

November 2023

Tea Ceremony and Girls' Education from Edo to Meiji

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<https://doi.org/10.7275/35997402.0> https://scholarworks.umass.edu/masters_theses_2/1335

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TEA CEREMONY AND GIRLS' EDUCATION FROM EDO TO MEIJI

A Thesis Presented

By

YUKO MIZUTANI

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

September 2023

Japanese

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the faculty and staff of the Japanese Department at the University of Massachusetts Amherst who provided me with opportunities to learn, teach, think, and enjoy. Completing the thesis in particular was challenging, but it undoubtedly enriched my life.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Seaman for providing helpful advice on shaping the structure of my writing and for sharing valuable resources. I realized that novels such as *Warbler in the Grove* give authentic information that enriches the thesis. Also, she hinted at how Kakei's autobiography positions in the timeline. Additionally, I extend my appreciation to Sono-sensei for her support in strengthening the core aspects of my work, particularly the link between the tea ceremony and the nation building, and for giving me helpful suggestions. I would also like to thank Dr. Anderson of Smith College for her advice with regard to the organization of the introduction and for providing references.

Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to Sharon Domier-sensei for her prompt search for relevant materials and to the UMass Library for giving me access to many Japanese books that were essential to my research.

Special thanks go to my husband, Chul Park, for offering numerous research tips and support throughout this long journey from the beginning to the completion. I also want to thank my children, Jamie, and Jihae, for their warm encouragement.

Lastly, I want to acknowledge Stéphane Barbéry, who taught tea ceremony to my family in France and inspired me to explore and delve deeper into the culture and history of my own country.

Their impact on my academic pursuit has been truly meaningful. To all those mentioned and countless others who contributed, I am thankful for your assistance in shaping this work.

ABSTRACT

TEA CEREMONY AND GIRLS' EDUCATION FROM EDO TO MEIJI

SEPTEMBER 2023

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This study explores the development of women's tea ceremony from the Edo (1603-1868) to the Meiji period (1868-1912) onward, focusing on its connection to the "good wife, wise mother" ideology in the Meiji period. Many girls' schools, led by Atomi school, adopted the tea ceremony around the time of establishing the "good wife, wise mother."

During the Edo period, the population of women practitioners increased significantly. This was not limited to just women from samurai families; it extended to commoners as well. The women's tea ceremony during the Edo period was greatly influenced by Confucianism and its expectations for women. However, when the Meiji period (1868-1912) arrived, Westernization started to have a major impact. This led to a decline in Confucian education and Edo cultural practices, including the tea ceremony. During the mid-Meiji period, the tea ceremony was reevaluated and integrated into girls' education in response to the resistance against Westernization and the surge of nationalism. Alongside the expansion of girls' schools, the practice of the tea ceremony spread throughout the country.

Atomi Kakei, educated in Confucianism during the Edo period, is considered the first educator to have included women's learnings of the Edo period, such as the tea ceremony, in the school curriculum from its inception. Nevertheless, the presence of inconsistencies in the remaining documents has raised doubts about the introduction of tea ceremony during the early Meiji period. Furthermore, in her autobiography, *Oriori-gusa* (1915), certain descriptions

interweave the early and mid-Meiji periods, suggesting that she adjusted her actions and behaviors to align with the respective times.

This study highlights that the ideology of "good wife, wise mother" played a pivotal role in the spread of the women's tea ceremony. In addition, careful observation of the operation of the Atomi Kakei's school reveals that the tea ceremony was modernized in a short period of time, in line with the changing policies of the Meiji government.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In May 2022, when U.S. President Biden visited Japan, the media showed Mrs. Yuko Kishida, the Japanese Prime Minister Kishida's wife, entertained President Biden by performing the tea ceremony.¹ While tea ceremony was shown to be a national symbol of Japan, the news report also reminded the public that tea ceremony is a woman's activity. Why did Prime Minister Kishida not conduct the tea ceremony himself? One female foreign journalist criticized it from a gender equality perspective, saying that "it is a manifestation of the universal diplomacy of male-centered politics that has decided that entertainment is a woman's role."² Certainly, this is an understandable view in today's gender-sensitive society because she regarded the tea ceremony as simply serving tea, but I see this structure from the perspective of the history of performing the tea ceremony. This is because Mrs. Kishida's tea ceremony is not just about serving tea to guests, but also represents the history of Japanese art form that has been cultivated over a long period of time. In other words, the tea ceremony is an art that is now associated with women and signifies a historical change in its performance. Primarily, tea ceremony was a male activity centered around the samurai, but now approximately 90% of tea practitioners are women.³ Why and how did it become commonplace for women to perform tea ceremony?

¹ "Kishida shushō no tsuma, Baiden shi wo ocha de omotenashi" 岸田首相の妻、バイデン氏をお茶でおもてなし [PM Kishida's wife entertains President Biden with tea], *Asahi Shimbun Digital*, May 24, 2022. <https://www.asahi.com/articles/DA3S15303387.html>.

² Lee Layon, "Daitōryō fujin mo sakeranetakatta [tēburu no sēsabetsu]" 大統領夫人も避けられなかった「テーブルの性差別」 [Sexism at the table that even the first lady could not avoid], *Hankyoreh*, June 4, 2022. <http://japan.hani.co.kr/arti/opinion/43662.html>.

³ Etsuko Kato, *The Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-Presenting the Past*, (London ; New York, NY : RoutledgeCurzon, 2004) , 1, UMass Amherst Online Resources.

The tea ceremony, known as *chadō/sadō*, is a formal act of making and drinking tea, established in the sixteenth century.⁴ It is now a renowned Japanese art alongside *Ikebana* flower arrangement, *Koto* harp, *Noh* play, and poetry.

This thesis aims to examine the history of the tea ceremony in order to show why it was understood as a male-dominated activity but that even though men were masters, women still practiced it and eventually became primarily women's activity. I will then show the rise in the number of women practitioners during the Meiji era (1868-1912), and subsequently investigate the placement of Atomi Kakei (1840-1926), known as the pioneer in women's education during the Meiji period, within the history of promoting women's tea ceremony.

In the history of Japanese tea culture, the custom of drinking tea, which was introduced from China around the 8th century, was closely linked to Buddhist practice.⁵ From the end of the Kamakura period (1185-1333) through the Muromachi period (1336-1573), tea ceremony became a courtly pastime among elites such as courtesans, aristocracy, and samurai. In the 16th century, shortly after, wealthy merchants also became involved in tea ceremony, and Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591), a prominent tea master and merchant, established a distinct form of tea ceremony known as *wabicha*, which emphasized a simple and austere approach.⁶ The tea ceremony gradually spread among samurai and was developed as a tool for socializing and enhancing political power. Later in the Edo period, the shogunate adopted the refined tea ceremony rituals for social networking and official entertainment, making it an essential part of the samurai culture. Thus, in premodern Japan, tea ceremony was a vital political means and a tool to formulate social relationships. However, as the social status of samurai disappeared in early modern society with the advent of modernization, tea ceremony lost its main practitioners. As a result, the dynamic of tea ceremony per se was forced to change. The nature of tea ceremony shifted as Japan began to modernize and westernize the country after the Meiji period.

⁴ Kato, *The Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-Presenting the Past*, 1.

⁵ Theodore M. Ludwig, "Before Rikyū. Religious and Aesthetic Influences in the Early History of the Tea Ceremony," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 4 (1981): 374, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2384225>.

⁶ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 28.

From the mid-Meiji period onward, an increasing number of girls' schools adopted the tea ceremony as a part of girls' etiquette education, and gradually the perception that the tea ceremony was something for women to do spread.

Scholars have pointed out that the timing of the spread to many girls' schools was coincided with the implementation of "good wife, wise mother" ideology during the mid-Meiji period.⁷ In parallel, Kumakura Isao, a leading tea ceremony researcher, claims that Atomi Kakei was the first to introduce the tea ceremony into girls' school education, based on her diary of the opening day of Atomi School.⁸ Furthermore, he gives the impression that many schools, including Kazoku Girl's School (later to become Gakushūin Girls' Junior and High School), which introduced the tea ceremony in 1889, followed Atomi School.⁹

Several other scholars have taken Kumakura's theory as an established fact. Nevertheless, there is limited discussion regarding how Atomi Kakei introduced tea ceremony into her school and the subsequent influence of her school on other educational institutions. I believe that by highlighting Atomi Kakei and Atomi school, scholars have attributed the dissemination of women's tea ceremony to Atomi Kakei and obscured the big picture. Instead, in this study, I will first examine the nation's direction of regarding women as a national resource during the Meiji period, the connection between the tea ceremony and women, and the popularization of the women's tea ceremony, and then follow Atomi Kakei and her school to clarify their influence and position in the changing times. Furthermore, although during the mid-Meiji period, it is said that the increase in girls' schools was influenced by the "good wife, wise mother" policy, the extent to which tea ceremony was incorporated into these schools has not been thoroughly examined in tea ceremony literature. Since tea ceremony was not a compulsory subject, it is crucial to

⁷ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 127.

⁸ Kumakura Isao, *Kindai chadōshi no kenkyū* 近代茶道の研究 [Study on the history of modern tea ceremony] (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2016), 299.

⁹ Kumakura Isao, *Sadō Shūkin 6, Kindai no sadō chanoyū* 茶道聚錦 6, 近代の茶の湯 [Collection of tea ceremony 6, Modern tea ceremony] (Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1985), 84.

determine the prevalence of tea ceremony practice in girls' schools during that time. I will examine the approximate number of girls' schools in Tokyo that introduced tea ceremony.

As concrete resources, I observed the role of women and the nature of the women's tea ceremony of the Edo period by *Four books for women (Onnna Shisho)*, which was the bases of many didactic books for women, *Tojino tamoto*, the first instructional tea ceremony book for women, and the tea ceremony record of Ii Naosuke, a daimyo feudal lord. The social background of the Meiji period was obtained from the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper articles and national policies. In addition, I studied the theories of scholars who influenced the national policy, such as *An Encouragement of Learning* 学問のすすめ by Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Relationship between National Power and Girls' Education" 国力と女子教育 by Junjiro Hosokawa and *The Observation of Girls Education* 女子教育管見 by Murakami Senshō. I then looked at how state policy was actually manifested in the socially reflective novel *Warbler in the Grove* 藪の鶯. Furthermore, I examined the number of girls' schools that introduced the tea ceremony in Tokyo using *Tokyo Prefecture's educational history series* 東京教育史資料大系.¹⁰ Regarding Atomi Kakei and the Atomi School, I surveyed Kakei's educational philosophy in her autobiographical book, *Oriori-gusa* をりをり草.¹¹ Finally, from her diary and the school opening application form, I verified the time of the school's establishment and the subjects offered at that time.

Chapter 2 traces the social climate, women's position, and the development of women's tea ceremony in the Edo period, which shaped the educational philosophy of Kakei. Chapter 3 explores the significant changes in the role of women and educational policies during the formation of the nation from the early to mid-Meiji period. Within the context of this national evolution, I investigate the connection between women's education and the practice of the tea

¹⁰ *Tōkyō kyōikushi shiryō taikai* 東京教育史資料大系 [Tokyo Prefecture's educational history series] Volume 1-10, (Tokyo: Tōkyō toritsu kyōiku kenkyūsho, 1971).

¹¹ Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa* をりをり草, (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no nihonsha, 1955), <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/954953/1/162>.

ceremony, as well as the mechanism behind the spread of women's tea ceremony. Lastly, Chapter 4 examines how Atomi Kakei's philosophy of women's education, spanning the Edo, Meiji, and Taisho periods (1912-1926), influenced the establishment of the Atomi School and the tea ceremony education in the changing times.

This study highlights women's education in two contrasting eras: the early Meiji period, when Japan was eager to imitate Western civilization, and the mid-Meiji period, when nationalism was on the rise. In early Meiji, the authorities paid limited attention to women's higher education, focusing on primary education to cultivate "wise mothers." However, in the mid-Meiji period, as the government sought further national prosperity, women were actively recognized as valuable national resources and demanded higher education. Therefore, in addition to the role of "wise mother," the authorities began promoting girls' secondary education to cultivate future "good wife" who would support men in their homes. Society and the state defined the ideal "good wife, wise mother" as one who embodied feminine virtues, refined etiquette, and possessed general knowledge to engage in conversations with her husband while efficiently managing the household for the benefit of the family. Most importantly, women were expected to have the awareness of their role as Japanese citizens while contributing to their family at home. In the context, tea ceremony and other performing arts, known as *yūgei*,¹² were recognized as means through which women could cultivate the qualities of a good wife. As a result, tea ceremony was deemed suitable for inclusion in girls' education, and the practice of tea ceremony for girls spread in parallel with the establishment of girls' schools.

While it is plausible that Atomi School might have conducted tea ceremony practice, I couldn't find any evidence suggesting that tea ceremony was an essential part of the school from its inception. However, I did come across evidence of tea ceremony being introduced after the mid-Meiji period. Considering other sources of information about Atomi Kakei, I concluded that she was influenced by the prevailing social climate and managed the school without going against the prevailing trend. That is, I argue that the rise of the societal trend of promoting the ideal of

¹² See Chapter 2 for details.

the “good wife, wise mother” was a substantial driving force behind the spread of tea ceremony to women rather than the initiation of tea ceremony education by Atomi Kakei.

CHAPTER 2

MAKING TEA TO CLIMB UP THE SOCIAL HIERACHY

This chapter explores the Edo period (1603-1868) that nurtured whose culture and mores Atomi Kakei (1840-1926), an educator who is known as a pioneer of introducing the tea ceremony to girls' education in the early Meiji period (1868-1912). While following the development of men's tea ceremony in the Edo period, I will focus on how the role of women in the Edo period influenced and developed women's tea ceremony and see how they formed Atomi Kakei's philosophy of women's education.

The Edo period, which was ruled by shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) and lasted for 265 years, was a period of relative peace. During this era, the tea ceremony became popular not only among the elite, mainly the samurai, but also among common people striving for upward mobility. This led to a significant increase in the number of tea ceremony practitioners. With this expansion, the number of women practitioners also grew. To understand the development of women's involvement in the tea ceremony, it is essential to explore the influence of Confucianism on women during this period.

The tea ceremony, established by Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591), a tea master who was a merchant in Sakai (present-day Sakai City, Osaka Prefecture) in the 16th century, was primarily embraced by samurai rulers such as Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) during the Sengoku period (end of 15 century-end of 16 century), becoming intertwined with politics. In the Edo period, it was incorporated into the customs of the shogunate and became an essential means of socializing among the samurai under the rule of the Tokugawa shoguns.¹³

¹³ Kristin Surak, *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice* (Stanford University Press, 2012), 63.

During the Edo period, a distinction was made between the tea ceremony of the samurai and that of the merchants.¹⁴ Daimyo (feudal lords) associated with Sen no Rikyū, such as Furuta Oribe (1543-1615), Kobori Enshū (1579-1647), and Katagiri Sekishū (1605-1673), developed their own style of tea ceremony to suit their tastes in accordance with the samurai philosophy, some ostentatiously, while others embraced the *wabi-cha* approach.

