Manchukuo as an advisor to the Deliberative Council of Manchuria Colonization Policy
November 1940	66	Launches Research Institution for Child Studies (<i>Jidō kenkyūsho</i>)
January 1941	67	Appointed to vice president of the Greater Japan Youth Association (<i>Dai nippon seishōnen dan</i>)
April 1942	68	Opens the second campus
April 1944	70	Reorganizes the institutional structure
September 1944	70	Closes the school
March 4, 1946	72	Addresses an application of university status to the CIE at an annual meeting of alumnae association
November 1946	72	Resigns the presidency due to the postwar purge

Table 3. Japanese Public Education System in 1921¹

Age	Men		Women		Men and Women*	
25	Graduate School					
24	University					
23						
22		Professional School				
21	High School	(Senmon gakkō)	Women's Higher Normal School	Professional School (Senmon gakkō)	Normal School	
20						
19						
18	Middle School		Women's High School (Kōtō jogakkō)		Advanced Primary School	Occupational School
17						
16						
15						
14	Primary School					
13						
12						
11						
10						
9						
8						
7						
6						

* Post-primary educational institution is gender-segregated.

¹ The author referred to and simplified a list in Takenori Inoki, *Gakkō to Kōjō Nihon No Jinteki Shigen [School and Factory: Human Resources in Japan]* (Tokyo: Yomiuri shinbunsha, 1996). 258.

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