This refined form of tea ceremony by the feudal lords, known as "*daimyo-cha*" gained popularity among a greater number of samurai and became an essential part of their culture. On the other hand, the three Sen families, Omote-Senke, Ura-Senke, and Mushanokoji-Senke, founded by direct descendants of Sen no Rikyū,¹⁵ taught *wabi-cha* style tea ceremony to elite commoners such as merchants, artisans, monks, and some farm landlords.¹⁶

Daimyo tea masters and the three Senke schools, both known as *Iemoto* (grandmaster), codified and institutionalized the tea ceremony and promoted it. Rebecca Corbett states that this *Iemoto system* was one factor that led to the development of the tea ceremony in the Edo period.¹⁷ Another major influence on the spread of the tea ceremony was the economic development in the Edo period. In the 17th century, agricultural production, commerce, and the manufacturing industry expanded throughout Japan, and more farmers and merchants accumulated wealth.¹⁸ With money and leisure time in their hands, the upstart commoners sought to acquire the culture and education of the elite.¹⁹ While there were restrictions on imitating the dress of the samurai and the various rituals of life,²⁰ they were free to acquire

¹⁴ Surak, *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice*, 63.

¹⁵ Rebecca Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan* (University of Hawaii Press, 2018), 28.

¹⁶ Surak, *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice*, 98.

¹⁷ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 25.

¹⁸ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 31.

¹⁹ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 32.

²⁰ Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 143.

education and cultural practices. In such circumstances, networks of knowledgeable and cultured individuals were formed, crossing the boundaries of different social classes such as samurai, merchants, artisans, and farmers.²¹ As a result, there was a growing trend of acquiring the refined education and culture of the elite and striving to transcend social status through personal dignity. Eiko Ikegami in *BONDS OF CIVILITY*, adds that such networks were able to exist precisely because they held meetings outside the political sphere.²² In addition to reading, writing, and abacus, they emulated a wide range of other arts, including *renga* (a linked poem), *haikai* (the origin of haiku), flower arrangement, tea ceremony, *yōkyoku* (Noh song), dancing, drumming, flute, *biwa*, *koto*, and etc.²³ These arts were referred as *yūgei* (遊芸). Historian Moriya Tsuyoshi defines *yūgei* as “various kinds of arts that a mass of amateur students enjoyed as hobbies.”²⁴ The term “*yūgei*” is thought to have appeared in the 17th century at the same time that the commoners began to study the arts, which were once limited to samurai and aristocrats.

The famous comic author, Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693) described how the commoners transcended the boundaries of their status through *yūgei*.

In general, the Osaka rich were not descendants of old families that had prospered for many generations. Most of them were the type of person who was formerly called “Kichizō” or “Sansuke” [typical “red-neck” names], but now they strive to enrich themselves. They have learned to socialize with people from “good” families while learning poetry-making, playing *kemari* [a ball game], archery, *koto*-harp, flute, drummy music, perfume game, or tea-ceremony. By that time, they have lost their countrified accents.²⁵

²¹ Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 143.

²² Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 142.

²³ Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 143.

²⁴ Moriya Takeshi, *Kinsei geinōkōgyōshi no kenkyū* 近世芸能興行史の研究 [Research on the History of Performing Arts Literature in the Early Modern Period] (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1985), 119.

²⁵ Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 150.

Ikegami explains that for those bound by a fixed status that was determined upon birth, cultural education, which allowed for companionship beyond status, must have been a liberating attraction for the common people.²⁶ She also quotes a passage from the *Chōnin bukuro* by Nishikawa Nyōken (1648-1724) to illustrate the structure behind the spread of nouveau riche's mastery of culture.

Now that the townspeople have piled up a lot of money, they proudly attempt to raise their status by aping the manners of the aristocracy and the samurai. When the rest of the people, whether educated or not, look at these newly refined city folk, they are consumed with envy and push themselves to the limit in order to imitate [their polite arts]. In this way, the behaviors associated with the polite arts became the custom of the country as a whole.²⁷

This demonstrates how townspeople, who attained economic prosperity, enhanced their social status by adopting the manners of aristocrats and samurai. Furthermore, the people around them who observed this behavior also began to imitate the same behavior, representing the expansion of cultural influences from layer to layer. As if to meet their needs, commercial publishing flourished in the late 17th century, and the books and knowledge that were previously limited to the elite in the medieval period became accessible to commoners as well.²⁸ A characteristic of this commercial publishing was that it was reader-friendly in both content and style. Classics were simplified, *kanji* characters were provided *furigana* pronunciation and accompanied by easy-to-understand illustrations.²⁹ Not limited to the classics, the publications spanned a variety of genres,³⁰ including the tea ceremony. (Figure 1)

²⁶ Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 149.

²⁷ Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 150.

²⁸ Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 292.

²⁹ Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 295, 326.

³⁰ Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture*, 326.



Figure 1. Gessai Gabimaru 月斎峨眉丸, Chayu Hayashinan 茶湯早指南 (Tokyo: 永楽屋西四郎、西村屋興八, 1809)

Corbett refers to this development of the tea ceremony by the publishing industry as another important factor.

Where, then, does the tea ceremony for women appear in this history? Although main practitioners were men, there were some female practitioners. They were wives and daughters of samurai and daughters of wealthy commoners. Women's tea ceremony procedures were not much different from those of men, but the boundaries of tea practice were limited to the inner circle, and their approach to practice was limited. This was due to the restrictions of women's social position under the influence of Confucianism.

During the Edo period, the shogunate mainly adopted Confucian studies. Among the Confucian schools, neo-Confucianism, which had a well-developed educational system, was considered the orthodox school.³¹ However, a number of instructional books for women were written by Confucian scholars. In the middle of the Edo period, *The Greater Learning for Women* (*Onna Daigaku*), by Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714) was published, and since then, didactic books based on this book as a norm became widespread.³²

Those textbooks were summaries of Confucian precepts for women contained in the four principal books collectively called *Four books for women* (*Onna Shisho*), which expressed the basic morality of women, known as the three obedience and four womanly virtues. The three obedience indicates that a woman must live under the guidance of her father, husband, and son. Subsequently, the four virtues then are consisted of woman virtue, woman speech, woman appearance, and woman skill (housework).³³ Ban Zhao (45-115), a female intellectual from China's Later Han Dynasty (25-220), described the four womanly virtues as follows.³⁴

“Womanly virtue” requires a woman to be pure, modest, chaste, and upright. When you do something, you must be aware of your shame, and your movements must be in order. “Women's speech” requires choosing words, not speaking evil words, speaking only when the time is right, and not being disliked by others. “Womanly appearance” refers to the

³¹ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT), *Bakumatsuki no kyōiku* 幕末の教育 [Education at the end of the Edo period], *Buke no kyōiku* 武家の教育 [Samurai education], https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317577.htm.

³² Oka Yasuko, “Jōshi kyōiku ni kansuru hitotsu no kōsatsu 女子教育に関する一つの考察[A Study on Women's Education]”, *Edo jidai niokeru jōshi kyōiku* [Girls' Education in the Edo Period], *Hiroshima Bunka Jōshi Tankidaigaku Kiyō* 13, (April 1980): 39, https://hbg.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=3350&item_no=1&page_id=28&block_id=66.

³³ Shitoko [Four virtues] 四徳—Futoku 婦徳、Fugen 婦言、Fuyō 婦容、Fukō 婦功

³⁴ Nin Mukei, “Rēki ni okeru josēkan – Jukyōteki joshi kyōiku no kiten 礼記における女性観—儒教的女子教育の起点[Thought on Women Depicted in the Book of Rites The Origin of Confucian Girls' Education]”, *Journal of the Graduate School of East Asian Cultures* 4, (February 2015): 107-108, <https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1050001202915318656>.

fact that they do not expose themselves to the shame of being covered in dirt and grime. Women should wash their bodies well when they are dirty, keep their clothes clean and tidy, and have neat and dignified postures and movements. Lastly, “womanly skill” requires women to be devoted to spinning and weaving... They should graciously serve their guests.³⁵

Thus, the four womanly virtues refer to their external appearance, including graceful posture and movement, as well as their internal qualities of purity, chastity, and modesty. These virtues are dedication to domestic labor and selfless service to the male head of household and family. Along with the three obedience, the womanly virtue limits women's sphere to "inside" and admonishes women not to venture into men's "outside" sphere.

In her article "Women and Literacy from Edo to Meiji," Anne Walthall discusses the modesty displayed by female writers during the Edo period. Walthall highlights that while some women produced poetry and calligraphy as gifts for friends and family, they did not actively pursue public recognition like their male counterparts. Instead, their works often remained in manuscript form or were published in local publications. She speculates that many women chose to keep their works unpublished because they were reluctant to be labeled as "unfeminine."³⁶

These teachings were also extended to women's tea ceremony, as demonstrated in a book titled *Onna kukuno koe* (1787),³⁷ *Women's multiplication table voice* (Figure 2), which provides guidance on how women should approach the practice of tea ceremony. It represents a subtle

³⁵ Sai Shukufun, "Chūgoku no joshi kyōiku shisō to jukyō 中国の女子教育思想と儒教 [The Effects of Confucianism to Women's Education in China]," *Annual report of the Humanities Research Institute : Chikushi Jogakuen University and Junior College* 25, (August 2014): 159, https://chikushi-u.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=454&item_no=1&page_id=13&block_id=21.

³⁶ Anne Walthall, "Women and Literacy from Edo to Meiji," in *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan*, ed. P. F. Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and G. G. Rowley (University of Michigan Press, 2010), 226, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.9340241>.

³⁷ Shimokōbe Shūsui, *Onna kuku no koe* 女九九乃声 [Women's multiplication table voice], (Kyoto: Masuya Ichibei 枳屋市兵衛: 1787), 12, <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/2533878>.

positioning of women's participation in tea ceremony with women's role based on the womanly virtue of Confucianism in the Edo period.



Figure 2. Shimokōbe, Shūsui 下河辺拾水, Onna kukuno koe 女九九乃声

茶の湯こそ隙あらばただならひをけ さのみ女のこるはよからず

Tea ceremony is the one you should learn if you have time. However, it is not a good idea if you seriously get involved.

At the top of the page in the book has an additional guide as follows,

男の此道の好けるはあしきにもあらず。女の此道をすけるはよろしきとはいふべからず、されど一向にしらずといふもいかずなれば、略そのみちをたしなむべきことなり

It is not bad for men to get indulged in tea ceremony, but it is not a good idea for women to get indulged. However, it is also not ideal for women not to know. Thus, women should know roughly about tea ceremony.

While these two teachings encourage women to have the basic knowledge of tea ceremony, they caution them against indulging excessively in it. This is because excessive involvement

would exceed the boundaries of women's sphere. In other words, becoming too absorbed in tea ceremony would result in acquiring more knowledge about it than the men of the household, which could upset the gender balance. Another possible reason is that too much immersion in the tea ceremony may lead women to neglect other household duties that are expected of them. In addition to that, there are other documents that highlight women's tea ceremony with a focus on Confucian moral values. Ōguchi Shōō (1689-1764), a tea ceremony master from the mid-Edo period, authored *Tojino tamoto* (1721), which was the first instructional book on tea ceremony specifically for women. This book provides descriptions and examples of the procedures and rules of tea ceremony tailored to women. Like the lesson on *Onna kukuno koe*, he advocates that women's tea ceremony should be conducted with humble morals. They should never show off their knowledge of tea ceremony. He also gives an anecdote of Murasaki Shikibu, the author of *The Tale of Genji*, to explain how women should demonstrate their modesty. Murasaki Shikibu learned Chinese studies by overhearing her elder brother learning Chinese classics, but she pretended in public that she could not read Chinese. Additionally, he encourages women to regularly practice tea ceremony, exemplified by the story of a woman, Keikyō serving tea to a guest in her husband's absence.³⁸ This teaching emphasizes the significance of being always prepared, even when the master is not present, to receive and attend to guests, or to effectively manage the household in any circumstance.

Although there are few records concerning tea ceremony in which women participated, women appear in Ii Naosuke's tea ceremony records, showing the influence of Confucianism. Ii Naosuke (1815-1860) was a daimyo of Hikone and *Tairō* of the shogunate in the late Edo period, known for his central role in the Great Prison of Ansei (1858-1860) and his assassination in Sakuradamon incident (1860). He was also known as an avid tea master. His passion as a tea master can be seen in his numerous writings on the tea ceremony, including *Collection for a Tea Gathering* (Chanoyu Ichie Shu). The transcription of the tea ceremony book specifically designed for women, *Tojino tamoto* mentioned earlier, is also one of those examples.³⁹ In the

³⁸ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 65.

³⁹ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 87.

transcription of *Tojino tamoto*, li customized it to align with his own philosophy by removing or adding parts that didn't resonate with him. He also replaced the original text, which contained many kana characters, with kanji characters, making it more suitable for himself and his female family members.⁴⁰ As seen in this example, it becomes evident that li was actively involved in instructing and involving his female family members in the practice of tea ceremony. His tea ceremony records show that a total of 30 li women attended several tea ceremonies, including his wife Masako, his adoptive mother Yōkōin, his daughter Yachiyo, his concubines Shizu and Sato, and his attendants Tase and Makio.⁴¹ While some men were also present at tea gatherings, it was limited to the members of the household, such as li Naosuke and his retainers. Furthermore, since these tea ceremonies were held only within the domain residences and daimyo residences in Edo,⁴² it can be said that samurai women practiced tea ceremony within the women's domain without contact with the outside world, and that Confucianism restricted the scope of women's activities.

Thus, the practice of tea ceremony for samurai women was conducted in a manner that required them to participate under the guidance of their husbands or fathers. In addition, as seen in the example of entertaining guests in place of the husbands, the tea ceremony was centered on men, and women were sometimes expected to play the role of men and fulfill the responsibilities of managing the household.

Then, what was the situation concerning commoner women? In the 17th century, while commoner men were busy climbing the social ladder with *yūgei*, there was a movement to have their daughters learn *yūgei* for "good marriages." This trend was to send daughters off to serve the samurai households to educate them on the samurai and aristocrats' culture. Unlike the case of men, women were formally allowed to cross the boundaries of their status through marriage. Women of a lower class were often welcomed as concubines of samurai. Tanimura Reiko states that absorbing samurai culture promised a "good marriage." Furthermore, *Morisadamankō* 守

⁴⁰ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 88.

⁴¹ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 91.

⁴² Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 95.

貞謾稿, authored by Kitagawa Morisada, a kind of encyclopedia of customs in the late Edo period, states, "If you do not serve a samurai, you will not be blessed with a good marriage."⁴³ A "good marriage" was not limited to marrying into a samurai family but also to a family that was financially or status-wise well off. Since it was necessary to learn the basics of the tea ceremony and other *yūgei* in order to become an immediate asset at the place of the service, parents sent their daughters to a *terakoya* (small learning institution) or private school to train them before serving in the samurai family. As to why music such as *koto* harp and *shamisen* (three-stringed Japanese banjo) were necessary, Utagawa Koichi points out that it was in demand because the masters of samurai households liked plays and music and had their maidens perform them.⁴⁴ After their service at the samurai house, their daughters were transformed into sophisticated upper-class women with etiquette, manners and cultures, just like "Kichizō" or "Sansuke."

In the 19th century, tea ceremony spread to women as a pleasurable activity to be practiced in their leisure time. The 1827 reprint of the Women's Teaching Great Princess Collection (*Onna Oshie Tai Zen Hime Bunko* 女教大全姫文庫),⁴⁵ a text book for women, depicts a casual tea ceremony between women (Figure 3). The important part of this is that in the left-hand panel where the woman is preparing for the tea ceremony and waiting for her female guests. Judging from the images of a house, garden, and kimono illustrated in this book, these women were likely upper-class. However, it is not easy to determine their social status from this picture

⁴³ Tanimura Reiko, "Edojidai no jyosei no keikogoto kara mita nihonishiki no kēsē" 江戸時代の女性の稽古事から見た日本意識の形成[The Formation of Japanese Consciousness from the Perspective of Women's Practice in the Edo Period], *International Japanese Studies* 13, (December 2015): 176, <http://doi.org/10.15002/00022244>.

⁴⁴ Utagawa Kōichi, *Joshi no tashinami to nihon kindai* 女子のたしなみと日本近代 [Women's Etiquette and the Japanese Modern Age] (Tokyo: Kēsōshobō, 2019), 7.

⁴⁵ Shimokōbe Shūsui, *Onna Oshie Taizen Hime Bunko* 女教大全姫文庫 [Women's Teaching Great Princess Collection], (Osaka: Tsurugaya Kyūbei 敦賀屋九兵衛, 1827), 24, <https://adeac.jp/adeac-arch/catalog/001-mp002210-200010>.

because especially in the later Edo period, samurai status was not a guarantee of wealth; on the contrary, wealthy commoners could buy even samurai status.



Figure 3. Shimokōbe, Shūsui 下河辺拾水, Onna Chanoyu Shinan in Onna Oshie Tai Zen Hime Bunko 女教大全姫文庫

In 1841, the first volume of the *Shinzō Onna Shorei Ayanishiki* 新增女諸礼綾錦, a women's guide book, says "tea ceremony is popular all over the country, and it is difficult to get along with someone if they do not know the tea ceremony etiquette."⁴⁶ Although in the past women followed their family tea ceremony, now it has become an ordinary pleasure for them to conduct without men. This book recommends women learn the basic etiquette of tea ceremony to socialize with other women.

Thus, the tea ceremony for women in the Edo period was based on Confucianism and was male-centered, but by the end of the Edo period, the tea ceremony deviated from the conventional practice for the purpose of socializing with other women. In the Meiji period, as

⁴⁶ Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, 103.

explained in the following chapter, tea ceremony began to be recognized as a practice for women, because of political and societal movements, but it may be possible that such a development was made feasible due to the groundwork laid during that time.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN'S NEW ROLE, EDUCATION AND TEA CEREMONY

In this chapter, I explore the connection between tea ceremony and women during the Meiji period and how it was formed through the process of nation-work. According to Kristin Surak, nation-work is a “material condition both of nationalism, as a movement or ideology, and of nationness, as a form of collective existence.”⁴⁷ She attempted to make obscure set of activities behind the creation of the idea of a modern nation “identifiable and tangible.” In other words, nation-work is to recognize not only consciously conducted nation-forming activities, but also everyday activities which were unconsciously conducted for nation-forming work. During the Meiji Era (1868-1912), people in various fields were diligently engaged in nation-building. Although women and women’s tea ceremony have not received much attention as front-runners in nation-building, I intend to shine a light on them and examine how women and women’s tea ceremonies were connected to the state, that is, how they performed the nation-work.

While men consciously incorporated ideology into the tea ceremony and aimed for the tea ceremony to be recognized externally as a traditional Japanese art form, women quietly conducted the tea ceremony in the home. In order to explain why making tea at home by women is linked to nation-building, it is necessary to understand the role of women as good wives and wise mothers at that time. The theory of "good wives, wise mothers" is that in the heightened national consciousness following the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895 (Meiji 27-28), creating good wives and wise mothers was thought to lead to the wealth and strength of the nation.⁴⁸ Through this theory, women were expected to support their families as good wives and wise mothers and contribute to the formation of the nation. In order to mass-produce these good wives and wise mothers, the state established girls’ secondary schools throughout

⁴⁷ Surak, *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice*, 3.

⁴⁸ Koyama Shizuko, *Ryōsai kenbō to iu kihan 良妻賢母という規範* [Good wife, wise mother code] (Tokyo: Keisōshobō, 2022), 44.

the country. According to Surak, one of the effective methods of nation-work is dissemination through education.⁴⁹ The tea ceremony was introduced to girls' education to help them acquire feminine manners, the same as the general education and education necessary to take on household chores and childcare. In this way, the tea ceremony was linked to the concept of good wives and wise mothers, and women's tea ceremony contributed to the formation of modern Japan.

The activities of these men and women, both at home and abroad, whether consciously or not, have resulted in the recognition of tea ceremony as a Japanese art form and established it as a part of Japanese women's etiquette. Thus, the development of the tea ceremony for women would not have been possible without the concept of nation-building.

At the beginning of the Meiji era, the tea ceremony suffered a severe blow in popularity because it was thought to be a symbol of the old regime, in contradiction to Westernization and modernization. In addition, the status system was abolished, and the samurai themselves, who were the main body of the population performing the tea ceremony, disappeared as a class. With it, tea ceremony utensils and tea houses lost their value. Many considered *yūgei* including tea ceremony to be a futile pursuit. A *Yomiuri* newspaper article in July 1875 (Meiji 8) showed that a greater number of parents were encouraging their daughters to stop learning *yūgei* and take up writing and calligraphy instead.⁵⁰ Quickly, however, new business leaders re-evaluated the tea ceremony, and it regained its popularity. Then after 1900, intellectuals such as Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心 who introduced tea ceremony to the West in English, and Tanaka Sensho 田中仙樵 who was a member of the Japan Tea Ceremony Society 大日本茶道学会, consciously linked the tea ceremony to the significance of the nation and promoted both in and outside of the country. In this way, the tea ceremony was to be used for nation-building and the formation of a more powerful nation.

⁴⁹ Surak, *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice*, 4.

⁵⁰ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, July 9, 1875, Yomiuri Database Service.

Then, how can women's tea ceremonies be linked to nation-building? To establish the connection, it is essential to clarify the role of women during the Meiji era.

During the Edo period, women were expected to meekly obey three generations of men in their families and were not allowed to engage in child rearing. According to Koyama Shizuko, a mother's love for her children was viewed negatively in the Edo period. She believes that it is because motherly love was generally considered too emotional. She also explained that, in effect, mothers could teach their daughters what they needed, but they did not have knowledge necessary for their sons, such as Chinese classics, mathematics, martial arts, or male manners and etiquette and, if they were merchants, knowledge of the family business.⁵¹ This is because it was sufficient for women to be able to read and write to the extent necessary for daily life.

However, in the early Meiji era, Western influences imposed on mothers the role of educating their children. Koyama points out that in the late 19th century, the educational role of mothers was already emphasized in Western societies, and since Japan had devoted so much energy to ingesting Western civilization, this should naturally have been brought to Japan as well.⁵² For example, Isabella Beeton's *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*, published in England in 1861, boomed in the English-speaking countries and was introduced to Japan, conveying the importance of women's role in household management and child rearing.⁵³ A renowned educator, Fukuzawa Yukichi, who is said to have had a major influence on the school system, was also familiar with Western affairs, and must have been influenced by the West to formulate a policy for girls' education. Meanwhile, in implementing the school system, the Ministry of Education summarized its basic policy on school education in nine articles. Article 3 states that girls in general should receive the same education as boys and adds the reasons for promoting girls' education as follows: "The success or failure of a child depends on the wisdom of its mother, and since today's girls are tomorrow's mothers, the promotion of primary

⁵¹ Koyama, Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan, 21-22.

⁵² Koyama, Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan, 37.

⁵³ Koyama, Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan, 29.

education for girls was considered essential.”⁵⁴ Fukuzawa Yukichi shared similar sentiments and advocated for equality in education between men and women in his book, *An Encouragement of Learning* (*Gakumon-no-susume*, 1872). He advocated "practical learning" for all citizens, stressing the importance of "practical studies" such as reading and writing, mathematics, geology, physics, economics, and ethics instead of traditional subjects such as Chinese studies and waka poetry, which were generally taught in the Edo period. Furthermore, he criticized the prevailing societal norms of the Edo period, particularly the concept of women's three obediences in his work titled *New Greater Learning for Women* (*Shjin Onna Daigaku*, 1899). He argued that women should be rational individuals with their own will. According to the current Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, the new school system differed from the Confucian-based education of the Edo period so much so that it explicitly criticized and eliminated Confucian thought.⁵⁵

In August 1872 (Meiji 5), the school system was promulgated, providing eight years of elementary education for all citizens aged 6 and above. Secondary schools for ages 14 to 17 were also established. However, since girls' secondary education was not considered important to the state, there were no special provisions for girls' secondary education.⁵⁶ This is evidenced by the fact that the only government-run school for girls in the early Meiji period was the Tokyo Girls' School established in 1872, while a number of private Christian missionary schools were established during that period. It can be said that the private schools were laissez-faire because the government had not yet established guidelines for girls' education.⁵⁷ The school system

⁵⁴ Fukui Mamoru, "Meiji shoki joshi kyōiku no sho monndai (1)" 明治初期の教育の諸問題 (1) [A Study on the Problems of Women's Education in the Early Stage of Meiji (1)], *Bulletin of Tokyo Women's College of Physical Education and Tokyo Women's Junior College of Physical Education* 11, (March 1976): 50, https://twcpe.repo.nii.ac.jp/search?page=1&size=20&sort=controlnumber&search_type=2&q=117.

⁵⁵ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXTA), *Gakusei no kyōiku rinen* 学制の教育理念 [Educational Philosophy of the School System], https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317581.htm.

⁵⁶ Koyama, Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan, 43.

⁵⁷ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXTA), *Meiji shoki no joshi kyōiku* 明治初期の女子教育 [Women's education in the early Meiji period], https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317595.htm.

followed Western systems such as France, the Netherlands, and the United States. However, contrary to the government's wishes, enrollment rates were low, especially among girls. In 1879 (Meiji 12), the elementary school enrollment rate was 58% for boys and 22% for girls.⁵⁸ It was even lower for girls' secondary education. Although the government regarded school subjects as practical studies, it did not resonate with many parents. Girls' parents did not send their girls to school because they would rather have them improve their domestic skills and traditional feminine virtues.⁵⁹ In addition, as seen in the Blood Tax Revolts, the school system put a strain on the finances of many local governments.⁶⁰

In 1873 (Meiji 6), an educator, Nishimura Shigeki made an inspection tour of the countryside and saw how schools in many areas had become detached from the people, and in particular, how moral education was neglected. Nishimura adopted a policy of returning to national morality while accepting pragmatic knowledge and ideas.⁶¹ Not only Nishimura, but also Motoda Nagasane and other Confucian scholars who questioned Western education had a strong influence on the shift in educational policy.⁶² Furthermore, the suppression of the Liberal Civil Rights Movement since 1874 (Meiji 7) generated the Confucian emphasis on moral education.⁶³ As the liberal civil rights ideology introduced from Europe grew stronger, the government tried to suppress it. As a result, Westernization since the Meiji Restoration shifted

⁵⁸ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXTA), *Shō gakkō no shūgaku jōkyō* 小学校の就学状況 [Elementary school enrollment], https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317581.htm.

⁵⁹ Koyama, Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan, 59.

⁶⁰ Blood Tax Revolts 血税一揆 (1873) is a series of violent uprisings against various new policies including conscription, the school system, the solar calendar, and the emancipation of former outcasts.

⁶¹ Sakai Reiko, "Kindai Rēmēki · Dōtoku kyōikuron wo meguru sōkoku to ryōgisē -Nakamura Masanao no kyōikuron wo chūshinni-" 近代黎明期・道德教育論をめぐる相克と両義性—中村正直の教育論を中心に— [Conflict and Ambiguity at the Dawn of Modern Japan and Moral Education : Centering around Educational Theories of Nakamura Masanao], *Hokusei Gakuen University Repository for Academic Resources*, 48(1), (September 2010): 5, <https://hokusei.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/1600>.

⁶² Sakai Reiko, "Kindai Rēmēki," 5.

⁶³ Sakai Reiko, "Kindai Rēmēki," 3.

toward conservatism.⁶⁴ Thus, the movement to change the policy of education came both from the people and the government. Accordingly in 1879 (Meiji 12), *Kyōgaku Seishi* 教学聖旨, or the Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education⁶⁵ was enacted. *Kyōgaku Seishi* was a fundamental educational policy drafted by Motoda Nagasane, a Confucian scholar and tutor to the emperor, and promulgated in the name of emperor.⁶⁶ It was a policy of education that blended Japanese and Western influences. That is, it was not entirely about criticism of Western-style education but rather an adjustment that Confucian ethics, such as moral principles of humanity, justice, loyalty, and filial piety, were regarded as the foundation to which Western learning methods should be added. The *Kyōgaku Seishi* proudly states that this should be a policy that is unique to Japan and nothing to be ashamed of to the world.⁶⁷ It was the first time the emperor was involved in public education policy. Because of this significant shift, the period up to the 12th year of Meiji is considered very liberal and different from the subsequent period.⁶⁸ *Kyōgaku Seishi* became the predecessor of Imperial Rescript on Education 教育勅語 (1890), which was sanctified to the extreme during World War II.

⁶⁴ Akimoto Mitsuhiro, “Meiji zenki ni okeru kindai kyōiku no tenkai to jukyōdōtoku” 明治前期における近代教育の展開と儒教道徳 [The Development of Modern Education and Confucian Morality in the Early Meiji Period], *The society for educational research of Nihon University* 24, (1990): 34, https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/nihondaigakukyōikugakkai/24/0/24_KJ00009738943/_article/-char/ja.

⁶⁵ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXTA), *The Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education*, https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317297.htm.

⁶⁶ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXTA), *The Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education*.

⁶⁷ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXTA), *Kyōgaku Seishi no kisō* 教学聖旨 [Drafting of The Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education], https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317585.htm.

⁶⁸ Ito Hiroshi, “Kyōikushi kara mita bakumatsuki kara meiji shoki no kyōiku” 教育史から見た幕末期から明治初期の教育 [Japanese Education from Late Edo to Early Meiji], *Otemae University and Junior College* 12, (March 2012) : 23, https://otemae.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=37&item_no=1&page_id=33&block_id=62.

In the early Meiji period, Japan actively adopted Western knowledge, technology, and culture neglecting Japanese tradition. However, around 1880's, Japan began reexamining its own customs and manners, and to consider the pros and cons of the West as well as of the East, particularly China, where Confucianism is taught. Consequently, the Ministry of Education released instructions about girls' secondary education to each prefecture in March 1882 (Meiji 15). This instruction of memorandum emphasized the need to provide middle- and upper-class girls with a proper and adequate education.⁶⁹ The following is a summary of the appropriate subjects allocated to girls' secondary schools.⁷⁰

Omit: English, algebra, trigonometry, economics, Japanese laws, ordinances, etc.

Impose: Moral/ethics, Japanese/Chinese literature, calligraphy, drawing, etc.

Add: Sewing, domestic work, domestic economy, women's etiquette, music, etc.

MEXT interprets that the memorandum instructed to provide education specific to girls, focusing on cultivating chastity, ladylikeness, and mildness in the feminine virtues. Notably this policy allowed each school to incorporate tea ceremony and flower arrangement into "women's manners" at their own choice. Meanwhile, as the tea ceremony was reclaiming its place as a traditional Japanese art form and becoming a part of a trend against Westernization, educators naturally took notice. Tachibana Yoshie indicates that in response to this memorandum from the Ministry of Education, Tokyo Joshi Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Kōtō Jogakkō 東京女子師範学校附属高等女学校, after its predecessor, Tokyo Girl's School, was closed, included "women's etiquette" as part of its curriculum and incorporated tea ceremony and flower arrangement in July 1882 (Meiji 15).⁷¹ Since then, *yūgei*, which had been neglected since

⁶⁹ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXTA), *Meiji shoki no joshi kyōiku*.

⁷⁰ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXTA), *Meiji shoki no joshi kyōiku*.

⁷¹ Tachibana Yoshie, "Jogakusē to kadō • sadō" 女学生と華道・茶道 [School girls and Flower arrangement / Tea ceremony], *The Japan Society of Educational Sociology*, (September 2004): 306, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/view/download/digidepo_10620055_po_ART0007298311.pdf?contentNo=1&alternativeNo=.

the Meiji restoration, was officially accepted as part of women's etiquette education. As seen from the expression "etc.," the government, however, showed a flexible attitude toward subjects. Thus, schools could include tea ceremony, although the instruction did not explicitly state "tea ceremony."⁷² It should be noted, however, while special courses for women were added, some core subjects such as English and algebra were removed from the curriculum, and overall, this shift has resulted in the degradation of women's education. Koyama Shizuko calls this educational policy a "double-edged sword," that lowered the level of instruction while increasing the number of women receiving secondary education through the expansion of girls' schools.⁷³

The difference of girls' education in the early and mid-Meiji period can be clearly seen in the experiences of two generations, the mother, Chise Aoyama, and the daughter, Kikue Yamakawa, discussed in Patricia Tsurumi's article, "The State, Education, and Two Generations of Women in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912." Educated in the early Meiji era, Aoyama Chise had access to advanced learning, making it easy for her to satisfy her intellectual needs. During the period, with the opening of Japan to Western civilization, girls were able to receive an education almost equal to that of boys. Not only did they have access to advanced level of education, but girls also had the freedom to interact with boys, represented by coeducational boarding houses, which allowed girls including Chise to broaden their horizons. Whereas her daughter, Yamakawa Kikue, who started to go to school in 1895 (Meiji 28), was never satisfied with school education. In particular, she disliked "dreary talk" of becoming a "good wife and wise mother" that restricted girls' intellect and subjected girls to mediocrity.⁷⁴ Therefore, she had to fulfill her intellectual needs outside of school by reading newspapers and attending private study groups, which were forbidden in girls' schools.

⁷² Tachibana Yoshie, "Jogakusē to kadō • sadō," 306.

⁷³ Koyama, Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan, 49.

⁷⁴ E. Patricia Tsurumi, "The State, Education, and Two Generations of Women in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal. English Supplement*, no. 18 (2000): 12, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42772154>.

Furthermore, *Warbler in the Grove* (*Yabu no Uguisu*, 1888) by Miyake Kaho, describes the situation of female students during the transitional period between the early and middle Meiji period. Some female students are immersed in their studies, while others, influenced by social theories, are wary of their friends who study too much. The conversation gives the impression that the latter is becoming mainstream. It also illustrates the growing national consciousness among female students that patriotism is for the good of the nation. Furthermore, it also proves that they recognize that it is the role of women to marry and bear healthy children for the sake of the nation. To this end, they offer two arguments that women should not study: the first is disguised as a pseudo-scientific theory that studying too much weakens babies, but the second is a logical argument that if women study and have jobs, they will not marry and have babies.

(Part 6) "These days it is said that it is very problematic to allow women to study, you know. I heard that if a woman studies too much, like Aizawa-san, her spirit will weaken, and she will only give birth to weak babies."⁷⁵

(第6部) 「この頃は女に学問をさせるのが大変に問題とされていますよ。あんまり相沢さんのように、勉強をしすぎると精神が弱って、弱い赤ちゃんしか産めなくなるそうです」

(Part 6) "There is a theory among scholars at this time that it would be better not to let women study and let them all be uneducated and illiterate. It is claimed that since women will become teachers with some learning and will not marry, the people will not reproduce and therefore will not be patriotic."⁷⁶

(第6部) 「この頃の学者たちの間では、女に学問をさせないで皆な無学文盲にしてしまった方がよかろうという説があります。女は少し学問があると先生に

⁷⁵ Miyake Kaho, *Yabu no uguisu* 藪の鶯 [Warbler in the Grove] (n.p.: Kinkōdō, 1888), Part 6.

⁷⁶ Miyake Kaho, *Yabu no uguisu*, Part 6.

なり、主人を持つ結婚をしないようになるので、人民が繁殖しませんから愛国心がないと主張されています」

This conversation captures the trend away from the education of wise mothers in the early Meiji era and back to the conservative direction of the Edo period, in which women don't need education. It also indicates the emergence of scholars who believe that women should bear children rather than have education and deny even wise mother education for the sake of the nation.

Amid mixed expectations of women's roles, women who had been given the role of wise mothers in the early Meiji period began to acquire a new role as good wives and wise mothers in the formation of the nation from the mid-Meiji period onward. In the early Meiji period, the necessity of the mother's role in raising her children was discussed for the construction of a modern nation, but her role as a wife or daughter-in-law was not discussed because it was difficult to link her role to the state, although it would benefit the private, internal interests of the family. However, in the mid-Meiji period, the roles of wife and daughter-in-law came to be associated with the state.⁷⁷ Thus, the idea of a good wife and wise mother gradually took shape. Women came to be expected to keep the house in order and support their husbands for the country, which Yamakawa Kikue described as “dreary talk.”

During the upsurge of nationalism following the victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), women's education became a crucial topic.⁷⁸ Japan continued to voraciously absorb Western knowledge and solidified the specific role of women and women's education.

In 1895 (Meiji 28), Hosokawa Junjirō's paper “Relationship between National Power and Girls' Education” was published. The paper compares Korea, Turkey, Egypt, and other countries with Western countries such as the United Kingdom, France, and the United States and indicates that the degree of progress in girls' education is one of the reference standards for measuring

⁷⁷ Koyama, Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan, 39-40.

⁷⁸ Koyama, Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan, 41.

the strength or weakness of a nation. He argues that the development of girls' education helps their future husbands and fosters women's national consciousness, so that educated women ultimately make the nation stronger and wealthier.⁷⁹ This reflects the "good wife" aspect. Thus, with the rise of nationalism, women as a good wife in addition to a wise mother are actively integrated into national policy as important national human resources.

Consequently, the government promulgated the "Girls' School Ordinance " in 1899 (Meiji 32), requiring each prefecture to establish a girls' secondary school, which led to the rapid spread of girls' schools. The Minister of Education, Kabayama Sukenori, stated the following at a meeting of local school inspectors in 1899 (Meiji 32.)

“The purpose of secondary education is to prepare girls to become wise mothers and good wives who will marry into middle-class or higher families in the future. To this end, they must be trained to be graceful, lofty, gentle, and chaste and to understand and adopt the academic and technical skills necessary for a middle-class or higher life.”

From this time onward, the government established the role of women as good wives and wise mothers for the nation and spread it throughout the country.

Furthermore, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, an educator and editor of *Jogaku Zasshi*, contributed to spread the ideal of a good wife and wise mother to his readers in the magazine, explaining the role of the woman in a way that readers could easily understand and added his own interpretation. He explains that women's role is to provide shelter for children and a place of rest for husbands who work or fight outside the home, making women "guardians of the interior" and "queens of the household.”⁸⁰ In addition, Iwamoto insists on the importance of Western learning such as science, chemistry, geography, astronomy, and other studies for women who take care of the house as long as it is useful for women's domestic work. Iwamoto linked studying with housework, calling it "domestic and physical science," and describes the purpose of studying as

⁷⁹ Koyama, Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan, 44.

⁸⁰ Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). 26.

follows. “Science helps her in building a fire; chemistry, in cooking; geography, in setting up house; and astronomy, in determining the weather.”⁸¹

Subsequently, gender difference studies based on science were introduced in Japan. It is noteworthy that gender-specific roles and theory were discussed not only in Confucianism, but also in the West during this period. In his 1905 (Meiji 38) book, *The Observation of Girls Education (Joshi Kyōiku Kanken)*, Murakami Senshō, an educator and historian of Buddhism, theorized through physiology and psychology the importance of biological differences between men and women, and explained how specifically women should be cultivated to become contributing members of the country. In his theory, it is necessary to educate women to elevate away from their innate childish emotions (crying and laughing without thinking things through), which are their disadvantages, to aesthetic emotions, in which they excel.⁸² Murakami recommends women learn painting, novels, music, singing, sewing, flower arrangement, tea ceremony, and etiquette because these arts are relatively close to women’s character.⁸³

Thus, the concept of good wives and wise mothers, established in the mid- to late-Meiji period, was intended to incorporate women into the nation, in other words, it was an educational policy for national wealth and military power. The specific role of women was to raise children, maintain the home, and provide comfort to their husbands, with the awareness that they contribute to the nation by supporting the family. The education required for this was a general education to manage the household and have conversations with her husband about his work, as well as housework and sewing skills and feminine etiquette. The tea ceremony corresponded with the role of a woman who could comfort her tired husband and greet guests with feminine courtesy.

⁸¹ “Ikkazoku no jōō 一家族の女王 [Queen of a family],” *Jogaku zasshi* 女学雑誌, March 24, 1888, 23, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015049749933&view=1up&seq=894>.

⁸² Murakami Senshō, *Jōshi kyōiku kanken* 女子教育管見 [The Observation of Girls Education], (Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1905), 158-159, <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/808876>.

⁸³ Murakami Senshō, *Jōshi kyōiku kanken*, 159.

In *Warbler in the Grove* (*Yabu no Uguisu*), two men give the following details about the women they prefer as wives. It seems to represent the male preference for women in this period.

(Part 11) When I come home, I have nothing to think about. When I'm reading something and my mind is tired, I let her play *koto* and make a cup of tea. I even have conversation with her about literature. Such things make me feel much better.⁸⁴

(第11部) うちへかえってもかんがえるようなことはないのさ。何か読書でもしていい気の尽きる時には。琴を弾かせたり茶を入れさせたり。少しは文学の相談もしたり。よほど気の晴れることがある。

From the husband's perspective, he is indeed comfortable, but his wife appears to be a convenient woman. While women may be queens in some aspects of the household, they still seem to remain in a position of subservience to men.

In the mid-Meiji period, the number of girls' schools that incorporated tea ceremony education increased due to this demand for good wives and wise mothers. Although the introduction of tea ceremony was observed in many schools, it is necessary to ascertain how many schools actually incorporated tea ceremony since it was not a required subject.

Figure 4 shows the cumulative numbers of secondary girls' schools in Tokyo from 1872 (Meiji 5) till 1920 (Taisho 9) and the number of secondary girls' schools that introduced tea ceremony during the same period. I obtained this data by examining the applications for school openings filed in Tokyo available in *Tokyo Prefecture's educational history series* 東京教育史資料大系.⁸⁵ The data presented with the grey line shows the cumulative number of secondary girls' schools in Tokyo. The data in green shows the cumulative number of secondary girls' schools that adopted tea ceremony. This analysis shows that after a relatively slow period from 1882 (Meiji 15) to 1898 (Meiji 31), the main growth occurs for both the number of schools and the number of schools with tea ceremony coincides from about 1899 (Meiji 32) to 1909 (Meiji 42). Not only do the two graphs coincide, but also both numbers rapidly increase. Thus, this about ten years

⁸⁴ Miyake Kaho, *Yabu no uguisu*, Part 11.

⁸⁵ *Tōkyō kyōikushi shiryō taiei* 東京教育史資料大系 [Tokyo Prefecture's educational history series] Volume 1-10.

appear to be the time for tea ceremony to spread among girls' schools in Tokyo. For reference, the ratio of the number of schools that adopted tea to the total number of schools from 1888 to 1899 averaged 29 percent, compared to an average of 39 percent from 1900 to 1909.

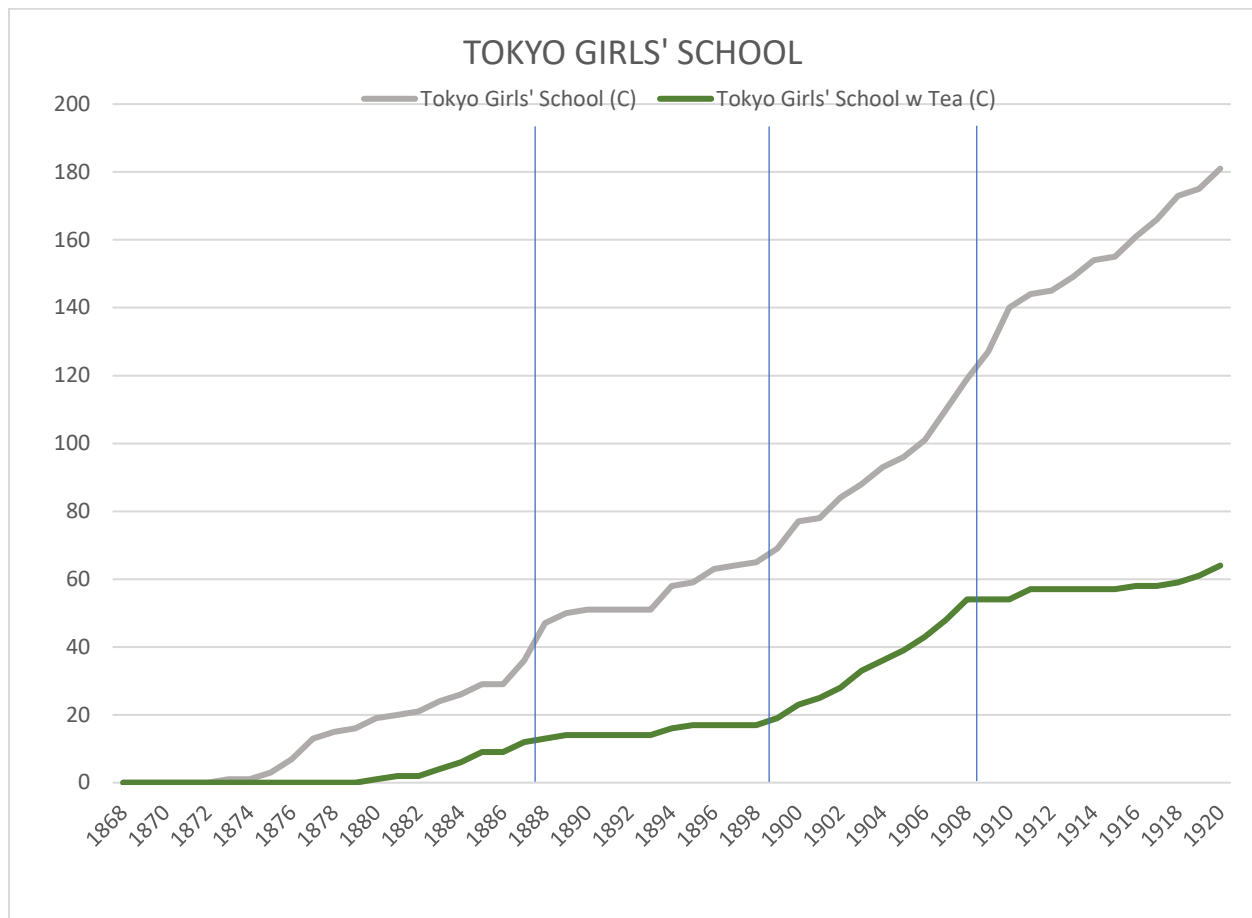


Figure 4. Tokyo girls' schools and Tokyo girls' schools that incorporated tea ceremony from 1872 (Meiji 5) to 1920 (Taisho 9). The figure was drawn based on number of schools counted from Tokyo Prefecture's educational history series 東京教育史資料大系

Figure 5 below shows the cumulative numbers of secondary girls' schools in the nation from 1873 (Meiji 6) to 1920 (Taisho 9). The data of the national number of secondary girls' schools were obtained from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.⁸⁶ In Tokyo, the number of girls' schools and tea ceremony schools has been gradually increasing since

⁸⁶ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXTA), *Meiji 6 ne ikō kyōiku ruinen tōkei* 明治 6 年以降教育累年統計 [Cumulative Statistics on Education since 1873], Table 5, https://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/11509864/www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318190.htm.

1873 (Meiji 6), but nationwide, the number of girls' schools was very small in the early Meiji period and increased gradually after introducing the “good wife, wise mother” in 1895 (Meiji 28) and boosted after issuing Girls’ School Ordinance in 1899 (Meiji 32). This indicates that girls' schools, primarily concentrated in large cities such as Tokyo, have also spread nationwide since then. Similarly, the number of schools with tea is estimated to have increased along with the number of schools.

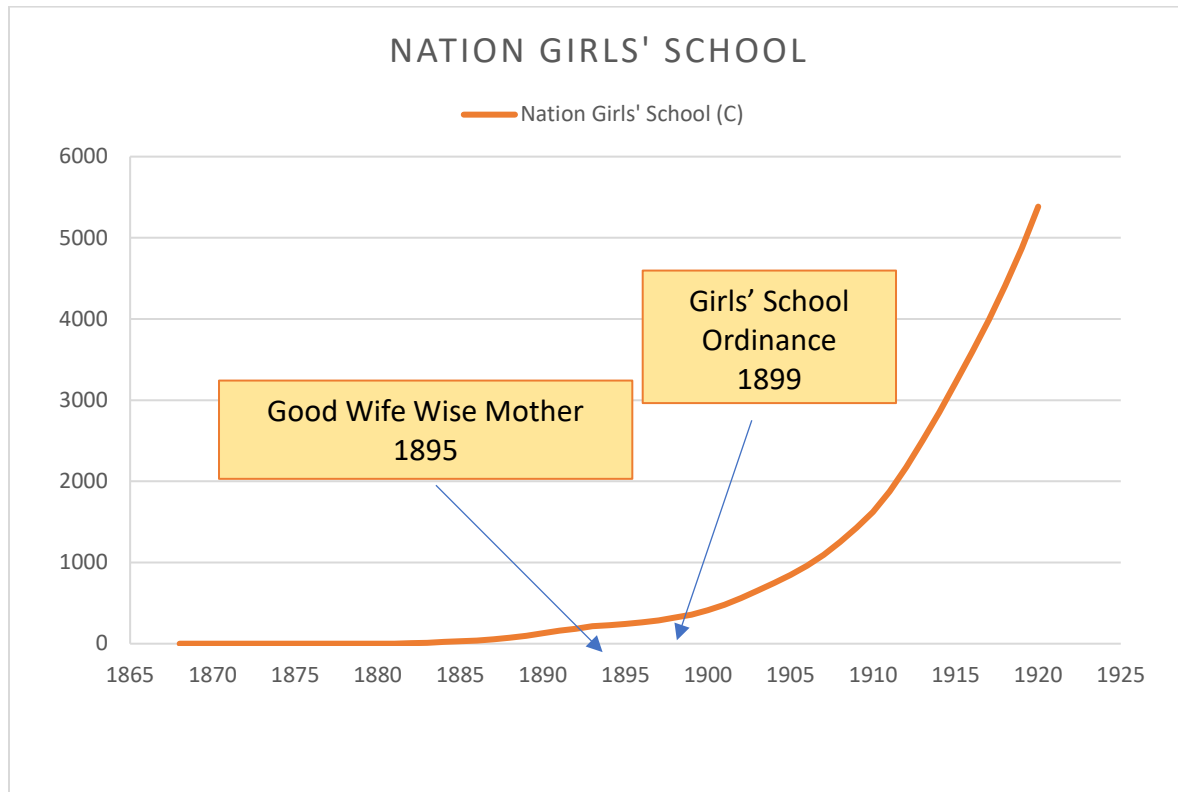


Figure 5. Nation girls' schools from 1873 (Meiji 6) to 1920 (Taisho 9). The numbers were taken from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.

The Tokyo Prefecture's educational history series 東京教育史資料大系⁸⁷ archives school opening applications and materials on education in Tokyo from the promulgation of the school system in 1872 (Meiji 5) to the revision of the education system in 1947 (Showa 22). These records were helpful in finding the number of secondary girls' schools and secondary girls'

⁸⁷ Tōkyō kyōikushi shiryō taiei 東京教育史資料大系 [Tokyo Prefecture's educational history series] Volume 1-10.

schools that taught tea ceremony. During this analysis, I considered schools that listed the following names of courses as schools that possibly taught tea ceremonies.

“chanoyu”, “tencha”, “chaji”, “sado”, “chashiki”, “jyorei”, “reishiki”, “reisetsu”,
“reigi”, “reiho”, “saho”⁸⁸

It should be noted that for some schools’ cases, the data analysis was a little challenging because: 1) tea ceremonies, which were added later to the initially established schools, do not appear on the record, and 2) some schools do not specify the subject on the application.

Utakawa Kōichi studied photographs of women related to *yūgei* published in the magazine *Fujin Gaho* in his article “The Place of Ideal Daughter Education and the Performing Arts in the Prewar Period 戦前期における理想的な娘の教養と遊芸の位置.” This study shows that from 1900 to 1910, the magazine introduced *yūgei* as a group activity by publishing pictures of tea ceremony and flower arrangements at girls’ secondary schools, school events, flower arrangement competitions, and *koto* recitals.⁸⁹ From 1910, however, Utakawa indicates that *yūgei* is introduced as more like a personal hobby for women. The graph generated by Utakawa⁹⁰ below (Figure 6) shows the number of photos of individual young women who learned *yūgei*. From this study, tea ceremony classes were more likely to be conducted actively and widely in girls’ secondary schools from 1900 to 1910, which corresponds with my above graph analysis. However, thereafter, the time spent on teaching tea ceremony in schools and the number of schools teaching tea ceremony at schools declined and the activity was shifted to private spheres. Tea ceremony may have been initially incorporated into school education as a “manner” or

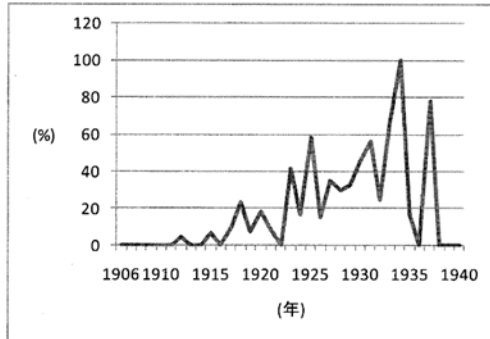
⁸⁸ 「茶の湯」「點茶」「茶」「茶事」「茶道」「茶式」「女礼」「礼式」「礼節」「礼儀」「礼法」「作法」

⁸⁹ Utakawa Kōichi, “Senzenki ni okeru risōtekina musume no kyōyō to yūgei no ichi 戦前期における理想的な娘の教養と遊芸の位置 [The ideal daughter’s education and position in yūgei in the prewar period],” *The Japan Society of Educational Sociology* 63, (September 2011):257, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/view/download/digidepo_10621189_po_ART0009891909.pdf?contentNo=1&alternativeNo=.

⁹⁰ Utakawa Kōichi, “Senzenki ni okeru risōtekina musume no kyōyō to yūgei,” 257.

“moral,” but once tea ceremony became popular as a personal hobby for women, teaching tea ceremony with much effort in school education was probably no longer needed.

図1:『婦人画報』グラビアにおける遊芸をたしなむ令嬢の割合(5月号)



注)ここでは、刊行数が多い5月号の結果を掲載する。具体的には、グラビアの中から、「〇〇家の」「娘」、「長女」、「令嬢」等として登場する人物をカウントし、それらのうち、遊芸を(に)「稽古している」「たしなんでいる」「励んでいる」と紹介される娘の割合を算出した。

Figure 6. Ratio of photos in Fujin Gaho magazine, of individual young women who is learning yūgei created by Utakawa Kōichi

I integrated Utakawa's graph (Figure 6) into Tokyo girls' school graph (Figure 4) to see how school tea ceremony grew and changed from group tea class at the school to individual learning at private tea school, presenting Figure 7. The lag period after 1910 indicates that the school tea ceremony faded, but individual learning took over the school tea ceremony.

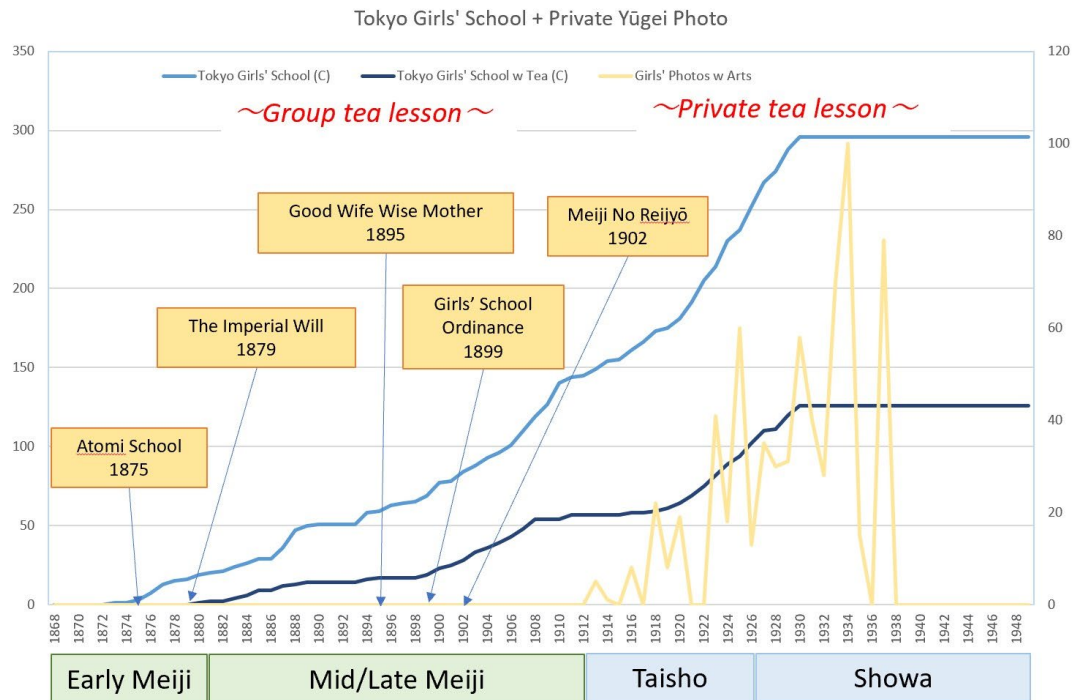


Figure 7. Chart combining Tokyo girls' schools, Tokyo girls' schools incorporating the tea ceremony (Figure 4) and individual yūgei learning (Figure 6).

“Meiji no Reijyō” [Daughter of Meiji] is a series of articles that introduced profiles of one young woman daily for 50 days in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in October 1902 (Meiji 35). Likewise, soon after, the “Tōsei Hyakunin Musume” [100 Girls of Today] series introduced 100 women in 1903 (Meiji 36), as well as the “Katei no Hana” [Flowers in the Home] series, which introduced 50 women in 1904 (Meiji 37). The term *reijyō* is defined as a daughter of a good family according to the *Daijirin* dictionary, so “Meiji no Reijyō” is “a daughter of a good family in Meiji.” This series is designed to help young unmarried women promote their personal information to a wider audience in order to find a marriage partner. The profile of each young woman reveals personal information such as portrait, name, address, father’s name and occupation, schools, personality, the state of the family, lessons, and hobbies (Figure 8.)⁹¹ Many of these daughters showed their completion of girls’ secondary school graduates and a series of *yūgei* lessons, such as tea

⁹¹ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 18, 1902, Yomiuri Database Service.

ceremony, flower arrangement, *koto*, and western instruments like piano and violin. Some indicated particular tea ceremony school names such as Urasenke and Sekishu-ryū, for their tea ceremony learning. It is difficult to discern whether girls learned tea ceremony at the secondary girls' schools they graduated from, at a private institution outside the school, or both the school and a private institution. Girls' secondary schools often invited tea ceremony teachers from tea schools outside, so we do not know where they learned. For example, Kyoto girls' school invited a teacher from Urasenke-school, so it can be said that the students learned tea ceremony at Urasenke-school.

Here, an example of an ideal image of a woman pursued for “good wife, wise mother,” appears in front of the public. The *reijyō* daughters flaunt their titles as graduates of girls' school and their *yūgei*, and they seemed to symbolize Japanese womanhood. Ironically, however, these women's own sales pitch is incompatible with the Confucian and traditional modesty of women. This may be a manifestation of women being brought out into the public by “good wife, wise mother.” In this way, tea ceremony was established as a sound hobby for *reijyō*. Women who graduated from girls' schools and learned tea ceremony and other *yūgei* very likely became icons and had a great influence on many other women. Kuroiwa Hisako states a similar theory in her book that the image of *reijyō* in magazines at the end of the Meiji period influenced middle-class women to follow the belongings of the image, such as cosmetics, facial treatment, etc.⁹² Soon later, women's magazines took the role of having more influence. The article of *Yomiuri Shimbun* of May 7, 1904 (Meiji 37) (Figure 9) states, “Tea ceremony has now become a women's *yūgei*.”⁹³

⁹² Kurosawa Hisako, *Meiji no ojōsama* 明治のお嬢さま [Daughters of Meiji], (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2008), 153.

⁹³ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, May 7, 1904, Yomiuri Database Service.



Figure 8. "Meiji no Reijyō," Yomiuri Shimbun, March 18, 1902 (Meiji 35).

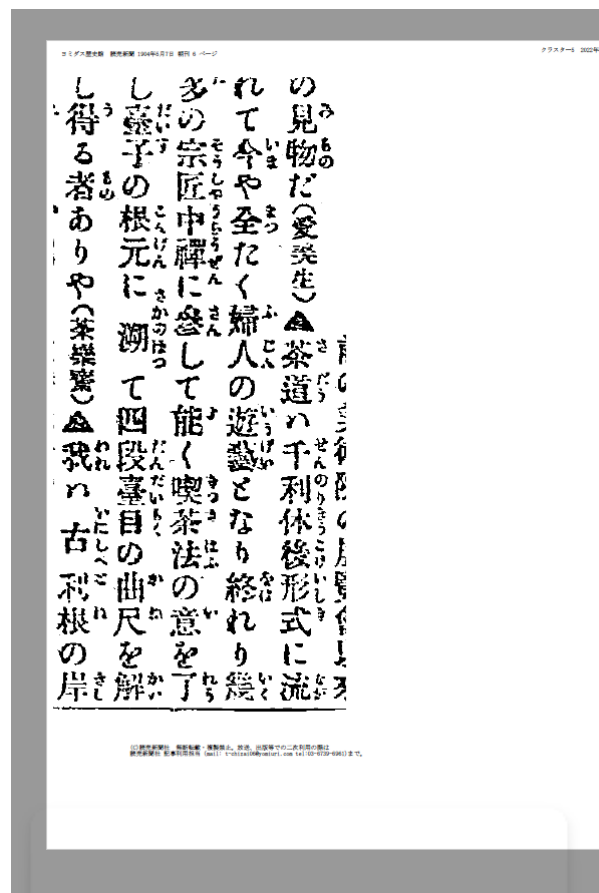


Figure 9. Yomiuri Shimbun, May 7, 1904 (Meiji 37).

茶道は千利休後、形式に流れて、今や全く婦人の遊芸となり終われり。幾多の宗匠中禪に参してよく喫茶法の意を了し台子の根源にさかのぼって4段台目の曲尺を解し得る者ありや。

After Sen no Rikyu, tea ceremony became a formality, and (regrettably,) it has now become a completely women's *yūgei*. Who can understand the essence of tea ceremony?

The article implies that the reporter is not happy that the *wabi-cha* established by Sen no Rikyu was lost after tea ceremony had become more focused on formality and eventually became a women's activity.

Unlike men, women's role as citizens was not to be directly involved in the formation of the nation, but to contribute indirectly to the nation by supporting their husbands and sons at home, who served the nation in labor and battle. The specific qualities required of a woman of the state were the general education of her children and conversation with her husband, and womanly manners that would please her husband and be sufficient to entertain guests. To target this goal, girls' secondary education was institutionalized to nurture good wives and wise mothers for the nation. Thus, the tea ceremony became a means for women to acquire feminine etiquette, and so, the tea ceremony for women indirectly promoted nation-building. In 1899 (Meiji 32), the Girls' School Ordinance mandated the establishment of girls' schools, and women's tea ceremony spread throughout the country.

However, the tea ceremony was not a required subject, and each school was free to choose whether or not to include it. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the number of women's schools that actually adopted the tea ceremony, and the overall number is not known. However, the results of this survey of the number of schools that adopted the tea ceremony in Tokyo indicate that the number of schools that adopted the tea ceremony increased dramatically from the mid-Meiji period onward, and it is assumed that girls' schools incorporating tea ceremony spread throughout the country in a similar manner as Tokyo, although there would be differences from region to region.

At the same time, newspaper serializations such as "Meiji no Reijo" (Daughters of Meiji) clearly differentiated the tea ceremony as an activity for middle- and upper-class women among girls in Japan, leading to the creation of more tea ceremony girls and further nation-work throughout the country.

CHAPTER 4

TEA CEREMONY AS WOMEN'S EDUCATION

-Tea ceremony at Atomi School-

How did this transition of the relationship between women and the tea ceremony, as observed in previous chapters, appear in the actual girls' education? The women's tea ceremony in the Edo period was a necessary part of learning for women in well-off samurai families. They conducted tea ceremony within their family or were expected to host guests while their husbands were away. For daughters of wealthy commoners, it was a means to advance to the upper class. In the latter half of the late Edo period, the tea ceremony spread as a social activity for upstart commoners. However, during the Meiji era, as societal systems changed, the social dynamics necessitated a transformation in the practice of tea ceremony itself. The Meiji government, following in the footsteps of Western countries and concentrating its efforts on nation-building, neglected the culture of the old system such as the tea ceremony and promoted Western education. After the early-Meiji period, however, the government changed their direction and reexamined their culture and customs. At the same time, they began to consider women as a national resource, something that had not received much attention in the past. During the process of nation-building, the promotion of secondary education for girls gained momentum. The tea ceremony was then incorporated into girls' secondary schools, and along with the spread of girls' schools, the tea ceremony for women spread throughout the country.

This chapter explores how Atomi Kakei responded to this transition in managing Atomi School. Atomi Kakei was an educator who lived and actively engaged during the transitional period in the history of women's tea ceremony. She is often regarded as the pioneer of integrating the tea ceremony into women's education. Considering Kakei's background and her educational philosophy as evident in her autobiography, *Oriori-gusa*, it seems natural that the school adopted the tea ceremony from its inception. However, whether the Atomi School adopted tea ceremony as a subject or not cannot be confirmed due to inconsistencies in documents and diaries from the time of its founding. Thus, it is difficult to say that Kakei took

the initiative in directly influencing the spread of women's tea ceremony education, especially since there are no documents other than her memoirs to indicate that the tea ceremony was publicly taught at the school in the early Meiji period. Rather, the historical records show how Atomi Kakei carefully managed the school in accordance with the trends of the times.

Kakei stated in her diary that she opened the Atomi School on January 8, Meiji 9 (1876)⁹⁴ and created a curriculum that incorporated nine subjects, including the tea ceremony, and this was in place since the school's inception.

The construction of the school, which had been underway since last year, was finally completed, and we were able to hold the opening ceremony. We were surprised to see many *kazoku* (aristocratic) families and their daughters in attendance. From then on, our school was to be called Atomi Girls' School and engaged in girls' education. Nine subjects were incorporated: Japanese, Chinese Classics, Arithmetic, Calligraphy, Painting, Sewing, *Koto*, Flower Arrangement, and Tea Ceremony. More than 80 princesses of the nobility were admitted on the same day.⁹⁵

From this description, the Atomi School is known as the first girl's school to introduce tea ceremony in school education. Kakei was 36 years old when she opened Atomi School, eight years after the Meiji Restoration took place.

Atomi Kakei was born on May 10, 1840 (Tenpo 11) in Settsu Province (present-day Naniwa-Ku, Osaka City). The Atomi family was a low-ranked but originally wealthy samurai family. The family's fortunes, however, declined during the period of Kakei's grandfather. Since then, the family made a living by running a *terakoya* (private educational institution).⁹⁶ At the age of six, Kakei recited *the Classic of Filial Piety* while her father gave her a piggyback ride on his back and surprised him. From that time on, her parents wished for Kakei to revive the family and bring prosperity to their household. Therefore, even though the marriage was the norm for women, she realized from an early age that she should not marry in the future but should take over the

⁹⁴ There are a few theories about the school opening date. This date is from *Atomi Kakei Nikki Ryakureki* 跡見花蹊日記略歴 [Atomi Kakei Diary in brief summary page].

⁹⁵ Atomi Kakei, *Atomi Kakei Nikki Ryakureki* 跡見花蹊日記略歴 [Atomi Kakei Diary in brief summary page], (Tokyo: Atomi Gakuen, 2005), 27, <https://www.atomi.ac.jp/univ/kakei/PDF/1-01-01Rireki.pdf>.

⁹⁶ Kumakura Isao, *Sadō Shūkin 6, Kindai no sadō chanoyu*, 257.

family. She studied Chinese classics, Japanese painting, tea ceremony, and sewing with great enthusiasm and was especially gifted in painting. Tea ceremony was taught by her father in childhood and later by a tea master, Toyoshima Magoemon. Later, Kakei opened her private school in Kyoto, teaching Chinese literature and painting. Many of her students were wives and daughters of nobility because her father served in the nobility and was well-connected to the noble families. During the upheaval of the Meiji Restoration, many nobilities moved to Tokyo, including her father and his lord. Kakei moved to Tokyo following her father. She opened another private school in Tokyo and continued to teach many nobilities and some commoners. There is no record that Kakei taught tea ceremony at her private schools, but she enjoyed practicing tea ceremony continuously with her father, tea masters and others.⁹⁷ Soon, she founded the Atomi School to educate more students. The subjects recorded in her diary were all familiar to Kakei from her childhood in the Edo period.

Given this Kakei's upbringing at the end of the Edo period, there are several possible reasons why Kakei might have incorporated the tea ceremony into the schooling of the upper-class daughters. Kakei, a member of a samurai family, was educated both in Confucian studies and samurai cultures such as etiquette and tea ceremony. This suggests that Confucian women's virtues and discipline from tea ceremony and other learnings of samurai family were naturally ingrained in Kakei. I assume that Kakei hoped her students in the Meiji period would also acquire these learnings from her experience. Furthermore, having seen the permeation of samurai culture among commoners and their refined deportment later in the Edo period, it is no wonder why Kakei incorporated samurai cultures into school education in Meiji. In particular, when she was disappointed to see disordered young women in Tokyo after the Meiji restoration,⁹⁸ she might have felt that the order of the Edo period must be restored, as commoners in Edo could transform into sophisticated manner elites by learning samurai cultures. In addition, since Atomi School had many daughters of upper class, etiquette and

⁹⁷ Kumakura Isao, *Sadō Shūkin* 6, *Kindai no sadō chanoyu*, 258.

⁹⁸ Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa*, 65.

manner of the social tea ceremony should have been a valuable skill for its graduates in the future.

However, as we discussed in Chapter 3, in the early Meiji when the school was founded, Japan was promoting Western modernization and there was a tendency within the new government to deny the traditional culture and Confucianism studies of the Edo period. How did Kakei observe the Westernization of society as an educator for women, and how did she achieve an education based on her educational philosophy, which was at odds with social trends?

In early Meiji, in Tokyo, she was disappointed to see women under the influence of Western civilization and enlightenment (*Bunmei Kaika*). Kakei criticized, “it is too tasteless for a young lady to cut her hair, wear a long male student's cloak, hold a pencil to her ear, and wear a man's belt, while calling herself civilized.”⁹⁹ Kakei's concerns were not just about their appearance but about losing the Japanese spirit and traditional beauty. Kakei's disappointment made her even more passionate about education. Kakei said, “I strongly desire to make a change and educate them.”¹⁰⁰ While the government, which focused on secondary education for boys, had little time to consider girls' secondary education during the upheaval of the Meiji Restoration, Kakei immediately recognized the goal that girls' education should be tailored to the needs of the new era,¹⁰¹ drawing on traditional Japanese feminine virtues. However, the needs of the new era envisioned by Kakei were opposed to the principles advocated by Fukuzawa and the new government. Nevertheless, many upper-class families at that time trusted Kakei and sent their children to her private school. Kakei and a few other teachers had taught Japanese and Chinese studies, sewing, and painting at the private school before Atomi school was founded.¹⁰² As student enrollment increased, the private school had to expand. The new school building

⁹⁹ Kumakura Isao, *Kindai chadōshi no kenkyū*, 299.

¹⁰⁰ Kumakura Isao, *Kindai chadōshi no kenkyū*, 299.

¹⁰¹ Takahashi Shōsuke, *Atomi kakei joshi den* 跡見花蹊女史伝 [Atomi Kakei biography] (Tokyo: Tokyo shuppansha, 1932), 18.

¹⁰² Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa*, 128.

started construction in 1875 (Meiji 8), and Kakei recorded in her diary that the school would open on January 8, 1876 (Meiji 9).¹⁰³

The introduction of tea ceremony at Atomi School from its inception seems to have been a natural progression, but no records were found to support the introduction of tea ceremony from the time of the school's opening. On the contrary, documents and historical background of questionable authenticity cast doubt about tea ceremony and other subjects at the Atomi School opening time.

First of all, there is a discrepancy in terms of the opening date of the school between her diary and other documents. Kakei's diary includes a brief summary of the diary, separate from the main text (Figure 10). The school opening day, January 8, 1876 (Meiji 9), is written in this summary. However, this opening date is questionable. Indeed, literature shows inconsistency and debates about the Atomi School's opening date. Kobayashi Yoshiho argues that the school opened on January 8, 1876 (Meiji 9), adopting the date shown in the diary.¹⁰⁴ However, Kumakura's *Kindai no Chanoyu*¹⁰⁵ quoted from *Atomi Kaigaku Hyakunen* indicates that the school opening was on January 8, 1875 (Meiji 8). Furthermore, Iwata Hideyuki claimed that the opening of the school was more likely on November 26, 1875 (Meiji 8) based on his finding that the school's opening ceremony benediction took place on this date, November 26, 1875.¹⁰⁶ From my research, I reached an agreement with Iwata. First, I found that Kakei's official application for opening the school was submitted on November 13, 1875 (Meiji 8), removing the possibility that the school was opened on January 8, 1875 (Meiji 8). Second, an article from *Yomiuri Shimbun* on

¹⁰³ Atomi Kakei, *Atomi Kakei Nikki Ryakureki*, 27.

¹⁰⁴ Kobayashi Yoshiho, "Meiji shochūki no Josh kyōiku to ikebana, chanoyu, reigisahō: yūgei tonokakawari wo tōshite" 明治初中期の女子教育といけ花、茶の湯、礼儀作法：遊芸との関わりを通して [Girls' Education, Ikebana, Tea ceremony, and Etiquette in the early and mid-Meiji periods: Through the relationship with yūgei], *NIHON KENKYŪ* 64, (March 2022): 64, https://nichibun.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=7836&item_no=1&page_id=41&block_id=63.

¹⁰⁵ Kumakura Isao, *Sadō Shūkin 6, Kindai no sadō chanoyu*, 256.

¹⁰⁶ Izumi Masahiro, Ueta Yasuyo, and Ōtsuka Hiroshi, *Atomi Kakei: Joshikyōiku no senkusha* 跡見花蹊女子教育の先駆者 [Atomi Kakei: Pioneer in women's education], (Kyoto: Minerva shobō, 2021), 118.

October 30, 1875 (Meiji 8) about the new Atomi School,¹⁰⁷ stated that the school would open next month, which supports November 1875 (Meiji 8) as a more reliable date than January 1876 (Meiji 9).



Figure 10. Atomi Kakei, Atomi Kakei Nikki Ryakureki 跡見花溪日記略歴. January 8, 1876 (Meiji 9).

¹⁰⁷ Yomiuri Shimbun, October 30, 1875, Yomiuri Database Service.

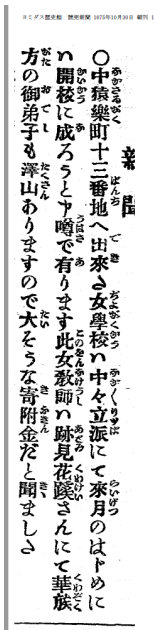


Figure 11. Yomiuri Shimbun, October 30, 1875 (Meiji 8). Yomidasu Rekishikan Database.

The new girl's school at 13 Naka Sarugakuchō is quite splendid and is said to open early next month. The teacher is Atomi Kakei who has many students from the nobility, so I heard that the school received a large donation.

Moreover, none of the three dates mentioned above or, for that matter, no specific school opening date can be found in the main text of the diary. The fact that the school opening date, an important piece of school history, is missing in the main text may indicate that this information was omitted with some intention. Kobayashi Yoshiho points out that the date of January 8, 1876 (Meiji 9) in the brief summary may have been added sometime later because the school's name was odd.¹⁰⁸ The diary states, “Atomi Girls’ School,” but the official name of the school was “Atomi School” at its opening time. The name was changed to “Atomi Girls’ School” later in 1888 (Meiji 21)¹⁰⁹ when the school moved to a new location, revealing that the diary was most likely written after that. Ueta Yasuyo assumed that the brief summary part was probably added by Kakei herself when she had her 70th birthday celebration on May 9, 1909 (Meiji 42).¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Kobayashi Yoshiho, “Meiji shochūki no Josh kyōiku to ikebana, chanoyu, reigisahō: yūgei tonokakawari wo tōshite,” 64.

¹⁰⁹ Kobayashi Yoshiho, *Hana no sēritsu to tenkai* 「花」の成立と展開 [Formation and development of flowers], (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 2008), 263.

¹¹⁰ Ueta Yasuyo, “Atomi kakei nikki karamiru kariikyuram : ochiai naobumi tono kakawari ni furete” 「跡見花蹊日記」から見るカリキュラム: 落合直文との関わりにふれて [Curriculum and Ochiai Naobumi from point

Furthermore, the diary on January 8, 1888 (Meiji 21) in the main text is skeptical. This January 8, 1888, was when they had a school opening ceremony at the new location. Subsequently, the class started on January 13, 1888 (Meiji 21), and tea ceremony, flowers, music, and other subjects with each teacher's names are listed.¹¹¹ It is uncertain whether Kakei was confused about the two opening ceremonies in 1876 and 1888 or used the wrong date with some intention. Likewise, Ueta questioned the relevance of two same January 8 but in two very different years (12 years apart). Ueta urged investigating the main text of the diary.¹¹² Thus, there is a high likelihood that the diary entry of January 8, 1876 (Meiji 9) in the brief summary was added later and does not reflect the actual date.

跡見花蹊日記 明治21年

明治二十一年
 (一月) 一月一日
 曉起、一家慈なく淑酒難煮を祝ひ、今日之喜ひ限りなし。早朝より賀客続々来、八日開校之招待状五百軒配達ス。
 *淑酒(趣酒)
 (一月) 二日
 川村氏、田村氏、西村氏、原氏、米倉氏を招きて、食堂開きをなす。東陽軒洋食を饗す。
 (一月) 七日
 開校前日。其繁雜言へからず。諸職工百人余、校内外裝飾、夜十二時漸落成ス。
 (一月) 八日 日曜 天晴朗。
 開校式。講堂玄関入口及毎室に釣灯笼をかがぐ。すへて緑葉に薔薇花を挿み、第一室講附所、第二化粧室、第三委員詰所、楼上客室、塾楼上楼下、生徒之室となし、庭園運動場に式場を設け、数百之椅子、前面皇族方をはじめ貴顕紳士、左之側に数百之椅子に令嬢たちを。午後一時より式はしまる。
 第一、校長新築總旨書を讀む。
 第二、三条内大臣祝文御朗誦。
 第三、三条智恵子君生徒總代之祝文御朗誦。
 第四、サンマルス英語祝文。
 第五、平尾竹子和文祝詞ヲ。
 第六、中村敬字氏演説。式全畢。
 食堂を二ヶ所に設け、近衛軍樂二小隊奏樂。御來臨皇族方、伏見貞愛親王、同妃信宮、小松親王、同妃依君、同篤宮女王、北白川宮、同妃光君、三条内大臣、同夫人、土方宮内大臣、佐々木宮内顧問官及夫人、女官早藏典侍、藤村内侍、命婦一人、鍋島式部長、同夫人、花房子、同夫人等。其外、華族京浜貴女紳士無慮千余人也。五時、式全畢。
 夜二入て輕便電気、紅灯、提灯、講堂及敷子をかがぐ。紅灯星の如く、また昼の如し。其盛大名状すへからず。実に家藏、家族の悦び、予の名譽極りなしと云。夜十時全畢。
 (一月) 九日
 大新聞、諸新聞、開校之景況掲載あり。

-1-

of view "Atomi Kakei Nikki], *JOURNAL OF ATOMI UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF LITERATURE* 41, (March 2008): 3, https://atomi.repo.nii.ac.jp/index.php?active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&page_id=13&block_id=21&item_id=550&item_no=1.

¹¹¹ Atomi Kakei, *Atomi Kakei Nikki* 跡見花蹊日記 [Atomi Kakei Diary], (Tokyo: Atomi Gakuen, 2005), Meiji 21,p2, <https://www.atomi.ac.jp/univ/kakei/>.

¹¹² Ueta Yasuyo, "Atomi kakei nikki karamiru kariyuram : ochiai naobumi tono kakawari ni furete,"4.

Figure 12. Atomi Kakei, Atomi Kakei Nikk. 跡見花蹊日記. January 8, 1888 (Meiji 21).

跡見花蹊日記 明治21年

(一月十日、十一日、日記ナシ)

(一月 十二日
授業始。英語、東三桑公忠君、宇都宮平三氏、連藤氏、レ、ン、橋、算術、松見文平氏、国
学、鈴木弘恭氏、国漢学、渡辺重石丸氏、裁縫、千代庵、音楽、山登松崎、点算、柳花
父重戦。

(一月十四日、三十一日、日記ナシ)

(二月
二月 (以下、記述ナシ)

(以下、日記ナシ)

-2-

Figure 13. Atomi Kakei, Atomi Kakei Nikki 跡見花蹊日記. January 13, 1888 (Meiji 21).

If the diary entry of January 8, 1876 (Meiji 9) is not accurate, then nine subjects, including tea ceremony, could also be questionable. This point can also be corroborated by the inconsistency found in the school's application. The opening application for Atomi school, submitted to the Tokyo Prefectural Office in November 1875 (Meiji 8), does not list any *yūgei* subjects (figure 14). The application states that the departments are divided into "reading," "calligraphy," and "arithmetic." There are lower and upper secondary levels. For those at the lower level, subjects are "spelling," "calligraphy," "vocabulary," "conversation," "reading," "ethics," "sodoku" (type of reading), "grammar," "arithmetic," "regimen," "geology," and "physics." Subjects for the upper secondary students are "history," "geometry," "technical drawing or ruled pictures," "natural history," "chemistry," and "physiology." Most subjects are sciences and practical studies and no arts subjects, such as painting, sewing, *koto*, flower arrangement, and tea ceremony are stated. Kobayashi Yoshiho pointed out that the subjects on the application are the same as those promulgated by the school system in 1872 (Meiji 5) for lower elementary school (ages 6 to 9) and upper elementary school (ages 10 to 13).¹¹³

¹¹³ Kobayashi Yoshiho, "Meiji shochūki no Josh kyōiku to ikebana, chanoyu, reigisahō: yūgei tonokakawari wo tōshite," 62.

Because of these discrepancies and the lack of other evidence concerning the Atomi School's early years, it is not possible to determine whether the Atomi School taught the tea ceremony from its inception. However, it is plausible that the Atomi school taught tea ceremony but attempted to keep the fact of teaching privately. Supporting reasons for teaching the tea ceremony at the beginning of the school's operation include the following. First, as mentioned earlier, tea ceremony was not only a cultivated skill but also a source of enjoyment for Kakei from a young age. Furthermore, as seen during the late Edo period, it was a necessary social skill for upper-class women to engage in social interactions. In addition, in her autobiography, *Oriori-gusa* Kakei says that she included subjects that cultivate women's virtue, despite the criticisms of society at the time. Finally, there are documents that show that the tea ceremony was a regular subject of the school curriculum in later years. For example, the main text of Kakei's diary from 1888 (Meiji 21) mentions that her father, Atomi Jūkei, was in charge of tea ceremony classes.

It may be reasonable to assume that the tea ceremony was taught but not publicized. Here are some possible reasons why the tea ceremony classes were conducted without public announcement. First, a plausible assumption is that the government in the early Meiji period was antagonistic toward traditional culture and favored Western-inspired subjects. Therefore, Kakei was cautious about publicizing that the school would teach *yūgei* subjects because it would bring criticism in the social climate against *yūgei*. The earliest record indicating tea ceremony is Kakei's diary in 1888 (Meiji 21) (Figure 13). It is followed by a school timetable from 1892 (Meiji 25). However, no documents of the early Meiji remain, which made me postulate that the documents showing tea ceremony classes at the time of the school's opening were intentionally removed to refrain publicizing. Second, once the application was accepted, the government would not have been concerned about girls' education because women's secondary education did not receive much attention in the early Meiji period, as explained in Chapter 3. Third, it is assumed that Atomi school conducted lessons outside the schoolhouse or the class hours so that the school did not need to publicize the tea ceremony. To support this, Atomi School had a dormitory where students lived with Kakei. The dormitory was called "*Ojuku*." It is said that the "*Ojuku*" was a distinctive feature of Kakei's education, where students learned what was important to them as

human beings through sharing meals and lodging with Kakei.¹¹⁴ Kobayashi assumes not only tea ceremony but also other *yūgei* subjects like flower arrangement and *koto* were taught as extracurriculars, while other regular subjects in the opening application were taught as subjects in the classroom of the school building.¹¹⁵

Therefore, from my investigation, I concluded that Atomi school may have taught tea ceremony privately to avoid being socially criticized. Furthermore, the subjects on the school opening applications were more likely camouflaged, showing that they followed subjects the government mandated. However, as stated above, there is also no concrete evidence indicating if the school offered and taught tea ceremony during the early years. The evidence of tea ceremony as school's subject started appearing in the middle of Meiji. It coincides with the time *yūgei* was reevaluated by society.

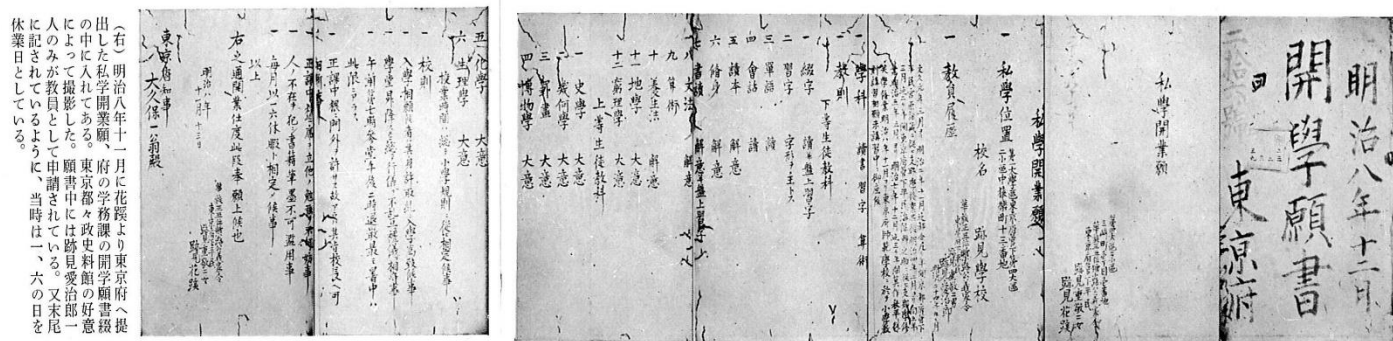


Figure 14. Atomi School, School Opening Application 開學願書 to Tokyo prefecture 東京府. November 13, 1875 (Meiji 8). Atomi Gakuen Jyoshi Daigaku, Kakei Kinen Shiryōkan.

Atomi Kakei published *Oriori-gusa*, autobiography and handbook for women on October 15, 1915 (Taisho 4). The target audience was young middle- and upper-class women of the time. It presents Kakei's philosophy cultivated through her experience with specific examples. She also looks back on the early Meiji period, criticizing Westernized women and briefly discussing

¹¹⁴ Izumi Masahiro, Ueta Yasuyo, and Ōtsuka Hiroshi, *Atomi Kakei: Joshikyōiku no senkusha*, 121.

¹¹⁵ Kobayashi Yoshiho, "Meiji shochūki no Josh kyōiku to ikebana, chanoyu, reigisahō: yūgei tonokakawari wo tōshite," 64.

subjects taught at the Atomi School in the early Meiji period. Kakei cites several passages in which she recommends the tea ceremony for women and states that the school actually incorporated studies that cultivated women's virtue, despite some criticism. It is worth noting that Kakei wrote this book at a time when society was reevaluating Japanese culture and customs, not when the government was trying to Westernize the country in the early Meiji period. From this, it can be understood that during the early Meiji period, the social circumstances were such that even someone like Kakei, who was well aware of the merits of tea ceremony, couldn't openly express them. However, by the time of the Taisho era (1912-1926), the virtues of tea ceremony were asserted as something natural. This demonstrates how the societal perception of tea ceremony underwent significant changes within a span of merely forty years.

Many of her opinions in *Oriori-gusa* indicates that they were formed in a society where Japan was changing in a conservative direction. Although Kakei was opposed to Westernization, her philosophy of tea ceremony education in *Oriori-gusa* was actually shaped more strongly by the nation's female education policy itself, which was born out of the effects of Westernization.

The first chapter's title, "A woman should live for her husband," highlights Kakei's strong adherence to Confucianism and the traditional gender roles prevalent during the Edo period. However, in another chapter, she presents a logic that aligns with the common notion of "good wife, wise mother," stating that women's virtues contribute to their husbands' happiness and ultimately bring benefits to the nation.

Whatever the case is with men, women must first and foremost be like women, improve their womanly virtues and use their virtues to make their inadequate husbands adequate and willing to serve the country.¹¹⁶

Furthermore, she suggests that women should learn *yūgei* in order to become virtuous women and eventually also for their husband and their family. Kakei, who studied *yūgei*, shares the importance of learning *yūgei* with readers by referring *Rei-Gaku* 礼楽 in *the Book of Rites*. *Rei* 礼

¹¹⁶ Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa*, 20.

is the order of heaven and earth, and *Gaku* 楽 is the harmony of heaven and earth.¹¹⁷ Practically, the *Rei* of *Rei-Gaku* is to establish the social order and to discipline deeds, while *Gaku* is to inspire and soften people's hearts and minds.¹¹⁸ Kakei interprets *Rei-Gaku* as follows,

When spring, summer, autumn, and winter are in a proper cycle, flowers bloom, leaves wilt, grass withers, and snow falls; this is *Rei*. Likewise, the birds sing, the wind blows, the snow flows, and the water pours; that is *Gaku*. In the same way, people must know the path of *Rei-Gaku*.

Kakei cites that practicing arts could yield both *Rei* and *Gaku*.

A woman should know *Rei-Gaku*. If a woman knows the way of tea ceremony, *ikebana* (Flower arrangement), *koto* music, piano, or violin, she will naturally have a sense of grace. This is something women must cultivate when they marry and become a mother. Once married, the wife should be enough to make even a disturbed (husband's) family happy in harmony.¹¹⁹

Although women's internal cultivation was not the focus during the Edo period, Kakei, based on her own experience, encourages that learning *yūgei* should enrich women, leading to a family's happiness.

Kakei specially promotes the tea ceremony for practical reasons. She states that socializing in the *tatami* room¹²⁰ is a necessary part of daily life, so women should, by all means, practice tea in order to avoid embarrassing behavior as a guest or host. Furthermore, she recommends that the tea ceremony is a good way to learn general social etiquette in the *tatami*

¹¹⁷ Inoue Tadashi, "Kodai, chūsei no ongaku kyōiku no shisōteki kiban" 古代・中世の音楽教育の思想的基盤 [Ideological foundations of ancient and medieval music education], *Journal of the Department of Education Teikyo University* 37, (March 2012): 70, <https://apps.v.main.teikyo-u.ac.jp/tosho/kyoiku37-08.pdf>.

¹¹⁸ *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2005), s.v. "Rei-Gaku" 礼楽.
<https://kotobank.jp/word/%E7%A4%BC%E6%A5%BD-151227%E7.B2.BE.E9.81.B8.E7.89.88.20.E6.97.A5.E6.9C.AC.E5.9B.BD.E8.AA.9E.E5.A4.A7.E8.BE.9E.E5.85.B8>.

¹¹⁹ Atomi Kakei, *Orioi-Gusa*, 165.

¹²⁰ Traditional Japanese-style room has unique interior design, including tatami woven straw mat flooring. There are neither chairs nor assigned seating spots.

room, including artistic knowledge and sensitivity. She describes the following situations that women often encounter in their daily lives.

When you are invited to someone else's *tatami* room, the position in which you sit depends on the house, so you should decide where you will sit by looking at the *tokonoma* (alcove) hanging and the layout of the *tatami* room and be considerate enough to compliment your host's thoughtful flower arrangement and *bonsai*.¹²¹

Not limited in *tatami* room social, Kakei advocates that educated women should know how to behave regardless of the places or situations they will be in.¹²² She explains that those who have practiced tea ceremony can respond flexibly and know where they should sit. Therefore, she emphasizes that tea ceremony is an excellent way to learn manners applied in any situation.¹²³

And it is not only the women who benefit from learning the tea ceremony, but also their husbands. Kakei addresses that women can entertain their husbands by replacing *tokonoma* (alcove) hanging scrolls and arranging flowers. This is in keeping with the Confucian teaching that a woman should live for her master. Thus, Kakei argues for the necessity of tea ceremony practice, which teaches women various things necessary to maintain a home.

Kakei then explains how the tea ceremony, with these advantages, has been actually incorporated into school education. Although she encourages women to practice tea ceremony, tea ceremony has not been a required course. Instead, tea ceremony class has been offered as an elective, along with flower arrangement and *koto* instrument, and has been taught once or twice a week. She recommends that women should learn these activities when they have time.

I have made tea, flowers, and *koto* as electives at my school. It is not a bad idea to learn these things broadly. I will not force you to do so, but I think it is a good idea to do so in your spare time.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa*, 56.

¹²² Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa*, 60.

¹²³ Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa*, 59.

¹²⁴ Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa*, 107.

Kakei believes that the tea ceremony, like flower arrangement and *koto*, requires only a certain amount of knowledge and manners. Therefore, she did not force students to spend so much time on tea ceremony classes, but they were conducted regularly so that they could be acquired. This comment suggests that tea ceremony classes do not have to be part of the formal curriculum, and that there is flexibility regarding where and when tea ceremony lessons can be held, and that they can be held in the dormitories after school.

Finally, looking back on the early Meiji period, she criticizes not only women's appearance but also their neglect of womanly virtues with the arrival of Western culture, as follows.

They imitate the Western way and make a fuss about equal rights for men and women and women's independence even though they are women. However, they are only doing crazy things because people do not take them seriously as a result of their misbehavior and corruption.¹²⁵

Kakei saw the bleakness of women in the early Meiji era and felt that it was necessary to improve upon it. Therefore, she tried her best to cultivate her students with a spirit of grace. In *Oriori-gusa*, she flaunts the fact that Atomi School had the foresight to teach gender-specific teachings from the inception in the early Meiji era. For example, Kakei mentions that she made her students wear a *chigomage* hairstyle¹²⁶ and purple *hakama* trousers to cultivate as much grace as possible, noting that the Atomi School was one of the first to adopt such trousers, which became common in other girls' schools at the time she wrote *Oriori-gusa*. She also proudly states that the Atomi School was the first to introduce singing and dancing to ancient music, *koto*, sewing and drawing. Furthermore, she states that these subjects, which were criticized at the time, are now required in all schools.¹²⁷ Although the tea ceremony is not explicitly mentioned in this statement, music, sewing and drawing were absent from the application to open the school, suggesting that the tea ceremony was implied along with these subjects. She herself stated that the Atomi School taught these subjects despite social criticism.

¹²⁵ Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa*, 18.

¹²⁶ A hair style for court lady in the late Edo period

¹²⁷ Atomi Kakei, *Oriori-Gusa*, 310.

I have traced Kakei's journey from her upbringing in the late Edo period through the establishment of Atomi School in the early Meiji era, and to her autobiography, *Oriori-gusa*, written during the Taisho period. While it appears that Kakei incorporated the tea ceremony, which she had personally embraced during the Edo period as part of the cultural and social practices of the samurai class, into the curriculum of Atomi School, there were indications to conceal it along with other *yūgei* subjects in the beginning, because it was against the social climate. However, during the mid-Meiji period, coinciding with the nation's shift towards a conservative educational policy and the establishment of the "good wife, wise mother" ideology, Kakei started publicly announcing the inclusion of tea ceremony classes. In the *Oriori-gusa* of the Taisho era, she publicized the fact that the school had incorporated *yūgei* subjects and proudly stated that she had been forward-thinking in teaching them, even though it was against the times. However, on the other hand, the ideology of "good wife, wise mother" was also reflected in her educational philosophy of tea ceremony. This clearly indicates that Kakei's educational philosophy has changed over time. Thus, it is unlikely that the Atomi School's tea ceremony education influenced significantly other girls' schools in the early Meiji period. Instead, it is the establishment of "good wife, wise mother" that had a great influence on Kakei herself as well as other girls' schools.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The tea ceremony for women underwent a major transformation and development during the Meiji period. The major factor behind this was the connection between tea ceremony and girls' education, which led to the former being incorporated as a subject into girls' schools that spread nationwide under the ideology of "good wives, wise mothers" established in the mid-Meiji period. On the other hand, Atomi Kakei was quick to connect tea ceremony with women's education in the early Meiji and is said to have introduced the tea ceremony as a subject in her own school. However, there is little evidence of the tea ceremony classes being conducted at the time of the school's establishment, and furthermore, social criticism of the old establishment culture of the time would have made it challenging to openly offer tea ceremony classes. Given these facts, it is unlikely that Atomi School had an influence on other schools. Rather, it could be observed that Kakei herself, like other schools, was influenced by society and steered the operation of the school accordingly. This suggests that the expansion of women's tea ceremony was more influenced by the ideology of "good wives, wise others" that prevailed from the mid-Meiji period onward, rather than the influence of Atomi Kakei and the Atomi School in the early Meiji period.

During the Edo period, the tea ceremony experienced significant development as a form of cultural refinement for the elite class, primarily consisting of samurai. Subsequently, in the 17th century, the wealthy commoners who had gained financial freedom began to emulate the tea ceremony and other arts of the elite class. Thus, the tea ceremony expanded its popularity beyond the boundaries of class. Such artistic activities, once limited to samurai and aristocrats, came to be practiced as an amateur hobby around this time and came to be known as *yūgei*. On the other hand, women's involvement in the tea ceremony during the Edo period was constrained by the Confucian virtues for women. As a result, the scope of women's tea ceremony was limited, and their role of tea ceremony was restricted to shadowing their husbands. The daughters of wealthy commoners also learned tea ceremony and other *yūgei*, acquiring more refined manners by serving at the samurai family as part of their bridal training.

Thus, the tea ceremony for women in Edo was male-centered, but by the late Edo period, socializing among women also expanded, and the tea ceremony became an indispensable refinement for women in the elite class. Hence, during the Edo period, the tea ceremony primarily revolved around men, but as the late Edo period approached, women's social tea ceremony interactions expanded. The tea ceremony then became an essential element of refinement for women belonging to the elite class.

In the Meiji era (1868-1912), the samurai class which had been the main practitioners of the tea ceremony was abolished, and the tea ceremony experienced a major transformation as society changed drastically. In the early Meiji period, the government, greatly influenced by the West, assigned the role of "wise mother" to women, who until then had only been subordinate to men, and made primary education based on Western education mandatory for girls as well as boys. Meanwhile, Confucian education and traditional culture, including the tea ceremony of the Edo period, were neglected. Despite the government's promotion, Western-style education did not take root among the people. In the mid-Meiji period, the government changed its educational policy emphasizing Confucian morality while keeping some Western learning. Later, in the late 1800s, as nationalism grew, there was an active discussion on the utilization of women, and the ideology of "good wives, wise mothers" was established. The specific roles of being "good wives, wise mothers" involved embodying Confucian virtues, raising children, maintaining the household, and providing comfort to their husbands, all with the awareness that they contribute to the nation by supporting the family. In order to nurture young women to become good wives and wise mothers, secondary schools for girls were established nationwide. Girls attended these schools to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for marriage. After marriage, their role was to indirectly contribute to the state by making tea and supporting their husbands at home, who were engaged in state affairs. Thus, the tea ceremony was introduced into the curriculum of girls' schools as a component of etiquette education, leading to its widespread adoption across the country.

However, since the tea ceremony was not a mandatory subject, it is uncertain how many schools actually conducted tea ceremony classes. In the absence of data, I investigated and estimated the number of schools in Tokyo that have adopted the tea ceremony. According

to this study, the number of schools that adopted the tea ceremony increased significantly and roughly proportional to the number of girls' schools soon after the idea of "good wives, wise mothers" was established around 1898. This study also suggests that the government's promotion of girls' education and the tea ceremony were closely linked for about 10 years. At the same time, the establishment of girls' schools throughout Japan under the Girls' School Ordinance (1899) is thought to have spread the tea ceremony throughout the country as well. In addition, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*'s serial series "*Meiji no Reijyō*" which began in 1902, seems to have spurred young women to learn the tea ceremony and other *yūgei*. Finally, in 1904, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper published an article lamenting that the tea ceremony, which had originated from Sen no Rikyū, had become entrenched as a formality-focused women's *yūgei*. However, the rate of increase subsequently declined from the end of the Meiji period. This is thought to be a shift from school *yūgei* classes conducted in groups to *yūgei* learned individually.

In the history of the tea ceremony for women that developed in this way, this study showed little influence from Atomi Kakei, who is regarded by scholars as a pioneer in introducing the tea ceremony to women's education. This is because her diary from the early Meiji period and the application for the opening of the school were found to be inconsistent. In addition, since there was little documentation of the tea ceremony at the time of the school's opening in the early Meiji period, we cannot even be certain about the tea ceremony classes. This may be because Kakei avoided publicizing their tea ceremony education for fear of criticism from the government, which promoted Western education. However, it seems natural for Kakei to incorporate the tea ceremony into girls' education, given her familiarity with the tea ceremony and the fact that it was a necessary education for upper class women in the late Edo period. One possible factor that reconciles both of these speculations is the existence of *ojuku*, or boarding schools. Since there is a record that Kakei lived with her students, providing guidance on their daily lives, I have come to the assumption that the tea ceremony was taught privately in the *ojuku*. Furthermore, documents related to the tea ceremony lessons at Atomi school can be traced only from the mid-Meiji period, coinciding with the establishment of the "good wives, wise mothers." In addition, in her memoir *Oriori-gusa*, written in the Taisho era

(1912-1926), she looks back on the early Meiji period and states that she was the one who had the foresight to teach arts early on, despite the criticism she faced. However, on the other hand, the educational philosophy outlined by Kakei in the memoir bear resemblance to the ideals of the “good wives, wise mothers,” which was prevalent for the formation of the nation. Therefore, she herself was influenced by the ideology that emerged in the mid-Meiji period, and her educational philosophies clearly indicate that they were not the same as those at the early stages of the Meiji-era school establishment. From this perspective, Kakei’s narrative intertwines two different eras. Therefore, it can be argued that Kakei behaved in line with the social currents of the times. Consequently, it is unlikely that she went against the societal trends in the early Meiji period and influenced other schools.

This study has solidified the idea that “good wives, wise mothers” from the mid-Meiji period onward was the cause of the development of the tea ceremony for women and that women's tea ceremony was regarded as an essential factor in the formation of the nation. Additionally, it highlighted that tea ceremony underwent rapid transformation in response to changes in Meiji government policy. In this context, a survey to estimate the number of schools in Tokyo that initially incorporated tea ceremony education provided an overview of the evolution of the relationship between the spread of girls' schools and the inclusion of tea ceremony subjects. Future research in other regions besides Tokyo will help clarify the situation of the spread of the tea ceremony throughout Japan. In particular, the situation in Kyoto, where many former court nobles lived, is likely to have been different from that in Tokyo due to its regional characteristics. Furthermore, this study supported the need to reconsider the position of Atomi Kakei and the Atomi School in the development of women's tea ceremonies. For this purpose, further research on the Atomi School at the time of its foundation is needed. Specifically, it is necessary to scrutinize Kakei’s diary as well as examine the circumstances and individuals involved in the establishment of schools. Furthermore, we can further deepen our understanding of the transition by looking at literature written in the Meiji and Taisho eras to see how the tea ceremony and other *yūgei* were perceived in society.

While I questioned scholars such as Kumakura Isao, who introduced the Atomi Kakei and Atomi school as pioneers in the history of women's tea ceremony, I aimed to explore the driving

force behind the development of women's tea ceremony by clarifying the connection between women's education and the tea ceremony, based on the trends of the times and the role of women in the tea ceremony.

With a history of over 400 years since its founding by Sen no Rikyū, the tradition of tea ceremony was predominantly shaped by men for 300 years. However, it took only a few decades for this tradition to be passed on to women due to the policy of blending Japanese and Western influences during the rise of nationalism. Since the establishment of "good wives, wise mothers," women have indirectly contributed to the nation by making tea for their husbands. However, Mrs. Kishida is now directly contributing to the nation by entertaining national guests with tea ceremony and demonstrating the national identity, not her husband. This could be said to be the elevation of a woman who has moved beyond being a good wife and wise mother although she still is within the framework of being a wife.

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